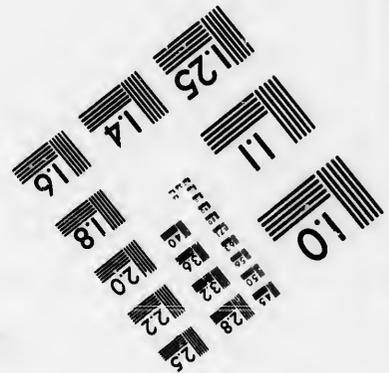
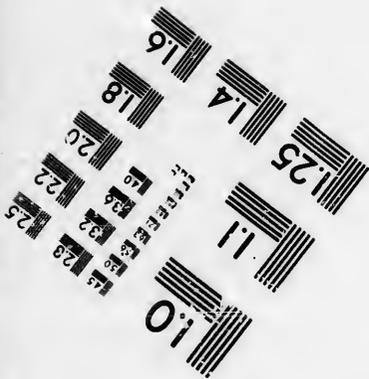
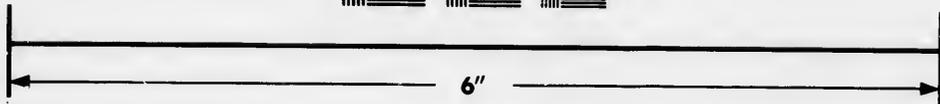
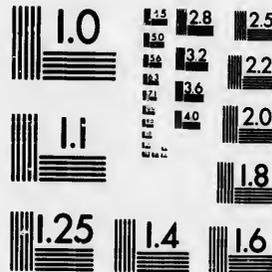


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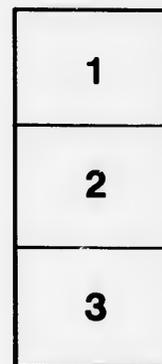
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THE LADY OF THE MOUNTAINS.

"SHE WAS THE ONLY ONE WHO
"KNEW THE GEMS OF THE MOUNTAINS
AND SHE WAS THE ONLY ONE WHO
"KNEW THE GEMS OF THE MOUNTAINS"

LONDON: FRANKLIN, WARREN & CO.

A POPULAR
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE
MANUSCRIPTION OF THE *Sancti*.

BY
THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE, B.C.L.
Corresponding Member of the New York Historical Society.

REVISED AND CORRECTED TO THE PRESENT TIME,

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HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONFEDERATE WAR.—CAMPAIGN OF 1643.—THE CESSATION.

The city of Kilkenny, which had become the capital of the Confederacy, was favorably placed for the direction of the war in Leinster and Munster. Nearly equidistant from Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, a meeting place for most of the southern and south-western roads, important in itself both as a place of trade, and as the residence of the Duke of Ormond and the Bishop of Ossory, a better choice could not, perhaps, have been made, so far as regarded the ancient southern "half-Kingdom." But it seems rather surprising that the difficulty of directing the war in the North and North-West, from a point so far south, did not occur to the statesmen of the Confederacy. In the defective communications of those days, especially during a war, partaking even partially of the character of civil strife, it was hard, if not impossible to expect, that a supervision could be exercised over a general or an army on the Erne or the Bann, which might be quite possible and proper on the Suir or the Shannon. A similar necessity in England necessitated the creation of the Presidency of the North, with its council and head-quarters in the city of York; nor need we be surprised to find that, from the first, the confederate movements combined themselves into two groups—the northern and the southern—those which revolved round the center of Kilkenny, and those which took their law from the head quarters of Owen O'Neil, at Belturbet, or wherever else his camp happened to be situated.

The General Assembly met, according to agreement, on the 23d of October, 1642, at Kilkenny. Eleven bishops and fourteen lay lords represented the Irish peerage; two hundred and twenty-six commoners, the large majority of the constituencies. Both bodies sat in the same chamber, divided only by a raised dais. The celebrated lawyer, Patrick Darcy, a member of the Commons' house, was chosen as chancellor, and everything was conducted

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with the gravity and deliberation befitting so venerable an Assembly, and so great an occasion. The business most pressing, and most delicate, was felt to be the consideration of a form of supreme executive government. The committee on this subject, who reported after the interval of a week, was composed of Lords Gormanstown and Castlehaven, Sir Phelim O'Neil, Sir Richard Belling, and Mr. Darcy. A "Supreme Council" of six members for each province was recommended, approved, and elected. The Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Tuam, the Bishops of Down and of Clonfert, the Lords Gormanstown, Mountgarrett, Roche, and Mayo, with fifteen of the most eminent commoners, composed this council. It was provided that the vote of two-thirds should be necessary to any act affecting the basis of the Confederacy, but a quorum of nine was sufficient for the transaction of ordinary business. A guard of honor of 500 foot and 200 horse was allowed for their greater security. The venerable Mountgarrett, the head of the Catholic Butlers, (son-in-law of the illustrious Tyrone, who, in the last years of Elizabeth, had devoted his youthful sword to the same good cause,) was elected president of this council; and Sir Richard Belling, a lawyer, and a man of letters, the continuator of Sir Phillip Sydney's *Arcadia*, was appointed secretary.

The first act of this supreme council was to appoint General O'Neill as commander in chief in Ulster; General Preston, in Leinster; General Barry, in Munster; and Sir John Burke as lieutenant-general in Connaught; the supreme command in the West being held over for Clanrickarde, who, it was still hoped, might be led or driven into the Confederacy. We shall endeavor to indicate in turn the operations of these commanders, thus chosen or confirmed; leaving the civil and diplomatic business transacted by the General Assembly, or delegated to the supreme council, for future mention.

Contrary to the custom of that age, the Confederate troops were not withdrawn into winter quarters. In November, General Preston, at the head of 6,000 foot and 600 horse, encountered Monk at Tymahoe and Ballinakil, with some loss; but before the close of December he had reduced Birr, Banagher, Burris, and Fort Falkland, and found himself master of King's county, from the

Shannon to the Barrow. In February, however, he sustained a serious check at Rathconnell, in endeavoring to intercept the retreat of the English troops from Connaught, under the command of Lord Ranelagh, and the younger Coote; and in March equal ill success attended his attempt to intercept Ormond, in his retreat from the unsuccessful siege of the town of Ross. Lord Castlehaven, who was Preston's second in command, attributes both these reverses to the impetuosity of the general, whose imprudence seems to have been almost as great as his activity was conspicuous. In April and May, Preston and Castlehaven took several strongholds in Carlow, Kildare and Westmeath, and the General Assembly, which met, for its second session, on the 20th of May, 1643, at Kilkenny, had, on the whole, good grounds to be satisfied with the success of the war in Leinster.

In the Southern Province, considerable military successes might also be claimed by the Confederates. The Munster troops, under Purcell, the second in command, a capable soldier, who had learned the art of war in the armies of the German Empire, relieved Ross, when besieged by Ormond; General Barry had successfully repulsed an attack on his head quarters, the famous old Desmond town of Killmallock. In June, Barry, Purcell and Castlehaven drove the enemy before them across the Funcheon, and at Kilworth brought their main body, under Sir Charles Vavasour, to action. Vavasour's force was badly beaten, himself captured, with his cannon and colors, and many of his officers and men. Inchiquin, who had endeavored to form a junction with Vavasour, escaped to one of the few remaining garrisons open to him—probably Youghal.

In Connaught, the surrender of Galway, on the 20th of June, eclipsed all the previous successes, and they were not a few, of Lieutenant-General Burke. From the day Lord Ranelagh and the younger Coote deserted the Western province, the Confederate cause had rapidly advanced. The surrender of "the second fort in the Kingdom"—a sea-port in that age, not unworthy to be ranked with Cadiz and Bristol, for its commercial wealth and reputation—was a military event of the first importance. An English fleet appeared three days after the surrender of Willoughby, in Galway harbor; but nine long years elapsed before the Con-

federal colors were lowered from the towers of the Connaught citadel.

In the North, O'Neill, who, without injustice to any of his contemporaries, may certainly be said to have made during his seven years command the highest European reputation, among the Confederate generals, gathered his recruits into a rugged district which forms a sort of natural camp, in the northwest corner of the island. The mountain plateau of Leitrim, which sends its spurs downwards to the Atlantic, towards Lough Erne, and into Longford, accessible only by four or five lines of road, leading over narrow bridges and through deep defiles, was the nursery selected by this cautious leader, in which to collect and organize his forces. In the beginning of May—seven months after the date of his commission, and ten from his solitary landing at Doe Castle—we find him a long march from his mountain fortress in Leitrim, at Charlemont, which he had strengthened and garrisoned, and now saved from a surprise attempted by Munroe, from Carrickfergus. Having effected that immediate object, he again retired towards the Leitrim highlands, fighting by the way a smart cavalry action at Clonish, with a superior force, under Colonels Stewart, Balfour, and Mervyn. In this affair, O'Neill was only too happy to have carried off his troop with credit; but a fortnight brought him consolation for Clonish in the brilliant affair of Portlester. He had descended in force from his hills and taken possession of the greater part of the ancient Meath. General Monk and Lord Moore were dispatched against him, but reinforced by a considerable body of Meathian Confederates, under Sir James Dillon, he resolved to risk his first regular engagement in the field. Taking advantage of the situation of the ground, about five miles from Trim, he threw up some field works, placed sixty men in Portlester mill, and patiently awaited the advance of the enemy. Their assault was over confident, their route complete. Lord Moore, and a large portion of the assailants were slain, and Monk fled back to Dublin. O'Neill gathering fresh strength from these movements, abandoned his mountain stronghold, and established his head quarters on the river Erne between Lough Oughter (memorable in his life and death) and the upper waters of Lough Erne. At this point stood

the town of Belturbet, which in "the Plantation" of James I., had been turned over exclusively to British settlers, whose "cage-work" houses, and four acres of garden ground each, had elicited the approval of the surveyor Pynnar, twenty years before. The surrounding country was covered with the fortified castles and loopholed lawns of the chief *Undertakers*—but few were found of sufficient strength to resist the arms of O'Neill. At Belturbet, he was within a few days' march of the vital points of four other counties, and in case of the worst, within the same distance of his protective fastness. Here, towards the end of September, busied with present duties and future projects, he heard for the first time, with astonishment and grief, that the requisite majority of "the Supreme Council" had concluded, on the 13th of that month, a twelve-months' truce with Ormond, thus putting in peril all the advantages already acquired by the bravery of the Confederate troops, and the skill of their generals.

The war had lasted nearly two years, and this was the first time the Catholics had consented to negotiate. The moment chosen was a critical one for all the three Kingdoms, and the interests involved were complicated in the extreme. The Anglo-Irish who formed the majority of the Supreme Council, connected by blood and language with England, had entered into the war, purely as one of religious liberty. Nationally, they had, apart from the civil disabilities imposed on religious grounds, no antipathy, no interest, hostile to the general body of English loyalists, represented in Ireland by the King's lieutenant, Ormond. On his side, that nobleman gave all his thoughts to, and governed all his actions by the exigencies of the royal cause, throughout the three Kingdoms. When Charles seemed strong in England, Ormond rated the Catholics at a low figure; but when reverses increased he estimated their alliance more highly. After the drawn battle of Edgehill, fought on the very day of the first meeting of the General Assembly at Kilkenny, the King had established his headquarters at Oxford, in the heart of four or five of the most loyal counties in England. Here he at first negotiated with the Parliament, but finally the sword was again invoked, and while the King proclaimed the Parliament rebels, "the solemn league and covenant" was entered into, at first separately, and afterwards jointly, by the

Puritans of England, and Presbyterians of Scotland. The military events during that year, and in the first half of the next, were upon the whole not unfavorable to the royal cause. The great battle of Marston Moor, (July 2d, 1644,) which "extinguished the hopes of the Royalists in the Northern counties," was the first Parliamentary victory of national importance. It was won mainly by the energy and obstinacy of Lieutenant General Cromwell, from that day forth the foremost English figure in the Civil War. From his court at Oxford, where he had seen the utter failure of endeavoring to conciliate his English and Scottish enemies, the King had instructed Ormond—lately created a Marquis—to treat with the Irish Catholics, and to obtain from them men and money. The overtures thus made were brought to maturity in September; the Cessation was to last twelve months; each party was to remain in possession of its own quarters, as they were held at the date of the treaty; the forces of each were to unite to punish any infractor of the terms agreed on; the agents of the Confederates, during the cessation, were to have free access and safe conduct to the King; and for these advantages, the Supreme Council were to present to His Majesty immediately with £15,000 in money, and provisions of the value of £15,000 more.

Such was the "truce of Castlemartin," condemned by O'Neill, by the Irish nobles, Scarampi, and by the great majority of the old Irish, lay and clerical; still more violently denounced by the Puritan Parliament as favoring popery, and negotiated by popish agents; beneficial to Ormond and the Undertakers, as relieving Dublin, freeing the Channel from Irish privateers, and securing them the government throughout the Kingdom which they still held; in one sense advantageous to Charles from the immediate supplies it afforded, and the favorable impression it created of his liberality, at the court of his Catholic allies; but on the other hand disadvantageous to him in England and Scotland, from the pretexts it furnished his enemies, of renewing the cry of his connivance with Popery, a cry neither easily answered, nor, of itself, liable quickly to wear out.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CESSATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

While the Confederate delegates, reverently uncovered, and Ormond, in hat and plume, as representing royalty, were signing "the cessation" at Castlemartin, the memorable Munroe, with all his men, were taking the covenant, on their knees, in the church of Carrickfergus, at the hands of the informer O'Connolly, now a colonel in the Parliamentary army, and high in the confidence of its chiefs. Soon after this ceremony, Munroe, appointed by the English Parliament commander-in-chief of all their forces in Ulster, united under his immediate leadership, of Scots, English, and Undertakers, not less than 10,000 men. With this force he marched southward as far as Newry, which he found an easy prey, and where he put to the sword, after surrender, sixty men, eighteen women, and two ecclesiastics. In vain the Confederates entreated Ormond to lead them against the common enemy in the North; pursuing always a line of policy of his own, in which their interest had a very slender part, that astute politician neither took the field, nor consented that they should do so of themselves. But the supreme council, roused by the remonstrances of the clergy, ordered Lord Castlehaven, with the title of commander in chief, to march against Munroe. This was virtually superseding O'Neill in his own province, and that it was so felt even by its authors is plain from their giving him simultaneously the command in Connaught. O'Neill, never greater than in acts of self-denial and self-sacrifice, stifled his profound chagrin, and cheerfully offered to serve under the English Earl, placed over his head. But the northern movements were, for many months, languid and uneventful; both parties seemed uncertain of their true policy; both, from day to day, awaited breathlessly for tidings from Kilkenny, Dublin, London, Oxford, or Edinburgh, to learn what new forms the general contest was to take, in order to guide their own conduct by the shifting phases of that intricate diplomacy.

Among the first consequences of the cessation were the de

barkation at Mostyn, in Scotland, of 3,000 well provided Irish troops, under *Colkitto*, (the left-handed,) Alexander McDonnell, brother of Lord Antrim. Following the banner of Montrose, these regiments performed great things at Saint Johnstown, at Aberdeen, at Inverloch, all which have been eloquently recorded by the historians of that period. "Their reputation," says a cautious writer, "more than their number, unnerved the prowess of their enemies. No force ventured to oppose them in the field; and as they advanced, every fort was abandoned or surrendered." A less agreeable result of "the cessation," for the court at Oxford, was the retirement from the royal army of the Earl of Newcastle, and most of his officers, on learning that such favorable conditions had been made with Irish Papists. To others of his supporters—as the Earl of Shrewsbury—Charles was forced to assume a tone of apology for that truce, pleading the hard necessities which compelled him: the truth seems to be, that there were not a few then at Oxford, who, like Lord Spencer, would gladly have been on the other side—or at all events in a position of neutrality—provided they could have found "a salve for their honor," as gentlemen and cavaliers.

The year 1644 opened for the Irish with two events of great significance—the appointment of Ormond as viceroy, in January, and the execution at Tyburn, by order of the English Parliament, of Lord Maguire, a prisoner in the Tower since October, 1641. Maguire died with a courage and composure worthy of his illustrious name, and his profoundly religious character. His long absence had not effaced his memory from the hearts of his devoted clansmen of Fermanagh, and many a prayer was breathed, and many a vow of vengeance muttered among them, for what they must naturally have regarded as the cold-blooded judicial murder of their chief.

Two Irish deputations—one Catholic, the other Protestant—proceeded this year to the king, at Oxford, with the approval of Ormond, who took care to be represented by confidential agents of his own. The Catholics found a zealous auxiliary in the queen, Henrietta Maria, who, as a co-religionist, felt with them, and, as a Frenchwoman, was free from insular prejudices against them. The Irish Protestants found a scarcely less influential advocate

In the venerable Archbishop Usher, whose presence and countenance, as the most puritanical of his prelates, was most essential to the policy of Charles. The king heard both parties graciously—censured some of the demands of both as extravagant and beyond his power to concede—admitted others to be reasonable and worthy of consideration—refused to confirm the churches they had seized to the Catholics—but was willing to allow them their “seminaries of education”—would not consent to enforce the penal laws on the demand of the Protestants—but declared that neither should the Undertakers be disturbed in their possessions or offices. In short he pathetically exhorted both parties to consider his case as well as their own; promised them to call together the Irish Parliament at the earliest possible period; and so got rid of both deputations, leaving Ormond master of the position for some time longer.

The agents and friends of the Irish Catholics on the Continent were greatly embarrassed, and not a little disheartened by the cessation. At Paris, at Brussels, at Madrid, but above all at Rome, it was regretted, blamed, or denounced, according to the temper or the insight of the discontented. His Catholic Majesty had some time before remitted a contribution of 20,000 dollars to the Confederate Treasury; one of Richelieu's last acts was to invite Con, son of Hugh O'Neil, to the French Court, and to permit the shipment of some pieces of ordnance to Ireland; from Rome, the celebrated Franciscan, Father Luke Wadding, had remitted 26,000 dollars, and the Nuncio Scarampi, had brought further donations. The facility, therefore, with which the cessation had been agreed upon, against the views of the agents of the Catholic powers at Kilkenny, without any apparently sufficient cause, had certainly a tendency to check and chill the enthusiasm of those Catholic Princes who had been taught to look on the insurrection of the Irish as a species of Crusade. Remonstrances, warm, eloquent, and passionate, were poured in upon the most influential members of the Supreme Council, from those who had either by delegation, or from their own free will, befriended them abroad. These remonstrances reached that powerful body at Waterford, at Limerick, or at Galway, whither they had gone on an official visitation, to hear complaints, settle controversies, and

provide for the better collection of the assessments imposed on each Province.

An incident which occurred in Ulster, soon startled the Supreme Council from their pacific occupations. General Munroe, having proclaimed that all Protestants within his command should take "the solemn league and covenant," three thousand of that religion, still loyalists, met at Belfast, to deliberate on their answer. Munroe, however, apprised of their intentions, marched rapidly from Carrickfergus, entered the town under cover of night, and drove out the loyal Protestants at the point of the sword. The fugitives threw themselves into Lisburn, and Munroe appointed Colonel Hume as Governor of Belfast, for the Parliaments of Scotland and England. Castlehaven, with O'Neill still second in command, was now despatched northward against the army of the Covenant. Munroe who had advanced to the borders of Meath, as if to meet them, contented himself with gathering in great herds of cattle; as they advanced he slowly fell back before them through Louth and Armagh, to his original headquarters; Castlehaven then returned with the main body of the Confederate troops to Kilkenny, and O'Neill, depressed but not dismayed, carried his contingent to their former position at Belurbet.

In Munster, a new Parliamentary party had time to form its combinations under the shelter of the cessation. The Earl of Inchiquin, who had lately failed to obtain the Presidency of Munster from the King at Oxford, and the Lord Broghill, son of the great Southern Undertaker—the first Earl of Cork,—were at the head of this movement. Under pretence that the quarters allotted them by the cessation had been violated, they contrived to seize upon Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale. At Cork, they publicly executed Father Mathews, a Friar, and proceeding from violence to violence they drove from the three places all the Catholic inhabitants. They then forwarded a petition to the King, beseeching him to declare the Catholics "rebels," and declaring their own determination to "die a thousand deaths sooner than condescend to any peace with them." At the same time they entered into, or avowed, their correspondence with the English Parliament, which naturally enough encouraged, and assisted them.

The Supreme Council met these demonstrations with more stringent instructions to General Purcell, now their chief in command, (Barry having retired on account of advanced age,) to observe the cessation, and to punish severely every infraction of it. At the same time they permitted or directed Purcell to enter into a truce with Inchiquin till the following April; and then they rested on their arms, in religious fidelity to the engagements they had signed at Castlemartin.

The twelve-months' truce was fast drawing to a close, when the battle of Marston Moor stimulated Ormond to effect a renewal of the treaty. Accordingly, at his request, Lord Muskerry, and five other commissioners, left Kilkenny on the last day of August for Dublin. Between them and the Viceroy, the cessation was prolonged till the first of December following; and when that day came, it was further protracted, as would appear, for three months, by which time, (March, 1645,) Ormond informed them that he had powers from the King to treat for a permanent settlement.

During the six months that the original cessation was thus protracted by the policy of Ormond, the supreme council sent abroad new agents, "to know what they had to trust to, and what succors they might really depend on from abroad." Father Hugh Bourke was sent to Spain, and Sir Richard Belling to Rome, where Innocent X. had recently succeeded to that generous friend of the Catholic Irish, Urban VIII. The voyage of these agents was not free from hazard, for, whereas, before the cessation, the privateers commissioned by the council, sheltered and supplied in the Irish harbors, had kept the southern coast clear of hostile shipping, now that they had been withdrawn under the truce, the parliamentary cruisers had the channel all to themselves. Waterford and Wexford—the two chief Catholic ports in that quarter—instead of seeing their waters crowded with prizes, now began to tremble for their own safety. The strong fort of Duncannon, on the Wexford side of Waterford harbor, was corruptly surrendered by Lord Esmond, to Inchiquin and the Puritans. After a ten-weeks' siege, however, and the expenditure of 19,000 pounds of powder, the Confederates retook the fort, in spite of all the efforts made for its relief. Esmond, old

and blind, escaped by a timely death the penalty due to his treason. Following up this success, Castlehaven rapidly invested other southern strongholds in possession of the same party. Cappoquin, Lismore, Mallow, Mitchelstown, Doneraile and Lis-carroll surrendered on articles; Rostellan, commanded by Inchiquin's brother, was stormed and taken; Broghill was closely besieged in Youghall, but, being relieved from sea, successfully defended himself. In another quarter, the Parliament was equally active. To compensate for the loss of Galway, they had instructed the younger Coote, on whom they had conferred the Presidency of Connaught, to withdraw the regiment of Sir Frederick Hamilton, and 400 other troops, from the command of Munroe, and with these, Sir Robert Stewart's forces, and such others as he could himself raise, to invest Sligo. Against the force thus collected, Sligo could not hope to contend, and soon, from that town, as from a rallying and resting place, 2,000 horsemen were daily launched upon the adjoining country. Lord Clanrickarde, the royal president of the province, as unpopular as trimmers usually are in times of crisis, was unable to make head against this new danger. But the Confederates, under Sir James Dillon, and Dr. O'Kealy, the heroic archbishop of Tuam, moved by the pitiful appeals of the Sligo people, boldly endeavored to recover the town. They succeeded in entering the walls, but were subsequently repulsed and routed. The Archbishop was captured and tortured to death; some of the noblest families of the province and of Meath had also to mourn their chiefs; and several valuable papers, found or pretended to be found in the Archbishop's carriage, were eagerly given to the press of London by the Parliament of England. This tragedy at Sligo occurred on Sunday, October 23th, 1645.

CHAPTER VIII.

GLAMORGAN'S TREATY.—THE NEW NUNCIO RINUCCINI.—O'NEILL'S POSITION.—THE BATTLE OF BENBURR.

ORMOND had amused the Confederates with negotiations for a permanent peace and settlement, from spring till midsummer, when Charles, dissatisfied with these endless delays, despatched to Ireland a more hopeful ambassador. This was Herbert, Earl of Glamorgan, one of the few Catholics remaining among the English nobility; son and heir to the Marquis of Worcester, and son-in-law to Henry O'Brien, Earl of Thomond. Of a family devoutly attached to the royal cause, to which it is said they had contributed not less than £200,000, Glamorgan's religion, his rank, his Irish connections, the intimate confidence of the King which he was known to possess, all marked out his embassy as one of the utmost importance.

The story of this mission has been perplexed and darkened by many controversies. But the general verdict of historians seems now to be, that Charles I., whose many good qualities as a man and a ruler are cheerfully admitted on all hands, was yet utterly deficient in downright good faith; that duplicity was his besetting sin; and that Glamorgan's embassy is one, but only one, of the strongest evidences of that ingrained duplicity.

It may help to the clearer understanding of the negotiations conducted by Glamorgan in Ireland, if we give in the first place the exact dates of the first transactions. The Earl arrived at Dublin about the 1st of August, and, after an interview with Ormond, proceeded to Kilkenny. On the 28th of that month, preliminary articles were agreed to and signed by the Earl on behalf of the King, and by Lords Mountgarrett and Muskerry on behalf of the Confederates. It was necessary, it seems, to get the concurrence of the Viceroy to these terms, and accordingly the negotiators on both sides repaired to Dublin. Here, Ormond contrived to detain them ten long weeks in discussions on the articles relating to religion; it was the 12th of November when

they returned to Kilkenny, with a much modified treaty. On the next day, the 13th, the new Papal Nuncio, a prelate who, by his rank, his eloquence and his imprudence, was destined to exercise a powerful influence on the Catholic councils, made his public entry into that city.

This personage was John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, in the Marches of Ancona, which see he had preferred to the more exalted dignity of Florence. By birth a Tuscan, the new Nuncio had distinguished himself from boyhood by his passionate attachment to his studies. At Bologna, at Perugia, and at Rome, his intense application brought him early honors, and early physical debility. His health, partially restored in the seclusion of his native valley of the Arno, enabled him to return again to Rome. Enjoying the confidence of Gregory XV. and Urban VIII., he was named successively, Clerk of the Chamber, Secretary of the Congregation of Rites, and Archbishop of Fermo. This was the prelate chosen by the new Pope, Innocent X., for the nunciature in Ireland: a man of noble birth, in the fifty-third year of his age, of uncertain bodily health, of great learning, especially as a canonist, of a fiery Italian temperament,—“regular and even austere in his life, and far from any taint of avarice or corruption,”—such was the admission of his enemies.

Leaving Italy in May, accompanied by the Dean of Fermo, who has left us a valuable record of the embassy, his other household officers, several Italian noblemen, and Sir Richard Belling, the special agent at Rome, the Nuncio by way of Genoa and Marseilles reached Paris. In France he was detained nearly five months, in a fruitless attempt to come to some definite arrangement as to the conduct of the Catholic war, through Queen Henrietta Maria, then resident with the young Prince of Wales—afterwards Charles II,—at the French court. The Queen, like most persons of her rank, overwhelmed with adversity, was often unreasonably suspicious and exacting. Her sharp woman's tongue did not spare those on whom her anger fell, and there were not wanting those, who, apprehensive of the effect in England of her negotiating directly with a papal minister, did their utmost to delay, or to break off their correspondence. A nice point of court etiquette further embarrassed the business. The Nuncio could

not uncover his head before the Queen, and Henrietta would not receive him otherwise than uncovered. After three months lost in Paris, he was obliged to proceed on his journey, contenting himself with an exchange of complimentary messages with the Queen, whom even the crushing blow of Naseby could not induce to waive a point of etiquette with a Priest.

On reaching Rochelle, where he intended to take shipping, a further delay of six weeks took place, as was supposed by the machinations of Cardinal Mazarin. Finally, the Nuncio succeeded in purchasing a frigate of 26 guns, the *San Pietro*, on which he embarked with all his Italian suite, Sir Richard Belling, and several Franco-Irish officers. He had also on board, a considerable sum in Spanish gold, (including another contribution of 36,000 dollars from Father Wadding,) 2,000 muskets, 2,000 cartouch belts, 4,000 swords, 2,000 pike heads, 400 brace of pistols, 20,000 pounds of powder, with match, shot and other stores. Weighing from St. Martin's in the Isle of Rhé, the *San Pietro* doubled the Land's End, and stood over towards the Irish coast. The third day out they were chased for several hours by two Parliamentary cruisers, but escaped under cover of the night; on the fourth morning, being the 21st of October, they found themselves safely embayed in the waters of Kenmare, on the coast of Kerry.

The first intelligence which reached the Nuncio on landing, was the negotiation of Glamorgan, of which he had already heard, while waiting a ship at Rochelle. The next was the surrender by the Earl of Thomond, of his noble old castle of Bunratty, commanding the Shannon within six miles of Limerick, to the Puritans. This surrender had, however, determined the resolution of the city of Limerick, which hitherto had taken no part in the war, to open its gates to the Confederates. The loss of Bunratty was more than compensated by the gaining of one of the finest and strongest towns in Munster, and to Limerick accordingly the Nuncio paid the compliment of his first visit. Here he received the mitre of the diocese in dutiful submission from the hands of the Bishop, on entering the Cathedral; and here he celebrated a solemn requiem mass for the repose of the soul of the Archbishop of Tuam, lately slain before Sligo. From Limerick, borne along on his litter, such was the feebleness of his health, he advanced

by slow stages to Kilkenny, escorted by a guard of honor, despatched on that duty, by the Supreme Council.

The pomp and splendor of his public entry into the Catholic capital was a striking spectacle. The previous night he slept at a village three miles from the city, for which he set out early on the morning of the 13th of November, escorted by his guard, and a vast multitude of the people. Five delegates from the Supreme Council accompanied him. A band of fifty students mounted on horseback met him on the way, and their leader, crowned with laurel, recited some congratulatory Latin verses. At the city gate he left the litter and mounted a horse richly housed; here the procession of the clergy and the city guilds awaited him; at the Market Cross, a Latin oration was delivered in his honor, to which he graciously replied in the same language. From the Cross he was escorted to the Cathedral, at the door of which he was received by the aged Bishop, Dr. David Rothe. At the high altar he intoned the *Te Deum*, and gave the multitude the apostolic benediction. Then he was conducted to his lodgings, where he was soon waited upon by Lord Muskerry and General Preston, who brought him to Kilkenny Castle, where in the great gallery, which elicited even a Florentine's admiration, he was received in stately formality by the President of the Council—Lord Mountgarret. Another Latin oration on the nature of his embassy was delivered by the Nuncio, responded to by Heber, Bishop of Clogher, and so the ceremony of reception ended.

The Nuncio brought from Paris a new subject of difficulty, in the form of a memorial from the English Catholics at Rome, praying that they might be included in the terms of any peace which might be made by their Irish co-religionists with the King. Nothing could be more natural than that the members of the same persecuted church should make common cause, but nothing could be more impolitic than some of the demands made in the English memorial. They wished it to be stipulated with Charles, that he would allow a distinct military organization to the English and Irish Catholics in his service, under Catholic general officers, subject only to the King's commands, meaning thereby, if they meant what they said, independence of all parliamentary and ministerial control. Yet several of the stipulations of this

memorial, were after many modifications and discussions, adopted by Glamorgan into his original articles, and under the treaty thus ratified, the Confederates bound themselves to despatch 10,000 men, fully armed and equipped, to the relief of Chester and the general succor of the King in England. Towards the close of December, the English Earl with two Commissioners from the Supreme Council, set forth for Dublin, to obtain the Viceroy's sanction to the amended treaty. But in Dublin a singular counterplot in this perplexed drama awaited them. On St. Stephen's day, while at dinner, Glamorgan was arrested by Ormond, on a charge of having exceeded his instructions, and confined a close prisoner in the castle. The gates of the city were closed, and every means taken to give *éclat* to this extraordinary proceeding. The Confederate Commissioners were carried to the castle, and told they might congratulate themselves on not sharing the cell prepared for Glamorgan. "Go back," they were told, "to Kilkenny and tell the President of the Council, that the Protestants of England would fling the King's person out at his window, if they believed it possible that he lent himself to such an undertaking." The Commissioners accordingly went back and delivered their errand, with a full account of all the circumstances. Fortunately, the General Assembly had been called for an early day in January, 1648, at Kilkenny. When, therefore, they met, their first resolution was to despatch Sir Robert Talbot to the Viceroy, with a letter suspending all negotiations till the Earl of Glamorgan was set at liberty. By the end of January, on the joint bail, for £40,000, of the Earls of Clanrickarde and Kildare, the English envoy was enlarged, and to the still further amazement of the simpler-minded Catholics, on his arrival at Kilkenny he justified, rather than censured the action of Ormond. To most observers it appeared that these noblemen understood each other only too well.

From January till June, Kilkenny was delivered over to cabals, intrigues, and recriminations. There was an "old Irish party," to which the Nuncio inclined, and an "Anglo-Irish party" headed by Mountgarrett and the majority of the council. The former stigmatized the latter as Ormondists, and the latter retorted on them with the name of the Nuncio's party. In Feb-

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ruary, came news of a foreign treaty made at Rome between Sir Kenelm Digby and the Pope's Ministers, most favorable to the English and Irish Catholics. On the 28th of March, a final modification of Glamorgan's articles, reduced to thirty in number, was signed by Ormond for the King, and Lord Muskerry and the other Commissioners for the Confederates. These thirty articles conceded, in fact, all the most essential claims of the Irish; they secured them equal rights as to property, in the Army, in the Universities, and at the Bar; they gave them seats in both Houses and on the Bench; they authorized a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, composed wholly of Confederates; they declared that 'the independency of the Parliament of Ireland on that of England,' should be decided by declaration of both houses 'agreeably to the laws of the Kingdom of Ireland.'" In short, this final form of Glamorgan's treaty gave the Irish Catholics, in 1646, all that was subsequently obtained either for the church or the country; in 1782, 1793, or 1820. Though some conditions were omitted, to which Rinuccini and a majority of the Prelates attached importance, Glamorgan's treaty was, upon the whole, a charter upon which a free church and a free people might well have stood, as the fundamental law of their religious and civil liberties.

The treaty, thus concluded at the end of March, was to lie as an *escroll* in the hands of the Marquis of Clanrickarde till the 1st of May, awaiting Sir Kenelm Digby with the Roman protocol. And then, notwithstanding the dissuasions of Rinuccini to the contrary, it was to be kept secret from the world, though some of its obligations were expected to be at once fulfilled on their side, by the Catholics. The Supreme Council, ever eager to exhibit their loyalty, gathered together 6000 troops for the relief of Chester and the service of the King in England, so soon as both treaties—the Irish and the Roman—should be signed by Charles. While so waiting, they besieged and took Bunratty castle—already referred to—but Sir Kenelm Digby did not arrive with May, and they now learned, to their renewed amazement, that Glamorgan's whole negotiation was disclaimed by the King in England. In the same interval Chester fell, and the King was obliged to throw himself into the hands of the Scottish Parliament, who

surrendered him for a price to their English coadjutors. These tidings reached Ireland during May, and, varied with the capture of an occasional fortress, lost or won, occupied all men's minds. But the first days of June were destined to bring with them a victory of national—of European importance—won by Owon O'Neill, in the immediate vicinity of his grand-uncle's famous battlefield of the Yellow-ford.

During these three years of intrigue and negotiation, the position of General O'Neill was hazardous and difficult in the extreme. One campaign he had served under a stranger, as second on his own soil. In the other two he was fettered by the terms of "cessation" to his own quarters; and to add to his embarrassments, his impetuous kinsman Sir Phelim, brave, rash, and ambitious, recently married to a daughter of his ungenerous rival, General Preston, was incited to thwart and obstruct him amongst their mutual clansmen and connections. The only recompense which seems to have been awarded to him, was the confidence of the Nuncio, who, either from that knowledge of character in which the Italians excel, or from bias received from some other source, at once singled him out as the man of his people. What portion of the Nuncio's supplies reached the Northern General we know not, but in the beginning of June, he felt himself in a position to bring on an engagement with Monroe, who, lately reinforced by both Parliaments, had marched out of Carrickfergus, into Tyrone, with a view of penetrating as far south as Kilkenny. On the 4th day of June, the two armies encountered at Benburb, on the little river Blackwater, about six miles north of Armagh, and the most signal victory of the war came to recompense the long-enduring patience of O'Neill.

The battle of Benburb has been often and well described. In a naturally strong position—with this leader the choice of ground seems to have been a first consideration—the Irish, for four hours, received and repulsed the various charges of the Puritan horse. Then as the sun began to descend, pouring its rays upon the opposing force, O'Neill led his whole force—five thousand men against eight—to the attack. One terrible onset swept away every trace of resistance. There were counted on the field, 3,243 of the Covenanters, and of the Catholics, but 70 killed and 100,

wounded. Lord Ardes, and 21 Scottish officers, 32 standards, 1500 draught horses, and all the guns and tents, were captured. Munroe fled in panic to Lisburn, and thence to Carrickfergus, where he shut himself up, till he could obtain reinforcements. O'Neill forwarded the captured colors to the Nuncio, at Limerick, by whom they were solemnly placed in the choir of St. Mary's Cathedral, and afterwards, at the request of Pope Innocent, sent to Rome. *Te Deum* was chanted in the Confederate Capital; penitential psalms were sung in the Northern fortress. "The Lord of Hosts," wrote Munroe, "had rubbed shame on our faces, till once we are humbled;" O'Neill emblazoned the cross and keys on his banner with the Red Hand of Ulster, and openly resumed the title originally chosen by his adherents at Clones, "the Catholic Army."

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE BATTLE OF BENBUB TILL THE LANDING OF CROMWELL AT DUBLIN.

THE Nuncio, elated by the great victory of O'Neill, to which he felt he had personally contributed by his seasonable supplies provoked and irritated by Ormond's intrigues and the King's insincerity, rushed with all the ardor of his character into making the war an uncompromising Catholic crusade. In this line of conduct, he was supported by the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, by ten of the Bishops, including the eminent Prelates of Limerick, Killalla, Ferns, and Clogher; the Procurator of Armagh; nine Vicars-general, and the Superiors of the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians. The peace party, on the other hand, were not without clerical adherents, but they were inconsiderable, as to influence and numbers. They were now become as anxious to publish the Thirty Articles agreed upon at the end of March, as they then were to keep them secret.

Accordingly, with Ormond's consent, copies of the treaty were sent early in August to the sheriffs of counties, mayors of cities, and other leading persons, with instructions to proclaim it publicly in due form; upon hearing which, the Nuncio and his supporters of the clergy, secular and regular, assembled in council at Waterford, on the 12th of August, solemnly declared that they gave no consent, and would not, "to any peace," that did not grant "further, surer and safer considerations for their religion, king and country," according to the original oath of the Confederacy.

The rupture between the clergy and the laymen of the council was now complete. The prelates who signed the decree of Waterford, of course, thereby withdrew from the body whose action they condemned. In vain the learned Darcy and the eloquent Plunkett went to and fro between the two bodies: concord and confidence were at an end. The synod decided to address Lord Mountgarret in future as president of "the *late* supreme council." The heralds who attempted to publish the Thirty Articles in Clonmel and Waterford were hooted or stoned; while in Limerick, the mayor, endeavoring to protect them, shared this rough usage. Ormond, who was at Kilkenny at the critical moment of the breach, did his utmost to sustain the resolution of those who were stigmatized by his name; while the Nuncio, suspicious of Preston, wrote urgently to O'Neill to lead his army into Leinster, and remove the remnant of the late council from Kilkenny. All that those who held a middle course between the extremes could do, was to advocate an early meeting of the General Assembly; but various exigencies delayed this much-desired meeting, till the 10th day of January, 1647.

The five intervening months were months of triumph for Rinuccini. Lord Digby appeared at Dublin as a special agent from the King, to declare his consent to Glamorgan's original terms; but Ormond still insisted that *he* had no authority to go beyond the Thirty Articles. Charles himself wrote privately to Rinuccini, promising to confirm everything which Glamorgan had proposed, as soon as he should come into "the Nuncio's hands." Ormond, after a fruitless attempt to convert O'Neill to his views, had marched southward with a guard of 1,500 foot and 500 horse.

to endeavor to conciliate the towns, and to win over the Earl of Inchiquin. In both these objects he failed. He found O'Neill before him in his county palatinate of Tipperary, and the mayor of Cashel informed him that he dared not allow him into that city, for fear of displeasing the northern general. Finding himself thus unexpectedly within a few miles of "the Catholic Army," 10,000 strong, the viceroy retreated precipitately through Kilkenny, Carlow, and Kildarc, to Dublin. Lord Digby, who had accompanied him, after an unsuccessful attempt to cajole the Synod of Waterford, made the best of his way back to France; the Marquis of Clanrickarde, who had also been of the expedition, shared the flight of Ormond. Towards the middle of September, O'Neill's army, after capturing Roscrea Castle, marched to Kilkenny, and encamped near that city. His forces had now augmented to 12,000 foot and 1,500 horse; on the 18th of the month, he escorted the Nuncio in triumph into Kilkenny, where the Ormondist members of the old council were committed to close custody in the castle. A new council, of four bishops and eight laymen, was established on the 26th, with the Nuncio as president; Glamorgan succeeded Castlehaven, who had gone over to Ormond, as commander in Munster; while O'Neill and Preston were ordered to unite their forces for the siege of Dublin. The sanguine Italian dreamt of nothing less, for the moment, than the creation of viceroys, the deliverance of the King, and the complete restoration of the ancient religion.

O'Neill and Preston by different routes, on which they were delayed in taking several garrisoned posts, united at Lucan in the valley of the Liffey, seven miles west of Dublin, on the 9th of November. Their joint forces are represented at 16,000 foot, and 1,600 horse—of which Preston had about one-third and O'Neill the remainder. Preston's headquarters were fixed at Leixlip, and O'Neill's at Newcastle—points equi-distant, and each within two hours' march of the capital. Within the walls of that city there reigned the utmost consternation. Many of the inhabitants fled beyond seas, terrified by the fancied cruelty of the Ulstermen. But Ormond retained all his presence of mind, and readiness of resources. He entered, at first covertly, into arrangements with the Parliamentarians, who sent him a supply of powder; he wrote

argently to Munroe to make a diversion in his favor; he demolished the mills and suburbs which might cover the approaches of the enemy; he employed soldiers, civilians, and even women, upon the fortifications,—Lady Ormond setting an example to her sex, in rendering her feeble assistance. Clanrickarde, in Preston's tent, was doing the work of stimulating the old antipathy of that General towards O'Neill, which led to conflicting advices in council, and some irritating personal altercations. To add to the Confederate embarrassment, the winter was the most severe known for many years; from twenty to thirty sentinels being frozen at night at their posts. On the 13th of November, while the plan of the Confederate attack was still undecided, commissioners of the Parliament arrived with ample stores in Dublin Bay. On the next day they landed at Ringsend and entered into negotiations with Ormond; on the 16th the siege was raised, and on the 23d Ormond broke off the treaty, having unconsciously saved Dublin from the Confederates, by the incorrect reports of supplies being received, which were finally carried northward to Munroe.

The month of January brought the meeting of the General Assembly. The attendance in the great gallery of Ormond Castle was as large, and the circumstances upon the whole as auspicious as could be desired, in the seventh year of such a struggle. The members of the old council, liberated from arrest, were in their places. O'Neill and Preston, publicly reconciled, had signed a solemn engagement to assist and sustain each other. The Nuncio, the Primate of Ireland, and eleven bishops took their seats; the peers of oldest title in the kingdom were present, two hundred and twenty-four members represented the Commons of Ireland, and among the spectators sat the ambassadors of France and Spain, and of King Charles. The main subject of discussion was the sufficiency of the Thirty Articles, and the propriety of the ecclesiastical censure promulgated against those who had signed them. The debate embraced all that may be said on the question of clerical interference in political affairs, on conditional and unconditional allegiance, on the power of the Pontiff speaking *ex cathedra*, and the prerogatives of the temporal sovereign. It was protracted through an entire month, and ended with a compromise, which declared that the Commissioners had acted in

good faith in signing the articles, while it justified the Synod of Waterford for having, as judges of the nature and intent of the oath of confederation, declared them insufficient and unacceptable. A new oath of confederacy, solemnly binding the associates not to lay down their arms till they had established the free and public exercise of religion as it had existed in the reign of Henry VII., was framed and taken by the entire General Assembly; the Thirty Articles were declared insufficient and unacceptable by all but a minority of twelve votes; a new Supreme Council of twenty-four was chosen, in whom there were not known to be above four or five partisans of Ormond's policy. The church plate throughout the kingdom was ordered to be coined into money, and a formal proposal to cooperate with the Viceroy on the basis of the new oath was made, but instantly rejected; among other grounds, on this, that the Marquis had, at that moment, his son and other sureties with the Puritans, who, in the last resort, he infinitely preferred to the Roman Catholics.

The military events of the year 1647 were much more decisive than its politics. Glamorgan still commanded in Munster, Preston in Leinster, and O'Neill in both Ulster and Connaught. The first was confronted by Inchiquin, at the head of a corps of 5,000 foot and 1,500 horse, equipped and supplied by the English Puritans; the second saw the garrisons of Dundalk, Drogheda and Dublin reinforced by fresh regiments of Covenanters, and fed by Parliamentary supplies from the sea; the latter was in the heart of Connaught, organizing and recruiting, and attempting all things within his reach, but hampered for money, clothing and ammunition. In Connaught, O'Neill was soon joined by the Nuncio, who, as difficulties thickened, began to lean more and more on the strong arm of the victor of Benburb; in Munster, the army refused to follow the lead of Glamorgan, and clamored for their old chief Lord Muskerry; finally, that division of the national troops was committed by the council to Lord Taaffe, a politician of the school of Ormond and Clanrickarde, wholly destitute of military experience. The vigorous Inchiquin had little difficulty in dealing with such an antagonist; Cashel was taken without a blow in its defense, and a slaughter unparalleled till the days of Drogheda and Wexford, deluged its streets and

churches. At Knocknos, later in the autumn (Nov. 12th), Taaffe was utterly routed; the gallant *Colkitto*, serving under him, lamentably sacrificed after surrendering his sword; and Inchiquin enabled to dictate a cessation covering Munster—far less favorable to Catholics than the truce of Castlemartin—to the Supreme Council. This truce was signed at Dungarvan, on the 20th of May, 1648, and on the 27th the Nuncio published his solemn decree of excommunication against all its aiders and abettors, and himself made the best of his way from Kilkenny to Maryboro', where O'Neill then lay.

The military and political situation of O'Neill, during the latter months of 1647 and the whole of 1648, was one of the most extraordinary in which any general had ever been placed. His late sworn colleague Preston was now combined with Inchiquin against him; the royalist Clanrickarde, in the western counties, pressed upon his rear, and captured his garrison in Athlone; the Parliamentary general, Michael Jones, to whom Ormond had finally surrendered Dublin, observed rather than impeded his movements in Leinster; the lay majority of the Supreme Council proclaimed him a traitor—a compliment which he fully returned; the Nuncio threw himself wholly into his hands; finally, at the close of '48, Ormond, returning from France to Ireland, concluded, on the 17th of January, a formal alliance with the lay members, under the title of "Commissioners of Trust," for the King and Kingdom; and Rinuccini, despairing, perhaps, of a cause so distracted, sailed in his own frigate, from Galway, on the 23d of February. Thus did the actors change their parts, alternately triumphing and fleeing for safety. The verdict of history may condemn the Nuncio, of whom we have now seen the last, for his imperious self-will, and his too ready recourse to ecclesiastical censures; but of his zeal, his probity, and his disinterestedness, there can be, we think, no second opinion.

Under the treaty of 1649—which conceded full civil and religious equality to the Roman Catholics—Ormond was once more placed at the head of the government and in command of the royal troops. A few days after the signing of that treaty, news of the execution of Charles I. having reached Ireland, the Viceroy proclaimed the Prince of Wales by the title of Charles II., at

Cork and Youghal. Prince Rupert, whose fleet had entered **Kinsale**, caused the same ceremony to be gone through in that ancient borough. With Ormond were now cordially united Preston, Inchiquin, Clanrickarde, and Muskerry, on whom the lead of the Supreme Council devolved, in consequence of the advanced age of Lord Mountgarret, and the remainder of the twelve Commissioners of Trust. The cause of the young Prince, an exile, the son of that Catholic queen from whom they had expected so much, was far from unpopular in the southern half of the island. The Anglican interest was strong and widely diffused through both Leinster and Munster; and, except a resolute prelate, like Dr. French, Bishop of Ferns, or a brave band of townsmen like those of Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, or some remnant of mountain tribes, in Wicklow and Tipperary, the national, or "old Irish policy," had decidedly lost ground from the hour of the Nuncio's departure.

Owen O'Neill and the Bishops still adhered to that national policy. The former made a three-months' truce with General Monck, who had succeeded Munroe in the command of all the Parliamentary troops in his province. The singular spectacle was even exhibited of Monck forwarding supplies to O'Neill, to be used against Inchiquin and Ormond, and O'Neill coming to the rescue of Coote, and raising for him the siege of Londonderry. Inchiquin, in rapid succession, took Drogheda, Trim, Dundalk, Newry, and then rapidly countermarched to join Ormond in besieging Dublin. At Rathmines, near the city, both generals were surprised and defeated by the Parliamentarians under Michael Jones. Between desertions, and killed and wounded, they lost, by their own account, nearly 3,000, and by the Puritan accounts above 5,000 men. This action was the virtual close of Ormond's military career; he never after made head against the Parliamentary forces in open field. The Catholic cities of Limerick and Galway refused to admit his garrisons; a synod of the Bishops, assembled at Jamestown (in Roscommon), strongly recommended his withdrawal from the kingdom; and Cromwell had arrived, resolved to finish the war in a single campaign. Ormond sailed again for France, before the end of 1649, to return no more until the restoration of the monarchy, on the death of the great Protector.

CHAPTER X.

CROMWELL'S CAMPAIGN—1649-1650.

AN actor was now to descend upon the scene, whose character has excited more controversy than that of any other personage of those times. Honored as a saint, or reprobated as a hypocrite, worshiped for his extraordinary successes, or anathematized for the unworthy artifices by which he rose—who shall deal out, with equal hand, praise and blame to Oliver Cromwell? Not for the popular writer of Irish history, is that difficult judicial task. Not for us to reëcho cries of hatred which convince not the indifferent, nor correct the errors of the educated or cultivated: the simple, and, as far as possible, the unimpassioned narrative of facts, will constitute the whole of our duty towards the Protector's campaign in Ireland.

Cromwell left London in great state; early in July, "in a coach drawn by six gallant Flanders mares," and made a sort of royal procession across the country to Bristol. From that famous port, where Strongbow confederated with Dermid McMurrough, and from which Dublin drew its first Anglo-Norman colony, he went on to Milford Haven, at which he embarked, arriving in Dublin, on the 15th of August. He entered the city in procession, and addressed the townsfolk from "a convenient place." He had with him two hundred thousand pounds in money, eight regiments of foot, six of horse, and some troops of dragoons; besides the divisions of Jones and Monck, already in the country, and subject to his command. Among the officers were names of memorable interest—Henry Cromwell, second son of the Protector, and future Lord Deputy; Monck, Blake, Jones, Ireton, Ludlow, Hardress Waller, Sankey, and others equally prominent in accomplishing the King's death, or in raising up the English commonwealth.

Cromwell's command in Ireland extends from the middle of August, 1649, to the end of May, 1650, about nine months in all, and is remarkable for the number of sieges of walled towns

crowded into that brief period. There was, during the whole time, no great action in the field, like Marston Moor, or Benburb or Dunbar; it was a campaign of seventeenth century cannon against mediæval masonry; what else was done, was the supplemental work of mutual bravery on both sides. Drogheda, Dundalk, Newry, and Carlingford, fell in September; Aiklow, Enniscorthy, and Wexford in October; Ross, one of the first seaports in point of commerce, surrendered the same month; Waterford, was attempted and abandoned in November; Dun garvan, Kinsale, Bandon, and Cork, were won over by Lord Broghill in December; Fethard, Callan, and Cashel in January and February; Carrick and Kilkenny in March; and Clonmel, early in May. Immediately after this last capitulation, Cromwell was recalled to lead the armies of the Parliament into Scotland: during the nine months he had commanded in Ireland, he had captured five or six county capitals, and a great number of less considerable places. The terror of his siege-trains and Ironsides, was spread over the greater part of three Provinces, and his well-reported successes had proved so many steps to the assumption of that sovereign power at which he already aimed.

Of the spirit in which these several sieges were conducted, it is impossible to speak without a shudder. It was, in truth, a spirit of hatred and fanaticism, altogether beyond the control of the revolutionary leader. At Drogheda, the work of slaughter occupied five entire days. Of the brave garrison of 3,000 men, not thirty were spared, and these "were in hands for the Barbadoes;" old men, women, children, and priests, were unsparingly put to the sword. Wexford was basely betrayed by Captain James Stafford, commander of the castle, whose midnight interview with Cromwell, at a petty rivulet without the walls, tradition still recounts with horror and detestation. This port was particularly obnoxious to the Parliament, as from its advantageous position on the Bristol channel its cruisers greatly annoyed and embarrassed their commerce. "There are," Cromwell writes to Speaker Lenthall, "great quantities of iron, hides, tallow, salt, pipe and barrel staves, which are under commissioners' hands to be secured. We believe there are near a hundred cannon in the fort and elsewhere in and about the town. Here is likewise

some very good shipping; here are three vessels, one of them of thirty-four guns, which a week's time would fit for sea; there is another of about twenty guns, very nearly ready likewise." He also reports two other frigates, one on the stocks, which "for her handsomeness' sake" he intended to have finished for the Parliament, and another "most excellent vessel for sailing," taken within the fort, at the harbor's mouth. By the treachery of Captain Stafford, this strong and wealthy town was at the mercy of those "soldiers of the Lord and of Gideon," who had followed Oliver to his Irish wars. The consequences were the same as at Drogheda—merciless execution on the garrison and the inhabitants.

In the third month of Cromwell's campaign, the report of Owen O'Neill's death went abroad, palsying the Catholic arms. By common consent of friend and foe, he was considered the ablest civil and military leader that had appeared in Ireland during the reigns of the Stuart kings. Whether in native ability he was capable of coping with Cromwell, was for a long time a subject of discussion; but the consciousness of irreparable national loss, perhaps, never struck deeper than amid the crash of that irresistible cannonade of the walled towns and cities of Leinster and Munster. O'Neill had lately, despairing of binding the Scots or the English, distrustful alike of Cooté and of Monck, been reconciled to Ormond, and was marching southward to his aid at the head of 6,000 chosen men. Lord Chancellor Clarendon assures us that Ormond had the highest hopes from this junction, and the utmost confidence in O'Neill's abilities. But at a ball at Derry, towards the end of August, he received his death, it is said, in a pair of poisoned russet leather slippers presented to him by one Plunkett; marching southward, borne in a litter, he expired at Clough Oughter Castle, near his old Belturbet camp, on the 6th of November, 1649. His last act was to order one of his nephews—Hugh O'Neill—to form a junction with Ormond in Munster without delay. In the chancel of the Franciscan Abbey of Cavan, now grass-grown and trodden by the hoofs of cattle, his body was interred; his nephew and successor did honor to his memory at Clonmel and Limerick. It was now remembered even by his enemies, with astonishment and admiration, how for

seven long years he had subsisted and kept together an army, the creature of his genius; without a government at his back, without regular supplies, enforcing obedience, establishing discipline, winning great victories, maintaining, even at the worst, a native power in the heart of the kingdom. When the archives of those years are recovered (if they ever are), no name more illustrious for the combination of great qualities will be found preserved there than the name of this last national leader of the illustrious lineage of O'Neill.

The unexpected death of the Ulster general favored still farther Cromwell's southern movements. The gallant, but impetuous Bishop of Clogher, Heber McMahon, was the only northern leader who could command confidence enough to keep O'Neill's force together, and on him, therefore, the command devolved. O'Ferrall, one of Owen's favorite officers, was despatched to Waterford, and mainly contributed to Cromwell's repulse before that city; Hugh O'Neill covered himself with glory at Clonmel and Limerick; Daniel O'Neill, another nephew of Owen, remained attached to Ormond, and accompanied him to France; but within six months from the loss of their Fabian chief, who knew as well when to strike as to delay, the brave Bishop of Clogher sacrificed the remnant of "the Catholic Army" at the pass of Scariffhollis, in Donegal, and, two days after, his own life by a martyr's death, at Omagh. At the date of Cromwell's departure—when Ireton took command of the southern army—there remained to the Confederates, only some remote glens and highlands of the North and West, the cities of Limerick and Galway, with the county of Clare, and some detached districts of the province of Connaught.

The last act of Cromwell's proper campaign was the siege of Clonmel, where he met the stoutest resistance he had any where encountered. The Puritans, after effecting a breach, made an attempt to enter, chanting one of their scriptural battle-songs. They were, by their own account, "obliged to give back a while," and finally night settled down upon the scene. The following day, finding the place no longer tenable, the garrison silently withdrew to Waterford, and subsequently to Limerick. The inhabitants demanded a parley, which was granted; and Cromwell takes

credit, and deserves it, when we consider the men he had to humor, for having kept conditions with them.

From before Clonmel he returned at once to England, where he was received with royal honors. All London turned out to meet the Conqueror who had wiped out the humiliation of Benburb, and humbled the pride of the detested Papists. He was lodged in the palace of the king, and chosen "Captain-general of all the forces raised, or to be raised, by the authority of the Parliament of England."

CHAPTER XI.

CLOSE OF THE CONFEDERATE WAR.

THE tenth year of the contest of which we have endeavored to follow the most important events, opened upon the remaining Catholic leaders, greatly reduced in numbers and resources, but firm and undismayed. Two chief seaports, and some of the western counties still remained to them; and accordingly we find meetings of the Bishops and other notables during this year (1650), at Limerick, at Loughrea, and finally at Jamestown, in the neighborhood of Owen O'Neill's nursery of the first "Catholic Army."

The Puritan commander was now Henry Ireton, son-in-law of Cromwell, by a marriage contracted about two years before. The completion of the Protector's policy could have devolved upon few persons more capable of understanding, or more fearless in executing it; and in two eventful campaigns he proved himself the able successor of the Protector. In August following Cromwell's departure, Waterford and Duncannon were taken by Ireton; and there only remained to the Confederates the fortresses of Sligo, Athlone, Limerick, and Galway, with the country included within the irregular quadrangle they describe. The younger Coote making a feint against Sligo, which Clanrickarde hastened to defend, turned suddenly on his steps, and surprised Athlone. Sligo, naturally a place of no great strength after the invention of artillery, soon after fell, so that Galway and Limerick alone were left, at the beginning of 1651, to bear all the brunt of Puritan hostility.

Political events of great interest happened during the two

short years of Ireton's command. The Assembly, which met at Jamestown in August, and again at Loughrea in November, 1650, made the retirement of Ormond from the Government a condition of all future efforts in the royal cause, and that nobleman, deeply wounded by this condition, had finally sailed from Galway, in December, leaving to Clanrickarde the title of Lord Deputy, and to Castlehaven the command of the forces which still kept the field. The news from Scotland of the young king's subscription to the covenant, and denunciation of all terms with Irish Papists, came to aid the councils of those, who, like the eloquent French, Bishop of Ferns, demanded a nation's policy, irrespective of the exigencies of the Stuart family. An embassy was accordingly despatched to Brussels, to offer the title of King-Protector to the Duke of Lorraine, or failing with him, to treat with any "other Catholic prince, state, republic, or person, as they might deem expedient for the preservation of the Catholic religion and nation;" A wide latitude, dictated by desperate circumstances. The ambassadors were Bishop French and Hugh Rochfort; the embassy one of the most curious and instructive in our annals.

The Duke expressed himself willing to undertake an expedition to Ireland—to supply arms and money to the Confederates—on the condition of receiving Athlone, Limerick, Athlery and Galway into his custody, with the title of Protector. A considerable sum of money (£20,000) was forwarded at once; four Belgian frigates laden with stores were made ready for sea; the Canon De Henin was sent as envoy to the Confederates, and this last venture looked most promising of success, had not Clanrickarde in Galway, and Charles and Ormond in Paris, taking alarm at the new dignity conferred upon the Duke, countermined the Bishop of Ferns and Mr. Rochfort, and defeated by intrigue and correspondence their hopeful enterprise.

The decisive battle of Worcester, fought on the 3d of September, 1651, drove Charles II. into that nine years' exile, from which he only returned on the death of Cromwell. It may be considered the last military event of importance in the English civil war. In Ireland the contest was destined to drag out another campaign, before the walls of the two gallant cities, Galway and Limerick.

Limerick was the first object of attack. Ireton, leaving Sankey to administer martial law in Tipperary, struck the Shannon opposite Killaloe, driving Castlehaven before him. Joined by Coote and Reynolds, fresh from the sieges of Athenry and Athlone, he moved upon Limerick by the Connaught bank of the river, while Castlehaven fled to Clanricarde in Galway, with a guard of forty horse, all that remained intact of the 4,000 men bequeathed him by Ormond. From the side of Munster, Lord Muskerry attempted a diversion in favor of Limerick, but was repulsed at Castleishen, by "the flying camp" of Lord Broghill. The besiegers were thus not only delivered of a danger, but reinforced by native troops—if the "Undertakers" could be properly called so—which made them the most formidable army that had ever surrounded an Irish city. From early summer till the last week of October, the main force of the English and Anglo-Irish, supplied with every species of arm then invented, assailed the walls of Limerick. The plague, which during these months swept with such fearful mortality over the whole kingdom, struck down its defenders and filled all its streets with desolation and grief. The heroic bishops O'Brien of Emly, and O'Dwyer of Limerick, exerted themselves to uphold, by religious exhortations, the confidence of the besieged; while Hugh O'Neill and General Purcell maintained the courage of their men. Clanricarde had offered to charge himself with the command, but the citizens preferred to trust in the skill and determination of the defender of Clonmel, whose very name was a talisman among them. The municipal government, however, composed of the men of property in the city, men whose trade was not war, whose religion was not enthusiastic, formed a third party,—a party in favor of peace at any price. With the mayor at their head, they openly encouraged the surrender of one of the outworks to the besiegers, and this betrayal, on the 27th of October, compelled the surrender of the entire works. Thus Limerick fell, divided within itself by military, clerical and municipal factions; thus glory and misfortune combined to consecrate its name in the national veneration, and the general memory of mankind. The Bishop of Emly and General Purcell were executed as traitors; the Bishop of Limerick escaped in the disguise of a common soldier, and died at Brussels;

O'Neill's life was saved by a single vote; Sir Geoffrey Galway Aldermen Stritch and Fanning and other leading Confederates expiated their devotion upon the scaffold.

On the 12th of May following—seven months after the capture of Limerick, Galway fell. Ireton, who survived the former siege but a few days, was succeeded by Ludlow, a sincere republican of the school of Pym and Hampden—if that school can be called, in our modern sense, republican. It was the sad privilege of General Preston, whose name is associated with so many of the darkest, and with some of the brightest incidents of this war, to order the surrender of Galway, as he had two years previously given up Waterford. Thus the last open port, the last considerable town held by the Confederates yielded to the overwhelming power of numbers and munitions, in the twelfth year of that illustrious war which Ireland waged for her religious and civil liberties, against the forces of the two adjoining kingdoms, sometimes estranged from one another, but always hostile alike to the religious belief and the political independence of the Irish people.

With the fall of Galway, the Confederate war drew rapidly to a close. Colonels Fitzpatrick, O'Dwyer, Grace, and Thorlogh O'Neill, surrendered their posts; Lords Enniskillen and Westmeath followed their example; Lord Muskerry yielded Ross Castle, on Killarney, in June; Clanrickarde laid down his arms at Carrick, in October. The usual terms granted were liberty to transport themselves and followers to the service of any foreign state or prince at peace with the commonwealth; a favored few were permitted to live and die in peace on their own estates, under the watchful eye of some neighboring garrison.

The chief actors in the Confederate war not already accounted for, terminated their days under many different circumstances. Mountgarrett and Bishop Rothe died before Galway fell, and were buried in the capital of the Confederacy; Bishop McMahon, of Clonmel, surrendered to Sir Charles Coote, and was executed like a felon by one he had saved from destruction a year before at Derry; Coote, after the Restoration, became Earl of Mountrath, and Broghill, Earl of Orrery; Clanrickarde died unnoticed on his English estate, under the Protectorate; Inchiquin, after many adventures in foreign lands, turned Catholic in his old age, and

this burner of churches bequeathed an annual alms for masses for his soul; Jones, Corbet, Cook, and the fanatical preacher, Hugh Peters, perished on the scaffold with the other regicides executed by order of the English Parliament; Ormond having shared the evils of exile with the King, shared also the splendor of his restoration, became a Duke, and took his place, as if by common consent, at the head of the peerage of the empire; his Irish rental, which before the war was but £7,000 a year, swelled suddenly on the Restoration to £30,000; Nicholas French, after some sojourn in Spain, where he was coadjutor to the Archbishop of Saint James, returned to Louvain, where he made his first studies, and there spent the evening of his days in the composition of those powerful pamphlets which kept alive the Irish cause at home and on the continent; a Roman patrician did the honors of sepulture to Luke Wadding, and Cromwell interred James Usher in Westminster Abbey; the heroic defender of Clonmel and Limerick, and the gallant, though vacillating Preston, were cordially received in France; while the consistent republican Ludlow took refuge as a fugitive in Switzerland.

Sir Phelim O'Neill, the first author of the war, was among the last to suffer the penalties of defeat. For a moment, towards the end, he renewed his sway over the remnant of Owen's soldiers, took Ballyshannon and two or three other places. Compelled at last to surrender, he was carried to Dublin, and tried on a charge of treason, a committee closeted behind the bench dictating the interrogatories to his judges, and receiving his answers in reply. Condemned to death, as was expected, he was offered his life by the Puritan colonel, Hewson, on the very steps of the scaffold, if he would inculpate the late King Charles in the rising of 1641. This he "stoutly refused to do," and the execution proceeded with all its atrocious details. Whatever may have been the excesses committed under his command by a plundered people, at their first insurrection—and we know that they have been exaggerated beyond all bounds—it must be admitted he died the death of a Christian, a soldier, and a gentleman.

CHAPTER XII.

IRELAND UNDER THE PROTECTORATE.—ADMINISTRATION OF HENRY CROMWELL.—DEATH OF OLIVER.

The English republic rose from the scaffold of the King, in 1649; its first government was a "Council of State" of forty-one members; under this council, Cromwell held at first the title of Lord General; but, on the 16th December, 1653, he was solemnly installed, in Westminster Hall, as "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." He was then in his fifty-fourth year; his reign—if such it may be called—lasted less than five years.

The policy of the Protector towards Ireland is even less defensible than his military severities. For the barbarities of war there may be some apology, the poor one at least that such outrages are inseparable from war itself; but for the cold-blooded, deliberate atrocities of peace, no such defense can be permitted before the tribunal of a free posterity.

The Long Parliament, still dragging out its date, under the shadow of Cromwell's great name, declared in its session of 1652, the rebellion in Ireland "subdued and ended," and proceeded to legislate for that kingdom as a conquered country. On the 12th of August, they passed their Act of Settlement, the authorship of which was attributed to Lord Orrery, in this respect the worthy son of the first Earl of Cork. Under this Act, there were four chief descriptions of persons whose status was thus settled: 1st. All ecclesiastics and royalist proprietors were exempted from pardon of life or estate. 2d. All royalist commissioned officers were condemned to banishment, and the forfeit of two thirds of their property, one third being retained for the support of their wives and children. 3d. Those who had not been in arms, but who could be shown, by a Parliamentary commission, to have manifested "a constant, good affection," to the war, were to forfeit one third of their estates, and receive "an equivalent" for the remaining two-thirds west of the Shannon. 4th. All husbandmen and others of the inferior sort, "not possessed of lands or

goods exceeding the value of £10,' were to have a free pardon, on condition also of transporting themselves across the Shannon.

This last condition of the Cromwellian settlement distinguished it, in our annals, from every other proscription of the native population formerly attempted. The great river of Ireland, rising in the mountains of Leitrim, nearly severs the five western counties from the rest of the kingdom. The province thus set apart, though one of the largest in superficial extent, had also the largest proportion of waste and water, mountain and moorland. The new inhabitants were there to congregate from all the other provinces before the 1st day of May, 1654, under penalty of outlawry and all its consequences; and when there, they were not to appear within two miles of the Shannon or four miles of the sea. A rigorous passport system, to evade which was death without form of trial, completed this settlement, the design of which was to shut up the remaining Catholic inhabitants from all intercourse with mankind, and all communion with the other inhabitants of their own country.

A new survey of the whole kingdom was also ordered, under the direction of Dr. William Petty, the fortunate economist, who founded the house of Lansdowne. By him the surface of the kingdom was estimated at ten millions and a half plantation acres, three of which were deducted for waste and water. Of the remainder, above 5,000,000 were in Catholic hands in 1641; 800,000 were church and college lands; and 2,000,000 were in possession of the Protestant settlers of the reigns of James and Elizabeth. Under the Protectorate, 5,000,000 acres were confiscated; this enormous spoil, two-thirds of the whole island, went to the soldiers and adventurers who had served against the Irish, or had contributed to the military chest, since 1641—except 700,000 acres given in "exchange" to the banished in Clare and Connaught; and 1,200,000 confirmed to "innocent Papists." Such was the complete uprooting of the ancient tenantry or clansmen, from their original holdings, that during the survey, orders of Parliament were issued, to bring back individuals from Connaught to point out the boundaries of parishes in Munster. It cannot be imputed among the sins so freely laid to the historical account of the native legislature, that an Irish parliament had

any share in sanctioning this universal spoliation, Cromwell anticipated the union of the kingdoms by a hundred and fifty years, when he summoned, in 1653, that assembly over which "Praise-God Barebones" presided; members for Ireland and Scotland sat on the same benches with the commons of England. Oliver's first deputy in the government of Ireland was his son-in-law, Fleetwood, who had married the widow of Ireton; but his real representative was his fourth son, Henry Cromwell, commander-in-chief of the army. In 1657, the title of Lord Deputy was transferred from Fleetwood to Henry, who united the supreme civil and military authority in his own person, until the eve of the restoration, of which he became an active partisan. We may thus properly embrace the five years of the Protectorate as the period of Henry Cromwell's administration.

In the absence of a parliament, the government of Ireland was vested in the deputy, the commander-in-chief, and four commissioners, Ludlow, Corbett, Jones, and Weaver. There was, moreover, a High Court of Justice, which perambulated the kingdom, and exercised an absolute authority over life and property, greater than even Strafford's Court of Castle Chamber had pretended to. Over this court presided Lord Lowther, assisted by Mr. Justice Donnellan, by Cooke, solicitor to the Parliament on the trial of King Charles, and the regicide, Reynolds. By this court, Sir Phelim O'Neill, Viscount Mayo, and Colonels O'Toole and Bagnall, were condemned and executed; by them the mother of Colonel Fitzpatrick was burnt at the stake; and Lords Muskerry and Clanmalier set at liberty, through some secret influence. The commissioners were not behind the High Court of Justice in executive offices of severity. Children under age, of both sexes, were captured by thousands, and sold as slaves to the tobacco planters of Virginia and the West Indies. Secretary Thurloe informs Henry Cromwell that "the Committee o' the Council have authorized 1,000 girls and as many youths, to be taken up for that purpose." Sir William Petty mentions 6,000 Irish boys and girls shipped to the West Indies. Some cotemporary accounts make the total number of children and adults so transported 100,000 souls. To this decimation, we may add 34,000 men of fighting age, who had permission to enter the armies of foreign powers, at peace with

the commonwealth. The chief commissioners, sitting at Dublin, had their deputies in a commission of delinquencies, sitting at Athlone, and another of transportation, sitting at Loughrea. Under their superintendence, the distribution made of the soil among the Puritans "was nearly as complete as that of Canaan by the Israelites." Whenever native laborers were found absolutely necessary for the cultivation of the estates of their new masters, they were barely tolerated "as the Gibeonites had been by Joshua." Such Irish gentlemen as had obtained pardons, were obliged to wear a distinctive mark on their dress under pain of death; those of inferior rank were obliged to wear a round black spot on the right cheek under pain of the branding iron and the gallows; if a Puritan lost his life in any district inhabited by Catholics, the whole population were held subject to military execution. For the rest, whenever "Tory" or recusant fell into the hands of these military colonists, or the garrisons which knitted them together, they were assailed with the war cry of the Jews—"That thy feet may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and that the tongues of thy dogs may be red with the same." Thus penned in between "the mile line" of the Shannon, and "the four-mile line" of the sea, the remnant of the Irish nation passed seven years of a bondage unequalled in severity by any thing which can be found in the annals of Christendom.

The conquest was not only a military but a religious subjugation. The 27th of Elizabeth—the old act of uniformity—was rigorously enforced. The Catholic lawyers were disbarred and silenced; the Catholic schoolmasters were forbidden to teach, under pain of felony. Recusants, surrounded in glens and caves, offering up the holy sacrifice through the ministry of some daring priest, were shot down or smoked out like vermin. The ecclesiastics never, in any instance, were allowed to escape. Among those who suffered death during the short space of the Protectorate, are counted "three bishops and three hundred ecclesiastics." The surviving prelates were in exile, except the bedridden Bishop of Kilmore, who for years had been unable to officiate. So that, now, that ancient hierarchy which in the worst Danish wars had still recruited its ranks as fast as they were broken, seemed on the very eve of extinction. Throughout all the island no epis-

copal hand remained to bless altars, to ordain priests, or to confirm the faithful. The Irish church as well as the Irish state, touched its lowest point of suffering and endurance in the decade which intervened between the death of Charles I. and the death of Cromwell.

The new population imposed upon the kingdom, soon split up into a multitude of sects. Some of them became Quakers; many adhered to the Anabaptists, and others, after the Restoration, conformed to the established church. That deeper tincture of Puritanism which may be traced in the Irish, as compared with the English establishment, took its origin even more from the Cromwellian settlement than from the Calvinistic teachings of Archbishop Usher.

Oliver died in 1658, on his "fortunate day," the 3d of September, leaving England to experience twenty months of republican intrigue and anarchy. Richard Cromwell—Lambert—Ludlow—Monk—each played his part in this stormy interval, till, the time being ripe for a restoration, Charles II. landed at Dover on the 23d of May, 1660, and was carried in triumph to London.

BOOK X.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.
TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF CHARLES II.

HOPE is dear to the heart of man, and of all her votaries none have been more constant than the Irish. Half a century of the Stuarts had not extinguished their blind partiality for the descendants of the old Scoto-Irish kings. The restoration of that royal house was, therefore, an event which penetrated to the remotest wilds of Connaught, lighting up with cheering expectation the most desolate hovels of the proscribed. To the Puritans settled in Ireland, most of whom, from the mean condition of menial servants, common soldiers and subaltern officers, had become rich proprietors, the same tidings brought apprehension and alarm. But their leaders, the Protestant gentry of an earlier date, wealthy, astute and energetic, uniting all their influence for the common protection, turned this event, which seemed at one time to threaten their ruin, to their advantage and greater security. The chief of these greater leaders was the accomplished Lord Broghill, whom we are to know during this reign under his more famous title of Earl of Orrery.

The position of the Irish as compared with the English Puritans, was essentially different in the eyes of Ormond, Clarendon and the other councillors of the king. Though the former represented dissent as against the church, they also represented the English as against the Irish interest, in Ireland. As dissenters they were disliked and ridiculed, but as colonists they could not be disturbed. When nations' antipathy was placed in one scale

and religious animosity in the other, the intensely national feeling of England for the Cromwellians, as Englishmen settled in a hostile country, prevailed over every other consideration. In this, as in all other conjunctures, it has been the singular infelicity of the one island to be subjected to a policy directly opposite to that pursued in the other. While in England it was considered wise and just to break down the Puritans as a party—through the court, the pulpit and the press; to drive the violent into exile, and to win the lukewarm to conformity; in Ireland it was decided to confirm them in their possessions, to leave the government of the kingdom in their hands, and to strengthen their position by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. These acts were hailed as "the Magna Charta of Irish Protestantism," but so far as the vast majority of the people were concerned, they were as cruelly unjust as the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or the edicts w^hich banished the Moors and Jews from the Spanish peninsula.

The struggle for possession of the soil inaugurated by the confiscations of Elizabeth and James, was continued against great odds by the Catholic Irish, throughout this reign. Though the royal declaration of Breda which preceded the restoration had not mentioned them expressly, they still claimed under it not only the "liberty to tender consciences," but that "just satisfaction" to those unfairly deprived of their estates, promised in that declaration. Accordingly, several of the old gentry returned from Connaught or places abroad, took possession of their old homes, or made their way at once to Dublin or London to urge their claims to their former estates. To their dismay, they found in Dublin, Coote and Broghill established as Lords Justices, and the new parliament—the first that sat for twenty years—composed of an overwhelming majority of Undertakers, adventurers and Puritan representatives of boroughs from which all the Catholic electors had been long excluded. The Protestant interest, or "ascendancy party," as it now began to be commonly called, counted in the Commons 198 members to 64 Catholics; in the House of Lords, 72 Protestant to 21 Catholic peers. The former elected Sir Audley Mervyn their Speaker, and the able but curiously intricate and quaint discourses of the ancient colleague of Kelly and Darcy in the assertion of Irish legislative indepen-

dence, shows how different was the spirit of Irish Protestantism in 1661 as compared with 1641. The Lords chose Bramhall, the long-exiled Bishop of Derry, now Archbishop of Armagh, as their Speaker, and attempted to compel their members "to take the sacrament" according to the Anglican ritual. The majority of both houses, to secure the good will of Ormond voted him the sum of £30,000, and then proceeded to consider "the Bill of Settlement," in relation to landed property. The Catholic bar, which had been apparently restored to its freedom, presented a striking array of talent, from which their co-religionists selected those by whom they desired to be heard at the bar of the House. The venerable Darcy and the accomplished Belling were no longer their oracles of the law; but they had the services of Sir Nicholas Plunkett an old confederate, of Sir Richard Nagle, author of the famous "Coventry Letter," of Nugent, afterwards Lord Riverston, and other able men. In the House of Lords they had an intrepid ally in the Earl of Kildare, and in England an agent equally intrepid, in Colonel Richard Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnell. The diplomatic and parliamentary struggle between the two interests, the disinherited and the new proprietary, was too protracted, and the details are too involved for elucidation in every part; but the result tells its own story. In 1675—in the fifteenth year of the restoration—the new settlers possessed above 4,500,000 acres, to about 2,250,000 still retained by the old owners. These relative proportions were exactly the reverse of those existing before the Cromwellian settlement; a single generation had seen this great revolution accomplished in landed property.

The Irish parliament having sent over to England the heads of their bill, according to the constitutional rule established by Poyning's Act, the Irish Catholics sent over Sir Nicholas Plunkett to obtain modifications of its provisions. But Plunkett was met in England with such an outcry from the mob and the press as to the alleged atrocities of the confederate war, and his own former negotiations on the continent, that he was unable to effect anything; while Colonel Talbot, for his too warm expostulations with Ormond, was sent to the Tower. An order of council, forbidding Plunkett the presence, and declaring that "no petition or further address be made from the Roman Catholics of Ireland,

as to the Bill of Settlement," closed the controversy, and the Act soon after received the royal assent.

Under this act, a court was established at Dublin, to try the claims of "nocent" and "innocent." Notwithstanding every influence which could be brought to bear on them, the judges, who were Englishmen, declared in their first session, one hundred and sixty-eight innocent to nineteen nocent. Proceeding in this spirit "to the great loss and dissatisfaction of the Protestants," the latter, greatly alarmed, procured the interference of Ormond, now Lord Lieutenant (1662), in effecting a modification of the commission, appointing the court, by which its duration was limited to an early day. The consequence was, that while less than 800 claims were decided on when the fatal day arrived, over 3,000 were left unheard, at least a third of whom were admitted even by their enemies to be innocent. About 500 others had been restored by name in the Act of Settlement itself; but, by the Act of Explanation (1665), "no Papist, who had not been adjudged innocent," under the former act, could be so adjudged thereafter, "or entitled to claim any lands or settlements." Thus, even the inheritance of hope, and the reversion of expectation, were extinguished forever for the sons and daughters of the ancient gentry of the kingdom.

The religious liberties of this people, so crippled in property and political power, were equally at the mercy of the mob and of the monarch. To combat the war of calumny waged against them by the Puritan press and pulpit, the leading Catholics resolved to join in an official and authentic declaration of their true principles, as to the spiritual power of the Pope, their allegiance to the prince, and their relations to their fellow subjects of other denominations. With this intention a meeting was held at the house of the Marquis of Clanrickarde, in Dublin, at which Lords Clancarty, Carlingford, Fingal, Castlehaven, and Inchiquin, and the leading commoners of their faith, were present. At this meeting, Father Peter Walsh, a Franciscan, and an old courtier of Ormond's, as "Procurator of all the Clergy of Ireland," secular and regular, produced credentials signed by the surviving bishops or their vicars—including the Primate O'Reilly, the Bishops of Meath, Ardagh, Kilmore, and Ferns. Richard Bel-

ling, the secretary to the first Confederate Council, and envoy to Rome, submitted the celebrated document known as "The Remonstrance," deeply imbued with the spirit of the Gallican church of that day. It was signed by about seventy Catholic peers and commoners, by the Bishop of Kilmore, by Procurator Walsh, and by the townsman of Wexford—almost the only urban community of Catholics remaining in the country. But the propositions it contained as to the total independency of the temporal on the spiritual power, and the ecclesiastical patronage of princes, was condemned at the Sorbonne, at Louvain, and at Rome. The regular orders, by their several superiors, utterly rejected it; the exiled bishops withdrew their proxies from Father Walsh, and disclaimed his conduct; the Internuncio at Brussels, charged with the affairs of the British Isles, denounced it as contrary to the canons; and the elated Procurator found himself involved in a controversy from which he never afterwards escaped, and with which his memory is still angrily associated.

The conduct of Ormond in relation to this whole business of the Remonstrance, was the least creditable part of his administration. Writhing under the eloquent pamphlets of the exiled Bishop of Ferns, keenly remembering his own personal wrongs against the former generation of bishops, of whom but three or four were yet living, he resolved "to work that division among the Romish clergy," which he had long meditated. With this view, he connived at a meeting of the surviving prelates and the superiors of regular orders, at Dublin, in 1666. To this synod safe conduct was permitted to the Primate O'Reilly, banished to Belgium nine years before; to Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, John Burke, Archbishop of Tuam, Patrick Plunkett, Bishop of Ardagh, the vicars-general of other prelates, and the superiors of the regulars. This venerable body deliberated anxiously for an entire week, Father Walsh acting as ambassador between them and the Viceroy; at length, in spite of all politic considerations, they unanimously rejected the servile doctrine of the "Remonstrance," substituting instead a declaration of their own dictation. Ormond now cast off all affectation of liberality; Primate O'Reilly was sent back to his banishment, the other prelates

and clergy were driven back to their hiding-places, or into exile abroad, and the wise, experienced, high-spirited duke, did not hesitate to avail himself of "the Popish plot" mania, which soon after broke out, to avenge himself upon an order of men whom he could neither break nor bend to his purposes! Of 1,100 secular priests, and 750 regulars, still left, only sixty-nine had signed the Clanrickarde House Remonstrance.

An incident of this same year—1666—illustrates more forcibly than description could do, the malignant feeling which had been excited in England, against everything Irish. The importation of Irish cattle had long been considered an English grievance, it was now declared by law "a nuisance." The occasion taken to pass this statute was as ungracious as the act itself was despicable. In consequence of "the great fire," which still glows for us in the immortal verse of Dryden, the Irish had sent over to the distressed, a contribution of 15,000 bullocks. This was considered by the generous recipients a mere pretence to preserve the trade in cattle between the two kingdoms, and accordingly both houses, after some sharp resistance in the Lords', gravely enacted that the importation of Irish beef into England was "a nuisance," to be abated. From this period most probably dates the famous English sarcasm against Irish bulls.

The act prohibiting the export of cattle from Ireland, and the equally exclusive and unjust Navigation Act—originally devised by Cromwell—so paralyzed every Irish industry, that the Puritan party became almost as dissatisfied as the Catholics. They maintained a close correspondence with their brethren in England, and began to speculate on the possibilities of another revolution. Ormond, to satisfy their demands, distributed 20,000 stand of arms among them, and reviewed the Leinster Militia, on the Curragh, in 1667. The next year he was recalled, and Lords Robarts, Berkely, and Essex, successively appointed to the government. The first, a Puritan and almost a regicide, held office but a few months; the second, a cavalier and a friend of toleration, for two years; while Essex, one of those fair-minded but yielding characters known in the next reign as "Trimmers," petitioned for his own recall, and Ormond's restoration, in 1676. The only events which marked these last nine years—from Ormond's removal till

his reappointment—were the surprise of Carrickfergus by a party of unpaid soldiers, and their desperate defence of that ancient stronghold; the embassies to and from the Irish Catholics and the court, of Colonel Richard Talbot; and the establishment of extensive woollen manufactories at Thomastown, Callan, and Kilkenny, under the patronage of Ormond.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF CHARLES II. (CONCLUDED.)

For the third time, the aged Ormond, now arrived at the period usually allotted to the life of man, returned to Ireland, with the rank of viceroy. During the ensuing seven years, he clung to power with all the tenacity of his youth, and all the policy of his prime; they were seven years of extraordinary sectarian panic and excitement—the years of the Cabal, the Popish plot, and the Exclusion Bill, in England—and of fanatical conspiracies and explosions almost as dangerous in Ireland.

The Popish plot mania held possession of the English people much longer than any other moral epidemic of equal virulence. In the month of October, 1678, its alleged existence in Ireland was communicated to Ormond; in July, 1681, its most illustrious victim, Archbishop Plunkett, perished on the scaffold at Tyburn. Within these two points of time what a chronicle of madness, folly, perjury, and cruelty, might be written?

Ormond, too old in statecraft to believe in the existence of these incredible plots, was also too well aware of the dangerous element of fanaticism represented by Titus Oates, and his imitators, to subject himself to suspicion. On the first intelligence of the plot, he instantly issued his proclamation for the arrest of Archbishop Talbot, of Dublin, who had been permitted to return from exile under the rule of Lord Berkely, and had since resided with his brother Colonel Talbot, at Cartown, near Maynooth. This prelate was of Ormond's own age, and of a family as ancient; while his learn-

ing, courage, and morality, made him an ornament to his order. He was seized in his sick bed at Cartown, carried to Dublin in a chair, and confined a close prisoner in the castle, where he died two years later. He was the last distinguished captive destined to end his days in that celebrated state prison, which has since been generally dedicated to the peaceful purposes of a reflected royalty.

Colonel Talbot was at the same time arrested, but allowed to retire beyond seas; Lord Mountgarret, an octogenarian, and in his dotage, was seized, but nothing could be made out against him; a Colonel Peppard was also denounced from England, but no such person was found to exist. So far the first year of the plot had passed over, and proved nothing against the Catholic Irish. But the example of successful villainy in England, of Oates idolized, pensioned, and all-powerful, extended to the sister kingdom, and brought an illustrious victim to the scaffold. This was Oliver Plunkett, a scion of the noble family of Fingal, who had been Archbishop of Armagh, since the death of Dr. O'Reilly, in exile, in 1669. Such had been the prudence and circumspection of Dr. Plunkett, during his perilous administration, that the agents of Lord Shaftesbury, sent over to concoct evidence for the occasion, were afraid to bring him to trial in the vicinage of his arrest, or in his own country. Accordingly, they caused him to be removed from Dublin to London, contrary to the laws and customs of both Kingdoms, which had first been violated towards state prisoners in the case of Lord Maguire, forty years before.

Dr. Plunkett after ten months' confinement without trial in Ireland, was removed, 1680, and arraigned at London, on the 8th of June, 1681, without having had permission to communicate with his friends or to send for witnesses. The prosecution was conducted by Maynard and Jeffries, in violation of every form of law, and every consideration of justice. A "crown agent," whose name is given as Gorman, was introduced by "a stranger" in court, and volunteered testimony in his favor. The Earl of Essex interceded with the king on his behalf, but Charles answered, almost in the words of Pilate—"I cannot pardon him, because I dare not. His blood be upon your conscience; you could have saved him if you pleased." The Jury after a quarter of an hour's

deliberation brought in their verdict of guilty, and the brutal chief-justice condemned him to be hung, emboweled, and quartered on the 1st day of July, 1681. The venerable martyr, for such he may well be called, bowed his head to the bench, and exclaimed: *Deo gratias!* Eight years from the very day of his execution, on the banks of that river beside which he had been seized and dragged from his retreat, the last of the Stuart kings was stricken from his throne; and his dynasty stricken from history! Does not the blood of the innocent cry to Heaven for vengeance?

The charges against Dr. Plunkett were, that he maintained treasonable correspondence with France and Rome, and the Irish on the continent; that he had organized an insurrection in Louth, Monaghan, Cavan, and Armagh; that he made preparations for the landing of a French force at Carlingford; and that he had held several meetings to raise men and money for these purposes. Utterly absurd and false as these charges were, they still indicate the troubled apprehensions which filled the dreams of the ascendancy party. The fear of French invasion, of new insurrections, of the resumption of estates, haunted them by night and day. Every sign was to them significant of danger, and every rumor of conspiracy was taken for fact. The report of a strange flicet off the Southern coast, which turned out to be English, threw them all into panic; and the Corpus Christi crosses which the peasantry affixed to their doors, were nothing but signs for the Papist destroyer to pass by, and to spare his fellows in the general massacre of Protestants.

Under the pressure of these panics, real or pretended, proclamation after proclamation issued from the castle. By one of these instruments, Ormond prohibited Catholics from entering the Castle of Dublin, or any other fortress; from holding fairs or markets within the walls of corporate towns, and from carrying arms to such resorts. By another, he declared all relatives of known *Tories*—a Gaelic term for a driver of prey—to be arrested, and banished the kingdom, within fourteen days, unless such *Tories* were killed, or surrendered, within that time. Where this device failed to reach the destined victims—as in the celebrated case of Count Redmond O'Hanlon—it is to be feared that he did

not hesitate to whet the dagger of the assassin, which was still sometimes employed, even in the British Islands, to remove a dangerous antagonist. Count O'Hanlon, a gentleman of ancient lineage, as accomplished as Orrery, or Ossory, was indeed an outlaw to the code then in force; but the stain of his cowardly assassination must forever blot and rot the princely escutcheon of James, Duke of Ormond.

The violence of religious and social persecution began to subside during the last two or three years of Charles II. Monmouth's banishment, Shaftesbury's imprisonment, the execution of Russell and Sidney on the scaffold, marked the return of the English public mind to political pursuits and objects. Early in 1685, the king was taken mortally ill. In his last moments he received the rites of the Catholic church, from the hands of Father Huddleston, who was said to have saved his life at the battle of Worcester, and who was now even more anxious to save his soul.

This event took place on the 16th of February. King James was immediately proclaimed successor to his brother. One of his first acts was to recall Ormond from Ireland and to appoint in his place the Earl of Clarendon, son of the historian and statesman of the Restoration. Ormond obeyed, not without regret; he survived his fall about three years. He was interred in Westminster in 1688, three months before the landing of William, and the second banishment of the Stuarts.

CHAPTER III.

THE STATE OF RELIGION AND LEARNING IN IRELAND DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BEFORE plunging into the troubled torrent of the revolution of 1688, let us cast a glance back on the century, and consider the state of learning and religion during those three generations.

If we divide the Irish literature of this century by subjects, we shall find extant a respectable body both in quantity and

quality, of theology, history, law, politics, and poetry. If we divide it by the languages in which that literature was written, we may consider it as Latin, Gaelic, and English.

I. Latin continued throughout Europe, even till this late day, the language of the learned, but especially of theologians, jurists, and historians. In Latin, the great tomes of O'Sullivan, Usher, Colgan, Wadding, and White, were written—volumes which remain as so many monuments of the learning and industry of that age. The chief objects of these illustrious writers were, to restore the ancient ecclesiastical history of Ireland, to rescue the memory of her saints and doctors from oblivion, and to introduce the native annals of the kingdom to the attention of Europe. Though Usher differed in religion, and in his theory of the early connection of the Irish with the Roman Church, from all the rest, yet he stands preëminent among them for labor and research. The Waterford Franciscan, Wadding, can only be named with him for inexhaustible patience, various learning, and untiring zeal. Both were honored of princes and parliaments. The Confederates would have made Wadding a cardinal; King James made Usher an archbishop: one instructed the Westminster Assembly; the other was sent by the King of Spain to maintain the thesis of the Immaculate Conception at Rome, and subsequently was entrusted by the Pope to report upon the propositions of Janfenius. O'Sullivan, Conde de Berhaven, in Spain, and Peter White, have left us each two or three Latin volumes on the history of the country, highly prized by all subsequent writers. But the most indispensable of the legacies left us in this tongue, are Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum"—from January to March,—and Dr. John Lynch's "Cambrensis Eversus." Many other works and authors might be mentioned, but these are the great Latinists to whom we are indebted for the most important services rendered to our national history.

II. In the Gaelic literature of the country we count Geoffrey Keating, Duall McFirbis, and "the Four Masters" of Donegal. Few writers have been more rashly judged than Keating. A poet, as well as a historian, he gave a prominence in the early chapters of his history to bardic tales, which English critics have seized upon to damage his reputation for truthfulness and good

sense. But these tales he gives as tales—as curious and illustrative—rather than as credible and unquestionable. The purity of his style is greatly extolled by Gaelic critics; and the interest of his narrative, even in a translation, is undoubted. McFirbis, an annalist and genealogist by inheritance, is known to us not only for his profound native lore, and tragic death, but also for the assistance he rendered Sir James Ware, Dr. Lynch, and Roderick O'Flaherty. The master-piece, however, of our Gaelic literature of this age, is the work now called "the Annals of the Four Masters." In the reign of James I., a few Franciscan friars, living partly in Donegal Abbey and partly in St. Anthony's College, at Louvain, undertook to collect and collate all the manuscript remains of Irish antiquity they could gather or borrow, or be allowed to copy. Father Hugh Ward was the head of this group, and by him the lay brother Michael O'Clery, one of the greatest benefactors his country ever saw, was sent from Belgium to Ireland. From 1620 to 1630, O'Clery traveled through the kingdom, buying or transcribing everything he could find relating to the lives of the Irish saints, which he sent to Louvain, where Ward and Colgan undertook to edit and illustrate them. Father Ward died in the early part of the undertaking, but Father Colgan spent twenty years in prosecuting the original design, so far as concerned our ecclesiastical biography.

After collecting these materials, Father O'Clery waited, as he tells us, on "the noble Fergall O'Gara," one of the two knights elected to represent the county of Sligo in the Parliament of 1634, and perceiving the anxiety of O'Gara, "from the cloud which at present hangs over our ancient Milesian race," he proposed to collect the civil and military annals of Erin into one large digest. O'Gara, struck with this proposal, freely supplied the means, and O'Clery and his coadjutors set to work, in the Franciscan Convent of Donegal, which still stood, not more than half in ruins.

On the 22d of January, 1632, they commenced this digest, and on the 10th of August, 1636, it was finished—having occupied them four years, seven months and nineteen days. The MS., dedicated to O'Gara, is authenticated by the superiors of the convent; from that original two editions have recently been printed in both languages.

These annals extend to the year 1616, the time of the compilers. Originally they bore the title of "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," but Colgan having quoted them as "The Annals of the IV. Masters" that name remains ever since. The "Four Masters" were Brother Michael O'Clery, Conary and Peregrine O'Clery, his brothers, both laymen and natives of Donegal, and Florence Conroy, of Roscommon, another hereditary antiquary.

The first edition of the New Testament, in the Gaelic tongue, so far as we are aware, appeared at Dublin, in 1603, in quarto. The translation was the work of a native scholar, O'Cionga (Anglicized, King). It was made at the expense and under the supervision of Dr. William O'Donnell, one of the first fellows of Trinity, and published at the cost of the people of Connaught. Dr. O'Donnell, an amiable man, and an enemy of persecution, became subsequently archbishop of Tuam, in which dignity he died, in 1628. A translation of the Book of Common Prayer, by O'Donnell, appeared early in the century, and towards its close (1685), a translation of the Old Testament, made for Bishop Bedell by the Gaelic scholars of Meath and Cavan, was published at the expense of the famous Robert Boyle. Bedell had also caused to be published Gaelic translations of certain homilies of Saint Leo and Saint John Chrysostom, on the importance of studying the holy Scriptures. The only other Gaelic publications of this period were issued from the Irish colleges at Louvain and Rome. Thence issued the devotional tracts of Conroy, of Gernon, and O'Molloy, and the Irish grammars of O'Clery and Stapleton. The devotional tracts, with their fanciful titles, of "Lamps," and "Mirrors," were smuggled across from Ostend and Dunkirk with other articles of contraband, and did much to keep alive the flame of faith and hope in the hearts of the Gaelic-speaking population.

The bardic order also, though shorn of much of their ancient splendor, and under the Puritan *régime* persecuted as vagrants, still flourished as an estate of the realm. The national tendency to poetic writing was not confined to the hereditary verse-makers, but was illustrated by such men as the martyred Plunkett, and the Bishops of Meath and Kerry—Dr. Thomas Dease, and Dr. John O'Connell. But the great body of Gaelic verse of the first half

of this century is known under the name of "the Contentions of the Bards," the subject being the relative dignity, power, and prowess of the North and South. The gauntlet in this poetic warfare, was thrown down by McDaire, the Bard of Donogh O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, and taken up on the part of Ulster by Lewy O'Clery. Reply led to rejoinder, and one epistle taken to another, until all the chief bards of the four provinces had taken sides. Half a dozen writers, *pro* and *con*, were particularly distinguished; McDaire himself, Turlogh O'Brien, and Art oge O'Keefe on behalf of the Southerners; O'Clery, O'Donnell, the two McEgans, and Robert McArthur on the side of the North.

An immense mass of devotional Gaelic poetry may be traced to this period. The religious wars, the calamities of the church and of the people, inspired many a priest and layman to seize the harp of David, and pour forth his hopes and griefs in sacred song. The lament of Mac Ward over the Ulster princes buried at Rome, the odes of Dermot Conroy and Flan McNamee, in honor of our Blessed Lady, are of this class. Thus it happened that the bardic order, which in ancient times was the formidable enemy of Christianity, became through adversity and affliction its greatest supporter.

III. Our Hiberno-English literature is almost entirely the creation of this century. Except some few remarkable state papers, we have no English writings of any reputation of an earlier period. Now, however, when the language of the empire, formed and enriched by the great minds of Elizabeth's era, began to extend its influence at home and abroad, a school of Hiberno English writers appeared, both numerous and distinguished. This school was as yet composed mainly of two classes—the dramatic poets, and the pamphleteers. Of the latter were Bishop French, Sir Richard Nagle, Sir Richard Belling, Lord Orrery, Father Peter Walsh, and William Molyneux; of the former, Ludowick Barry, Sir John Denham, the Earl of Roscommon, and Richard Flecknoe, —the Mac Flecknoe of Dryden. It is true there appeared as yet no supreme name like Swift's; but as indicating the gradual extension of the English language into Ireland, the popular pamphlets and pieces written for the stage are illustrations of our mental life not to be overlooked.

Of the ancient schools of the island, after the final suppression of the college at Galway in 1652, not one remained. A diocesan college at Kilkenny, and the Dublin University, were alone open to the youth of the country. But the University remained exclusively in possession of the Protestant interest, nor did it give to the world during the century, except Usher, Ware and Orrery, any graduate of national, not to say, European reputation. In the bye-ways of the South and West, in the Irish colleges on the continent of Europe—at Paris, Louvain, Lisle, Salamanca, Lisbon, or Rome—the children of the proscribed majority could alone acquire a degree in learning, human or divine. It was as impossible two centuries ago, to speak of Trinity College with respect, as it is in our time, remembering all it has since done, to speak of it without veneration.

Though the established church had now completed its century and a half of existence, it was as far from the hearts of the Irish as ever. Though the amiable Bedell and the learned O'Donnell had caused the sacred Scriptures to be translated into the Gaelic tongue, few converts had been made from the Catholic ranks, while the spirit of animosity was inflamed by a sense of the cruel and undeserved disabilities inflicted in the name of religion. The manifold sects introduced under Cromwell gave a keener edge to Catholic contempt for the doctrines of the reformation; and although the restoration of the monarchy threw the extreme sectaries into the shade, it added nothing to the influence of the church, except the fatal gift of political patronage. For the first time, the high dignity of Archbishop of Armagh began to be regarded as the inheritance of the leader of the House of Lords; then Brahmall and Boyle laid the foundation of that primatial power which Boulter and Stone upheld under another dynasty, but which vanished before the first dawn of parliamentary independence.

In the quarter of a century which elapsed from the restoration to the revolution, the condition of the Catholic clergy and laity was such as we have already described. In 1662, an historian of the Jesuit missionaries in Ireland described the sufferings of ecclesiastics as deplorable; they were forced to fly to the herds of cattle in remote places, to seek a refuge in barns and stables, or to sleep

at night in the porticoes of temples, lest they should endanger the safety of the laity. In that same year, Orrery advised Ormond to purge the walled towns of papists, who were still "three to one Protestant;" in 1672, Sir William Petty computed them at "eight to one" of the entire population.

"So captive Israel multiplied in chains."

The martyrdom of the Archbishop of Dublin, in 1680, and of the Archbishop of Armagh in 1681, were, however, the last of a series of executions for conscience-sake, from the relation of which the historian might well have been excused, if it was not necessary to remind our emancipated posterity at what a price they have been purchased.

CHAPTER IV.

ACCESSION OF JAMES II.—TYRCONNELL'S ADMINISTRATION.

From the accession of King James till his final flight from Ireland, in July, 1690, there elapsed an interval of five years and five months; a period fraught with consequences of the highest interest to this history. The new king was, on his accession, in his fifty-second year; he had served, as Duke of York, with credit both by land and sea, was an avowed Catholic, and married to a Catholic princess, the beautiful and unfortunate Mary of Modena.

Within a month from the proclamation of the king, Ormond quitted the government for the last time, leaving Primate Boyle, and Lord Granard, as Justices. In January, 1686, Lord Clarendon, son of the historian, assumed the government, in which he continued, till the 16th of March, 1687. The day following the national anniversary, Colonel Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, a Catholic, and the former agent for the Catholics, was installed as Lord Deputy. Other events connecting these with each other, had filled with astonishment and apprehension the ascendancy party.

James proceeded openly with what he hoped to make a counter-

reformation of England, and to accomplish which, he relied on France, on the one hand, and Ireland on the other. In both cases he alarmed the fears and wounded the pride of England; but when he proceeded from one illegality to another, when he began to exercise a dispensing power above the laws—to instruct the judges, to menace the parliament, and imprison the bishops—the nobility, the commons, and the army gradually combined against him, and at last invited over the Prince of Orange, as the most capable vindicator of their outraged constitution.

The headlong king had a representative equally rash, in Tyrconnell. He was a man old enough to remember well the uprising of 1641, had lived in intimacy with James as Duke of York, was personally brave, well skilled in intrigue, but vain, loud-spoken, confident, and incapable of a high command in military affairs. The colonelcy of an Irish regiment, the earldom of Tyrconnell, and a seat in the secret council or cabinet of the king, were honors conferred on him during the year of James's accession. When Clarendon was named lord-lieutenant, at the beginning of 1686, Tyrconnell was sent over with him as lieutenant-general of the army. At his instigation, a proclamation issued, that "all classes" of his majesty's subjects might be allowed to serve in the army; and another that all arms, hitherto given out, should be deposited, for greater security, at one of the King's stores provided for the purpose in each town and county. Thus that exclusively Protestant militia, which for twenty years had executed the Act of Settlement and the Act of Uniformity in every quarter of the kingdom, found themselves suddenly disarmed, and a new Catholic army rising on their ruins. The numbers disbanded are nowhere stated; they probably amounted to 10,000 or 15,000 men; and very naturally they became warm partisans of the Williamite revolution. The recriminations which arose between the new and the old militia were not confined to the nicknames, Whig and Tory, or to the bandying of sarcasms on each others' origin; swords were not unfrequently drawn, and muskets discharged, even in the streets of Dublin, under the very walls of the castle.

Through Tyrconnell's influence, a similar revolution had been wrought in the exclusive character of the courts of justice, and

the corporations of towns, to that which remodeled the militia. Rice, Daly, and Nugent, were elevated to the bench during Lord Clarendon's time; the Corporation of Dublin having refused to surrender their exclusive charter, were summarily ejected by a *quo warranto*, issued in the exchequer; other towns were similarly treated, or induced to make surrender, and a new series of charters at once granted by James, entitling Catholics to the freedom of the boroughs, and the highest municipal offices. And now, for the first time in that generation, Catholic mayors and sheriffs, escorted by Catholic troops as guards of honor, were seen marching in open day to their own places of worship, to the dismay and astonishment of the ascendancy party. Not that all Protestants were excluded either from town councils, the militia, or the bench, but those only were elected or appointed, who concurred in the new arrangements, and were therefore, pretty certain to forfeit the confidence of their co-religionists in proportion as they deserved that of the deputy. Topham and Coghill, Masters in Chancery, were deprived of their offices, and the Protestant Chancellor was arbitrarily removed to make way for Baron Rice, a Catholic. The exclusive character of Trinity College was next assailed, and though James did not venture to revoke the charter of Elizabeth, establishing communion with the Church of England as the test of fellowship, the internal administration was in several particulars interfered with, its plate was seized in the King's name under plea of being public property, and the annual parliamentary grant of £388, was discontinued. These arbitrary acts filled the more judicious Catholics with apprehension, but gained the loud applause of the unreasoning multitude. Dr. Macguire, the successor of the martyred Plunkett, who felt in Ulster the rising tide of resistance, was among the signers of a memorial to the king, dutifully remonstrating against the violent proceedings of his deputy. From Rome also, disapprobation was more than once expressed, but all without avail; neither James nor Talbot could be brought to reason. The Protestants of the eastern and southern towns and counties who could contrive to quit their homes, did so; hundreds fled to Holland to return in the ranks of the Prince of Orange; thousands fled to England, bringing with them their tale of oppression, embellished with all the bitter ex-

aggregation of exiles; ten thousand removed from Leinster into Ulster, soon to recross the Boyne, under very different auspices. Very soon a close correspondence was established between the fugitives in Holland, England, and Ulster, and a powerful lever was thus placed in the hands of the Prince of Orange, to work the downfall of his uncle and father-in-law. But the best allies of William were, after all, the folly and fatuity of James. The importation of Irish troops, by entire battalions, gave the last and sorest wound to the national pride of England, and still further exasperated the hatred and contempt which his majesty's English regiments had begun to feel for their royal master.

Tyrconnel, during the eventful summer months when the revolution was ripening both in Holland and England, had taken, unknown even to James, a step of the gravest importance. To him the first intelligence of the preparations of William were carried by a ship from Amsterdam, and by him they were communicated to the infatuated king, who had laughed at them as too absurd for serious consideration. But the Irish ruler, fully believing his informants, and never deficient in audacity, had at once entered into a secret treaty with Louis XIV. to put Ireland under the protection of France, in the event of the Prince of Orange succeeding to the British throne. No proposition could more entirely suit the exigencies of Louis, of whom William was by far the ablest and most relentless enemy. The correspondence which has come to light in recent times, shows the importance which he attached to Tyrconnel's proposition—an importance still further enhanced by the direct but unsuccessful overture made to the earl by William himself, on landing in England, and before embarking in the actual invasion of Ireland.

William Henry, Prince of Orange, now about to enter on the scene, was in 1688 in the thirty-seventh year of his age. Fearless of danger, patient, silent, impervious to his enemies, rather a soldier than a statesman, indifferent in religion, and personally adverse to persecution for conscience sake, his great and almost his only public passion was the humiliation of France through the instrumentality of a European coalition. As an anti-Gallican, as the representative of the most illustrious Protestant family in Europe, as allied by blood and marriage to their kings, he was a

very fit and proper chief for the English revolutionists; but for the two former of these reasons he was just as naturally antipathetic to the Catholic and Celtic majority of the Irish. His designs had been long gradually maturing, when James's incredible imprudence hastened his movements. Twenty-four ships of war were assembled at Helvoetsluys; 7,000 sailors were put on board; all the veterans of the Netherlands were encamped at Nimeguen, where 6,000 recruits were added to their numbers. On the 5th of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder plot, "the Deliverer," as he was fondly called in England, landed at Torbay; on the 25th of December, James, deserted by his nobles, his army, and even his own unnatural children, arrived, a fugitive and a suppliant, at the court of France.

A few Irish incidents of this critical moment deserve mention. The mania against everything Irish took in England forms the most ludicrous and absurd. Wharton's doggerel refrain of *Lillibullero*, was heard in every circle outside the court; all London, lighted with torches, and marshalled under arms, awaited during the memorable "Irish night" the advent of the terrible and detested regiments brought over by Tyrconnel; some companies of these troops quartered in the country were fallen upon by ten times their number and cut to pieces. Others, fighting and inquiring their way, forced a passage to Chester or Bristol, and obtained a passage home. They passed at sea, or encountered on the landing-places, multitudes of the Protestant Irish, men, women and children, flying in exactly the opposite direction. Tyrconnel was known to meditate the repeal of the Act of Settlement; the general rumor of a Protestant massacre fixed for the 29th of December, originated no one knew how, was spread about no one knew by whom. In vain the Lord Deputy tried to stay the panic—his assurance of protection, and the still better evidence of their own experience, which proved the Irish Catholics incapable of such a project, could not allay their terrors. They rushed into England by every port, and inflamed still more the hostility which already prevailed against King James.

In Ulster, David Cairnes, of Knockmany, the Rev. John Kelso, of Enniskillen, a Presbyterian, and Rev. George Walker, of Donaghmore, an Anglican minister, were active instruments of the Prince

of Orange. On the 7th of December the gates of Derry were shut by "the youthhood" against the Earl of Antrim and his Highlanders. Enniskillen was seized by a similar impulse of the popular will, and an association was quickly formed throughout Ulster in imitation of the English association which had invited over William, under the auspices of Lord Blaney, Sir Arthur Rawdon, Sir Clotworthy Skeffington, and others, "for the maintenance of the Protestant religion and the dependancy of Ireland upon England." By these associates, Sligo, Coleraine, and the fort of Culmore, at the mouth of the Foyle, were seized for King William. While the Town Council of Derry, in order to gain time, despatched one ambassador with one set of instructions to Tyrconnell, and another, with a very different set, to "the Committee for Irish Affairs," which sat at Whitehall, under the presidency of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

CHAPTER V.

KING JAMES IN IRELAND.—IRISH PARLIAMENT OF 1689.

A FEW DAYS after his arrival in France, James despatched a messenger to Tyrconnell, with instructions expressing great anxiety as to the state of affairs in Ireland. "I am sure," wrote the fugitive monarch, "you will hold out to the utmost of your power, and I hope this king will so press the Hollanders, that the Prince of Orange will not have men to spare to attack you." All the aid he could obtain from Louis at the moment was 7,000 or 8,000 muskets, which were sent accordingly.

Events succeeded each other during the first half of the year 1689 with revolutionary rapidity. The conventions of England and Scotland, though far from being unanimous, declared by immense majorities, that James had abdicated, and that William and Mary should be offered the crowns of both kingdoms. In February they were proclaimed as king and queen of "England, France,

and Ireland," and in May, the Scottish commissioners brought them the tender of the crown of Scotland. The double heritage of the Stuart kings was thus, after nearly a century of possession, transferred by election to a kindred prince, to the exclusion of the direct descendents of the great champion of "the right divine," who first united under his scepter the three kingdoms.

James, at the Court of France, was duly informed of all that passed at London and Edinburgh. He knew that he had powerful partisans in both conventions. The first fever of popular excitement once allayed, he marked with exultation the symptoms of reaction. There was much in the circumstances attending his flight to awaken popular sympathy and to cast a veil over his errors. The pathetic picture drawn of parental suffering by the great dramatist in the character of King *Lear*, seemed realized to the life in the person of King James. Message followed message from the three kingdoms, urging him to return and place himself at the head of his faithful subjects in a war against the usurper. The French king approved of these recommendations, for in fighting James's battle he was fighting his own, and a squadron was prepared at Brest to carry the fugitive back to his dominions. Accompanied by his natural sons, the Duke of Berwick and the Grand Prior Fitzjames, by Lieutenant-Generals de Rosen and de Maumont, Majors-General de Pusignan and de Lery (or Geraldine), about a hundred officers of all ranks, and 1,200 veterans, James sailed from Brest, with a fleet of 33 vessels, and landed at Kinsale on the 12th day of March. (*old style*). His reception by the Southern population was enthusiastic in the extreme. From Kinsale to Cork, from Cork to Dublin, his progress was accompanied by Gaelic songs and dances, by Latin orations, loyal addresses, and all the decorations with which a popular favorite can be welcomed. Nothing was remembered by that easily pacified people but his great misfortunes and his steady fidelity to his and their religion. Fifteen chaplains, nearly all Irish, accompanied him, and added to the delight of the populace; while many a long-absent soldier, now came back in the following of the king, to bless the sight of some aged parent or faithful lover. The royal entry into Dublin was the crowning

pageant of this delusive restoration. With the tact and taste for such demonstrations hereditary in the citizens, the trades and arts were marshalled before him. Two venerable harpers played on their national instruments near the gate by which he entered; a number of religious in their robes, with a huge cross at their head, chanted as they went; forty young girls dressed in white, danced the ancient *Rinka*, scattering flowers as they danced. The Earl of Tyrconnell, lately raised to a dukedom, the judges, the mayor and corporation, completed the procession, which marched over newly sanded streets, beneath arches of evergreens and windows hung with "tapestry and cloth of Arras." Arrived at the castle the sword of state was presented to him by the deputy, and the keys of the city by the recorder. At the inner entrance, the primate, Dr. Dominick Macguire, waited in his robes to conduct him to the chapel, lately erected by Tyrconnell, where *Te Deum* was solemnly sung. But of all the incidents of that striking ceremonial, nothing more powerfully impressed the popular imagination than the green flag floating from the main tower of the castle, bearing the significant inscription—" *Now or Never—Now and Forever.*"

A fortnight was devoted by James in Dublin to daily and nightly councils and receptions. The chief advisers who formed his court were the Count d'Avaux, Ambassador of France, the Earl of Melfort, principal Secretary of State, the Duke of Tyrconnell, Lieutenant-General Lord Mountcashel, Chief Justice Nugent, and the superior officers of the army, French and Irish. One of the first things resolved upon at Dublin was the appointment of the gallant Viscount Dundee as Lieutenant-General in Scotland—and the despatch to his assistance of an Irish auxiliary force which served under that renowned chief with as much honor as their predecessors had served under Montrose. Communications were also opened through the Bishop of Chester with the west of England Jacobites, always numerous in Cheshire, Shropshire, and other counties nearest to Ireland. Certain changes were then made in the Privy Council; Chief Justice Keating's attendance was dispensed with as one opposed to the new policy, but his judicial functions were left untouched. Dr. Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, and the French Ambassador were sworn in,

and writs were issued convoking the Irish Parliament for the 7th day of May following.

Intermitting, for the present, the military events which marked the early months of the year, we will follow the acts and deliberations of King James's parliament of 1689. The houses met, according to summons, at the appointed time, in the building known as "the Inns of Court," within a stone's throw of the castle. There were present 228 Commoners, and 46 members of the Upper House. In the Lords, several Protestant noblemen and prelates took their seats, and some Catholic peers of ancient date, whose attainders had been reversed, were seen for the first time in that generation in the front rank of their order. In the lower house the University and a few other constituencies were represented by Protestants, but the overwhelming majority were Catholics, either of Norman or Milesian origin. The king made a judicious opening speech, declaring his intention to uphold the rights of property, and to establish liberty of conscience alike for Protestant and Catholic. He referred to the distressed state of trade and manufactures, and recommended to the attention of the houses those who had been unjustly deprived of their estates under the "Act of Settlement."

Three measures passed by this Parliament entitle its members to be enrolled among the chief assertors of civil and religious liberty. One was the "Act for establishing Liberty of Conscience," followed by the supplemental act, that all persons should pay tithes only to the clergy of their own communion. An act abolishing writs of error and appeal into England, established the judicial independence of Ireland; but a still more necessary measure repealing Poyning's Law, was defeated through the personal hostility of the king. An act repealing the Act of Settlement was also passed, under protest from the Protestant lords, and received the royal sanction. A bill to establish Inns of Court, for the education of Irish law students, was, however, rejected by the king, and lost; an "Act of Attainder," against persons in arms against the sovereign, whose estates lay in Ireland, was adopted. Whatever may be the bias of historians, it cannot be denied that this Parliament showed a spirit worthy of the representatives of a free people. "Though Papists," says

Mr. Grattan, our highest parliamentary authority, "they were not slaves; they wrung a constitution from King James before they accompanied him to the field."

The king, unfortunately, had not abandoned the arbitrary principles of his family, even in his worst adversity. His interference with the discussions on Poyning's Law, and the Inns of Court bill, had shocked some of his most devoted adherents. But he proceeded from obstructive to active despotism. He doubled, by his mere proclamation, the enormous subsidy of £20,000 monthly voted him by the Houses. He established by the same authority a bank, and decreed in his own name a bank-restriction act. He debased the coinage; and established a fixed scale of prices to be observed by all merchants and traders. In one respect—but in one only—he grossly violated his own professed purpose of establishing liberty of conscience, by endeavoring to force fellows and scholars on the University of Dublin contrary to its statutes. He even went so far as to appoint a provost and librarian without consent of the senate. However we may condemn the exclusiveness of the college, this was not the way to correct it; bigotry on the one hand will not justify despotism on the other.

More justifiable was the interference of the king for the restoration of rural schools and churches, and the decent maintenance of the clergy and bishops. His appointments to the bench were also, with one or two exceptions, men of the very highest character. "The administration of justice during this brief period," says Dr. Cooke Taylor, "deserves the highest praise. With the exception of Nugent and Fitton, the Irish judges would have been an honor to any bench."

CHAPTER VI.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.—CAMPAIGN OF 1689.—SIEGES OF DERRY
AND ENNISKILLEN.

WHEN Tyrconnell met the king at Cork, he gave his majesty a plain account of the posture of military affairs. In Ulster, Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton, at the head of 2,500 regular troops, was holding the rebels in check, from Charlemont to Coleraine; in Munster, Lieutenant-General Justin McCarthy, Lord Mountcashel, had taken Bandon and Castlemartyr; throughout the four provinces, the Catholics, to the number of fifty regiments (probably 30,000 men), had volunteered their services; but for all these volunteers he had only 20,000 old arms of all kinds, not over 1,000 of which were found really valuable. There were besides these, regiments of horse, Tyrconnell's, Russell's, and Gal-moy's, and one of dragoons, eight small pieces of artillery, but neither stores in the magazines, nor cash in the chest. While at Cork, Tyrconnell, in return for his great exertions, was created a duke, and general-in-chief, with De Rosen as second in command.

A week before James reached Dublin, Hamilton had beaten the rebels at Dromore, and driven them in on Coleraine, from before which he wrote urgently for reinforcements. On receipt of this communication, the council exhibited, for the first time, those radical differences of opinion, amounting almost to factious opposition, which crippled all King James's movements at this period. One party strenuously urged that the king himself should march northward with such troops as could be spared; that his personal appearance before Derry, would immediately occasion the surrender of that city, and that he might, in a few weeks, finish in person, the campaign of Ulster. Another, at whose head was Tyrconnell, endeavored to dissuade his majesty from this course, but he at length decided in favor of the plan of Melfort and his friends. Accordingly, he marched out of Dublin, amid torrents of April rain, on the eighth of that month, intending to form a junction with Hamilton, at Strabane, and thence to advance to Derry. The

march was a weary one through a country stripped bare of every sign of life, and desolate beyond description. A week was spent between Dublin and Omagh; at Omagh news of an English fleet on the Foyle, caused the king to retrace his steps hastily to Charlemont. At Charlemont, however, intelligence of fresh successes gained by Hamilton and De Rosen, at Cladyford and Strabane, came to restore his confidence; he instantly set forward despite the tempestuous weather, and the almost impassable roads, and on the eighteenth reached the Irish camp at Johnstown, within four or five miles of Derry.

It was now four months since "the youthhood" of Derry had shut the watergate against Lord Antrim's regiment, and established within their walls a strange sort of government, including eighteen clergymen and the town democracy. The military command remained with Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, of Lord Mountjoy's regiment, but the actual government of the town was vested first, in "Governor" Baker, and afterwards in the Reverend George Walker, Rector of Donaghmore, best known to us as *Governor Walker*. The town council had despatched Mr. Cairnes, and subsequently Captain Hamilton, founder of the Abercorn peerage, to England for succor, and had openly proclaimed William and Mary as King and Queen. Defensive works were added, where necessary, and on the very day of the affair of Cladyford, 480 barrels of gunpowder were landed from English ships and conveyed within the walls.

As the Royalist forces concentrated towards Derry, the chiefs of the Protestant Association fell back before them, each bringing to its garrison the contribution of his own followers. From the valley of the Bann, over the rugged summits of Carntogher, from the glens of Donegal, and the western sea coast round to Mayo, troops of the fugitives hurried to the strong town of the London traders, as to a city of refuge. Enniskillen alone, resolute in its insular situation, and in a courage akin to that which actuated the defenders of Derry, stood as an outpost of the main object of attack, and delayed the junction of the Royalists under Mountcashel with those under Hamilton and De Rosen. Coleraine was abandoned. Captain Murray, the commander of Culmore, forced his way at the head of 1,500 men into Derry, contrary to the

wishes of the vacillating and suspected Lundy, and, from the moment of his arrival, infused his own determined spirit into all ranks of the inhabitants.

Those who had advised King James to present himself in person before the Protestant stronghold, had not acted altogether upon presumption. It is certain that there were Jacobites, even in Derry. Lundy, the governor, either despairing of its defence, or undecided in his allegiance between James and William, had opened a correspondence with Hamilton and De Rosen. But the true answer of the brave townsmen, when the king advanced too near their walls, was a cannon shot which killed one of his staff, and the cry of "No Surrender" thundered from the walls. James, awakened from his self-complacent dream by this unexpected reception, returned to Dublin, to open his Parliament, leaving General Hamilton to continue the siege. Colonel Lundy, disgraced, overruled, and menaced, escaped over the walls by night disguised as a common laborer, and the party of Murray, Baker, Walker, and Cairnes, reigned supreme.

The story of the siege of Derry—of the heroic constancy of its defenders—of the atrocities of De Rosen and Galmoy—the clemency of Maumont—the forbearance of Hamilton—the struggles for supremacy among its magnates—the turbulence of the townsmen—the joyful raising of the siege—all these have worthily employed some of the most eloquent pens in our language. The relief came by the breaking of the boom across the harbor's mouth on the last day of July; the bombardment had commenced on the 21st of April; the gates had been shut on the 7th of December. The actual siege had lasted above three months, and the blockade about three weeks. The destruction of life on both sides has never been definitely stated. The besieged admit a loss of 4,000 men; the besiegers of 6,000. The want of siege guns in the Jacobite camp is admitted by both parties, but, nevertheless, the defence of the place well deserves to be celebrated, as it has been by an imperial historian, "as the most memorable in British annals."

Scarcely inferior in interest and importance to the siege of Derry, was the spirited defence of Enniskillen. That fine old town, once the seat of the noble family of Maguire, is natu-

ally dyked and moated round about, by the waters of Lough Erne. In December, '88, it had closed its gates, and barricaded its causeways to keep out a Jacobite garrison. In March, on Lord Galmoy's approach, all the outlying garrisons, in Fermanagh and Cavan, had destroyed their posts, and gathered into Enniskillen. The cruel and faithless Galmoy, instead of inspiring terror into the united garrison, only increased their determination to die in the breach. So strong in position and numbers did they find themselves, with the absolute command of the lower Lough Erne to bring in their supplies, that in April they sent off a detachment to the relief of Derry, and in the months of May and June made several successful forays to Ballincarrig, Omagh, and Belturbet. In July, provided with a fresh supply of ammunition from the fleet intended for the relief of Derry, they beat up the Duke of Berwick's quarters at Trellick, but were repulsed with some loss. The duke being soon after recalled to join De Rosen, the siege of Enniskillen was committed to Lord Mountcashel, under whom as commander of the cavalry served Count Anthony Hamilton, author of the witty but licentious "Memoirs of Grammont," and other distinguished officers. Mountcashel's whole force consisted of three regiments of foot, two of dragoons, and some horse; but he expected to be joined by Colonel Sarsfield, from Sligo, and Berwick, from Derry. The besieged had drawn four regiments of foot from Cavan alone, and were probably twice that number in all; and they had, in Colonels Wolseley and Berry, able and energetic officers. The Enniskilleners did not await the attack within their fortress. At Lisnaskea, under Berry, they repulsed the advanced guard of the Jacobites under Anthony Hamilton and the same day—the day of the relief of Derry—their whole force were brought into action with Mountcashel's at Newtown-Butler. To the cry of "No Popery," Wolsely led them into an action, the most considerable yet fought. The raw southern levies on the Royalist side, were routed by the hardy Enniskilleners long familiar with the use of arms, and well acquainted with every inch of the ground; 2,000 of them were left on the field; 400 prisoners were taken, among them dangerously, but not mortally wounded, was the Lieutenant-General himself.

The month of August was a month of general rejoicing for the

Williamites of Ulster. De Rosen and Berwick had retreated from Derry; Sarsfield on his way to join Mountcashel fell back to Sligo on hearing of the defeat at Newtown-Butler; Culmore, Coleraine, and Ballyshannon, were retaken and well supplied; fugitives returned triumphantly to their homes, in Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Armagh. A panic, created by false reports spread among his troops at Sligo, compelled Sarsfield to fall still further back to Athlone. Six months after his arrival, with the exception of the forts of Charlemont and Carrickfergus, King James no longer possessed a garrison in that province, which had been bestowed by his grandfather upon the ancestors of those who now unanimously rejected and resisted him.

The fall of the gallant Dundee in the battle of Killcrankie, five days before the relief of Derry, freed King William from immediate anxiety on the side of Scotland, and enabled him to concentrate his whole disposable force on Ireland. On the 13th of August, an army of eighteen regiments of foot and four or five of horse, under the Marshal Duke de Schomberg, with Count Solmes as second in command, sailed into Belfast Lough, and took possession of the town. On the 20th, the Marshal opened a fierce cannonade on Carrickfergus, defended by Colonels McCarthy More and Cormac O'Neill, while the fleet bombarded it from sea. After eight days' incessant cannonade, the garrison surrendered on honorable terms, and Schomberg faced southward towards Dublin. Brave, and long-experienced, the aged duke moved according to the cautious maxims of the military school in which he had been educated. Had he advanced rapidly on the capital, James must have fallen back, as De Rosen advised, on the line of the Shannon; but O'Regan, at Charlemont, and Berwick, at Newry, seemed to him obstacles so serious that nearly a month was wasted in advancing from Belfast to Dundalk, where he entrenched himself in September and went into winter quarters. Here a terrible dysentery broke out among his troops, said to have been introduced by some soldiers from Derry, and so destructive were its ravages, that there were hardly left healthy men enough to bury the dead. Several of the French Catholics under his command, also, deserted to James, who, from his headquarters at Drogheda, offered every inducement to the deserters. Others

discovered in the attempt were tried and hanged, and others still, suspected of a similar intent, were marched down to Carlingford, and shipped for England. In November, James returned from Drogheda to Dublin, much elated that Duke Schomberg, whose fatal camp at Dundalk he had in vain attempted to raise, had shrunk from meeting him in the field.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.—CAMPAIGN OF 1690.—BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.—ITS CONSEQUENCES.—THE SIEGES OF ATHLONE AND LIMERICK.

THE armies now destined to combat for two kings on Irish soil, were strongly marked by those distinctions of race and religion which add bitterness to struggles for power, while they present striking contrasts to the eye of the painter of military life and manners. King James's troops were chiefly Celtic and Catholic. There were four regiments commanded by O'Neills, two by O'Briens, two by O'Kellys, one each by McCarthy More, Maguire, O'More, O'Donnell, McMahon, and Magennis, principally recruited among their own clansmen. There were also the regiments of Sarsfield, Nugent, De Courcy, Fitzgerald, Grace, and Burke, chiefly Celts, in the rank and file. On the other hand, Schomberg led into the field the famous blue Dutch and white Dutch regiments; the Huguenot regiments of Schomberg, La Millinier, Du Cambon, and La Callimotte; the English regiments of Lords Devonshire, Delamere, Lovelace, Sir John Lanier, Colonels Langston, Villiers and others; the Anglo-Irish regiments of Lords Meath, Roscommon, Kingston, and Drogheda; with the Ulstermen, under Brigadier Walseley, Colonels Gustavus Hamilton, Mitchelburne, Loyd, White, St. Johns, and Tiffary. Some important changes had taken place on both sides during the winter months. D'Avaux and De Rosen had been recalled at James's request; Mountcashel, at the head of the first Franco-Irish brigade,

had been exchanged for 6,000 French, under De Lauzan, who arrived the following March in the double character of general and ambassador. The report that William was to command in person in the next campaign, was, of itself, an indication pregnant with other changes to the minds of his adherents.

Their abundant supplies of military stores from England, wafted from every port upon the channel, where James had not a keel afloat, enabled the Williamite army to take the initiative in the campaign of 1690. At Cavan, Brigadier Wolseley repulsed the Duke of Berwick, with the loss of 200 men and some valuable officers. But the chief incident preceding William's arrival, was the siege of Charlemont. This siege, which commenced apparently in the previous autumn, had continued during several months, till the garrison were literally starved out, in May. The famished survivors were kindly treated, by order of Schomberg, and their gallant and eccentric chief, O'Regan, was knighted by the king, for his persistent resistance. A month from the day on which Charlemont fell (June 14th), William landed at Carrickfergus, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, the second and last Duke of Ormond, Major General Mackay, the earls of Oxford, Portland, Scarborough, and Manchester, General Douglas, and other distinguished British and foreign officers. At Belfast, his first headquarters, he ascertained the forces at his disposal to be upwards of 40,000 men, composed of "A strange medley of all nations"—Scandinavians, Swiss, Dutch, Prussians, Huguenot-French, English, Scotch, "Scotch-Irish," and Anglo-Irish. Perhaps the most extraordinary element in that strange medley was the Danish contingent of horse and foot. Irish tradition and Irish prophecy still teemed with tales of terror and predictions of evil at the hands of the Danes, while these hardy mercenaries observed with grim satisfaction, that the memory of their fierce ancestors had not become extinct after the lapse of twenty generations. At the Boyne, and at Limerick, they could not conceal their exultation as they encamped on some of the very earthworks raised by men of their race seven centuries before, and it must be admitted they vindicated their descent, both by their courage and their cruelty.

On the 16th of June, James, informed of William's arrival, marched northward at the head of 20,000 men, French and Irish, to meet him. On the 22d James was at Dundalk and William at Newry; as the latter advanced, the Jacobites retired, and finally chose their ground at the Boyne, resolved to hazard a battle, for the preservation of Dublin, and the safety of the province of Leinster.

On the last day of June, the hostile forces confronted each other at the Boyne. The gentle, legendary river, wreathed in all the glory of its abundant foliage, was startled by the cannonade from the northern bank, which continued through the long summer's evening, and woke the early echoes of the morrow. William, strong in his veteran ranks, welcomed the battle; James strong in his defensive position, and the goodness of his cause, awaited it with confidence. On the northern bank near to the ford of Oldbridge, William with his chief officers, breakfasting on the turf, nearly lost his life from a sudden discharge of cannon; but he was quickly in the saddle, at all points reviewing his army. James, on the hill of Donore, looked down on his devoted defenders, through whose ranks rode Tyrconnell, lame and ill, the youthful Berwick, the adventurous Lauzan, and the beloved Sarsfield—everywhere received with cordial acclamations. The battle commenced at the ford of Oldbridge, between Sir Neil O'Neil, and the younger Schomberg; O'Neil fell mortally wounded, and the ford was forced. By this ford, William ordered his center to advance under the elder Schomberg, as the hour of noon approached, while he himself moved with the left across the river, nearer to Drogheda. Lauzan, with Sarsfield's horse, dreading to be outflanked, had galloped to guard the bridge of Slane, five miles higher up the stream, where alone a flank movement was possible. The battle was now transferred from the gunners to the swordsmen and pikemen—from the banks to the fords and borders of the river. William, on the extreme left, swam his horse across, in imminent danger; Schomberg and Callemotte fell in the center, mortally wounded. News was brought to William, that Dr. Walker—recently appointed to the see of Derry—had also fallen. "What brought him there?" was the natural comment of the soldier-prince. After seven hours' fighting the Irish

fell back on Duleek, in good order. The assailants admitted five hundred killed, and as many wounded; the defenders were said to have lost from one thousand to fifteen hundred men—less than at Newtown-Butler. The carnage, compared with some great battles of that age, was inconsiderable, but the political consequences were momentous. The next day, the garrison of Drogheda, one thousand three hundred strong, surrendered; in another week, William was in Dublin, and James, terrified by the reports which had reached him, was *en route* for France. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, that the fate of Europe was decided by the result of the battle of the Boyne. At Paris, at the Hague, at Vienna, at Rome, at Madrid, nothing was talked of but the great victory of the Prince of Orange over Louis and James. It is one of the strangest complications of history, that the vanquished Irish Catholics, seem to have been never once thought of, by Spain, Austria, or the Pope. In the greater issues of the European coalition against France, their interests, and their very existence, were for the moment forgotten.

The defeat at the Boyne, and the surrender of Dublin, uncovered the entire province of Leinster. Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Duncannon, Clonmel, and other places of less importance, surrendered within six weeks. The line of the Shannon was fallen back upon by the Irish, and the points of attack and defence were now shifted to Athlone and Limerick. What Enniskillen and Derry had been, in the previous year, to the Williamite party in the north, cities of refuge, and strongholds of hope, these two towns upon the Shannon had now become, by the fortune of war, to King James's adherents.

On the 17th of July, General Douglas appeared before Athlone, and summoned it to surrender. The veteran commandant, Colonel Richard Grace, a Confederate of 1641, having destroyed the bridge, and the suburbs on the Leinster side of the Shannon, replied by discharging his pistol over the head of the drummer who delivered the message. Douglas attempted to cross the river at Lanesborough, but found the ford strongly guarded by one of Grace's outposts; after a week's ineffectual bombardment, he withdrew from before Athlone, and proceeded to Limerick, ravaging and slaying as he went.

Limerick had at first been abandoned by the French under Lauzan, as utterly indefensible. That gay intriguer desired nothing so much as to follow the king to France, while Tyrconnell, broken down with physical suffering and mental anxiety, feebly concurred in his opinion. They accordingly departed for Galway, leaving the city to its fate, and, happily for the national reputation, to bolder counsels than their own. De Boisseleau did not underrate the character of the Irish levies, who had retreated before twice their numbers at the Boyne; he declared himself willing to remain, and sustained by Sarsfield, he was chosen as commandant. More than ten thousand foot had gathered "as if by instinct" to that city, and on the Clare side Sarsfield still kept together his cavalry, at whose head he rode to Galway and brought back Tyrconnell. On the 9th of August, William, confident of an easy victory, appeared before the town, but more than twelve months were to elapse before all his power could reduce those mouldering walls, which the fugitive French ambassador had declared "might be taken with roasted apples."

An exploit planned and executed by Sarsfield the day succeeding William's arrival, saved the city for another year, and raised that officer to the highest pitch of popularity. Along the Clare side of the Shannon, under cover of the night, he galloped as fast as horse could carry him, at the head of his dragoons, and crossed the river at Killaloe. One Manus O'Brien, a Protestant of Clare, who had encountered the flying horsemen, and learned enough to suspect their design, hastened to William's camp with the news, but he was at first laughed at for his pains. William, however, never despising any precaution in war, despatched Sir John Lanier with 500 horse to protect his siege-train then seven miles in the rear, on the road between Limerick and Cashei. Sarsfield, however, was too quick for Sir John. The day after he had crossed at Killaloe he kept his men *perdu* in the hilly country, and the next night swooped down upon the convoy in charge of the siege-train, who were quietly sleeping round the ruined church of Ballanedy. The sentinels were sabred at their posts, the guards, half dressed, fled in terror or were speedily killed. The gun-carriages were quickly yoked, and drawn together to a convenient place, where, planted in pits with ammunition, they were,

with two exceptions, successfully blown to atoms. Lanier arrived within view of the terrific scene in time to feel its stunning effects. The ground for miles round shook as from an earthquake; the glare and roar of the explosion were felt in William's camp, and through the beleagured city. On the morrow, all was known. Sarsfield was safely back in his old encampment, without the loss of a single man; Limerick was in an uproar of delight, while William's army, to the lowest rank, felt the depression of so unexpected a blow. A week later, however, the provident prince had a new siege-train of thirty-six guns and four mortars brought up from Waterford, pouring red-hot shot on the devoted city. Another week—on the 27th of August—a gap having been made in the walls near Saint John's gate, a storming party of the English guards, the Anglo-Irish, Prussians and Danes, was launched into the breach. After an action of uncommon fierceness and determination on both sides, the besiegers retired with the loss of 30 officers and 800 men killed, and 1,200 wounded. The besieged admitted 400 killed—their wounded were not counted. Four days later, William abandoned the siege, retreated to Waterford, and embarked for England, with Prince George of Denmark, the Dukes of Wurtemberg and Ormond, and others of his principal adherents. Tyrconnel, laboring with the illness of which he soon after died, took advantage of the honorable pause thus obtained, to proceed on his interrupted voyage to France, accompanied by the ambassador. Before leaving, however, the young Duke of Berwick was named in his stead as commander-in-chief; Fitton, Nagle and Plowden as Lords Justices; sixteen "senators" were to form a sort of cabinet, and Sarsfield to be second in military command. His enemies declared that Tyrconnel retired from the contest because his early spirit and courage had failed him; he himself asserted that his object was to procure sufficient succors from King Louis, to give a decisive issue to the war. His subsequent negotiations at Paris proved that though his bodily health might be wretched, his ingenuity and readiness of resource had not deserted him. He justified himself both with James and Louis, outwitted Lauzan, propitiated Louvois, disarmed the prejudices of the English Jacobites, and, in short, placed the military relations of France and Ireland on a footing

they had never hitherto sustained. The expedition of the following spring, under command of Marshal Saint Ruth was mainly procured by his able diplomacy, and though he returned to Ireland to survive but a few weeks ~~the~~ disastrous day of Aughrim it is impossible from the Irish point of view, not to recall with admiration, mixed indeed with alloy, but still with largely prevailing admiration, the extraordinary energy, buoyancy and talents of Richard, Duke of Tyrconnel.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WINTER OF 1690-91.

THE Jacobite party in England were not slow to exaggerate the extent of William's losses before Athlone and Limerick. The national susceptibility was consoled by the ready reflection, that if the beaten troops were partly English, the commanders were mainly foreigners. A native hero was needed, and was found in the person of Marlborough, a captain, whose name was destined to eclipse every other English reputation of that age. At his suggestion an expedition was fitted out against Cork, Kinsale, and other ports of the south of Ireland, and the command, though not without some secret unwillingness on William's part, committed to him. On the 23d of September, at the head of 8 000 fresh troops, amply supplied with all necessary munitions, Marlborough assaulted Cork. After five days' bombardment, in which the Duke of Grafton, and other officers and men were slain, the governor, McEligot, capitulated on conditions, which, in spite of all Marlborough's exertions, were flagrantly violated. The old town of Kinsale was at once abandoned as untenable the same day, and the new fort, at the entrance to the harbor, was surrendered after a fortnight's cannonade. Covered with glory from a five weeks' campaign, Marlborough returned to England to receive the acclamations of the people and the most gracious compliments of the prince.

Berwick and Sarsfield on the one side and Ginkle and Lanier on the other, kept up the winter campaign till an advanced period, on both banks of the Shannon. About the middle of September, the former made a dash over the bridge of Banagher, against Birr, or Parsonstown, the family borough of the famous *Under-taker*. The English, in great force, under Lanier, Kirke, and Douglas, hastened to its relief, and the Irish fell back to Banagher. To destroy "that convenient pass" became now the object of one party, to protect it, of the other. After some skirmishing and manœuvring on both sides, the disputed bridge was left in Irish possession, and the English fell back to the borough and castle of Sir Lawrence Parsons. During the siege of the new fort at Kinsale, Berwick and Sarsfield advanced as far as Killmallock to its relief, but finding themselves so inferior in numbers to Marlborough, they were unwillingly compelled to leave its brave defenders to their fate.

Although the Duke of Berwick was the nominal commander-in-chief, his youth, and the distractions incident to youth, left the more mature and popular Sarsfield the possession of real power, both civil and military. Every fortunate accident had combined to elevate that gallant cavalry officer into the position of national leadership.

He was the son of a member of the Irish Commons, proscribed for his patriotism and religion in 1641, by Anna O'Moore, daughter of the organizer of the Catholic Confederation. He was Catholic in religion, spoke Gaelic as easily as English, was brave, impulsive, handsome, and generous to a fault, like the men he led. In Tyrconnell's absence every sincere lover of the country came to him with intelligence, and looked to him for direction. Early in November he learned through his patriotic spies the intention of the Williamites to force the passage of the Shannon in the depth of winter. On the last day of December, accordingly, they marched in great force under Kirke and Lanier to Jonesboro', and under Douglas to Jamestown. At both points they found the indefatigable Sarsfield fully prepared for them, and after a fortnight's intense suffering from exposure to the weather, were glad to get back again to their snug quarters at Parsonstown.

Early in February Tyrconnell landed at Limerick with a French fleet, escorted by three vessels of war, and laden with provisions, but bringing few arms and no reinforcements. He had brought over, however, 14,000 golden louis, which were found of the utmost service in re-clothing the army, besides 10,000 more which he had deposited at Brest to purchase oatmeal for subsequent shipment. He also brought promises of military assistance on a scale far beyond anything France had yet afforded. It is almost needless to say he was received at Galway and Limerick with an enthusiasm which silenced, if it did not confute, his political enemies, both in Ireland and France.

During his absence intrigues and factions had been rife than ever in the Jacobite ranks. Sarsfield had discovered that the English movement on the Shannon in December was partly hastened by foolish or treacherous correspondence among his own associates. Lord Riverston and his brother were removed from the Senate, or Council of Sixteen—four from each province—and Judge Daly, ancestor of the Dunsandle family, was placed under arrest at Galway. The youthful Berwick sometimes complained that he was tutored and overruled by Sarsfield; but though the impetuous soldier may occasionally have forgotten the lessons learned in courts, his activity seems to have been the greatest, his information the best, his advice the most disinterested, and his fortitude the highest of any member of the council. By the time of Tyrconnell's return he had grown to a height of popularity and power, which could not well brook a superior either in the cabinet or the camp.

On the arrival of the Lord Lieutenant, who was also commander-in-chief, the ambition of Sarsfield was gratified by the rank of Earl of Lucan, a title drawn from that pleasant hamlet, in the valley of the Liffey, where he had learned to lisp the catechism of a patriot at the knee of Anna O'Moore. But his real power was much diminished. Tyrconnell, Berwick, Sir Richard Nagle, who had succeeded the Earl of Melfort as chief secretary for King James, all ranked before him at the board, and when Saint Ruth arrived to take command-in-chief, he might fairly have complained that he was deprived of the chief reward to which he had looked forward.

The weary winter and the drenching spring months wore away, and the Williamite troops, sorely afflicted by disease, hugged their tents and huts. Some relief was sent by sea to the Jacobite garrison of Sligo, commanded by the stout old Sir Teague O'Regan, the former defender of Charlemont. Athlone, too, received some succors, and the line of the Shannon was still unbroken from Slieve-an-iron to the sea. But still the promised French assistance was delayed. Men were beginning to doubt both King Louis and King James, when, at length at the beginning of May, the French ships were signaled from the cliffs of Kerry. On the 8th, the *Sieur de Saint Ruth* with Generals *d'Usson* and *de Tessé* landed at Limerick and assisted at a solemn *Te Deum* in St. Mary's Cathedral. They brought considerable supplies of clothes, provisions and ammunitions, but neither veterans to swell the ranks, nor money to replenish the chest. *Saint Ruth* entered eagerly upon the discharge of his duties as generalissimo, while *Sarsfield* continued the nominal second in command.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.—CAMPAIGN OF 1691.—BATTLE OF AUGHRIM.—CAPITULATION OF LIMERICK.

SAINT RUTH, with absolute powers, found himself placed at the head of from 20,000 to 25,000 men, in the field or in garrison, regular or irregular, but all, with hardly an exception, Irish. His and *Tyrconnel's* recent supplies had sufficed to renew the clothing and equipment of the greater part of the number, but the whole contents of the army chest, the golden hinge on which war moves, was estimated in the beginning of May to afford to each soldier only "a penny a day for three weeks." He had under him some of the best officers that France could spare, or Ireland produce, and he had with him the hearts of nine tenths of the natives of the country.

A singular illustration of the popular feeling occurred the pre

vious August. The Milesian Irish had cherished the belief ever since the disastrous day of Kinsale, that an O'Donnell from Spain, having on his shoulder a red mark (*ball dery*), would return to free them from the English yoke, in a great battle near Limerick. Accordingly, when a representative of the Spanish O'Donnella actually appeared at Limerick, bearing as we know many of his family have done, even to our day, the unmistakeable red mark of the ancient Tyrconnell line, immense numbers of the country people who had held aloof from the Jacobite cause, obeyed the voice of prophecy, and flocked round the Celtic deliverer. From 7,000 to 8,000 recruits were soon at his disposal, and it was not without bitter indignation that the chief, so enthusiastically received, saw regiment after regiment drafted from among his followers, and transferred to other commanders. Bred up a Spanish subject—the third in descent from an Irish prince—it is not to be wondered at that he regarded the *Irish* cause as all in all, and the interests of King James as entirely secondary. He could hardly consider himself as bound in allegiance to that king; he was in no way indebted to him or his family, and if we learn that when the war grew desperate, but before it was ended, he had entered into a separate treaty for himself and his adherents, with William's generals, we must remember, before we condemn him, that we are speaking of an Hiberno-Spaniard, to whom the house of Stuart was no more sacred than the house of Orange.

The Williamite army rendezvoused at Mullingar towards the end of May, under generals de Ginkle, Talmash and Mackay. On the 7th of June, they moved in the direction of Athlone, 18,000 strong, "the ranks one blaze of scarlet, and the artillery such as had never before been seen in Ireland." The capture of Ballymore Castle, in Westmeath, detained them ten days; on the 19th, joined by the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Prince of Hesse and the Count of Nassau, with 7,000 foreign mercenaries, the whole sat down before the English town of Athlone, which Saint Ruth, contrary to his Irish advisers, resolved to defend. In twenty-four hours those exposed outworks, abandoned by the veteran Grace the previous year, fell, and the bombardment of the Irish town on the opposite or Connaught bank, commenced. For ten days—from the 20th to the 30th of June—that fearful can-

nonade continued. Storey, the Williamite chaplain, to whom we are indebted for many valuable particulars of this war, states that the besiegers fired above 12,000 cannon shot, 600 shells and many tons of stone, into the place. Fifty tons of powder were burned in the bombardment. The castle, an imposing but lofty and antique structure, windowed as much for a residence as a fortress, tumbled into ruins; the bridge was broken down and impassable; the town a heap of rubbish, where two men could no longer walk abreast. But the Shannon had diminished in volume as the summer advanced, and three Danes employed for that purpose found a ford above the bridge, and at six o'clock on the evening of the last day of June, 2,000 picked men, headed by Gustavus Hamilton's grenadiers, dashed into the ford at the stroke of a bell. At the same instant all the English batteries on the Leinster side opened on the Irish town, wrapping the river in smoke, and distracting the attention of the besiegers. Saint Ruth was, at this critical moment, at his camp two miles off, and D'Usson, the commandant, was also absent from his post. In half an hour the Williamites were masters of the heap of rubbish which had once been Athlone, with a loss of less than fifty men killed and wounded. For this bold and successful movement De Ginkle was created Earl of Athlone, and his chief officers were justly ennobled. Saint Ruth, over-confident, in a strange country, withdrew to Ballinasloe, behind the river Suck, and prepared to risk everything on the hazard of a pitched battle.

De Ginkle moved slowly from Athlone in pursuit of his enemy. On the morning of the 11th of July, as the early haze lifted itself in wreaths from the landscape, he found himself within range of the Irish, drawn up, north and south, on the upland of Kilcommodan hill, with a morass on either flank, through which ran two narrow causeways,—on the right, "the pass of Urrachree," on the left, the causeway leading to the little village of Aughrim. Saint Ruth's force must have numbered from 15,000 to 20,000 men, with nine field pieces; De Ginkle commanded from 25,000 to 30,000, with four batteries—two of which mounted six guns each. During the entire day, attack after attack, in the direction of Urrachree or of Aughrim was repulsed, and the assailants were about to retire in despair. As the sun sank low, a last desperate

attempt was made with equal ill success. "Now, my children," cried the elated Saint Ruth, "the day is ours! Now I shall drive them back to the walls of Dublin!" At that moment he fell by a cannon shot to the earth, and stayed the advancing tide of victory. The enemy marked the check, halted, rallied and returned. Sarsfield, who had not been entrusted with his leader's plan of action, was unable to remedy the mischief which ensued. Victory arrested was converted into defeat. The sun went down on Aughrim, and the last great Irish battle between the Reformed and Roman religions. Four thousand of the Catholics were killed and wounded, and three thousand of the Protestants littered the field. Above five hundred prisoners, with thirty-two pairs of colors, eleven standards and a large quantity of small arms, fell into the hands of the victors. One portion of the fugitive survivors fled to Galway, the larger part, including all the cavalry, to Limerick.

This double blow at Athlone and Aughrim shook to pieces the remaining Catholic power in Connaught. Galway surrendered ten days after the battle; Baldearg O'Donnell, after a vain attempt to throw himself into it in time, made terms with De Ginkle, and carried his two regiments into Flanders to fight on the side Spain and Rome had chosen to take in the European coalition. Sligo, the last western garrison, succumbed, and the brave Sir Teige O'Regan marched his 600 survivors southward to Limerick.

Thus once more all eyes and all hearts in the British Islands were turned towards the well-known city of the lower Shannon. There, on the 14th of August, Tyrconnell expired, stricken down by apoplexy. On the 25th, de Ginkle, reinforced by all the troops he could gather in with safety, had invested the place on three sides. Sixty guns, none of less than 12 pounds calibre, opened their deadly fire against it. An English fleet ascended the river, hurling its missiles right and left. On the 9th of September the garrison made an unsuccessful sally, with heavy loss; on the 10th, a breach, forty yards wide, was made in the wall overhanging the river; on the night of the 15th, through the treachery or negligence of Brigadier Clifford, on guard at the Clare side of the river, a pontoon bridge was laid, and a strong

English division crossed over in utter silence. The Irish horse, which had hitherto kept open communications with the country on that side, fell back to Six Mile bridge. On the 24th a truce of three days was agreed upon, and on the 3d of October the memorable "Treaty of Limerick" was signed by the Williamite and Jacobite commissioners.

The *civil* articles of Limerick will be mentioned farther on; the *military* articles, twenty-nine in number, provided that all persons willing to expatriate themselves, as well officers and soldiers as rapparees and volunteers, should have free liberty to do so, to any place beyond seas, except England and Scotland; that they mig' depart in whole bodies, companies or parties; that if plunder the way, William's government should make good their loss, that fifty ships of 200 tons each should be provided for their transportation, besides two men-of-war for the principal officers; that the garrison of Limerick might march out with all their arms, guns and baggage, "colors flying, drums beating and matches lighting!" It was also agreed, that those who so wished might enter the service of William, retaining their rank and pay, but though De Ginkle was most eager to secure for his master some of those stalwart battalions, only 1,000 out of the 13,000 that marched out of Limerick filed to the left at King's Island. Two thousand others accepted passes and protections; 4,500 sailed with Sarsfield from Cork, 4,700 with D'Usson and De Tesse, embarked in the Shannon on board a French fleet which arrived a week too late to prevent the capitulation; in English ships, 3,000 embarked with General Wauchop; all which, added to Mountcashel's brigade over 5,000 strong, gave an Irish army of from 20,000 to 25,000 men to the service of King Louis.

As the ships from Ireland reached Brest and the ports of Brittany, James himself came down from Saint Germain to receive them. They were at once granted the rights of French citizenship without undergoing the forms of naturalization. Many of them rose to eminent positions in war and in diplomacy, became founders of distinguished families, or dying childless, left their hard-won gold to endow free bourses at Douay and Louvain, for poor Irish scholars destined for the service of the church, for which they had fought the good fight, in another sense, on the

Shannon and the Boyne. The migration of ecclesiastics was almost as extensive as that of the military. They were shipped by dozens and by scores, from Dublin, Cork and Galway. In seven years from the treaty, there remained but 400 secular and 800 regular clergy, in the country. Nearly double that number, deported by threats or violence, were scattered over Europe, pensioners on the princes and bishops of their faith, or the institutions of their order. In Rome, 72,000 francs annually were allotted for the maintenance of the fugitive Irish clergy, and during the first three months of 1699, three remittances from the Holy Father, amounting to 90,000 livres, were placed in the hands of the Nuncio at Paris, for the temporary relief of the fugitives in France and Flanders. It may also be added here, that till the end of the eighteenth century, an annual charge of 1,000 Roman crowns was borne by the Papal treasury for the encouragement of Catholic Poor-schools in Ireland.

The revolutionary war, thus closed, had cost King William, or rather the people of England, at least 10,000,000 of pounds sterling, and with the other wars of that reign, laid the foundation of the English national debt. As to the loss of life, the Williamite chaplain, Storey, places it "at 100,000, young and old, besides treble the number that are ruined and maimed." The chief consolation of the vanquished in that struggle was, that they had wrung even from their adversaries the reputation of being "one of the most warlike of nations"—that they "buried the synagogue with honor."



CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF KING WILLIAM.

FROM the date of the treaty of Limerick, William was acknowledged by all but the extreme Jacobites, at least *de facto*—king of Ireland. The prevailing party in Ulster had long recognized him, and the only expression of the national will then possible accepted his title, in the treaty signed at Limerick on the 3d of October, 1691. For three years Ireland had resisted his power,

for twelve years longer she was to bear the yoke of his government.

Though the history of William's twelve years' reign in Ireland is a history of proscription, the king himself is answerable only as a consenting party to such proscription. He was neither by temper nor policy a persecutor; his allies were Spain, Austria and Rome; he had thousands of Catholics in his own army, and he gave his confidence as freely to brave and capable men of one creed as of another. But the oligarchy, calling itself the "Protestant Ascendancy," which had grown so powerful under Cromwell and Charles II., backed as they once again were by all the religious intolerance of England, proved too strong for William's good intentions. He was, moreover, pre-occupied with the grand plans of the European coalition, in which Ireland, without an army, was no longer an element of calculation. He abandoned, therefore, not without an occasional grumbling protest, the vanquished Catholics to the mercy of that oligarchy, whose history during the eighteenth century, forms so prominent a feature of the history of the kingdom.

The civil articles of Limerick, which Sarsfield vainly hoped might prove the *Magna Charta* of his coreligionists, were thirteen in number. Art. I. guaranteed to members of that denomination, remaining in the kingdom, "such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the law of Ireland, or as they enjoyed in the reign of King Charles II.;" this article further provided, that "their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their said religion." Art. II. guaranteed pardon and protection to all who had served King James, on taking the oath of allegiance prescribed in Art. IX., as follows:

"I, A. B., do solemnly promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties, King William and Queen Mary; so help me God."

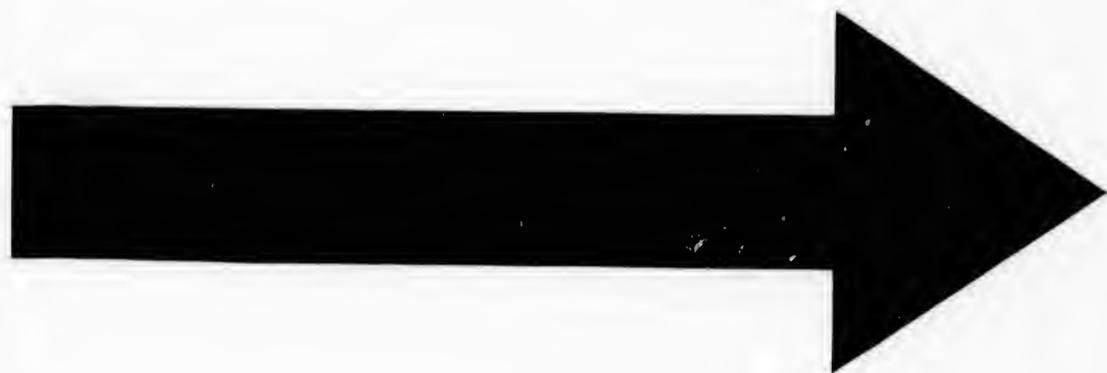
Arts. III., IV., V. and VI. extended the provisions of Arts. I. and II. to merchants and other classes of men. Art. VII. permits "every nobleman and gentleman compromised in the said articles

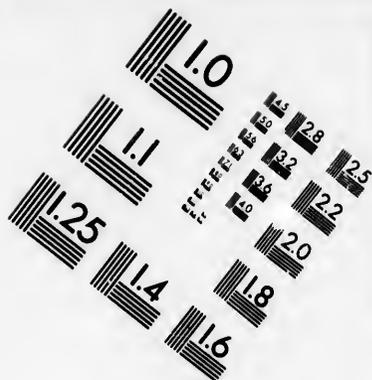
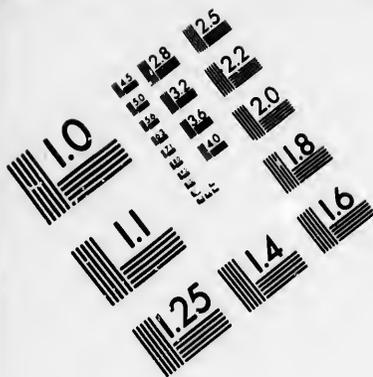
to carry side arms, and keep "a gun in their houses." Art. VIII. gives the right of removing goods and chattels without search. Art. IX. is as follows :

"The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government *shall be the oath aforesaid, and no other.*"

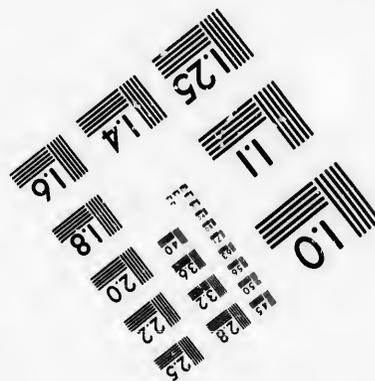
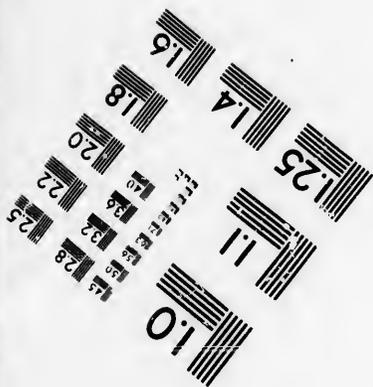
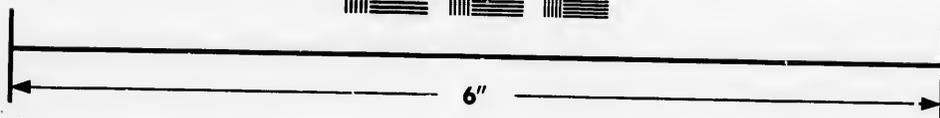
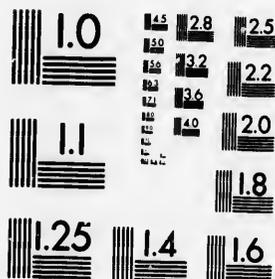
Art. X. guarantees that "no person or persons who shall at any time hereafter, break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other person or persons to *forfeit or lose the benefit of them.*" Arts. XI. and XII. relate to the ratification of the articles "within eight months or sooner." Art. XIII. refers to the debts of "Colonel John Brown, commissary of the Irish army, to several Protestants," and arranges for their satisfaction.

These articles were signed, before Limerick, at the well known "Treaty Stone," on the Clare side of the Shannon, by Lord Scravenmore, Generals Mackay, Talmash, and De Ginkle, and the Lords-Justices Porter and Coningsby, for King William, and by Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, Viscount Galmoy, Sir Toby Butler, and Colonels Purcell, Cusack, Dillon, and Brown, for the Irish. On the 24th of February following, royal letters patent confirmatory of the treaty were issued from Westminster, in the name of the king and queen, whereby they declared, that "we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of Parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles; which words having been casually omitted by the writer of the articles, the words following, viz. : 'And all such as are under their protection in the said counties,' should be inserted, and be part of the said omission, was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered, and that our said justices and





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generals, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof: Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz., 'And all such as are under their protection in the said counties,' herely, for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring that all and every person and persons therein concerned shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article, any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our court of chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing."

But the Ascendancy party were not to be restrained by the faith of treaties, or the obligations of the sovereign. The Sunday following the return of the Lords Justices from Limerick, Dopping, Bishop of Meath, preached before them at Christ's church, on the crime of keeping faith with Papists. The grand jury of Cork, urged on by Cox, the Recorder of Kinsale, one of the historians of those times, returned in their inquest that the restoration of the Earl of Clancarty's estates "would be dangerous to the Protestant interest." Though both William and George I., interested themselves warmly for that noble family, the hatred of the new oligarchy proved too strong for the clemency of kings, and the broad acres of the disinherited McCarthys, remained to enrich an alien and bigoted aristocracy.

In 1692, when the Irish Parliament met, a few Catholic peers, and a very few Catholic commoners took their seats. One of the first acts of the victorious majority was to frame an oath in direct contravention to the oath prescribed by the ninth civil article of the treaty, to be taken by members of both Houses. This oath solemnly and explicitly denied "that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is any transubstantiation of the elements;" and as solemnly affirmed, "that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the church of Rome, are damnable and

idolatrous." As a matter of course, the Catholic peers and commoners retired from both Houses, rather than take any such oath, and thus the Irish Parliament assumed, in 1692, that exclusively Protestant character which it continued to maintain, till its extinction in 1800. The Lord-Justice Sydney, acting in the spirit of his original instructions, made some show of resistance to the proscriptive spirit thus exhibited. But to teach him how they regarded his interference, a very small supply was voted, and the assertion of the absolute control of the Commons over all supplies—a sound doctrine when rightly interpreted—was vehemently asserted. Sydney had the satisfaction of proroguing and lecturing the House, but they had the satisfaction soon after of seeing him recalled through their influence in England, and a more congenial viceroy in the person of Lord Capel sent over.

About the same time, that ancient engine of oppression, a Commission to inquire into estates forfeited, was established, and, in a short time, decreed that 1,060,792 acres were escheated to the crown. This was almost the last fragment of the patrimony of the Catholic inhabitants. When King William died, there did not remain in Catholic hands "one-sixth part" of what their grandfathers held, even after the passage of the Act of Settlement.

In 1695, Lord Capel opened the second Irish Parliament, summoned by King William, in a speech in which he assured his delighted auditors that the king was intent upon a firm settlement of Ireland upon a Protestant interest." Large supplics were at once voted to his majesty, and the House of Commons then proceeded to the appointment of a committee to consider what penal laws were already in force against the Catholics, not for the purpose of repealing them, but in order to add to their number. The principal penal laws then in existence were:

1. An act, subjecting all who upheld the jurisdiction of the See of Rome, to the penalties of a *premunire*; and ordering the oath of supremacy to be a qualification for office of every kind, for holy orders, and for a degree in the university.
2. An act for the uniformity of Common Prayer, imposing a fine of a shilling on all who should absent themselves from places of worship of the established church on Sundays.

3. An act, allowing the Chancellor to name a guardian to the child of a Catholic.

4. An act to prevent Catholics from becoming private tutors in families, without license from the ordinaries of their several parishes, and taking the oath of supremacy.

To these, the new Parliament added, 1. An act to deprive Catholics of the means of educating their children at home or abroad, and to render them incapable of being guardians of their own or any other person's children; 2. An act to disarm the Catholics; and, 3. Another to banish all the Catholic priests and prelates. Having thus violated the treaty, they gravely brought in a bill "to confirm the Articles of Limerick." "The very title of the bill," says Dr. Cooke Taylor, "contains evidence of its injustice." It is styled, "A Bill for the Confirmation of Articles (not *the* articles) made at the Surrender of Limerick." And the preamble shows that the little word *the* was not accidentally omitted. It runs thus:—"That the said articles, or so much of them as may consist with the safety and welfare of your majesty's subjects in these kingdoms, may be confirmed," &c. The parts that appeared to these legislators inconsistent with "the safety and welfare of his majesty's subjects," were the first article, which provided for the security of the Catholics from all disturbances on account of their religion; those parts of the second article which confirmed the Catholic gentry of Limerick, Clare, Cork, Kerry, and Mayo, in the possession of their estates, and allowed all Catholics to exercise their trades and professions without obstruction; the fourth article, which extended the benefit of the peace to certain Irish officers then abroad; the seventh article, which allowed the Catholic gentry to ride armed; the ninth article, which provides that the oath of allegiance shall be the only oath required from Catholics; and one or two others of minor importance. All of these are omitted in the bill for "The confirmation of Articles made at the Surrender of Limerick."

The Commons passed the bill without much difficulty. The House of Lords, however, contained some few of the ancient nobility, and some prelates, who refused to acknowledge the dogma, "that no faith should be kept with Papists," as an article of their creed. The bill was strenuously resisted, and when it was

at length carried, a strong protest against it was signed by lords Londonderry, Tyrone, and Duncannon, the barons of Ossory, Limerick, Killaloe, Kerry, Howth, Kingston, and Strabane, and, to their eternal honor be it said, the Protestant bishops of Kildare Elphin, Derry, Clonfert, and Killala!

The only other political incidents of this reign, important to Ireland, were the speech from the throne in answer to an address of the English Houses, in which William promised to discourage the woolen and encourage the linen manufacture in Ireland, and the publication of the famous argument for legislative independence, "The Case of Ireland Stated." The author of this tract, the bright precursor of the glorious succession of men, who, often defeated or abandoned by their colleagues, finally triumphed in 1782, was William Molyneux, member for the University of Dublin. Molyneux's book appeared in 1698, with a short, respectful, but manly dedication to King William. Speaking of his own motives in writing it, he says, "I am not at all concerned in wool or the wool trade. I am no ways interested in forfeitures or grants. I am not at all concerned whether the bishop or the society of Derry recover the lands they contest about." Such were the domestic politics of Ireland at that day; but Molyneux raised other and nobler issues when he advanced these six propositions, which he supported with incontestible ability.

"1. How Ireland became a kingdom *annexed* to the crown of England. And here we shall at large give a faithful narrative of the first expedition of the Britons into this country, and King Henry II.'s arrival here, such as our best historians give us.

"2. We shall inquire whether this expedition and the English settlement that afterwards followed thereon, can properly be called a *conquest*? or whether any victories obtained by the English in any succeeding ages in this kingdom, upon any rebellion, may be called a *conquest* thereof?

"3. Granting that it were a *conquest*, we shall inquire what *title* a conquest gives.

"4. We shall inquire what *concessions* have been from time to time made to Ireland, to take off what even the most rigorous asserters of a conquerer's title do pretend to. And herein we shall show by what degrees the English form of government,

and the English statute laws, came to be received among us and this shall appear to, be wholly by the *consent* of the people and the parliament of Ireland.

"5. We shall inquire into the precedents and opinions of the learned in the laws relating to this matter, with observations thereon.

"6. We shall consider the reasons and arguments that may be further offered on one side and t'other; and we shall draw some general conclusions from the whole."

The English Parliament took alarm at these bold doctrines seldom heard across the channel since the days of Patrick Darcy and the Catholic Confederacy. They ordered the book to be burned by the hands of the common hangman as of "dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the power of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland had, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They voted an address to the king in the same tone, and received an answer from his majesty assuring them that he would enforce the laws securing the dependence of Ireland on the imperial crown of Great Britain.

But William's days were already numbered. On the 8th of March, 1702, when little more than fifty years of age, he died from the effects of a fall from his horse. His reign over Ireland is synonymous to the minds of that people of disaster, proscription and spoliation; violated faith and broken compacts; but these wrongs were done in his name rather than by his orders; often without his knowledge, and sometimes against his will. Rigid as that will was, it was forced to bend to the anti-Popery storm which swept over the British Islands after the abdication of King James; but the vices and follies of his times ought no more be laid to the personal account of William than of James or Louis, against whom he fought.

CHAPTER XI.

REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

The reign of Queen Anne occupies twelve years (1702 to 1714). The new sovereign, daughter of James by his first marriage, inherited the legacy of William's wars, arising out of the European coalition. Her diplomatists, and her troops, under the leadership of Marlborough, continued throughout her reign to combat against France, in Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands the treaty of Utrecht being signed only the year before her majesty's decease. In domestic politics, the main occurrences were the struggle of the Whigs and Tories, immortalized for us in the pages of Swift, Steele, Addison, and Bolingbroke; the limitation of the succession to the descendants of the Electress Sophia, in the line of Hanover; and the abortive Jacobite movement on the queen's death which drove Ormond and Atterbury into exile.

In Ireland, this is the reign, *par excellence*, of the penal code. From the very beginning of the queen's reign, an insatiate spirit of proscription dictated the councils of the Irish obligarchy. On the arrival of the second and last Duke of Ormond, in 1703, as Lord-Lieutenant, the commons waited on him in a body, with a bill "for discouraging the further growth of Popery," to which, the duke having signified his entire concurrence, it was accordingly introduced, and became law. The following are among the most remarkable clauses of this act: The third clause provides, that if the son of an estated Papist, shall conform to the established religion, the father shall be incapacitated from selling or mortgaging his estate, or disposing of any portion of it by will. The fourth clause prohibits a Papist from being the guardian of his own child; and orders, that if at any time the child, though ever so young, pretends to be a Protestant, it shall be taken from its own father, and placed under the guardianship of the nearest Protestant relation. The sixth clause renders Papists incapable of purchasing any manors, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents

or profits arising out of the same, or of holding any lease of lives or other lease whatever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years. And with respect even to such limited leases, it further enacts, that if a Papist should hold a farm producing a profit greater than one-third of the amount of the rent, his right to such should immediately cease, and pass over entirely to the first Protestant who should discover the rate of profit. The seventh clause prohibits Papists from succeeding to the properties or estates of their Protestant relations. By the tenth clause, the estate of a Papist, not having a Protestant heir, is ordered to be gavelled, or divided in equal shares between all his children. The sixteenth and twenty-fourth clauses impose the oath of abjuration, and the sacramental test, as a qualification for office, and for voting at elections. The twenty-third clause deprives the Catholics of Limerick and Galway of the protection secured to them by the articles of the treaty of Limerick. The twenty-fifth clause vests in her majesty all advowsons possessed by Papists.

Certain Catholic barristers, living under protection, not yet excluded from the practice of their profession, petitioned to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons. Accordingly, Mr. Malone, the ancestor of three generations of scholars and orators, Sir Stephen Rice, one of the most spotless characters of the age, formerly chief-justice under King James, and Sir Theobald Butler, were heard against the bill. The argument of Butler, who stood at the very head of his profession, remains to us almost in its entirety, and commands our admiration by its solidity and and dignity. Never was national cause more worthily pleaded; never was the folly of religious persecution more forcibly exhibited. Alluding to the monstrous fourth clause of the bill, the great advocate exclaimed:—

“It is natural for the father to love the child; but we all know that children are but too apt and subject, without any such liberty as this bill gives, to slight and neglect their duty to their parents; and surely such an act as this will not be an instrument of restraint, but rather encourage them more to it.

“It is but too common with the son, who has a prospect of an estate, when once he arrives at the age of one and twenty, to think the old father too long in the way between him and it; and how

much more will he be subject to it, when, by this act, he shall have liberty, before he comes to that age, to compel and force my estate from me, without asking my leave, or being liable to account with me for it, or out of his share thereof, to a moiety of the debts, portions, or other encumbrances, with which the estate might have been charged before the passing this act!

“Is not this against the laws of God and man? Against the rules of reason and justice, by which all men ought to be governed? Is not this the only way in the world to make children become uncutiful? and to bring the gray head of the parent to the grave with grief and tears?”

“It would be hard from any man; but from a son, a child, the fruit of my body, whom I have nursed in my bosom, and tendered more dearly than my own life, to become my plunderer, to rob me of my estate, to cut my throat, and to take away my bread, is much more grievous than from any other and enough to make the most flinty of hearts to bleed to think on it. And yet this will be the case if this bill pass into a law; which I hope this honorable assembly will not think of, when they shall more seriously consider, and have weighed these matters.

“For God’s sake, gentlemen, will you consider whether this is according to the golden rule, to do as you would be done unto? And if not, surely you will not, nay, you cannot, without being liable to be charged with the most manifest injustice imaginable, take from us our birthrights, and invest them in others before our faces.”

When Butler and Malone had closed, Sir Stephen Rice was heard, not in his character of council, but as one of the petitioners affected by the act. But neither the affecting position of that great jurist, who from the rank of chief baron had descended to the outer bar, nor the purity of his life, nor the strength of his argument, had any effect upon the oligarchy who heard him. He was answered by quibbles and cavils, unworthy of record, and was finally informed that any rights which Papists “pretended to be taken from them by the Bill, was in their own power to remedy, by conforming, which in prudence they ought to do; and that they had none to blame but themselves.” Next day the bill passed into law.

The remnant of the clergy were next attacked. On the 17th

of March, 1706, the Irish Commons resolved, that "informing against Papists was an honorable service to the government," and that all magistrates and others who failed to put the penal laws into execution, "were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom." But even these resolutions, rewards, and inducements were insufficient to satisfy the spirit of persecution.

A further act was passed, in 1709, imposing additional penalties. The first clause declares, that no Papist shall be capable of holding an annuity for life. The third provides, that the child of a Papist, on conforming, shall at once receive an annuity from his father; and that the Chancellor shall compel the father to discover, upon oath, the full value of his estate, real and personal, and thereupon make an order for the support of such conforming child or children, and for securing such a share of the property, after the father's death, as the court shall think fit. The fourteenth and fifteenth clauses secure jointures to Popish wives who shall conform. The sixteenth prohibits a Papist from teaching, even as assistant to a Protestant master. The eighteenth gives a salary of £30 per annum to Popish priests who shall conform. The twentieth provides rewards for the discovery of Popish prelates, priests, and teachers, according to the following whimsical scale:—For discovering an archbishop, bishop vicar-general, or other person, exercising any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, £50; for discovering each regular clergyman, and each secular clergyman not registered, £20, and for discovering each Popish schoolmaster or usher, £10. The twenty-first clause empowers two justices to summon before them any Papist over eighteen years of age, and interrogate him when and where he last heard mass said, and the names of the persons present, and likewise touching the residence of any Popish priest or schoolmaster; and if he refuse to give testimony, subjects him to a fine of £20, or imprisonment for twelve months.

Several other penal laws were enacted by the same parliament, of which we can only notice one; it excluded Catholics from the office of sheriff, and from grand juries, and enacts, that, in trials upon any statute for strengthening the Protestant interest, the plaintiff might challenge a juror for being a Papist, which challenge the judge was to allow.

By a royal proclamation of the same year, all "registered priests" were to take "the oath of abjuration before the 25th of March, 1710," under penalty of *penurie*. Under this proclamation and the tariff of rewards just cited, there grew up a class of men, infamous and detestable, known by the nickname of "priest hunters." One of the most successful of these traffickers in blood, was a Portuguese Jew, named Garcia, settled at Dublin. He was very skillful at disguises. "He sometimes put on the mien of a priest, for he affected to be one, and thus worming himself into the good graces of some confiding Catholic, got a clue to the whereabouts of the clergy." In 1718, Garcia succeeded in arresting seven unregistered priests, for whose detection he had a sum equal to two or three thousand dollars of American money. To such an excess was this trade carried, that a reaction set in, and a Catholic bishop of Ossory, who lived at the time these acts were still in force, records that "the priest-catchers' occupation became exceedingly odious both to Protestants and Catholics," and that himself had seen "ruffians of this calling assailed with a shower of stones, flung by both Catholics and Protestants." But this creditable reaction only became general under George II., twenty years after the passage of the act of Queen Anne.

We shall have to mention some monstrous additions made to the code during the first George's reign, and some attempts to repair and perfect its diabolical machinery, even so late as George III; but the great body of the penal law received its chief accessions from the oligarchical Irish parliament, under Queen Anne. Hitherto, we have often had to point out, how with all its constitutional defects—with the law of Poynings, obliging heads of bills to be first sent into England—fettering its freedom of initiative;—how, notwithstanding all defects, the Irish parliament had asserted, at many critical periods, its own and the people's rights, with an energy worthy of admiration. But the collective bigots of this reign, were wholly unworthy of the name of a parliament. They permitted the woolen trade to be sacrificed without a struggle,—they allowed the bold propositions of Molyneux, one of their own number, to be condemned and reprobated without a protest. The knotted lash of Jonathan Swift was never more worthily applied, than to "the Legion

Club," which he has consigned to such an unenviable immortality. Swift's inspiration may have been mingled with bitter disappointment and personal revenge; but, whatever motives animated him, his fearless use of his great abilities must always make him the first political, as he was certainly the first literary character of Ireland at that day. In a country so bare and naked as he found it; with a bigotry so rampant and united before him; it needed no ordinary courage and capacity to evoke anything like public opinion or public spirit. Let us be just to that most unhappy man of genius; let us proclaim, that Irish nationality, bleeding at every pore, and in danger of perishing by the wayside, found shelter on the breast of Swift, and took new heart from the example of that bold churchman, before whom the parliament, the bench of bishops, and the viceroy, trembled.

CHAPTER XII.

THE IRISH SOLDIERS ABROAD DURING THE REIGNS OF WILLIAM AND ANNE.

THE close of the second reign from the siege of Limerick, imposes the duty of casting our eyes over the map of Europe, in quest of those gallant exiles whom we have seen, in tens of thousands, submitting to the hard necessity of expatriation.

Many of the Meath and Leinster Irish, under their native commanders, the Kavanaghs and Nugents, carried their swords into the service of William's ally, the Emperor of Austria, and distinguished themselves in all the campaigns of Prince Eugene. Spain attracted to her standard the Irish of the northwest, the O'Donnells, the O'Reillys and O'Garas, whose regiments, during more than one reign, continued to be known by names of Ulster origin. In 1707, the great battle of Almanza, which decided the Spanish succession, was determined by O'Mahony's foot and Fitzjames's Irish horse. The next year Spain had five Irish regiments in her regular army, three of foot and two of dragoons, under the command of Lacy, Lawless, Wogan, O'Reilly and O'Garas. But it was in France that the Irish served in the

greatest number, and made the most impressive history for themselves and their descendants.

The recruiting agents of France had long been in the habit of crossing the narrow seas, and bringing back the stalwart sons of the western Island to serve their ambitious kings, in every corner of the continent. An Irish troop of horse served, in 1652, under Turenne, against the great Condé. In the campaigns of 1673, 1674 and 1675, under Turenne, two or three Irish regiments were in every engagement along the Rhine. At Altenheim, their commander, Count Hamilton, was created a major-general of France. In 1690, these old regiments, with the six new ones sent over by James, were formed into a brigade, and from 1690 to 1693, they went through the campaigns of Savoy and Italy, under Marshal Catinat, against Prince Eugene. Justin McCarthy, Lord Mountcashel, who commanded them, died at Baregeas of wounds received at Staffardo. At Marsiglia, they routed, in 1693, the allies, killing Duke Schomberg, son to the Huguenot general who fell at the Boyne.

The "New" or Sarsfield's brigade was employed under Luxembourg, against King William, in Flanders, in 1692 and 1693. At Namur and Eughien, they were greatly distinguished, and William more than once sustained heavy loss at their hands. Sarsfield, their brigadier, for these services, was made mareschal-de-camp. At Landen, on the 29th of July, '93, France again triumphed to the cry, "Remember Limerick!" Sarsfield, leading on the fierce pursuers, fell mortally wounded. Pressing his hand upon the wound, he took it away dripping with blood, and only said, "Oh, that this was for Ireland!"

In the war of the Spanish succession, the remnants of both brigades, consolidated into one, served under their favorite leader, the Marshal Duke of Berwick, through nearly all his campaigns in Belgium, Spain and Germany. The third Lord Clare, afterwards Field-Marshal Count Thomond, was by the Duke's side at Phillipsburg, in 1733, when he received his death-wound from the explosion of a mine. These exiled Clare O'Briens commanded for three generations their famous family regiment of dragoons. The first who followed king James abroad died of wounds received at the battle of Ramillies; the third, with better fortune

outlived for nearly thirty years the glorious day of Fontenoy. The Irish cavalry regiments in the service of France were She'don's, Galmoy's, Clare's, and Killmallock's; the infantry were known as the regiments of Dublin, Charlemont, Limerick and Athlone. There were two other infantry regiments, known as Luttrell's and Dorrington's—and a regiment, of Irish marines, of which the Grand Prior, Fitzjames, was colonel. During the latter years of Louis XIV., there could not have been less, at any one time, than from 20,000 to 30,000 Irish in his armies, and during the entire century, authentic documents exist to prove that 450,000 natives of Ireland died in the military service of France.

In the dreary reigns of William, Anne, and the two first Georges, the pride and courage of the disarmed and disinherited population, abiding at home, drew new life and vigor from the exploits of their exiled brethren. The channel smuggler and the vagrant ballad-singer kept alive their fame for the lower class of the population, while the memoirs of Marlborough and Eugene, issuing from the Dublin press, communicated authentic accounts of their actions, to the more prejudiced, or better educated. The blows they struck at Landen, at Cremona, and at Almanza, were sensibly felt by every British statesman; when, in the bitterness of defeat, an English king cursed "the laws that deprived him of such subjects," the doom of the penal code was pronounced.

The high character of the famous captains of these brigades was not confined to the field of battle. At Paris, Vienna, and Madrid, their wit and courtesy raised them to the favor of princes, over the jealousy of all their rivals. Important civil and diplomatic offices were entrusted to them—embassys of peace and war—the government of provinces, and the highest administrative offices of the state. While their kinsmen in Ireland were declared incapable of filling the humblest public employments or of exercising the commonest franchise, they met British ambassadors abroad as equals, and checked or countermined the imperial policy of Great Britain. It was impossible that such a contrast of situations should not attract the attention of all thinking men! It was impossible that such reputations should shine before all Europe without reacting powerfully on the fallen fortunes of Ireland!

BOOK IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE I. TO
THE LEGISLATIVE UNION OF GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.—SWIFT'S LEADERSHIP.

THE last years of Queen Anne had been years of intrigue and preparation with the Jacobite leaders throughout the three kingdoms. At their head stood Ormond, the second and last *Duke* of his name, and with him were associated at one stage or another of his design, Bolingbroke, Orrery, Bishop Atterbury, and other influential persons. It was thought that had this party acted promptly on the death of the queen, and proclaimed James III. (or "the Pretender," as he was called by the partisans of the new dynasty), the Act of Succession might have remained a dead letter, and the Stuarts recovered their ancient sovereignty. But the partisans of the elector were the first in the field, and King George was accordingly proclaimed, on the 1st of August, at London, and on the 6th of August, at Dublin.

In Dublin, where serious apprehensions of a Jacobite rising were entertained, the proclamation was made by the glare of torches at the extraordinary hour of midnight. Two or three arrests of insignificant persons were made, and letters to Swift being found on one of them, the dean was thought by his friends to be in some danger. But it is not correct to say, as many writers have done, that he found it necessary to retire from Dublin. The only inconvenience he suffered was from the hootings and revilings of the Protestant rabble in the street, and a brutal threat of personal violence from a young nobleman, upon whom he revenged himself in a characteristic petition to the House of

Lords "for protection against the said lord." Pretending not to be quite sure of his assailant, he proceeds to explain: "Your petitioner is informed that the person who spoke the words above mentioned is of your Lordships' house, under the style and title of Lord Blaney; whom your petitioner remembers to have introduced to Mr. Secretary Addison, in the Earl of Wharton's government, and to have done him other good offices at that time, because he was represented as a young man of some hopes and a broken fortune." The entire document is a curious picture of the insolence of the ascendancy party of that day, even towards dignitaries of their own church who refused to go all lengths in the only politics they permitted or tolerated.

It was while smarting under these public indignities, and excluded from the society of the highest class in his own country, with two or three exceptions, that Swift laid the foundations of his own and his country's patriotism, among the educated middle class of the Irish capital. From the college and the clergy he drew Dr. Sheridan,—ancestor of six generations of men and women of genius! Doctors Delaney, Jackson, Helsham, Walmsley, Stopford (afterwards bishop of Cloyne), and the three reverend brothers Grattan. In the city he selected as his friends and companions four other Grattans, one of whom was lord-mayor, another physician to the castle, one a school-master, the other a merchant. "Do you know the Grattans?" he wrote to the lord-lieutenant, Lord Carteret; "then pray obtain their acquaintance. The Grattans, my lord, can raise 10,000 men." Among the class represented by this admirable family of seven brothers, and in that of the tradesmen immediately below them, of which we may take his printers, Waters and Faulkner for types, Swift's haughty and indignant denunciations of the oligarchy of the hour produced striking effects. The humblest of the community began to raise their heads, and to fix their eyes steadily on public affairs and public characters. Questions of currency, of trade, of the administration of justice and of patronage, were earnestly discussed in the press and in society, and thus by slow but gradually ascending steps a spirit of independence was promoted where hitherto only servility had reigned.

The obligations of his cotemporaries to Swift are not to be

counted simply by what he was able to originate or to advocate in their behalf—for not much could be done in that way, in such times, and in such a position as his—but rather in regard to the enemies and maligners of that people, whom he exposed and punished. To understand the value of his example and inspiration, we must read over again his castigations of Wharton, of Burnet, of Boulter, of Whitshed, of Allan, and all the leaders of the oligarchy, in the Irish Parliament. When we have done so, we shall see at once, how his imperial reputation, his personal position, and every faculty of his powerful mind were employed alike to combat injustice and proscription, to promote freedom of opinion and of trade, to punish the abuses of judicial power, and to cultivate and foster, a spirit of self reliance and economy among all classes—especially the humblest. In his times, and in his position, with a cassock “entangling his course,” what more could have been expected of him?

The Parliament which met in 1715—elected, according to the then usage, for the lifetime of the king—commenced its career by an act of attainder against the Pretender, accompanied by a reward of £50,000 for his apprehension. The Lords-Justices, the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Galway, recommended in their speech to the Houses, that they should cultivate such unanimity among themselves as “at once to put an end to all other distinctions in Ireland, but that of Protestant and Papist.” In the same speech, and in all the debates of that reign, the Catholics were spoken of as “the common enemy,” and all who sympathized with them, as “enemies of the constitution.” But far as this Parliament was from all our ideas of what a national legislature ought to be, it was precisely at this period, when the administration could not be worse, that the foundation was laid of the great contest for legislative independence, which was to continue through three generations, and to constitute the main staple of the Irish history of this century.

In the year 1717, the English House of Lords entertained and decided, as a court of last resort, an appeal from the Irish courts, already passed on by the Irish Lords, in the famous real-estate case of *Annesley versus Sherlock*. The proceeding was novel, and was protested against in the English house at the time by

the Duke of Leeds, and in the Irish, by the majority of the whole house. But the British Parliament, not content with claiming the power, proceeded to establish the principle, by the declaratory act—6th George I.—for securing the dependence of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain. This statute, even more objectionable than the law of Poynings, continued unrepealed till 1782, notwithstanding all the arguments and all the protests of the Irish patriot party. The Lords of Ireland, unsupported by the bigoted and unprincipled oligarchy in the Commons, were shorn of their appellate jurisdiction, and their journals for many years contain few entries of business done, beyond servile addresses to successive viceroys, and motions of adjournment.

In their session of 1723, the ascendancy party in the Commons proceeded to their last extreme of violence against the prostrate Catholics. An act was introduced founded on eight resolutions, "further to prevent the growth of Popery." One of these resolutions regularly transmitted to England by the viceroy—proposed that every priest, arrested within the realm, should suffer the penalty of *castration!* For the first time, a penal law was rejected with horror and indignation by the English Privy Council, and the whole elaborate edifice, overweighted with these last propositions, trembled to its base. But though badly shaken, it was yet far from coming down.

"Do not the corruptions and villainies of men," said Swift to his friend Delaney, "eat your flesh and exhaust your spirits?" They certainly gnawed at the heart of the courageous dean, but at the same time, they excited rather than exhausted his spirits. In 1720 he resumed his pen, as a political writer, in his famous proposa. "for the universal use of Irish manufactures." Waters, the printer of this piece, was indicted for a seditious libel, before Chief Justice Whitshed, the immortal "*coram nobis*," of the dean's political ballads. The jury were detained eleven hours, and sent out nine times, to compel them to agree on a verdict. They at length finally declared they could not agree, and a *nol. pros.* was soon after entered by the crown. This trial of Swift's printer in 1720 is the first of a long series of duels with the crown lawyers, which the Irish press has since maintained with as much firmness and self-sacrifice, as any press ever exhibited.

And it may be said that never, not even under martial law, was a conspicuous example of civic courage more necessary, or more dangerous. Browne, Bishop of Cork, had been in danger of deprivation for preaching a sermon against the well-known toast to the memory of King William; Swift was threatened, as we see, a few years earlier, with personal violence by a Whig lord, and pelted by a Protestant rabble, for his supposed Jacobitism; his friend, Dr. Sheridan, lost his Munster living for having accidentally chosen as his text, on the anniversary of King George's coronation, "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." Such was the intolerance of the oligarchy towards their own clergy. What must it have been to others!

The attempt to establish a National Bank, and the introduction of a debased copper coinage, for which a patent had been granted to one William Wood, next employed the untiring pen of Swift. The half-penny controversy, was not, as is often said, a small matter; it was nearly as important as the bank project itself. Of the £100,000 worth coined, the intrinsic value was shown to be not more than £6,000. Such was the storm excited against the patentee, that his Dublin agents were obliged to resign their connection with him, and the royal letters-patent were unwillingly canceled. The bank project was also rejected by Parliament, adding another to the triumphs of the invincible Dean.

During the last years of this reign, Swift was the most powerful and popular person in Ireland, and perhaps in the empire. The freedom with which he advised Carteret the viceroy, and remonstrated with Walpole, the premier, on the misrule of his country, was worthy of the ascendancy of his genius. No man of letters, no churchman, no statesman of any country in any age, ever showed himself more thoroughly independent, in his intercourse with men in office, than Swift. The vice of Ireland was exactly the other way, so that in this respect also, the patriot was the liberator.

Rising with the rise of public spirit, the great churchman, in his fourth letter, in the assumed character of *M. B. Drapier*, confronted the question of legislative independence. Alluding to the pamphlet of Molyneux, published thirty years before, he pronounced its arguments invincible, and the contrary system

"the very definition of slavery." "The remedy," he concludes, addressing the Irish people, "is wholly in your own hands, and therefore I have digressed a little, in order to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised among you, and to let you see, that, by the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your country, you are, and ought to be, as free a people as your brethren in England." For this letter also, the printer, Harding, was indicted, but the Dublin grand jury, infected with the spirit of the times, unanimously ignored the bill. A reward of £300 was then issued from the castle for the discovery of the author, but no informer could be found base enough to betray him. For a time, however, to escape the ovations he despised, and the excitement which tried his health, Swift retired to his friend Sheridan's cottage on the banks of Loch Ramor, in Cavan, and there recreated himself with long rides about the country, and the composition of the *Travels of the immortal Gulliver*.

Sir Robert Walpole, alarmed at the exhibition of popular intelligence and determination evoked by Swift, committed the government of Ireland to his rival Lord Carteret—whom he was besides not sorry to remove to a distance—and appointed to the see of Armagh, which fell vacant about the time of the currency dispute, Dr. Hugh Boulter, Bishop of Bristol, one of his own creatures. This prelate, a politician by taste and inclination modeled his policy on his patron's, as far as his more contracted sphere and inferior talents permitted. To buy members in market overt, with peerages, or secret service money, was his chief means of securing a parliamentary majority. An Englishman by birth and education; the head of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, it was inevitable that his policy should be English and Protestant, in every particular. To resist, depress, disunite, and defeat the believers in the dangerous doctrines of Swift and Molyneux, was the sole rule of his nearly twenty years' political supremacy in Irish affairs. (1724-1742.) The master of a princely income, endowed with strong passions, unlimited patronage, and great activity, he may be said to have reigned rather than led, even when the nominal vicereignty was in the hands of such able and accomplished men as Lords Carteret, Dorset and Devonshire. His failure in his first state trial, against Harding

the printer, nothing discouraged him; he had come into Ireland to secure the English interest, by uprooting the last vestiges of Popery and independence, and he devoted himself to those objects with persevering determination. In 1727—the year of George the First's decease—he obtained the disfranchisement of Catholic electors by a clause quietly inserted without notice, in a Bill regulating elections; and soon after he laid the foundations of those nurseries of proselytism, “the Charter Schools.”



CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF GEORGE II.—GROWTH OF PUBLIC SPIRIT—THE “PATRIOT” PARTY—LORD CHESTERFIELD'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE accession of King George II. in 1727, led to no considerable changes, either in England or Ireland. Sir Robert Walpole continued supreme in the one country, and Primate Boulter in the other. The Jacobites, disheartened by their ill success in 1715, and repelled rather than attracted by the austere character of him they called King James III., made no sign. The new king's first act was to make public the declaration he had addressed to the Privy Council, of his firm resolution to uphold the existing constitution “in church and state.”

The Catholic population, beginning once more to raise their heads, thought this a suitable occasion to present a humble and loyal address of congratulation to the Lords Justices, in the absence of the viceroy. Lord Delvin and several of their number accordingly appeared at the Castle, and delivered their address, which they begged might be forwarded to the foot of the throne. No notice whatever was taken of this document, either at Dublin or London, nor were the class who signed it permitted by law to “testify their allegiance” to the sovereign, for fifty years later—down to 1778.

The Duke of Dorset, who succeeded Lord Carteret as viceroy in 1731, unlike his immediate predecessor, refrained from suggesting additional severities against the Catholics. His first term of

office—two years—was almost entirely occupied with the fiercest controversy which had ever waged in Ireland between the Established Church and the Protestant Dissenters. The ground of the dispute was the sacramental test, imposed by law upon the members of both houses, and all burgesses and councillors of corporate towns. By the operations of this law, when rigidly enforced, Presbyterians and other dissenters were as effectually excluded from political and municipal offices as Catholics themselves. Against this exclusion it was natural that a body so numerous, and possessed of so much property, especially in Ulster, should make a vigorous resistance. Relying on the great share they had in the revolution, they endeavored, though ineffectually, to obtain under King William the repeal of the Test Act of King Charles II. Under Queen Anne they were equally unsuccessful, as we may still read with interest in the pages of Swift, De Foe, Tennyson, Boyse, and King. Swift, especially, brought to the controversy not only the zeal of a churchman, but the prejudices of an Anglo-Irishman, against the new-comers in the north. He upbraids them in 1708, as glad to leave their barren hills of Lochaber for the fruitful vales of Down and Antrim, for their parsimony and their clannishness. He denied to them, with bitter scorn, the title they had assumed of "Brother Protestants," and as to the Papists, whom they affected to despise, they were, in his opinion, as much superior to the Dissenters, as a lion, though chained and clipped of its claws, is a stronger and nobler animal than an angry cat, at liberty to fly at the throats of true churchmen. The language of the Presbyterian champions was equally bold, denunciatory, and explicit. They broadly intimated, in a memorial to parliament, that under the operation of the test, they would be unable to take up arms again, as they had done in 1688, for the maintenance of the Protestant succession; a covert menace of insurrection, which Swift and their other opponents did not fail to make the most of. Still farther to embarrass them, Swift got up a paper making out a much stronger case in favor of the Catholics than of "their brethren, the Dissenters;" and the controversy closed, for that age, in the complete triumph of the established clergy.

This iniquitous deprivation of equal civil rights, accompanied

with the onerous burthen of tithes falling heaviest on the cultivators of the soil, produced the first great Irish exodus to the North American Colonies. The tithe of agistment or pasturage, lately abolished, had made the tithe of tillage more unjust and unequal. Outraged in their dearest civil and religious rights, thousands of the Scoto-Irish of Ulster, and the Milesian and Anglo-Irish of the other provinces, preferred to encounter the perils of an Atlantic flitting rather than abide under the yoke and lash of such an oligarchy. In the year 1729, five thousand six hundred Irish landed at the single port of Philadelphia; in the next ten years they furnished to the Carolinas and Georgia the majority of their immigrants; before the end of this reign, several thousands of heads of families, all bred and married in Ireland, were rearing up a free posterity along the slopes of the Blue Ridge in Virginia and Maryland, and even as far north as the valleys of the Hudson and the Merrimac. In the ranks of the thirteen United Colonies, the descendants of those non-conformists were to repeat, for the benefit of George III., the lesson and example their ancestors had taught to James II. at Enniskillea and at Derry.

Swift, with all his services to his own order, disliked, and was disliked by them. Of the bishops he has recorded his utter contempt in some of the most cutting couplets that even he ever wrote. Boulter he detested; Narcissus Marsh he despised; with Dr. King, of Dublin, Dr. Bolton, of Cashel, and Dr. Horte, of Tuam, he barely kept up appearances. Except Sterne, Bishop of Clogher, Berkely, Bishop of Cloyne, and Stopford, his successor, he entertained neither friendship nor respect for one of that order. And on their part, the right reverend prelates cordially reciprocated his antipathy. They resisted his being made a member of the Linen Board, a Justice of the Peace, or a Visitor of Trinity College. Had he appeared amongst them in parliament as their peer, they would have been compelled to accept him as a master, or combine against him as an enemy. No wonder, then that successive viceroys shrank from nominating him to any of the mitres which death had emptied; "the original sin of his birth" was aggravated in their eyes by the actual sin of his patriotism. No wonder the sheets of paper that littered his desk,

before he sunk into his last sad scene of dotage, were found scribbled all over with his favorite lines—

“Better we all were in our graves,
Than live in slavery to slaves.”

But the seeds of manly thought he had so broadly sown, though for a season hidden even from the sight of the sower, were not dead, nor undergoing decay. With something of the prudence of their founder, “the Patriot party,” as the opposition to the Castle party began to be called, occupied themselves at first with questions of taxation and expenditure. In 1729, the Castle attempted to make it appear that there was a deficit—that in short “the country owed the government”—the large sum of £274,000! The Patriots met this claim, by a motion for reducing the cost of all public establishments. This was the chosen ground of both parties, and a more popularly intelligible ground could not be taken. Between retrenchment and extravagance, between high taxes and low, even the least educated of the people could easily decide; and thenceforward for upwards of twenty years, no session was held without a spirited debate on the supplies, and the whole subject of the public expenditure.

The Duke of Devonshire, who succeeded the Duke of Dorset as viceroy in 1737, contributed by his private munificence and lavish hospitalities to throw a factitious popularity round his administration. No Dublin tradesman could find it in his heart to vote against the nominee of so liberal a nobleman, and the public opinion of Dublin was as yet the public opinion of Ireland. But the Patriot party though unable to stem successfully the tide of corruption and seduction thus let loose, held their difficult position in the legislature with great gallantry and ability. New men had arisen during the dotage of Swift, who revered his maxims, and imitated his prudence. Henry Boyle, speaker of the House of Commons, afterwards Earl of Shannon; Anthony Malone—son of the *confrère* of Sir Toby Butler, and afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward O’Brien, member for Clare, and his son, Sir Lucius, member for Ennis, were the pillars of the party. Out of doors, the most active spirit among the Patriots, was Charles Lucas, a native of Clare, who from his

apothecary's shop in Dublin, attempted, not without both talents, zeal and energy, to play the part of Swift, at the press and among the people. His public writings, commenced in 1741, brought him at first persecution and exile, but they afterwards conducted him to the representation of the capital, and an honorable niche in his country's history.

The great event which may be said to divide into two epochs the reign of George II. was the daring invasion of Scotland in 1745, by "the young Pretender"—Charles Edward. This brave and unfortunate Prince, whose adventures will live forever in Scottish song and romance, was accompanied from France by Sir Thomas Sheridan, Colonel O'Sullivan, and other Irish refugees, still fondly attached to the house of Stuart. It is not to be supposed that these gentlemen would be without correspondents in Ireland, nor that the state of that country could be a matter of indifference to the astute advisers of King George. In reality, Ireland was almost as much their difficulty as Scotland, and their choice of a viceroy, at this critical moment, showed at once their estimate of the importance of the position, and the talents of the man.

Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, a great name in the world of fashion, in letters, and in diplomacy, is especially memorable to us, for his eight months' vicerealty over Ireland. That office had been long the object of his ambition, and he could hardly have attained it at a time better calculated to draw out his eminent administrative abilities. By temper and conviction opposed to persecution, he connived at Catholic worship under the very walls of the Castle. The sour and jaundiced bigotry of the local oligarchy he encountered with *bon mots* and raillery. The only "dangerous Papist" he had seen in Ireland, he declared to the king on his return, was a celebrated beauty of that religion—Miss Palmer. Relying on the magical effect of doing justice to all classes, and seeing justice done, he was enabled to spare four regiments of troops for the war in Scotland, instead of demanding additions to the Irish garrisons. But whether to diminish the influence which his brilliant administration had created in England, or through the machinations of the oligarchy, still powerful at Dublin, within ten days from the decisive bat

tle of Culloden, he was recalled. The fruits of his policy might be already observed, as he walked on foot, his countess on his arm, to the place of embarkation, amid the acclamations of all ranks and classes of the people, and their affectionate prayers for his speedy return.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAST JACOBITE MOVEMENT.—THE IRISH SOLDIERS ABROAD.— FRENCH EXPEDITION UNDER THURÓT, OR O'FARRELL.

THE mention of the Scottish insurrection of 1745 brings naturally with it another reference to the history of the Irish soldiers in the military service of France. This year was in truth the most eventful in the annals of that celebrated legion, for while it was the year of Fontenoy and victory on the one hand, it was on the other the year of Culloden and defeat.

The decisive battle of Fontenoy, in which the Franco-Irish troops bore so decisive a part, was fought on the 11th of May, 1745. The French army, commanded by Saxe, and accompanied by King Louis, leaving 18,000 men to besiege Namur, and 6,000 to guard the Scheldt, took a position between that river and the allies, having their centre at the village of Fontenoy. The British and Dutch, under the king's favorite son, the Duke of Cumberland, were 55,000 strong; the French 45,000. After a hard day's fighting, victory seemed to declare so clearly against France, that King Louis, who was present, prepared for flight. At this moment Marshal Saxe ordered a final charge by the seven Irish regiments under Counts Dillon and Thomond. The tide was turned, beyond expectation, to the cry of "Remember Limerick!" France was delivered, England checked, and Holland reduced from a first to a second-rate power upon that memorable day. But the victory was dearly bought. One-fourth of all the Irish officers, including Count Dillon, were killed, and one-third of all the men. The whole number slain on the side of France

was set down at 7,000 by English accounts, while they admitted for themselves alone, 4,000 British and 3,300 Hanoverians and Dutch. "Foremost of all," says the just-minded Lord Mahon, "were the gallant brigade of Irish exiles." It was this defeat of his favorite son which wrung from King George II. the oft-quoted malediction on the laws which deprived him of such subjects.

The expedition of Prince Charles Edward was undertaken and conducted by Irish aid, quite as much as by French or Scottish. The chief parties to it, besides the old Marquis of Tullibardine and the young Duke of Perth, were the Waterses, father and son, Irish bankers at Paris, who advanced one hundred and eighty thousand livres between them; Walsh, an Irish merchant at Nantz, who put a privateer of eighteen guns into the venture; Sir Thomas Geraldine, the Pretender's agent at Paris; Sir Thomas Sheridan, the prince's preceptor, who with Colonels O'Sullivan and Lynch, Captain O'Neil, and other officers of the brigade, formed the staff, on which Sir John McDonald, a Scottish officer in the Spanish service, was also placed. Fathers Kelly and O'Brien volunteered in the expedition. On the 22d of June, 1745, with seven friends, the prince embarked in Walsh's vessel, the *Doutelle*, at St. Nazaire, on the Loire, and on the 19th of July landed on the northern coast of Scotland, near Moidart. The Scottish chiefs, little consulted or considered beforehand, came slowly and dubiously to the landing-place. Under their patriarchal control there were still in the kingdom about a hundred thousand men, and about one-twelfth of the Scottish population. Clanronald, Cameron of Lochiel, the Laird of McLeod, and a few others, having arrived, the royal standard was unfurled on the 19th of August, at Glenfinin, where that evening twelve hundred men—the entire army so far—were formed into camp, under the orders of O'Sullivan. From that day until the day of Culloden, O'Sullivan seems to have maneuvered the prince's forces. At Perth, at Edinburgh, at Preston, at Manchester, at Culloden, he took command in the field, or in garrison; and even after the sad result, he adhered to his sovereign's son with an honorable fidelity which defied despair.

Charles, on his part, placed full confidence in his Irish officers. In his proclamation after the battle of Preston, he declared it was

not his intention to enforce on the people of England, Scotland, or Ireland, "a religion they disliked." In a subsequent paper, he asks, "Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful prince, retained a due sense of so great a trust and favor?" These and his other proclamations betrayed an Irish pen; probably Sir Thomas Sheridan's. One of Charles's English adherents, Lord Etcho, who kept a journal of the campaign, notes, complainingly, the Irish influence under which he acted. "The prince and his old governor, Sir Thomas Sheridan," are especially objected to, and the "Irish favorites," are censured in a body. While at Edinburgh, a French ship, containing some arms, supplies, and "Irish officers," arrived; at the same time efforts were made to recruit for the prince in Ireland; but the agents being taken in some cases, the channel narrowly watched, and the people not very eager to join the service, few recruits were obtained.

The Irish in France, as if to cover the inaction of their countrymen at home, strained every nerve. The Waterses and O'Brien of Paris were liberal bankers to the expedition. Into their hands James "exhausted his treasury" to support his gallant son. At Fontainebleau, on the 23d of October, Colonel O'Brien, on the part of the prince, and the Marquis D'Argeusson for Louis XV., formed a treaty of "friendship and alliance," one of the clauses of which was, that certain Irish regiments, and other French troops, should be sent to sustain the expedition. Under Lord John Drummond a thousand men were shipped from Dunkirk, and arrived at Montrose in the Highlands about the time Charles had penetrated as far south as Manchester. The officers, with the prince, here refused to advance on London with so small a force; a retreat was decided on; the sturdy defence of Carlisle, and victory of Falkirk, checked the pursuit; but the overwhelming force of the Duke of Cumberland compelled them to evacuate Edinburgh, Perth, and Glasgow—operations which consumed February, March, and the first half of April, 1746.

The next plan of operations seems to have been to concentrate in the western Highlands, with Inverness for headquarters. The

town Charles easily got, but Fort George, a powerful fortress, built upon the site of the castle where Macbeth was said to have murdered Duncan, commanded the Lough. Stapleton and his Irish, captured it, however, as well as the neighboring Fort Augustus. Joined by some Highlanders, they next attempted Fort William, the last fortress of King George in the north, but on the 3d of April were recalled to the main body.

To cover Inverness, his headquarters, Charles resolved to give battle. The ground chosen, flanked by the river Nairn, was spotted with marsh and very irregular; it was called Culloden, and was selected by O'Sullivan. Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Kerr reported against it as a field of battle; but Charles adopted O'Sullivan's opinion of its fitness for Highland warfare. When the preparations for battle began, "many voices exclaimed, 'We'll give Cumberland another Fontenoy!'" The Jacobites were placed in position by O'Sullivan, "at once their adjutant and quartermaster general," and, as the burghers of Preston thought, "a very likely fellow." He formed two lines, the Scotch clans being in the first, the Ogilvies, Gordons, and Murrays; the French and Irish in the second. Four pieces of cannon flanked each wing, and four occupied the centre. Lord George Murray commanded the right wing, Lord John Drummond the left, and Brigadier Stapleton the reserve. They mastered in all less than five thousand men. The British formed in three lines, ten thousand strong, with two guns between every second regiment of the first and second line. The action commenced about noon of April 16th, and before evening half the troops of Prince Charles lay dead on the field, and the rest were hopelessly broken. The retreat was pell-mell, except where "a troop of the Irish pickets, by a spirited fire, checked the pursuit, which a body of dragoons commenced after the Macdonalds, and Lord Lewis Gordon's regiments did similar service." Stapleton conducted the French and Irish remnant to Inverness, and obtained for them by capitulation "fair quarter and honorable treatment."

The unhappy prince remained on the field almost to the last. "It required," says Mr. Chambers, "all the eloquence, and indeed all the active exertion, of O'Sullivan to make Charles quit the field. A cornet in his service, when questioned on this sub-

ject at the point of death, declared he saw O'Sullivan, after using entreaties in vain, turn the head of the prince's horse and drag him away."

From that night forth, O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and a poor sedan carrier of Edinburgh, called Burke, accompanied him in all his wanderings and adventures among the Scottish islands. At Long Island they were obliged to part company, the prince proceeding alone with Miss Flora McDonald. He had not long left, when a French cutter hove in sight and took off O'Sullivan, intending to touch at another point, and take in the prince and O'Neil. The same night she was blown off the coast, and the prince, after many other adventures, was finally taken off at Badenoch, on the 15th of September, 1746, by the L'Heureux, a French armed vessel, in which Captain Sheridan (son of Sir Thomas), Mr. O'Beirne, a lieutenant in the French army, "and two other gentlemen," had adventured in search of him. Poor O'Neil, in seeking to rejoin his master, was taken prisoner, carried to London, and is lost from the record. O'Sullivan reached France safely, where, with Stapleton, Lynch, and the Irish and Scotch officers, he was welcomed and honored of all brave men.

Such was the last struggle of the Stuarts. For years after, the popular imagination in both countries clung fondly to Prince Charles. But the cause was dead. As if to bury it forever, Charles, in despair, grew dissipated and desponding. In 1755, "the British Jacobites" sent Colonel McNamara, as their agent, to induce him to put away his mistress, Miss Walsingham, a demand with which he haughtily refused to comply. In 1766, when James III. died at Avignon, the French king and the Pope refused to acknowledge the prince by the title of Charles III. When the latter died, in 1788, at Rome, Cardinal York contented himself with having a medal struck, with the inscription "Henricus IX., Anglæ Rex." He was the last of the Stuarts.

Notwithstanding the utter defeat of the Scottish expedition, and the scatterment of the surviving companies of the brigade on all sorts of service from Canada to India, there were many of the exiled Irish in France, who did not yet despair of a national insurrection against the house of Hanover. In the year 1759, an imposing expedition was fitted out at Brest under Admiral Co-

flaus, and another at Dunkirk, under Commodore Thurot, whose real name was O'Farrell. The former, soon after putting to sea, was encountered at Quiberon by the English under Hawke, and completely defeated; but the latter entered the British channel unopposed, and proceeded to the appointed rendezvous. While cruising in search of Conflaus, the autumnal equinox drove the intrepid Thurot into the Northern ocean, and compelled him to winter among the frozen friths of Norway and the Orkneys. One of his five frigates returned to France, another was never heard of, but with the remaining three he emerged from the Scottish Islands, and entered Loch Foyle early in 1760. He did not, however, attempt a landing at Derry, but appeared suddenly before Carrickfergus, on the 21st of February, and demanded its surrender. Placing himself at the head of his marines and sailors, he attacked the town, which, after a brave resistance by the commandant, Colonel Jennings, he took by assault. Here, for the first time, this earlier Paul Jones heard of the defeat of his admiral; after levying contributions on the rich burgesses and proprietors of Carrickfergus and Belfast, he again put to sea. His ships, battered by the wintry storms which they had undergone in northern latitudes, fell in near the Isle of Man with three English frigates, just out of port, under Commodore Elliott. A gallant action ensued, in which Thurot, or O'Farrell, and three hundred of his men were killed. The survivors struck to the victors, and the French ships were towed in a sinking state, into the port of Ramsay.

The life thus lost in the joint service of France and Ireland, was a life illustrative of the Irish refugee class among whom he became a leader. Left an orphan in childhood, O'Farrell, though of a good family, had been bred in France in so menial a condition that he first visited England as a domestic servant. From that condition he rose to be a dexterous and successful captain in the contraband trade, so extensive in those times. In this capacity he visited almost every port of either channel, acquiring that accurate knowledge which added to his admitted bravery and capacity, placed him at length at the head of a French squadron. "Throughout the expedition," says Lord Mahon, "the honor and humanity of this brave adventurer are warmly acknowledged by

his enemies. "He fought his ship," according to the same author, "until the hold was almost filled with water, and the deck covered with dead bodies."



CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF GEORGE II. (CONCLUDED.)—MALONE'S LEADERSHIP.

THE Earl of Harrington, afterwards, Duke of Devonshire, succeeded Lord Chesterfield in the government, in 1746. He was provided with a prime minister in the person of the new Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. George Stone, whose character, if he was not exceedingly calumniated by his cotemporaries, might be compared to that of the worst politicians of the worst ages of Europe. Originally, the son of the jailor of Winchester, he had risen by dint of talents, and audacity, to receive from the hands of his sovereign, the illustrious dignity of Primate of Ireland. But even in this exalted office, the abominable vices of his youth accompanied him. His house at Leixlip, was at once a tavern and a brothel, and crimes which are nameless, were said to be habitual under his roof. "May the importation of Ganymedes into Ireland, be soon discontinued," was the public toast, which disguised under the transparent gauze of a mythological allusion, the infamies of which he was believed to be the patron. The prurient page of Churchill, was not quite so scrupulous, and the readers of the satire entitled "The Times," will need no further key to the horrible charges commonly received on both sides of the channel, against Primate Stone.

The viceroyalty of Ireland, which had become an object of ambition to the first men in the empire, was warmly contested by the Earl of Harrington and the Duke of Dorset. The former, through his Stanhope influence and connections, prevailed over his rival, and arrived in Ireland warmly recommended by the popular Chesterfield. During his administration, Primate Stone, proceeding from one extreme to another, first put forward the dangerous theory, that all surplus revenue belonged of right to

the crown, and might be paid over by the Vice-Treasurers, to his majesty's order, without authority of Parliament. At this period, notwithstanding, the vicious system of her land tenures, and her recent losses by emigration, Ireland found herself in possession of a considerable surplus revenue.

Like wounds and bruises in a healthy body, the sufferings and deprivations of the population rapidly disappeared under the appearance even of improvement in the government. The observant Chesterfield, who continued through life warmly attached to the country in which his name was remembered with so much affection, expresses to his friend Chevenix, Bishop of Waterford, in 1751, his satisfaction at hearing "that Ireland improves daily, and that a spirit of industry spreads itself, to the great increase of trade and manufactures." This new-born prosperity the prime and politicians of his school would have met by an annual depletion of the treasury, instead of assisting its march by the reduction of taxes, and the promotion of necessary public works. The surplus was naturally regarded, by the Patriot party, in the light of so much national capital; they looked upon it as an improvement fund, for the construction of canals, highways and breakwaters, for the encouragement of the linen and other manufactures, and for the adornment of the capital with edifices worthy of the chief city of a flourishing kingdom.

The leader of the Patriot party, Anthony Malone, was compared at this period, by an excellent authority, to "a great sea in a calm." He was considered, even by the fastidious Lord Shelburne, the equal, in oratory, of Chatham and Mansfield. He seems to have at all times, however, sunk the mere orator in the statesman, and to have used his great powers of argument even more in council, than in the arena. His position at the bar, as Prime Sergeant, by which he took precedence even of the Attorney-General, gave great weight to his opinions on all questions of constitutional law. The roystering country gentlemen, who troubled their heads but little with anything besides dogs and horses, pistols and claret, felt secure in their new-fledged patriotism, under the broad ægis of the law extended over them by the most eminent lawyer of his age. The speaker of the Commons, Henry Boyle, aided and assisted Malone, and when left free to com-

bat on the floor, his high spirit and great fortune gave additional force to his example and confidence to his followers. Both were men too cautious to allow their adversaries any parliamentary advantage over them, but not so their intrepid coadjutor out of doors, Apothecary Lucas. He, like Swift, rising from local and municipal grievances to questions affecting the constitution of Parliament itself, was in 1749, against all the efforts of his friends in the House of Commons declared by the majority of that house to be, "an enemy to his country," and a reward was accordingly issued for his apprehension. For a time he was compelled to retire to England; but he returned, to celebrate in his *Freeman's Journal* the humiliation of the primate, and the defeat of the policy both of Lord Harrington, and his successor the Duke of Dorset.

This nobleman, resolved to cast his predecessor into the shade by the brilliancy of his success, proceeded to take vigorous measures against the patriots. In his first speech to Parliament in 1751, he informed them his majesty "consented" to the appropriation of the surplus revenue, by the House of Commons, and a clause was added to the annual supply bill in the English council, containing the same obnoxious word, "consent." On this occasion, not feeling themselves strong enough to throw out the bill, and there being no alternative but rejection or acceptance, the Patriots permitted it to pass under protest. But the next session, when a similar addition was made, the Commons rejected the supply bill altogether, by a majority of 122 to 117. This was a measure of almost revolutionary consequence, since it left every branch of the public service unprovided for, for the ensuing twelve months.

Both the advisers of the king in England, and the viceroy in Ireland, seemed by their insane conduct as if they desired to provoke such a collision. Malone's patent of precedence as Prime Sergeant was canceled; the speaker was dismissed from the Privy Council, and the surplus revenue was withdrawn from the vice-treasurer, by a king's letter. The indignation of the Dubliners at these outrages rose to the utmost pitch. Stone, Healy, Hutchinson, and others of the Castle party, were waylaid and menaced in the streets and the viceroy himself hooted wherever he ap-

peared. Had the popular leaders been men less cautious, or less influential, the year 1753 might have witnessed a violent revolutionary movement. But they planted themselves on the authority of the constitution, they united boldness with prudence, and they triumphed. The primate and his creatures raised against them in vain the cuckoo cry of disloyalty, both in Dublin and London. The English Whigs, long engaged themselves in a similar struggle with the overgrown power of the crown, sympathized with the Irish opposition, and defended their motives both in society and in Parliament. The enemies of the Dorset family as naturally took their part, and the duke himself was obliged to go over to protect his interest at court, leaving the odious primate, as one of the Lords-Justices. At his departure his guards were hardly able to protect him from the fury of the populace; to that water-side to which Chesterfield had walked on foot, seven years before, amid the benedictions of the same people.

The Patriots had at this crisis a great addition to their strength, in the accession of James, the twentieth Earl of Kildare, successively Marquis and Duke of Leinster. This nobleman, in the prime of life, married to the beautiful Emily Lennox, daughter of the Duke of Richmond, followed Dorset to England, and presented to the king, with his own hand, one of the boldest memorials ever addressed to a sovereign by a subject. After reciting the past services of his family in maintaining the imperial connection, he declared himself the organ of several thousands of his majesty's liege subjects, "as well the nobles as the clergy, the gentry, and the commonalty of the kingdom. He dwells on the peculation and extravagance of the administration, under "the Duumvirate" of the viceroy and the primate, which he compares with the league of Strafford and Laud. He denounces more especially Lord George Sackville, son to Dorset, for his intermeddling in every branch of administration. He speaks of Dr. Stone as "a greedy churchman, who affects to be a second Wolsey in the senate." This high-toned memorial struck with astonishment the English ministers, who did not hesitate to hint, that, in a reign less merciful, it would not have passed with impunity. In Ireland it raised the hardy earl to the pinnacle of popular favor. A medal was struck in his honor, representing him guarding a

heap of treasure with a drawn sword, and the motto—"Touch not, says Kildare." At the opening of the next parliament, he was a full hour making his way among the enthusiastic crowd, from his house in Kildare street to College Green. In little more than a year, the Duke of Dorset, whom English ministers had in vain endeavored to sustain, was removed, and the primate, by his majesty's orders, was struck from the list of privy councillors.

Lord Harrington, now Duke of Devonshire replaced the disgraced and defeated Dorset, and at once surrounded himself with advisers from the ranks of the opposition. The Earl of Kildare was his personal and political friend, and his first visit, on arriving, was paid at Carton. The speaker, Mr. Boyle, the Earl of Bessborough, head of the popular family of the Ponsonbys, and Mr. Malone, were called to the privy council. Lucas, exalted rather than injured by years of exile, was elected one of the members for the city of Dublin, and the whole face of affairs promised a complete and salutary change of administration.

After a year in office, Devonshire returned to England in ill-health, leaving Lord Kildare as one of the Justices, an office which he continued to fill, till the arrival in September, 1756, of John, fourth Duke of Bedford, as Lord-Lieutenant, with Mr. Rigby "a good four bottle man," as chief secretary.

The instructions of the Duke of Bedford, dictated by the genius and wisdom of Chatham, were, to employ "all softening and healing arts of government." His own desire, as a Whig, at the head of the Whig families of England, was to unite and consolidate the same party in Ireland, so as to make a powerful auxiliary force to the English Whigs. Consistent with this design, he wished well to the country he was sent to, and was sincerely desirous of promoting measures of toleration. But he found the Patriots distracted by success, and disorganized by the possession of power. The speaker who had struggled so successfully against his predecessors, was in the Upper House as Earl of Shannon, and the chair of the Commons was filled by John Ponsonby, of the Bessborough family. The Ponsonby following, and the Earl of Kildare's friends were at this period almost as much divided from each other in their views of public policy, as either were from the party of the primate. The Pon-

only party, still directed by Malone, wished to follow up the recent victory on the money bills, by a measure of Catholic relief, a tax upon absentees, and a reduction of the pension list, shamelessly burthened beyond all former proportion. Lord Kildare and his friends were not then prepared to go such lengths, though that high spirited nobleman afterwards came into most of these measures. After endeavoring in vain to unite these two interests, the Duke of Bedford found, or fancied himself compelled, in order to secure a parliamentary majority, to listen to the overtures of the obsequious primate, to restore him to the council, and to leave him together with his old enemy, Lord Shannon, in the situation of joint administrators, during his journey to England, in 1758. The Earl of Kildare, it should be remarked, firmly refused to be associated with Stone, on any terms, or for any time, long or short.

The closing of this important reign is notable for the first Catholic meeting held since the reign of Queen Anne. In the spring of 1757, four hundred respectable gentlemen attended by mutual agreement, at Dublin, among whom were Lords Devlin, Taafe, and Fingal, the antiquary Charles O'Connor, of Balanagar, the historian of the *Civil Wars*, Dr. Curry, and Mr. Wyse, a merchant of Waterford, the ancestor of a still better known laborer in the same cause. The then recent persecution of Mr. Saul, a Dublin merchant of their faith, for having harbored a young lady whose friends wished to coerce her into a change of religion, gave particular significance to this assembly. It is true the proceedings were characterized by caution amounting almost to timidity, but the unanimous declaration of their loyal attachment to the throne, at a moment when French invasion was imminent, produced the best effect, and greatly strengthened the hands of the Clanbrassils, Ponsonbys, Malones, Dalys, and other advocates of an enlarged toleration in both houses. It is true no immediate legislation followed, but the way was prepared for future ameliorations by the discretion and tact of the Catholic delegates of 1757. They were thenceforth allowed at least the right of meeting and petitioning, of which they had long been deprived, and the restoration of which marks the first step in their gradual recovery of their civil liberties.

In 1759, a rumor broke out in Dublin that a legislative union was in contemplation by the primate and his faction. On the 3d of December, the citizens rose *en masse*, and surrounded the houses of parliament. They stopped the carriages of members, and obliged them to swear opposition to such a measure. Some of the Protestant bishops, and the Lord Chancellor, were roughly handled; a privy councillor was thrown into the river; the attorney general was wounded and obliged to take refuge in the college; Lord Inchiquin was abused till he said his name was O'Brien, when the rage of the people "was turned into acclamations. The speaker, Mr. Ponsonby, and the chief secretary, Mr. Rigby, had to appear in the porch of the House of Commons, solemnly to assure the citizens that no union was dreamed of, and if it was proposed, that they would be the first to resist it. Public spirit had evidently grown bold and confident, and we can well believe Secretary Rigby when he writes to the elder Pitt, that "the mob" declared, "since they have no chance of numbers in the house, they must have recourse to numbers out of doors."

CHAPTER V.

ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.—FLOOD'S LEADERSHIP.—OCTENNIAL PARLIAMENTS ESTABLISHED.

GEORGE III., grandson of the late king, commenced, in October, 1760, at the age of two and twenty, the longest reign in British history. Including the period of the regency, he reigned over his empire nearly sixty years,—an extraordinary term of royal power, and quite as extraordinary for its events as for its extreme length.

The great movement of the Irish mind, at the beginning of this reign, was the limitation of the duration of parliament, hitherto elected for the king's life. This reform, long advocated out of doors, and by the more progressive members within the house, was reserved for the new parliament under the new reign. To this parliament were returned several men of great promise.

men of a new generation, nurtured in the school of Swift and Malone, but going even beyond their masters in their determination to liberate the legislature of their country from the undue influence of the crown and the castle. Among those new members were three destined to national celebrity, Dr. Lucas, Mr. Hussey Burgh, and Mr. Dennis Bowes Daly; and one destined to universal reputation — Henry Flood. This gentleman, the son of a former Chief Justice, intermarried into the powerful oligarchical family of the Beresfords, was only in his 28th year when first elected member for Kilkenny; but, in point of genius and acquirements, he was even then the first man in Ireland, and one of the first in the empire. For a session or two he silently observed the forms of the house, preparing himself for the great contest to come; but when at last he obtained the ear of his party he was heard to some purpose. Though far from advocating extreme measures, he had abundant boldness; he was not open to the objection leveled against the leader of the past generation, Mr. Malone, of whom Grattan said, "he was a colony-bred man, and he feared to bring down England upon Ireland."

The Duke of Bedford vacated the viceroyalty in 1761, and Lord Halifax took his place. In the first parliamentary session, Dr. Lucas introduced his resolutions limiting the duration of parliament to seven years, a project which Flood afterwards adopted and mainly contributed to carry. The heads of the bill embodying these resolutions were transmitted to London by the Lord-Lieutenant, but never returned. In 1763, under the government of the Marquis of Hertford, similar resolutions were introduced and carried, but a similar fate awaited them. Again they were passed, and again rejected, the popular dissatisfaction rising higher and higher with every delay of the reform. At length, in the session of 1767, "the Septennial Bill," as it was called, was returned from England, changed to octennial, and with this alteration it passed into law, in February, 1768. A new parliament the same year was elected under the new act, to which all the friends of the measure were triumphantly returned. The faithful Lucas, however, survived his success little better than two years; he died amid the very sincere regrets of all men who were not the enemies of their country. At his funeral the pall was borne by

the Marquis of Kildare, Lord Charlemont, Mr. Flood, Mr. Hussey Burgh, Sir Lucius O'Brien and Mr. Ponsonby.

Lord Halifax, and his chief secretary, Mr. Hamilton (known to us as "the single-speech Hamilton," of literary history), received very graciously the loyal addresses presented by the Catholics, soon after his majesty's accession. In a speech from the throne, the viceroy proposed, but was obliged to abandon the proposition, to raise six regiments of Catholics, under their own officers, to be taken into the service of Portugal, the ally of Great Britain. His administration was otherwise remarkable neither for its length nor its importance; nor is there anything else of consequence to be mentioned of his lordship, except that his nephew, and chief secretary, had the honor to have Edmund Burke for his private secretary, and the misfortune to offend him.

During the government of the Marquis of Hertford, and his successor, Lord Townsend (appointed in 1768), the Patriot party contended on the ground of rendering the judges independent, diminishing the pension list, and modifying the law of Poynings, requiring heads of bills to be sent into England, and certified by both Privy Councils, before they could be passed upon by the legislature. The question of supply, and that of the duration of Parliament, being settled, these reforms were the next objects of exertion. When we know that the late king's mistresses, the Queen Dowager of Prussia, Prince Ferdinand, and other connections of the royal family, equally alien to the country, were pensioners to the amount of thousands of pounds annually on the Irish establishment, we can understand more clearly the bitterness of the battle Mr. Flood and his colleagues were called upon to fight in assailing the old system. But they fought it resolutely and perseveringly. Death had removed their most unscrupulous enemy, Primate Stone, during the Hertford administration, and the improved tone and temper of public opinion would not tolerate any attempt to raise up a successor of similar character. Lord Townsend, an old campaigner and *bon vivant*, was expressly chosen as most capable of restoring the old system of government by closeting and corruption, but he found the Ireland of his day very materially altered from the defenceless province, which Stone and Dorset had attempted to cajole or to coerce, twenty years before.

The Parliament of 1769—the first limited Parliament which Ireland had seen since the revolution—proved, in most respects, worthy of the expectations formed of it. John Ponsonby was chosen speaker, and Flood regarded, around him, well-filled benches and cheering countenances. The usual supply bill was passed and sent up to the castle, but on its return from England was found to be altered—15,000 men, among other changes, being charged to the Irish military establishment instead of 12,000, as formerly. The Commons resolute to assert their rights, threw out the bill, as had been done in 1753, and the Lord Lieutenant protesting in the House of Lords against their conduct, ordered them to be prorogued. Prorogation followed prorogation, till February, 1771, the interval being occupied in closeting and coquetting with members of the opposition, in the creation of new places, and the disposal of them to the relatives of those capable of being bought. No one was surprised, when the houses reassembled, to find that a bare majority of the Commons voted a fulsome address of confidence to the Lord Lieutenant. But this address, speaker Ponsonby indignantly refused to present. He preferred resignation to disgrace, and great was the amazement and indignation when his friend, Mr. Perry, elected by a bare majority, consented to take the post—no longer a post of honor. In justice to Mr. Perry, however, it must be added that in the chair as on the floor of Parliament, he still continued the patriot—that if he advanced his own fortunes, it was not at the expense of the country—that some of the best measures passed by this and the subsequent Parliament, owed their final success, if not their first suggestion, to his far-seeing sagacity.

The methods taken by Lord Townsend to effect his ends, not less than those ends themselves, aroused the spirit, and combined the ranks of the Irish opposition. The press of Dublin teemed with philippics and satires, upon his creatures and himself. The wit, the scholarship, the elegant fancy, the irresistible torrent of eloquence, as well as the popular enthusiasm, were against him, and in 1772, borne down by these combined forces, he confessed his failure by resigning the sword of state into the hands of Lord Harcourt.

The new viceroy, according to custom, began his reign by taking

an exactly opposite course to his predecessor, and ended it by falling into nearly the same errors and abuses. He suggested an Absentee-tax, which was introduced by Flood, but rejected through the preponderating influence of the landed aristocracy. In preparing the tables of expenditure, he had caused arrears amounting to £265,000, and an annual increase of £100,000, to be added to the estimates. Moreover, his supply bill was discovered, at the second reading, to extend over *two years* instead of one—a discovery which occasioned the greatest indignation. Flood raised his powerful voice in warning, not unmingled with menace; Burgh declared, that if any member should again bring in such a bill, he would himself move his expulsion from the House; while George Ogle, member for Wexford, proposed that the bill itself should be burned before the porch, by the common hangman. He was reminded that the instrument bore the great seal; to which he boldly answered, that the seal would help to make it burn the better. It was not thought politic to take notice of this revolutionary retort.

CHAPTER VI.

FLOOD'S LEADERSHIP.—STATE OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN 1760 AND 1776.

ENGLAND was engaged in two great wars during the period of Flood's supremacy in the Irish parliament—the seven years' war, concluded by the peace of Paris in 1763, and the American war, concluded by the treaty of Versailles, in 1783. To each of these wars Ireland was the second largest contributor both as to men and money; and by both she was the severest sufferer, in her manufactures, her provision trade and her general prosperity. While army contracts and all sorts of military and naval expenditure in a variety of ways returned to the people of England the produce of their taxes, the Irish had no such compensation for the burdens imposed on their more limited resources. The natural result was, that that incipient prosperity which Chesterfield

hailed with pleasure in 1751, was arrested in its growth, and fears began to be seriously entertained that the country would be driven back to the lamentable condition from which it had slowly and laboriously emerged during the reign of George II.

The absence of employment in the towns threw the laboring classes more and more upon the soil for sustenance, while the landlord legislation of the period threw them as helplessly back upon other pursuits than agriculture. Agrarian injustice was encountered by conspiracy, and for the first time in these pages, we have to record the introduction of the diabolical machinery of secret oath-bound association among the Irish peasantry. Of the first of these combinations in the southern counties, a cotemporary writer gives the following account: "Some landlords in Munster," he says, "have let their lands to cotters far above their value, and, to lighten their burden, allowed commonage to their tenants by way of recompense: afterwards, in despite of all equity, contrary to all compacts, the landlords enclosed these commons, and precluded their unhappy tenants from the only means of making their bargains tolerable." The peasantry of Waterford, Cork, and other southern counties met in tumultuous crowds, and demolished the new enclosures. The oligarchical majority took their usual cue on such occasions: they pronounced, at once, that the cause of the riots was "treason against the state;" they even obtained a select committee to "inquire into the cause and progress of the Popish insurrection in Munster." Although the London Gazette, on the authority of royal commissioners, declared that the rioters "consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions," the Castle party would have it "another Popish plot." Even Dr. Lucas was carried away by the passions of the hour, and declaimed against all lenity, as cowardly and criminal.

A large military force, under the Marquis of Drogheda, was accordingly despatched to the south. The marquis fixed his headquarters at Clogheen, in Tipperary, the parish priest of which was the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy. The magistracy of the county, especially Sir Thomas Maude, William Bagnel, John Bagwell, Daniel Toler and Parson Hewitson, were among the chief maintainers of the existence of a Popish plot, to bring in the

French and the Pretender. Father Sheehy had long been fixed upon as their victim: largely connected with the minor gentry, educated in France, young, popular, eloquent and energetic, a stern denouncer of the licentious lives of the squires, and of the exacting tithes of the parsons, he was particularly obnoxious. In 1763, he was arrested on a charge of high treason, for drilling and enrolling Whiteboys, but was acquitted. Towards the close of that year, Bridge, one of the late witnesses against him, suddenly disappeared. A charge of murder was then laid against the priest of Clogheen, and a prostitute named Dunlea, a vagrant lad named Lonergan, and a convicted horse stealer called Toohey were produced in evidence against him, after he had lain nearly a year in prison, heavily fettered. On the 12th of March, 1765, he was tried at Clonmel, on this evidence; and notwithstanding an *alibi* was proved, he was condemned and beheaded on the third day afterwards. Beside the old ruined church of Shandraghan, his well-worn tomb remains till this day. He died in his thirty-eighth year. Two months later, Edward Sheehy, his cousin, and two respectable young farmers named Buxton and Farrell, were executed under a similar charge, and upon the same testimony. All died with religious firmness and composure. The fate of their enemies is notorious; with a single exception, they met deaths violent, loathsome and terrible. Maude died insane, Bagwell in idiocy, one of the jury committed suicide, another was found dead in a privy, a third was killed by his horse, a fourth was drowned, a fifth shot, and so through the entire list. Toohey was hanged for felony, the prostitute Dunlea fell into a cellar and was killed, and the lad Lonergan, after enlisting as a soldier, died of a loathsome disease in a Dublin infirmary.

In 1767, an attempt to revive the plot was made by the Munster oligarchy, without success. Dr. McKenna, Bishop of Cloyne, was arrested but enlarged; Mr. Nagle, of Garnavilla (a relative of Edmund Burke), Mr. Robert Keating, and several respectable Catholic gentlemen, were also arrested. It appears that Edmund Burke was charged by the ascendancy party with having "sent his brother Richard, recorder of Bristol, and Mr. Nagle, a relation, on a mission to Munster, to levy money on the Popish body for the use of the Whiteboys, who were exclusively Papists."

The fact was, that Burke did originate a subscription for the defence of the second batch of victims, who, through his and other exertions, were fortunately saved from the fate of their predecessors.

Contemporaneous with the Whiteboys were the northern agrarians called "Hearts of Steel," formed among the absentee Lord Downshire's tenants, in 1762; the "Oak Boys," so called from wearing oak leaves in their hats; and the "Peep o'Day Boys," the precursors of the Orange Association. The infection of conspiracy ran through all Ireland, and the disorder was neither short-lived nor trivial. Right-Boys, Defenders, and a dozen other denominations descended from the same evil genius, wherever he was, that first introduced the system of signs, and passwords, and midnight meetings, among the peasantry of Ireland. The celebrated society of United Irishmen was the highest form which that principle, in our politics, ever reached. In its origin, it was mainly a Protestant organization.

From the first, the Catholic bishops and clergy strenuously opposed these secret societies. The Bishop of Cloyne issued a reprobatory pastoral; Father Arthur O'Leary employed his facile pen against them; the Bishop of Ossory anathematized them in his diocese. Priests in Kildare, Kilkenny and Munster were often in personal danger from these midnight legislators; their chapels had been frequently nailed up, and their bishops had been often obliged to remove them from one neighborhood to another to prevent worse consequences. The infatuation was not to be stayed: the evil was engrafted on society, and many a long year, and woful scene, and blighted life, and broken heart, was to signalize the perpetuation of secret societies among the population.

These startling symptoms of insubordination and lawlessness, while they furnished plausible pretexts to the advocates of repression, still further confirmed the Patriot party in their belief, that nothing short of a free trade in exports and imports, and a thorough system of retrenchment in every branch of the public service, could save the nation from bankruptcy and ruin. This was Flood's opinion, and he had been long recognized as the leading spirit of the party. The aged Malone, true to his principles of conciliation and constitutionalism to the last, passed away from the scene, in the midst of the exciting events of 1776. For some

years before his death, his former place had been filled by the younger and more vigorous member for Kilkenny, who, however, did not fail to consult him with all the deference due to his age, his services, and his wisdom. One of his last official acts, was, presiding over the committee of the whole House, which voted the American contingent, but rejected the admission of German troops to supply their place.

CHAPTER VII.

GRATTAN'S LEADERSHIP.—"FREE TRADE," AND THE VOLUNTEERS.

THE revolt of the American colonies against the oppressive legislation of the British parliament, was the next circumstance that deeply affected the constitutional struggle, in which the Irish parliament had so long been engaged. The similarity in the grievances of Ireland and the colonies, the close ties of kindred established between them, the extent of colonial commerce involved in the result, contributed to give the American Declaration of Independence more importance in men's eyes at Dublin, than anywhere else out of the colonies, except, perhaps, London.

The first mention made of American affairs to the Irish legislature, was in Lord Townsend's message in 1775, calling for the despatch of 4,000 men from the Irish establishment to America, and offering to supply their place by as many foreign Protestant (German) troops. The demand was warmly debated. The proposition to receive the proffered foreign troops was rejected by a majority of thirty-eight, and the contingent for America passed on a division, upon Flood's plea that they would go out merely as "4,000 armed negotiators." This expression of the great parliamentary leader was often afterwards quoted to his prejudice, but we must remember, that, at the time it was employed, no one on either side of the contest had abandoned all hopes of accommodation, and that the significance of the phrase was rather pointed against Lord North than against the colonies.

The 4,000 men went out, among them Lord Rawdon (afterwards Lord Moira), Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and many others, both officers and men, who were certainly no enemies of liberty, or the colonies.

Some slight relaxation of the commercial restrictions which operated so severely against Irish industry were made during the same year, but these were more than counterbalanced by the embargo on the export of provisions to America, imposed in February, 1776. This arbitrary measure—imposed by order in council—was so near being censured by the parliament then sitting, that the house was dissolved a month afterwards, and a new election ordered. To meet the new parliament it was thought advisable to send over a new viceroy, and accordingly Lord Buckinghamshire entered into office, with Sir Richard Heron as chief secretary.

In the last session of the late parliament, a young *protégé* of Lord Charlemont—he was only in his twenty ninth year—had taken his seat for the borough of Charlemont. This was Henry Grattan, son of the Recorder of Dublin, and grandson of one of those Grattans who, according to Dean Swift, “could raise 10,000 men.” The youth of Grattan had been neither joyous nor robust; in early manhood he had offended his father’s conservatism; the profession of the law, to which he was bred, he found irksome and unsuited to his tastes; society as then constituted was repulsive to his over-sensitive spirit and high Spartan ideal of manly duty; no letters are sadder to read, than the early correspondence of Grattan, till he had fairly found his inspiration in listening enraptured to the eloquent utterances of Chatham, or comparing political opinions with such a friend as Flood. At length he found a seat in the House of Commons, where during his first session he spoke on three or four occasions, briefly, modestly, and with good effect; there had been no sitting during 1776, nor before October of the following year; it was, therefore, in the sessions from ’78 to ’82 inclusive, that this young member raised himself to the head of the most eloquent men, in one of the most eloquent assemblies the world has ever seen.

The fact of Mr. Flood, after fourteen years of opposition, having accepted office under Lord Harcourt’s administration, and

defended the American expedition and the embargo, had greatly lessened the popularity of that eminent man. There was indeed, no lack of ability still left in the ranks of the opposition—for Burgh, Daly, and Yelverton were there; but for a supreme spirit like Grattan—whose burning tongue was ever fed from his heart of fire—there is always room in a free senate, how many soever able and accomplished men may surround him.

The year of 1777 brought vital intelligence from America. General Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga, and France had decided to ally herself with the Americans. The effect in England and in Ireland was immense. When the Irish houses met, Mr. Grattan moved an address to the king in favor of retrenchment, and against the pension list, and Mr. Daly moved and carried an address deploring the continuance of the American war, with a governmental amendment assuring his majesty that he might still rely on the services of his faithful commons. The second Catholic relief bill authorizing Papists to loan money on mortgage, to lease lands for any period not exceeding 999 years—to inherit and bequeath real property, so limited, passed, not without some difficulty, into law. The debate had been protracted, by adjournment after adjournment, over the greatest part of three months; the main motion had been further complicated by an amendment repealing the Test Act in favor of Dissenters, which was, fortunately, engrafted on the measure. The vote in the Commons, in favor of the bill so amended, was 127 *yays* to 89 *nays*, and in the Lords, 44 *Contents* to 28 *Noncontents*.

In the English House of Commons, Lord Nugent moved, in April, a series of resolutions raising the embargo on the Irish provision trade; abolishing, so far as Ireland was concerned, the most restrictive clauses of the Navigation Act, both as to exports and imports, with the exception of the article of tobacco. Upon this the manufacturing and shipping interest of England taking the alarm, raised such a storm in the towns and cities that the ministry of the day were compelled to resist the proposed changes, with a few trifling exceptions. But Grattan had caught up, in the other island, the cry of "free trade," and the people echoed it after their orator, until the whole empire shook with the popular demand.

But what gave pith and power to the Irish demands was the enrollment and arming of a numerous volunteer force, rendered absolutely necessary by the defenceless state of the kingdom. Mr. Flood had long before proposed a national militia, but being in opposition and in the minority, he had failed. To him and to Mr. Perry, as much as to Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan, the militia bill of 1778, and the noble army of volunteers equipped under its provisions, owed their origin. Whether this force was to be a regular militia, subject to martial law, or composed of independent companies, was for some months a subject of great anxiety at the castle; but necessity at length precipitated a decision in favor of volunteer companies, to be supplied with arms by the state, but drilled and clothed at their own expense, with power to elect their own officers. The official announcement of this decision once made, the organization spread rapidly over the whole kingdom. The Ulster corps, first organized, chose as their commander the Earl of Charlemont, while those of Leinster elected the Duke of Leinster. Simultaneously, resolutions against the purchase of English goods and wares were passed at public meetings and by several of the corporate bodies. Lists of the importers of such goods were obtained at the custom houses, and printed in handbills, to the alarm of the importers. Swift's sardonic maxim, "to burn everything coming from England, *except the coal*," began to circulate as a toast in all societies, and the consternation of the castle, at this resurrection of the redoubtable Dean, was almost equal to the apprehension entertained of him while living.

While the castle was temporizing with both the military and the manufacture movement, in a vague expectation to defeat both, the press, as is usual in such national crises, teemed with publications of great fervor and ability. Dr. Jebb, Mr. (afterwards Judge) Johnson, Mr. Pollock, Mr. Charles Sheridan, Father Arthur O'Leary, and Mr. Dobbs, M. P., were the chief workers in this department of patriotic duty. Cheered, instructed, restrained within due bounds by these writings and the reported debates of parliament, the independent companies proceeded with their organization. In July, 1779, after all the resources of prudence had been exhausted, arms were issued to the several

recognized corps, and the Irish volunteers became in reality a national army for domestic protection and defence.

When this point was reached, Mr. Grattan and his friends took anxious council as to their future movements. Parliament was to meet on the 12th of October, and in that sweet autumnal month, Grattan, Burgh and Daly met upon the seashore, near Bray, in view of one of the loveliest landscapes on earth, to form their plan for the session. They agreed on an amendment to the address in answer to the royal speech, demanding in explicit terms "free export and import" for Irish commerce. When parliament met, and the address and amendment were moved, it was found that Flood, Burgh, Hutchinson, and Gardiner, though all holding offices of honor and emolument under government, would vote for it. Flood suggested to substitute the simple term "free trade," and with this and one other verbal alteration suggested by Burgh, the amendment passed with a single dissenting voice.

The next day the speaker, Mr. Perry, who was all along in the confidence of the movers of the amendment, Daly, Grattan, Burgh, Flood, Hutchinson, Ponsonby, Gardiner, and the whole house, went up with the amended address to the castle. The streets were lined with volunteers, commanded in person by the Duke of Leinster, who presented arms to the patriotic commons as they passed. Most of the leading members wore the uniform of one or other of the national companies, and the people saw themselves at the same moment under the protection of a patriotic majority in the legislature, and a patriot force in the field. No wonder their enthusiastic cheers rang through the corridors of the castle with a strangely jubilant and defiant emphasis. It was not simply the spectacle of a nation recovering its spirit, but recovering it with all military *éclat* and pageantry. It was the disarmed armed and triumphant—a revolution not only in national feeling, but in the external manifestation of that feeling. A change so profound stirred sentiments and purposes even deeper than itself, and suggested to the ardent imagination of Grattan the establishment of entire national independence, saving always the rights of the crown.

The next day, the houses, not to be outdone in courtesy, voted their thanks to the volunteers for "their just and necessary exertions in defence of their country!"

CHAPTER VIII.

GRATTAN'S LEADERSHIP.—LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE ESTABLISHED.

THE task which Mr. Grattan felt called upon to undertake, was not *revolutionary*, in the usually accepted sense of the term. He was a Monarchist and a Whig in general politics; but he was an Irishman, proud and fond of his country, and a sincere lover of the largest religious liberty. With the independence of the judiciary and the legislature, with freedom of commerce and of conscience, he would be well content to stand by British connection. "The sea," he said, in his lofty figurative language, "protests against union—the ocean against separation." But still, within certain legal limits, his task *was* revolutionary, and was undertaken under all the discouragements incident to the early stages of great constitutional reforms.

Without awaiting the action of the English Parliament, in relation to free trade, a public-spirited citizen of Dublin, Alderman James Horan, demanded an entry at the custom house, for some parcels of Irish woollens, which he proposed exporting to Rotterdam, contrary to the prohibitory enactment, the 10th and 11th of William III. The commissioners of customs applied for instructions to the castle, and the castle to the Secretary of State, Franklin's friend, Lord Hillsborough. For the moment a collision similar to that which had taken place at Boston, on a not dissimilar issue, seemed imminent. A frigate was stationed off Howth, with instructions, it was said, to intercept the prohibited woollens, but Alderman Horan, by the advice of his friends, allowed his application to remain on the custom house files. It had served its purpose of bringing home practically to the people, the value of the principle involved in the demand for freedom of exports and imports. At the same time that this practical argument was discussed in every circle, Mr. Grattan moved in the House of Commons, in amendment to the supply bill, that, "At this time it is inexpedient to grant new taxes." The government divided the

house, but to their mortification found only 47 supporters; for Grattan's amendment there were 170. A subsequent amendment against granting duties for the support of the loan fund, was also carried by 138 to 100.

These adverse votes were communicated with great trepidation, by the Lord Lieutenant, to the British administration. At length Lord North thought it essential to make some concessions, and with this view he brought in resolutions, declaring the trade with the British colonies in America and Africa, and the free export of glass and woolens, open to the Irish merchant. A week later, similar resolutions were passed in the Irish Commons, and in February, 1780, "a free trade" in the sense in which it had been demanded, was established by law, placing Ireland in most respects, as to foreign and colonial commerce, on an equality with England.

In February, the viceroy again alarmed the British administration, with the reported movement for the repeal of "Poyning's law," the statute which required heads of bills to be transmitted to, and approved in England, before they could be legislated upon. He received in reply, the royal commands to resist by every means in his power, any attempted "change in the constitution," and he succeeded in eliciting from the House of Lords, an address, strongly condemnatory of "the misguided men," who sought to raise such "groundless jealousies," between the two kingdoms. But the Patriot Commoners were not to be so deterred. They declared the repeal of Poyning's act, and the 6th of George I., to be their ultimatum, and notices of motion to that effect, were immediately placed on the journals of the House of Commons.

In the early days of April, Grattan, who, more than any of our orators, except perhaps Burke, was sensitive to the aspects of external nature, and imbued with the poetry of her works, retired from the city, to his uncle Dean Marlay's house, Cellbridge Abbey, formerly the residence of Swift's ill-fated Vanessa. "Along the banks of that river," he said, many years afterwards, "amid the groves and bowers of Swift and Vanessa, I grew convinced that I was right; arguments, unanswerable, came to my mind, and what I then presaged, confirmed me in my determination to persevere." With an enthusiasm intensified and restrained—but

wonderful in the fire and grandeur of its utterance—he rose in his place, on the 19th of the month, to move that “the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to enact laws to bind Ireland.” He was supported by Hussey Burgh, Yelverton, and Forbes; Flood favored postponement, and laid the foundation of his future estrangement from Grattan; Daly was also for delay; Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, Provost Hutchinson, and John Foster, afterwards Lord Oriel, resisted the motion. The Castle party moved in amendment that, “there being an equivalent resolution already on the journals of the House”—alluding to one of the resolutions against Strafford’s tyranny in 1641—a new resolution was unnecessary. This amendment was carried by 136 to 79, thus affirming the formula of independence adopted in 1641, but depriving Grattan of the honor of putting it, in his own words, on the record. The substantial result, however, was the same; the 19th of April was truly what Grattan described it, “a great day for Ireland.” “It is with the utmost concern,” writes the viceroy next day to Lord Hillsborough, “I must acquaint your lordship that although so many gentlemen expressed their concern that the subject had been introduced, the sense of the House *against* the obligation of *any statutes* of the Parliament of Great Britain, within this kingdom, is represented to me to have been almost unanimous.”

Ten days later, a motion of Mr. Yelverton’s to repeal Poyning’s law, as far as related to the Irish privy council’s supervision of heads of bills, was negatived by 130 to 105.

During the remainder of the session the battle of independence was fought on the Mutiny Bill. The viceroy and the chief secretary, playing the game of power, were resolved that the influence of the crown should not be diminished, so far as the military establishments were concerned. Two justices of the peace in Sligo and Mayo, having issued writs of *habeas corpus* in favor of deserters from the army, on the ground that neither the British Mutiny Act, nor any other British statute, was binding on Ireland, unless confirmed by an act of its own legislature, brought up anew the whole question. Lord North, who, with all his proverbial tact and good humor, in the House of Commons, always pursued the most arbitrary policy throughout the empire,

proposed a perpetual Mutiny Bill for Ireland, instead of the Annual Bill, in force in England. It was introduced in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Gervase Parker Bushe, and, by a vote of two to one, postponed for a fortnight. During the interval, the British authorities remained obdurate to argument and remonstrance. In vain, the majority of the Irish privy councillors advised concession; in vain, Flood, who was consulted, pointed out the futility of attempting to force such a measure; it was forced, and, under the cry of loyalty, a draft bill was carried through both houses, and remitted to England in June. Early in August it was returned; on the 12th it was read a first time; on the 16th a second; and it was carried through committee by 114 to 62. It was at this emergency the Volunteers performed the second act of their great drama of Ireland's liberation. A series of reviews were held, and significant addresses presented to Lord Camden (then on a visit to the country), Lord Charlemont, Mr. Flood, and Mr. Grattan. On the re-assembling of Parliament in August, when the bill was referred to, Mr. Grattan declared that he would resist it to the last; that if passed into law, he and his friends would *secede*, and would appeal to the people in "a formal instrument." A new series of corporation and county meetings was convened by the Patriot party, which warmly condemned the Perpetual Mutiny Act, and as warmly approved the repeal of Poyning's Act, and the 6th of George I.: questions which were all conceived to be intermixed together, and to flow from the assertion of a common principle. Parliament being prorogued in September, only threw the whole controversy back again into the furnace of popular agitation. The British government tried a lavish distribution of titles and a change of viceroys,—Lord Carlisle being substituted in December for Lord Buckingham—but the spirit abroad was too general and too earnest, to be quelled by the desertion of individuals, however numerous or influential. With Lord Carlisle, came, as chief secretary, Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland; he had been, with his chief, a peace commissioner to America, two years before, and had failed; he was an intriguing and accomplished man, but he proved himself as unequal as Heron or Rigby to combat the movement for Irish independence.

Parliament was not again called together till the month of October, 1781; the interval being busily occupied on both sides with endeavors to create and sustain a party. Soon after the meeting, Mr. Grattan, seconded by Mr. Flood, moved for a limitation of the Mutiny Bill, which was lost; a little later, Mr. Flood himself introduced a somewhat similar motion, which was also outvoted two to one; and again, during the session, Mr. Yelverton having abandoned his promised motion against Poyning's law, on news of Lord Cornwallis's surrender reaching Dublin, Flood took it up, moved it, and was defeated. A further measure of relief for Roman Catholics, introduced by Mr. Gardiner, author of the act of 1778, and warmly supported by Grattan, was resisted by Flood in the one house, and Lord Charlemont in the other. It miscarried, and left another deposit of disagreement between the actual and the former leader of the Patriot party.

Still no open rupture had taken place between the two Patriot orators. When the convention of the volunteers was called at Dungannon for the 15th of February, 1782, they consulted at Charlemont House as to the resolutions to be passed. They were agreed on the constitutional question; Grattan, of his own generous free will, added the resolution in favor of emancipation. Two hundred and forty-two delegates, representing 143 corps, unanimously adopted the resolutions so drafted, as their own, and, from the old headquarters of Hugh O'Neil, sent forth anew an unequivocal demand for civil and religious liberty. The example of Ulster soon spread through Ireland. A meeting of the Leinster volunteers, Mr. Flood in the chair, echoed it from Dublin; the Munster corps endorsed it unanimously at Cork; Lord Clanrickarde summoned together those of the western counties at Portumna—an historic spot, suggestive of striking associations. Strengthened by these demonstrations of public opinion, Mr. Grattan brought forward, on the 22d of February, his motion declaratory of the rights of Ireland. An amendment in favor of a six months' postponement of the question was carried; but on the 16th of April, just two years from his first effort on the subject (the administration of Lord North having fallen in the meantime), the orator had the satisfaction of carrying his address declaratory of Irish legislative independence. It was on this

occasion that he exclaimed: "I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with a paternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injury to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! Spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation! in that new character I hail her! and bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua!*"

Never was a new nation more nobly heralded into existence! Never was an old nation more reverently and tenderly lifted up and restored! The houses adjourned to give England time to consider Ireland's *ultimatum*. Within a month it was accepted by the new British administration, and on the 27th of May, the new Whig viceroy, the Duke of Portland, was authorized to announce from the throne the establishment of the judicial and legislative independence of Ireland.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ERA OF INDEPENDENCE.—FIRST PERIOD.

THE accession of the Rockingham administration to power, in 1782, was followed by the recall of Lord Carlisle, and the substitution, as viceroy, of one of the leading Lords of the Whig party. The nobleman selected to this office was William Henry, third Duke of Portland, afterwards twice prime minister; then in the prime of life, possessed of a very ample fortune, and uniting in his own person the two great Whig families of Bentinck and Cavendish. The policy he was sent to represent at Dublin was undoubtedly an imperial policy; a policy which looked as anxiously to the integrity of the empire as any Tory cabinet could have desired; but it was, in most other respects, a policy of conciliation and concession, dictated by the enlarged wisdom of Burke, and adopted by the magnanimous candor of Fox. Yet by a generous people, who always find it more difficult to resist a liberal than an illiberal administration, it was, in reality, a policy more to be feared than welcomed; for its almost certain effects

were to divide their ranks into two sections—a moderate and an extreme party—between whom the national cause, only half established, might run great danger of being lost, almost as soon as it was won.

With the Duke of Portland was associated, as chief secretary, Colonel Fitzpatrick, of the old Ossory family, one of those Irish wits and men of fashion, who form so striking a group in the middle and later years of King George III. As the personal and political friend of Flood, Charlemont, and Grattan, and the first Irish secretary for several administrations, he shared the brilliant ovation with which the Duke of Portland was received, on his arrival at Dublin; but for the reason already mentioned, the imperial in so far as opposed to the national policy, found an additional advantage, in the social successes and great personal popularity of the new secretary.

The critical months which decided the contest for independence—April and May—passed over fortunately for Ireland. The firmness of the leaders in both houses, the energy especially of Grattan, whose cry was “no time, no time!” and the imposing attitude of the volunteers, carried the question. Lord Rockingham and Mr. Fox by letter, the new viceroy and secretary in person, had urged every argument for adjournment and delay, but Grattan’s *ultimatum* was sent over to England, and finally and formally accepted. The demands were *five*. I. The repeal of the 6th of George I. II. The repeal of the Perpetual Mutiny Act. III. An Act to abolish the alteration or suppression of Bills. IV. An Act to establish the final jurisdiction of the Irish Courts and the Irish House of Lords. V. The repeal of Poyning’s Law. This was the constitutional charter of 1782, which restored Ireland, for the first time in that century, to the rank and dignity of a free nation.

Concession once determined on, the necessary bills were introduced in both parliaments simultaneously, and carried promptly into law. On the 27th of May, the Irish houses were enabled to congratulate the viceroy that “no constitutional question any longer existed between the two countries.” In England it was proclaimed no less explicitly by Fox and his friends, that the independence of the two legislatures, “was fixed and ascertained

forever." But there was, unfortunately, one ground for dispute still left, and on that ground Henry Flood and Henry Grattan parted, never to be reconciled.

The elder Patriot whose conduct from the moment of his retirement from office, in consequence of his Free Trade vote and speech in '79, had been, with occasional exceptions arising mostly from bodily infirmity, as energetic and consistent as that of Grattan himself, saw no sufficient constitutional guarantee, in mere acts of parliament repealing other acts. He demanded "express renunciation" of legislative supremacy on the part of England while Grattan maintained the sufficiency of "simple repeal." It is possible even in such noble natures as these men had—so strangely are we constituted—that there was a latent sense of personal rivalry, which prompted them to grasp, each, at the larger share of patriotic honor. It is possible that there were other, and inferior men, who exasperated this latent personal rivalry. Flood had once reigned supreme, until Grattan eclipsed him in the sudden splendor of his career. In scholarship and in genius the elder Patriot was, taken all in all, the full peer of his successor; but Grattan had the national temperament, and he found his way more readily into the core of the national heart; he was the man of the later, the bolder, and the more liberal school; and such was the rapidity of his movements that even Flood, from '79 to '82, seemed to be his follower, rather than his coadjutor. In the hopeful crisis of the struggle, the slower and more experienced statesman was for the moment lost sight of. The leading motions were all placed or left in the hands of Grattan by the consent of their leading friends; the bills repealing the Mutiny Act, the 6th George I., and Poyning's law, were entrusted to Burgh, Yelverton, and Forbes; the thanks of the house were voted to Grattan alone after the victory, with the substantial addition of £50,000 to purchase for him an estate, which should become an enduring monument of the national gratitude.

The open rupture between the two great orators followed fast on the triumph of their common efforts. It was still the first month—the very honeymoon of independence. On the 13th of June, Mr. Grattan took occasion to notice in his place, that a late British act relating to the importation of sugars, was so generally

worded as apparently to include Ireland; but this was explained to be a mere error of the clerk, the result of haste, and one which would be promptly corrected. Upon this Mr. Flood first took occasion to moot the insufficiency of "simple repeal," and the necessity of "express renunciation," on the part of England. On the 19th, he moved a formal resolution on the subject, which was superseded by the order of the day; but on the 19th of July, he again moved, at great length and with great power of logical and historical argument, for leave to bring in an Irish Bill of Rights, declaring "the sole and exclusive right of the Irish Parliament to make laws in all cases whatsoever, *external and internal.*" He was supported by Sir Simon Bradstreet, Mr. English, and Mr. Walshe, and opposed by Grattan, who, in one of his finest efforts, proposed a counter resolution, "that the legislature of Ireland is independent; and that any person who shall, by writing or otherwise, maintain that a right in any other country, to make laws for Ireland, *internally or externally,* exists or can be revived, is *inimical to the peace of both kingdoms.*" This extreme proposition—pointing out all who differed from himself as public enemies—the mover, however, withdrew, and substituted in its stead the milder formula, that leave was refused to bring in the bill, because the sole and exclusive right of legislation in the Irish parliament in all cases, whether externally or internally, hath been already asserted by Ireland, and fully, finally, and irrevocably acknowledged by the British Parliament. Upon this motion Flood did not think it advisable to divide the house, so it passed without a division.

But the moot point thus voted down in parliament disquieted and alarmed the minds of many out of doors. The volunteers as generally sided with Flood as the parliament had sided with Grattan. The lawyer corps of the city of Dublin, containing all the great names of the legal profession, endorsed the constitutional law of the member for Kilkenny; the Belfast volunteers did likewise; and Grattan's own corps, in a respectful address, urged him to give his adherence to the views of "the best informed body of men in the kingdom,"—the lawyers' corps. Just at that moment Lord Abingdon, in the English House of Lords, gave notice of a mischievous motion to assert the external supre-

macy of the English Parliament; and Lord Mansfield, in the King's Bench, decided an Irish appeal case, notwithstanding the recent statute establishing the judicial independence of the Irish courts. It is true the case had been appealed before the statute was passed; and that Lord Abingdon withdrew his motion for want of a seconder; but the alarm was given, and the popular mind in Ireland, jealously watchful of its new-born liberties, saw in these attempts renewed cause for apprehension. In opposition to all this suddenly awakened suspicion and jealousy, Grattan, who naturally enough assumed his own interest in preserving the new constitution to be quite equal to those who cast doubts on its security, invariably held one language. The settlement already made, according to his view, was final; it was an international treaty; its maintenance must depend on the ability and disposition of the parties to uphold it, rather than on the multiplication of declaratory acts. Ireland had gone to England with a charter, not for a charter, and the nation which would insist upon the humiliation of another, was a foolish nation. This was the lofty light in which he viewed the whole transaction, and in this light, it must be added, he continued to view it till the last. Many of the chief English and Irish jurists of his time, Lord Camden, Lord Kenyon, Lord Erskine, Lord Kilwarden, Judges Chamberlain, Smith and Kelly, Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir Arthur Pigott, and several others, agreed fully in Grattan's doctrine, that the settlement of '82 was final and absolute, and "terminated all British jurisdiction over Ireland." But although these are all great names, the instinct of national self-preservation may be considered in such critical moments more than a counterpoise to the most matured opinions of the oracles of the law. Such must have been the conviction also of the English Parliament, for, immediately on their meeting in January, 1783, they passed the *Act of Renunciation* (23d George III.), expressly declaring their admission of the "exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislature and judicature." This was Flood's greatest triumph. Six months before his doctrine obtained but three supporters in the Irish Commons; now, at his suggestion, and on his grounds, he saw it unanimously affirmed by the British Parliament.

On two other questions of the utmost importance these leading spirits also widely differed. Grattan was in favor of, and Flood opposed to Catholic emancipation; while Flood was in favor of, and Grattan, at that moment, opposed to, a complete reform of parliamentary representation. The Catholic question had its next great triumph after Flood's death, as will be mentioned further on; but the history of the Irish reform movement of 1783, '84, and '85, may best be disposed of here.

The Reformers were a new party rising naturally out of the popular success of 1782. They were composed of all but a few of the more aristocratic corps of the volunteers, of the townsmen, especially in the seaports and manufacturing towns, of the admirers of American example, of the Catholics who had lately acquired property and recognition, but not the elective franchise, of the gentry of the second and third degree of wealth, overruled and overshadowed by the greater lords of the soil. The substantial grievance of which they complained was, that of the 300 members of the House of Commons, only 72 were returned by the people; 53 Peers having the power to nominate 123 and secure the election of 10 others; while 52 Commoners nominated 91 and controlled the choice of 4 others. The constitution of what ought to have been the people's house was, therefore, substantially in the hands of an oligarchy of about a hundred great proprietors, bound together by the spirit of their class, by intermarriage, and by the hereditary possession of power. To reduce this exorbitant influence within reasonable bounds, was the just and wise design to which Flood dedicated all his energies, after the passage of the *Act of Renunciation*, and the success of which would certainly have restored him to complete equality with Grattan.

In the beginning of 1783, the famous coalition ministry, of Lord North and Mr. Fox, was formed in England. They were at first represented at Dublin Castle, for a few months, by Lord Temple, who succeeded the Duke of Portland, and established the order of *Knights of Saint Patrick*; then by Lord Northampton, who dissolved Parliament early in July. A general election followed, and the reform party made their influence felt in all directions. County meetings were held; conventions by districts

and by provinces were called by the reforming Volunteers, in July, August and September. The new Parliament was to be opened on the 14th of October, and the Volunteers resolved to call a convention of their whole body at Dublin, for the 10th of November.

The Parliament met according to summons, but though searching retrenchment was spoken of, no promise was held out of a constitutional reform; the limitation of the regular troops to a fixed number was declared advisable, and a vote of thanks to the Volunteers was passed without demur. But the proceedings of the houses were soon eclipsed by the portentous presence of the Volunteer Convention. One hundred and sixty delegates of corps attended on the appointed day. The Royal Exchange was too small to accommodate them, so they adjourned to the Rotunda, accompanied by mounted guards of honor. The splendid and eccentric Bishop of Derry (Earl of Bristol), had his dragoon guards; the courtly but anxious Charlemont had his troop of horse; Flood, tall, emaciated, and solemn to sadness, was hailed with popular acclamations; there also marched the popular Mr. Day, afterwards Judge, Robert Stewart, father of Lord Castle-reagh, Sir Richard Musgrave, a reformer also, in his youth, who lived to confound reform with rebellion in his old age. The Earl of Charlemont was elected president of this imposing body, and for an entire month Dublin was divided between the extraordinary spectacle of two legislatures—one sitting at the Rotunda, and the other at College Green, many members of each being members of the other; the uniform of the volunteer sparkling in the houses, and the familiar voices of both houses being heard deliberating and debating among the volunteers.

At length, on the 29th of November, after three weeks' laborious gestation, Flood brought before Parliament the plan of reform agreed to by the convention. It proposed to extend the franchise to every *Protestant* freeholder possessed of a lease worth forty shillings yearly; to extend restricted borough constituencies by annexing to them neighboring populous parishes; that the voting should be held on one and the same day; that pensioners of the crown should be incapable of election; that members accepting office should be subject to reelection; that a strip

gent bribery oath should be administered to candidates returned; and, finally, that the duration of Parliament should be limited to three years. It was, indeed, an excellent Protestant Reform bill, for though the convention had received Father Arthur O'Leary with military honors, and contained many warm friends of Catholic rights, the majority were still intolerant of religious freedom. In this majority it is painful to have to record the names of Flood and Charlemont.

The debate which followed the introduction of this proposed change in the constitution, was stormy beyond all precedent. Grattan, who just one month before (Oct. 28th) had that fierce vituperative contest with Flood familiar to every school-boy, in its worst and most exaggerated form, supported the proposal. The law officers of the crown, Fitzgibbon, Yelverton, Scott, denounced it as an audacious attempt of armed men to dictate to the house its own constitution. The cry of privilege and prerogative was raised, and the measure was rejected by 157 to 77. Flood, weary in mind and body, retired to his home; the Convention, which outsat the house, adjourned amid the bitter indignation of some, and the scarcely concealed relief of others. Two days later they met and adopted a striking address to the throne, and adjourned *sine die*. This was, in fact, the last important day of the Volunteers as a political institution. An attempt a month later to reassemble the convention, was dexterously defeated by the President, Lord Charlemont. The regular army was next session increased to 15,000 men; £20,000 were voted to clothe and equip a rival force—"the Militia"—and the Parliament which had three times voted them its thanks, now began to look with satisfaction on their rapid disorganization and disbandment.

This, perhaps, is the fittest place to notice the few remaining years of the public life of Henry Flood. After the session of 1785, in which he had been outvoted on every motion he proposed, he retired from the Irish Parliament, and allowed himself to be persuaded, at the age of fifty-three, to enter the English. He was elected for Winchester, and made his first essay on the new scene, on his favorite subject of representative reform. But his health was undermined; he failed, except on one or two occasions, to

catch the ear of that fastidious assembly, and the figure he made there somewhat disappointed his friends. He returned to Kilkenny to die in 1791, bequeathing a large portion of his fortune to Trinity College, to enrich its MS. library, and to found a permanent professorship of the Irish language. "He was an oak of the forest," said Grattan, "too old to be transplanted at fifty." "He was a man," said one who also knew him well, Sir Jonah Barrington, "of profound abilities, high manners, and great experience in the affairs of Ireland. He had deep information, an extensive capacity, and a solid judgment." In his own magnificent "Ode to Fame" he has pictured his ideal of the Patriot orator, who finds some consolation amid the unequal struggle with the enemies of his country, foreign and domestic, in a prophetic vision of his own renown. Unhappily, the works of this great man come down to us in as fragmentary a state as those of Chatham; but enough remains to enable us to class him amongst the greatest masters of our speech, and, as far as the drawbacks allowed, among the foremost statesmen of his country.

It is painful to be left in doubt, as we are, whether he was ever reconciled to Grattan. The presumption, from the silence of their cotemporaries, is, that they never met again as friends. But it is consoling to remember that in his grave, the survivor rendered him that tribute of justice which almost takes the undying sting out of the philippic of 1783; it is well to know, also, that one of Grattan's latest wishes, thirty years after the death of Flood, when he felt his own last hours approaching, was, that it should be known that he "did not speak the vile abuse reported in the Debates" in relation to his illustrious rival. The best proof that what he did say was undeserved, is that that rival's reputation for integrity and public spirit has survived even his terrible onslaught.

CHAPTER X

THE ERA OF INDEPENDENCE.—SECOND PERIOD.

THE second period of the era of independence may be said to embrace the nine years extending from the dissolution of the last Volunteer Convention, at the end of 1784, to the passage of the Catholic Relief Bill of 1793. They were years of continued interest and excitement, both in the popular and parliamentary affairs of the country; but the events are, with the exception of the last named, of a more secondary order, than those of the previous period.

The session of 1785 was first occupied with debates relating to what might be called the cross-channel trade between England and Ireland. The question of trade brought with it, necessarily, the question of revenue; of the duties levied in both kingdoms; of the conflict of their commercial laws, and the necessity of their assimilation; of the appropriations to be borne by each, to the general expense of the army and navy; of the exclusive right of the English East India Company to the Indian trade;—in short, the whole of the fiscal and commercial relations of the two countries were now to be examined and adjusted, as their constitutional relations had been in previous years.

The first plan came from the castle, through Mr. Thomas Orde, then chief secretary, afterwards Lord Bolton. It consisted of eleven propositions, embracing every division of the subject. They had been arrived at by consultation with Mr. Joshua Pim, a most worthy Quaker merchant, the founder of an equally worthy family, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Foster and others. They were passed as resolutions in Ireland, and sent by Mr. Orde to England to see whether they would be adopted there also: the second Pitt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave his concurrence, but when he introduced to the English Parliament *his* resolutions—twenty in number—it was found that in several important respects they differed from the Irish propositions. On being taken up and presented to the Irish Parliament, in August, the administration

found they could command, in a full house, only a majority of sixteen for their introduction, and so the whole arrangement was abandoned. No definite commercial treaty between the two kingdoms was entered into until the Union, and there can be little doubt that the miscarriage of the convention of 1785, was one of the determining causes of that Union.

The next session was chiefly remarkable for an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the Pension List. In this debate, Curran, who had entered the House in 1783, particularly distinguished himself. A fierce exchange of personalities with Mr. Fitzgibbon led to a duel between them, in which, fortunately, neither was wounded, but their public hostility was transferred to the arena of the courts, where some of the choicest *morceaux* of genuine Irish wit were uttered by Curran, at the expense of his rival, first as Attorney-General, and subsequently as Chancellor.

The session of 1787 was introduced by a speech from the throne, in which the usual paragraph in favor of the Protestant Charter Schools was followed by another advising the establishment of a general system of schools. This raised the entire question of education, one of the most difficult to deal with in the whole range of Irish politics. On the 10th of April, Mr. Orde,—destined to be the author of just, but short-lived projects—introduced his plan of what might be called national education. He proposed to establish four great provincial academies, a second university in some north-western county, to reform the twenty-two diocesan schools, so richly endowed under the 28th Henry VIII., and to affiliate on Trinity College two principal preparatory schools, north and south. In 1784, and again in this very year, the humane John Howard had reported of the Irish Charter Schools, then half a century established, that they were “a disgrace to all society.” Sir J. Fitzpatrick, the Inspector of Prisons, confirmed the general impression of Howard: he found the children in these schools “puny, filthy, ill clothed, without linen, indecent to look upon.” A series of resolutions was introduced by Mr. Orde, as the basis of better legislation in the next session; but it is to be regretted that the proposed reform never went farther than the introduction and adoption of these resolutions.

The session of 1788 was signalized by a great domestic and a

great imperial discussion—the Tithe question, and the Regency question.

The Tithe question had slumbered within the walls of parliament since the days of Swift, though not in the lonely lodges of the secret agrarian societies. Very recent outbreaks of the old agrarian combinations against both excessive rents and excessive tithes, in the Leinster as well as in southern counties, had called general attention to the subject, when Grattan, in 1787, moved that, if it should appear by the commencement of the following session that tranquillity had been restored in the disturbed districts, the House would take into consideration the subject of tithes. Accordingly, very early in the next ensuing session, he moved for a committee on the subject, in a three-hours' speech, which ranks among the very highest efforts of his own or any other age. He was seconded by Lord Kingsborough, one of the most liberal men of his order, and sustained by Curran and Brownlow; he was opposed by Attorney-General Fitzgibbon, and by Messrs. Hobart, Browne and Parsons. The vote was, *for* the Committee of Inquiry 49; *against* it, 121. A second attempt, a little later in the session, was equally unsuccessful, except for the moral effect produced out of doors by another of those speeches, which it is impossible to read even at this day, without falling into the attitude, and assuming the intonation, and feeling the heartfelt inspiration of the orator.

The Regency question was precipitated upon both parliaments by the mental disorder, which, for the second or third time, attacked George III., in 1788. The question was, whether the Prince of Wales should reign with as full powers as if his father were actually deceased; whether there should be restrictions or no restrictions. Mr. Pitt and his colleagues contended successfully for restrictions in England, while Mr. Fox and the opposition took the contrary position. The English Houses and people went with Pitt, but the Irish Parliament went for an unconditional regency. They resolved to offer the crown of Ireland to him they considered *de facto* their sovereign, as freely as they had rendered their allegiance to the incapable king; but the Lord Lieutenant—the Marquis of Buckingham—declined to transmit their over-zealous address, and by the time their joint delegation of both Houses reached London, George III. had recovered!

They received the most gracious reception at Carlton House, but they incurred the implacable enmity of William Pitt, and created a second determining cause in his mind in favor of an early legislative union.

The prospect of the accession of the prince to power, wrought a wonderful and a salutary change, though temporary, in the Irish Commons. In the session of 1789, Mr. Grattan carried, by 105 to 85, a two months' in amendment to a twelve-months' supply bill. Before the two months expired he brought in his police bill, his pension bill, and his bill to prevent officers of the revenue from voting at elections, but e'er these reforms could be passed into law, the old king recovered, the necessary majority was reversed, and the measures, of course, defeated or delayed till better times. The triumph of the oligarchy was in proportion to their fright. The House having passed a vote of censure on Lord Buckingham the viceroy, for refusing to transmit their address to the Regent, a threat was now held out that every one who had voted for the censure, holding an office of honor or emolument in Ireland, would be made "the victim of his vote." In reply to this threat a "Round Robin," was signed by the Duke of Leinster, the Archbishop of Tuam, eighteen peers, all the leading Whig commoners—the Ponsonbys, Langrishes, Grattan, Connolly, Curran, O'Neill, Day, Charles Francis Sheridan, Bowes Daly, George Ogle, etc., etc.—declaring that they would regard any such proscription as an attack on the independence of Parliament, and would jointly oppose any administration who should resort to such proscription. But the bold and domineering spirit of Fitzgibbon—the leader of the Castle party, then, and long afterwards—did not shrink before even so formidable a phalanx. The Duke of Leinster was dismissed from the honorary office of Master of the Rolls, the Earl of Shannon, from the Vice-Treasurership, William Ponsonby from the office of Postmaster general, Charles Francis Sheridan, from that of Secretary at War, and ten or twelve other prominent members of the *Irish* administration lost places and pensions to the value of £20,000 a year, for their over-zeal for the Prince of Wales. At the same time, Mr. Fitzgibbon was appointed Lord Chancellor, a vacancy having opportunely occurred, by the death of Lord Lifford, in the very midst of the proscriptive crisis.

This elevation transferred him to the Upper House, where for the remaining years of the Parliament he continued to dogmatize and domineer, as he had done in the Commons, often rebuked, but never abashed. Indeed, the milder manners of the patrician body were ill suited to resist this ermined demagogue, whose motto through life was *audacity, again audacity, and always audacity*. The names of Wolfe, Toler, Corry, Cooté, Beresford, and Cooke, are also found among the promotions to legal and administrative office; names familiar to the last generation as the pillars of the oligarchical faction, before and after the Union. To swamp the opposition peers, the Earls of Antrim, Tyrone, and Hillsborough were made Marquises of Antrim, Waterford, and Downshire; the Viscounts Glenawley, Enniskillen, Erne, and Carysfort, were created Earls of Annesley, Enniskillen, Erne, and Carysfort. Then Judge Scott, became Viscount Clonmel; then the Lordships of Loftus, Londonderry, Kilmaine, Cloncurry, Mountjoy, Glentworth, and Caledon, were founded for as many convenient Commoners, who either paid for their patents, in boroughs, or in hard cash. It was the very reign and carnival of corruption, over which presided the invulnerable chancellor—a true “King of Misrule.” In reference to this appalling spectacle, well might Grattan exclaim—“In a free country the path of public treachery leads to the block; but in a nation governed like a province, to the helm!” But the thunders of the orator fell and were quenched in the wide spreading waters of corruption.

The Whig Club—an out-of-door auxiliary of the opposition—was a creation of this year. It numbered the chief signers of the “Round Robin,” and gained many adherents. It exercised very considerable influence in the general election of 1790, and for the few following years, until it fell to pieces in the presence of the more ardent politics which preceded the storm of 1798.

Backed though he was by Mr. Pitt, both as his relative and principal, the Marquis of Buckingham was compelled to resign the government, and to steal away from Dublin, under cover of night, like an absconding debtor. The Chancellor and the Speaker—Fitzgibbon and Foster, Irishmen at least by birth and in name—were sworn in as Justices, until the arrival of the Earl of Westmoreland, in the ensuing January.

The two last viceroys of the decade thus closed, form a marked contrast worthy of particular portraiture. The Duke of Rutland, a dashing profligate, was sent over, it was thought, to ruin public liberty by undermining private virtue, a task in which he found a willing helpmate in his beautiful but dissipated Duchess. During his three years' reign were sown the seeds of that reckless private expenditure, and general corruption of manners, which drove so many bankrupt lords and gentlemen into the market overt, where Lord Castlereagh and Secretary Cooke, a dozen years later, priced the value of their parliamentary cattle. Lord Rutland died of dissipation at little over thirty, and was succeeded by the Marquis of Buckingham (formerly Lord Temple), the founder of the Irish Order of Chivalry, a person of the greatest pretensions, as a reformer of abuses and an enemy of government by corruption. Yet with all his affected superiority to the base arts of his predecessor, the Marquis's system was still more opposite to every idea of just government, than the Duke's. The one outraged public morals, the other pensioned and ennobled the betrayers of public trusts; the one naturalized the gaming-table and the keeping of mistresses as customs of Irish society; the other sold or allowed the highest offices and honors of the state—from a weighership in the butter market to an earl's coronet—to be put up at auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder. How cheering in contrast with the shameful honors, flaunted abroad in those shameful days, are even the negative virtues of the Whig patricians, and how splendid the heroic constancy of Charlemont, Grattan, Curran, and their devoted minority of honest legislators!

With Lord Westmoreland, was associated, as chief secretary, Mr. Hobart, formerly in the army, a man of gay, convivial habits very accomplished, and, politically, very unprincipled. These gentlemen, both favorites of Pitt, adopted the councillors, and continued the policy of the late viceroy. In pursuance of this policy a dissolution took place, and the general election of 1790 was ordered. We have already exhibited the influences which controlled the choice of members of the House of Commons. Of the one hundred and five great proprietors, who owned two-thirds of the seats, perhaps a fourth might be found in the ranks of the

Whig club. The only other hope for the national party was in the boroughs, which possessed a class of freemen, engaged in trade, too numerous to be bought, or too public spirited to be dictated to. Both influences combined might hope to return a powerful minority, and on this occasion (1790) they certainly did so. Grattan and Lord Henry Fitzgerald were elected for Dublin, over the Lord Mayor and one of the Aldermen, backed by the whole power of the Castle; Curran, Ponsonby, Brownlow, Forbes, and nearly all "the victims of their vote," were reelected. To these old familiar names were now added others destined to equal if not still wider fame: Arthur Wellesley, member for Trim, Arthur O'Connor, member for Phillipstown, Jonah Barrington, member for Tuam, and Robert Stewart, one of the members for the county Down, then only in his twenty-second year, and, next to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, lately elected for Athy, the most extreme reformer among the new members. Arthur O'Connor, on the other hand, commenced his career with the court by moving the address in answer to the speech from the throne!

The new Parliament which met in July, 1790, unanimously reelected Mr. Foster, Speaker; passed a very loyal address, and after a fortnight's sitting, was prorogued till the following January. The session of '91 was marked by no event of importance; the highest opposition vote seems to have been from 80 to 90, and the ministerial majority never less than 50. The sake of Peerages, the East India trade, the Responsibility (for money warrants) Bill, the Barren Lands Bill, and the Pension Bill, were the chief topics. A committee to inquire into the best means of encouraging breweries, and discouraging the use of spirituous liquors, was also granted, and some curious facts elicited. Nothing memorable was done, but much that was memorable was said,—for the great orator had still a free press, and a home audience to instruct and elevate. The truth is, the barrenness of these two sessions was due to the general prosperity of the country, more even than to the dexterous management of Major Hobart and the Cabinet balls of Lord Westmoreland. There was, moreover, hanging over the minds of men the electric pressure of the wonderful events with which France shook the continent and made the Islands tremble. There was hasty hope, or idle

exultation, or pious fear, or panic terror, in the hearts of the leading spectators of that awful drama, according to the prejudices or principles they maintained. Over all the three kingdoms there was a preternatural calm, resembling that physical stillness which in other latitudes precedes the eruption of volcanoes.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ERA OF INDEPENDENCE—THIRD PERIOD:—CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL OF 1793.

BEFORE relating the consequences which attended the spread of French revolutionary opinions in Ireland, it is necessary to exhibit the new and very important position assumed by the Roman Catholic population at that period.

The relief bills in 1774 and 1778, by throwing open to catholics the ordinary means of acquiring property, whether movable or immovable, had enabled many of them to acquire fortunes, both in land and in trade. Of this class were the most efficient leaders in the formation of the Catholic Committee of 1790—John Keogh, Edward Byrne, and Richard McCormick. They were all men who had acquired fortunes, and who felt and cherished the independence of self-made men. They were not simply Catholic agitators claiming an equality of civil and religious rights with their Protestant fellow-countrymen; they were nationalists, in the broadest and most generous meaning of the term. They had contributed to the ranks and the expenses of the Volunteers; they had swelled the chorus of Grattan's triumph, and borne their share of the cost in many a popular contest. The new generation of Protestant patriots—such men as the Hon. Simon Bulter, Wolfe Tone, and Thomas Addis Emmet, were their intimate associates, shared their opinions, and regarded their exclusion from the pale of the constitution as a public calamity.

There was another and a smaller, but not less important class—the remnant of the ancient Catholic peerage and landed gentry, who, through four generations, had preferred civil death to re-

ligious apostacy. It was impossible not to revere the heroic constancy of that class, and the personal virtues of many among them. But they were, perhaps constitutionally, too timid and too punctilious to conduct a popular movement to a successful issue. They had, after much persuasion, lent their presence to the committee, but on some alarm, which at that time seems to have been premature, of the introduction of French revolutionary principles among their associates, they seceded in a mass. A formal remonstrance against what remained, pretending to act for the Catholic body, was signed by Lord Kenmare and sixty-seven others, who withdrew. As a corrective, it was inadequate; as a preventive, useless. It no doubt hastened in the end the evil it deprecated in the beginning; it separated the Catholic gentry from the Catholic democracy, and thrust the latter more and more towards those liberal Protestants, mainly men of the middle class like themselves, who began about this time to club together at Belfast and Dublin, under the attractive title of "United Irishmen." Whatever they were individually, the union of so many hereditary Catholic names had been of very great service to the committee. So long as they stood aloof, the committee could not venture to speak for *all* the Catholics; it could only speak for a part, though that part might be nine-tenths of the whole: this gave for a time a doubtful and hesitating appearance, to their proceedings. So low was their political influence, in 1791, that they could not get a single member of Parliament to present their annual petition. When at last it was presented, it was laid on the table and never noticed afterwards. To their further embarrassment, Mr. McKenna and some others formed "the Catholic Society," with the nominal object of spreading a knowledge of Catholic principles, through the press, but, covertly, to raise up a rival organization, under the control of the seceders. At this period John Keogh's talents for negotiation and diplomacy saved the Catholic body from another term of anarchical imbecility.

A deputation of twelve, having waited this year on the chief secretary with a list of the existing penal laws, found no intention, at the Castle, of further concession. They were "dismissed without an answer." Under these circumstances, the Committee met at

Allen's Court. "It was their determination," says Keogh, "to give up the cause as desperate, lest a perseverance in what they considered an idle pursuit might not only prove ineffectual, but draw down a train of persecution on the body." Keogh endeavored to rally them; proposed a delegation to London, to be sent at the expense of the committee; offered, at last, to go at his own charge, if they authorized him. This proposal was accepted, and Keogh went. "I arrived in London," he adds, "without any introduction from this country, without any support, any assistance, any instructions." He remained three months, converted Mr. Dundas, brought back with him the son of Burke as secretary, and a promise of four concessions: 1st. The magistracy. 2d. The grand juries. 3d. The sheriffs of counties. 4th. The bar. It was in this interview that Keogh, after obtaining Mr. Dundas's express permission and promise not to be offended, said to him, according to Charles Butler's account, "Since you give me this permission, and your deliberate promise not to be offended, I beg leave to repeat, that there is one thing which you ought to know, but which you don't suspect: you, Mr. Dundas, know nothing of Ireland." Mr. Dundas, as may be supposed, was greatly surprised; but with perfect good humor told Mr. Keogh that he believed this was not the case; it was true that he never had been in Ireland, but he had conversed with many Irishmen. "I have drunk," he said "many a good bottle of wine with Lord Hillsborough, Lord Clare, and the Beresfords." "Yes, sir," said Mr. Keogh, "I believe you have; and that you drank many a good bottle of wine with them before you went to war with America."

On the return of Keogh to Dublin, a numerous meeting was held to hear his report. At this meeting, the fair promises of the English ministers were contrasted with the hostility of the Castle. The necessity of a strong organization, to overcome the one and hasten the other, was felt by all: it was then decided to call the committee into a Convention. By this plan, the Catholics in each county and borough were called on to choose, in a private manner, certain electors, who were to elect two or more delegates, to represent the town or county in the general meeting at Dublin, on the 3d day of December following. A circular, signed

by Edward Byrne, chairman, and Richard McCormick, secretary, explaining the plan and the mode of election, was issued on the 14th of January, and the Catholics everywhere prepared to obey it.

The corporations of Dublin and other cities, the grand juries of Derry, Donegal, Leitrim, Roscommon, Limerick, Cork, and other counties, at once pronounced most strongly against the proposed Convention. They declared it "unconstitutional," "alarming," "most dangerous;" they denounced it as a copy of the National Assembly of France; they declared that they would "resist it to the utmost of their power;" they pledged "their lives and fortunes" to suppress it. The only answer of the Catholics was the legal opinion of Butler and Burton, two eminent lawyers, Protestants and King's counsellors, that the measure was entirely legal. They proceeded with their selection of delegates, and on the appointed day the Convention met. From the place of meeting, this convention was popularly called "the Back Lane Parliament." Above 200 members were present.

The Convention proceeded (Mr. Byrne in the chair) to declare itself the only body competent to speak for the Catholics of Ireland. They next discussed the substance of the proposed petition to the king. The debate on this subject, full of life and color, has been preserved for us in the memoirs of Tone, who, although a Protestant, had been elected secretary to the Catholic committee. Great firmness was exhibited by Teeling, of Antrim, Bellew, of Galway, McDermott, of Sligo, Devereux, of Wexford, Sir Thomas French, and John Keogh. These gentlemen contended, and finally carried, without a division, though not without a two-days' debate, a petition asking complete and unrestricted emancipation. With the addition of the chairman and secretary, they were appointed as deputies to proceed to London, there to place the Catholic ultimatum in the hands of King George.

The deputies, whether by design or accident, took Belfast on their way to England. This great manufacturing town, at the head of the staple industry of the north, had been in succession the headquarters of the Volunteers, the Northern Whigs and the United Irishmen. Belfast had demanded in vain, for nearly a generation, that its 20,000 inhabitants should no longer be dis-

franchised, while a dozen burgesses—creatures of Lord Donegal—controlled the representation. Community of disfranchisement had made the Belfastians liberal; the Catholic deputies were publicly received with bonfires and ringing of bells, their expenses were paid by the citizens, and their carriage drawn along in triumph on the road to Port Patrick.

Arrived at London, after much negotiation and delay with ministers, a day was fixed for their introduction to the king. It was Wednesday, the 2d of January, 1793; they were presented by Edmund Burke and the Home Secretary to George III., who "received them very graciously;" they placed in his hands the petition of their co-religionists, and, after some compliments, withdrew. In a few days, they were assured their case would be recommended to the attention of Parliament in the next royal speech, and so, leaving one of their number behind as "chargé d'affaires," they returned to Dublin highly elated.

The viceroy, on their return, was all attention to the Catholics; the secretary, who, a year before, would not listen to a petition, now labored to fix a limit to concession. The demand of complete emancipation, was not maintained in this negotiation as firmly as in the December debates of "the Back Lane Parliament." The shock of the execution of the King of France; the efforts of the secret committee of the House of Lords to inculcate certain Catholic leaders in the United-Irish system, and as patrons of the Defenders; the telling argument, that to press all was to risk all,—these causes combined to induce the sub-committee to consent to less than the Convention had decided to insist upon. Negotiation was the strong ground of the government, and they kept it. Finally, the bill was introduced by the Chief Secretary, and warmly supported by Grattan, Curran, Ponsonby, Forbes, and Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College. It was resisted in the lower house by Mr. Speaker Foster, Mr. Ogle, and Dr. Duigenan, an apostate, who exhibited all the bitterness of his class; and in the upper house, by the Chancellor, the son of an apostate, and the majority of the lords spiritual. On the 9th day of April, 1793, it became the law of Ireland. "By one comprehensive clause," says Tone, "all penalties, forfeitures, disabilities, and incapacities are removed; the property of the Catholic is

completely discharged from the restraints and limitations of the penal laws, and their liberty, in a great measure, restored, by the restoration of the right of elective franchise, so long withheld, so ardently pursued. The right of self-defence is established by the restoration of the privilege to carry arms, subject to a restraint, which does not seem unreasonable, as excluding none but the very lowest orders. The unjust and unreasonable distinctions affecting Catholics, as to service on grand and petty juries, are done away; the army, navy, and all other offices and places of trust are opened to them, subject to exceptions hereafter mentioned. Catholics may be masters or fellows of any college hereafter to be founded, subject to two conditions, that such college be a member of the university, and that it be not founded exclusively for the education of Catholics. They may be members of any lay body corporate, except Trinity College, any law, statute, or by-law of such corporation to the contrary notwithstanding. They may obtain degrees in the University of Dublin. These, and some lesser immunities and privileges, constitute the grant of the bill, the value of which will be best ascertained by referring to the petition."

It is true, Catholics were still excluded from the high offices of lord lieutenant, lord deputy, and lord chancellor. What was much more important, they were excluded from sitting in Parliament—from exercising legislative and judicial functions. Still the franchise, the juries, the professions, and the university, were important concessions. Their first fruits were Daniel O'Connell and Thomas Moore!

The committee having met to return thanks to the parliamentary supporters of the bill, their own future operations came also under debate. Some members advised that they should add reform to their programme, as the remnant of the penal laws were not sufficient to interest and attract the people. Some would have gone much further than reform; some were well content to rest on their laurels. There were ultras, moderate men, and conservatives, even in the twelve. The latter were more numerous than Wolfe Tone liked or expected. That ardent revolutionist had, indeed, at bottom, a strong dislike of the Catholic religion; he united himself with that body because he needed a

party; he remained with them because it gave him importance; but he chiefly valued the position as it enabled him to further an ulterior design—an Irish revolution and a republic on the French plan. The example of France had, however, grown by this time rather a terror than an attraction to more cautious men than Tone. Edward Byrne, Sir Thomas French, and other leading Catholics, were openly hostile to any imitation of it, and the dinner at Daly's, to celebrate the passage of the act, was strongly anti-Gallican in spirit and sentiment. Keogh, McCormick, and McNevin, however, joined the United Irishmen, and the two latter were placed on the Directory. Keogh withdrew, when, in 1795, that organization became a secret society.

The bishops who had cheered on, rather than participated in the late struggle, were well satisfied with the new measure. They were, by education and conviction, conservatives. Dr. Plunkett, of Meath, Dr. Egan, of Waterford, Dr. Troy, of Dublin, and Dr. Moylan, of Cork, were the most remarkable for influence and ability at this period. Dr. Butler, of Cashel, and his opponent, Dr. Burke, of Ossory, the head of the resolute old ultramontane minority, were both recently deceased. With the exception of Dr. James Butler, bishop of Cloyne and Ross, who deserted his faith and order on becoming unexpectedly heir to an earldom, the Irish prelates of the reign of George III. were a most zealous and devoted body. Lord Dunboyne's fall was the only cause of a reproach within their own ranks. That unhappy prelate made, many years afterwards, a death-bed repentance, was reconciled to his church, and bequeathed a large part of his inherited wealth to sustain the new national college, the founding of which, ever since the outbreak of the French revolution, the far-sesing Burke was urging upon Pitt and all his Irish correspondents.

In 1794, the Irish bishops having applied for "a royal license" to establish academies and seminaries, were graciously received, and Lord Fitzwilliam's government the next session brought in the Act of Incorporation. It became law on the 5th of June, 1795, and the college was opened the following October with fifty students. Dr. Hussey, afterwards bishop of Waterford, the friend of Burke, who stood by his death-bed, was first President; some

refugee French divines were appointed to professorships; and the Irish Parliament voted the very handsome sum of £8,000 a year to the new foundation. Maynooth, whatever its after lot, was the creation in the first instance of the Irish Parliament. We have thus, in the third century after the reformation, after three great religious wars, after four confiscations, after the most ingenious, cruel, and unchristian methods of oppression and proselytism, had been tried and had failed, yet to the most precious of the civil and religious liberties of a people! So powerless against conscience is and ever must be coercion!

CHAPTER XII.

THE ERA OF INDEPENDENCE.—EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
IN IRELAND.—SECESSION OF GRATTAN, CURRAN, AND THEIR FRIENDS,
FROM PARLIAMENT, IN 1797.

THE ERA OF INDEPENDENCE which we have desired to mark distinctly to the reader's mind, may be said to terminate in 1797, with the hopeless secession of Grattan and his friends from Parliament. Did the events within and without the house justify that extreme measure? We shall proceed to describe them as they arose, leaving the decision of the question to the judgment of the reader.

The session of 1793, which extended into July, was, besides the Catholic Relief Bill, productive of other important results. Under the plea of the spread of French principles, and the wide-spread organization of seditious associations—a plea not wanting in evidence—an Arms Act was introduced and carried, prohibiting the importation of arms and gunpowder, and authorizing domiciliary visits, at any hour of the night or day, in search of such arms. Within a month from the passage of this bill, bravely but vainly opposed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the opposition generally, the surviving Volunteer corps, in Dublin and its vicinity, were

disbanded, their arms, artillery, and ammunition taken possession of either by force or negotiation, and the very wreck of that once powerful patriot army swept away. In its stead, by nearly the same majority, the militia were increased to 16,000 men, and the regulars from 12,000 to 17,000—thus placing at the absolute control of the commander-in-chief, and the chiefs of the oligarchy, a standing army of 33,000 men. At the same period, Lord Clare (he had been made an earl in 1792), introduced his Convention Act, against the assemblage in convention of delegates purporting to represent the people. With Grattan only 27 of the Commons divided against this measure, well characterized as "the boldest step that ever yet was made to introduce military government." "If this bill had been law," Grattan added, "the independence of the Irish Parliament, the emancipation of the Catholics, and even the English revolution of 1688, could never have taken place!" The teller in favor of the Convention Act was Major Wellesley, member for Trim, twenty years later—Duke of Wellington! It became and still remains the law of Ireland.

Against this reactionary legislation we must credit the session of '93, besides the Catholic Relief Bill and the East India Trade Bill, with Mr. Grattan's Barren Lands Bill, exempting all newly reclaimed lands from the payment of tithes for a period of seven years; Mr. Forbes's Pension Bill, limiting the pension list to £80,000 sterling per annum, and fixing the permanent civil list at £250,000 per annum; and the excellent measure of the same invaluable member, excluding from parliament all persons holding offices of profit under the crown, except the usual ministerial officers, and those employed in the *revenue service*. This last salvo was forced into the bill by the oligarchical faction, for whose junior branches the revenue had long been a fruitful source of provision.

Parliament met next, on the 21st of January, '94, and held a short two-months' session. The most remarkable incidents of these two months were the rejection of Mr. George Ponsonby's annual motion for parliamentary reform, and the striking position taken by Grattan, Curran, and all but seven or eight of their friends, in favor of the war against the French republic. Mr. Ponsonby proposed, in the spirit of Flood's plan ten years earlier, to unite to the boroughs four miles square of the adjoining coun-

try, thus creating a counterpoise to the territorial aristocracy on the one hand, and the patrons of boroughs on the other; he also proposed to extend the suffrage to every tradesman who had served five years' apprenticeship, and give each county *three* instead of two members, leaving intact, of course, the forty-shilling freehold franchise. Not more than 44 members, however, divided in favor of the new project, while 142 voted against it! Had it passed, the parliamentary history of the next six years could never have been written.

It was on this Reform bill, and on the debate on the address, that Grattan took occasion to declare his settled and unalterable hostility to those "French principles," then so fashionable with all who called themselves friends of freedom, in the three kingdoms. In the great social schism which had taken place in Europe, in consequence of the French revolution of 1789-'91, those kingdoms, the favorite seat of free inquiry, and free discussion, could not hope to escape. The effects were visible in every circle, among every order of men; in all the churches, workshops, saloons, professions, into which men were divided. Among publicists, most of all, the shock was most severely felt: in England it separated Burke and Windham from Fox, Erskine, Sheridan, and Grey; in Ireland it separated Grattan and Curran from Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Addis Emmett, Wolfe Tone, and all those ardent, able, and honest men, who hailed the French, as the forerunner of a complete series of European republics, in which Ireland should shine out, among the brightest and the best.

Grattan, who agreed with and revered Burke, looked upon the "anti-Jacobin war," as a just and necessary war. It was not in his nature to do anything by halves, and he therefore cordially supported the paragraph in the address pledging Ireland's support to that war. He was a constitutionalist of the British, not of the French type. In the subsequent Reform debate he declared that he would always and ever resist those who sought to remodel the Irish constitution on a French original. He asserted, moreover, that great mischief had been already done by the advocates of such a design. "It"—this design—"has thrown back for the present the chance of any rational improvement in the representation of the people," he cried, "and has betrayed a good reform

to the hopes of a shabby insurrection." Proceeding in his own condensed, crystalline antithesis, he thus enlarged on his own opinions: "There are two characters equally enemies to the reform of parliament, and equally enemies to the government—the leveler of the constitution and the friend of its abuses; they take different roads to arrive at the same end. The levellers propose to subvert the king and parliamentary constitution by a rank and unqualified democracy—the friends of its abuses propose to support the king and buy the parliament, and in the end to overset both, by a rank and avowed corruption. They are both incendiaries; the one would destroy government to pay his court to liberty; the other would destroy liberty to pay his court to government; but the liberty of the one would be confusion, and the government of the other would be pollution."

We can well understand that this language pleased as little the United Irishmen as the Castle. It was known that in private he was accustomed to say, that "the wonder was not that Mr. Sheares should die on the scaffold, but that Lord Clare was not there beside him." He stood in the midst of the ways, crying aloud, with the wisdom of his age and his genius, but there were few to heed his warnings. The sanguine innovator sneered or pitied; the truculent despot scowled or menaced; to the one his authority was an impediment, to the other his reputation was a reproach. It was a public situation as full of conflict as man ever occupied, and we are not astonished, on a nearer view, that it led after three years hoping against hope, to the despairing secession of 1797.

A bright gleam of better things shot for an instant across the gloomy prospect, with which the year '94 closed for the country. Lord Westmoreland was recalled, and Lord Fitzwilliam, largely connected with Ireland by property, and one of the most just and liberal men in England, was to be his successor. The highest expectations were excited; the best men congratulated each other on the certain promise of better times close at hand; and the nation, ever ready to believe whatever it wished to believe, saw in prospect, the oligarchy restrained, the patriots triumphant, and the unfinished fabric of independence completed, and crowned with honor.

This new reign, though one of the shortest, was one of the

most important Ireland ever saw. Lord Fitzwilliam, the nephew of Lord Rockingham, the first to acknowledge the constitution of 1782, had married a Ponsonby; he was a Burke whig—one of those who, with the Duke of Portland, Earl Spencer, and Mr. Windham, had followed the "great Edmund," in his secession from the Fox-and-Sheridan majority of that party, in 1791. Pitt, anxious to conciliate these new allies, had brought them all into office in 1794—Earl Fitzwilliam being placed in the dignified position of President of the Council. When spoken of for the vicerealty he wrote to Grattan, bespeaking his support, and that of "his friends, the Ponsonbys;" this letter and some others brought Grattan to London, where he had two or three interviews with Pitt, the Duke of Portland, and Lord Fitzwilliam. Better still, he made a pilgrimage to Beaconsfield, and had the benefit of the last advice of the aged Burke. With Pitt he was disappointed and dissatisfied, but he still hoped and expected great good from the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam to the office of viceroy. It seems to have been fully understood that the new Lord Lieutenant would have very full powers to complete the gracious work of Catholic emancipation: with this express understanding, Mr. Grattan was pressed to accept the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, but steadily declined; he upheld in that position Sir Henry Parnell, an old personal, rather than political friend, one of a family of whom Ireland has reason to retain a grateful recollection. He was, however, with Ponsonby, Curran, and others of his friends in both houses, added to the privy council, where they were free to shape the measures of the new administration. At the king's levee, on the 10th of December, when Lord Fitzwilliam was sworn in, the aged Burke in deep mourning for his idolized son, attended; Grattan was so much spoken to by the king as to draw towards him particular attention; Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Portland, and other ministers, were present. All took and held the tone that complete emancipation was a thing settled: Burke congratulated Grattan on the event, and the new viceroy was as jubilant and as confident as anybody, that the great controversy was at length to be finally closed under his auspices.

On the 4th of January, Lord Fitzwilliam reached Dublin; and

on the 25th of March he was recalled. The history of these three months—of this short-lived attempt to govern Ireland on the advice of Grattan—is full of instruction. The viceroy had not for a moment concealed his intention of thoroughly reforming the Irish administration. On his arrival at the castle, Mr. Cooke was removed from the secretaryship, and Mr. Beresford from the revenue board. Great was the consternation, and unscrupulous the intrigues of the dismissed. When the Parliament met at the end of January, Grattan assumed the leadership of the House of Commons, and moved the address in answer to the speech from the throne. No opposition was offered—and it passed without a division. Immediately, a bill granting the Catholics complete emancipation—rendering them eligible even to the office of Chancellor, withheld in 1829—was introduced by Grattan. Then the oligarchy found their voices. The old cry of “the Church in danger” was raised, delegations proceeded to London, and every agency of influence was brought to bear on the king and the English cabinet. From the tenor of his letters, Lord Fitzwilliam felt compelled in honor to tell Mr. Pitt, that he might choose between him and the Beresfords. He did choose—but not till the Irish Parliament, in the exuberance of its confidence and gratitude, had voted the extraordinary subsidy of 20,000 men for the navy, and *a million, eight hundred thousand pounds, towards the expenses of the war with France!* Then, the popular viceroy was recalled, amid the universal regrets of the people. The day of his departure from Dublin was a day of general mourning, except with the oligarchical clique, whose leaders he had so resolutely thrust aside. To them it was a day of insolent and unconcealed rejoicing; and, what is not at all uncommon under such circumstances, the infatuated partisans of the French revolution, rejoiced hardly less than the extremest Tories, at the sudden collapse of a government equally opposed to the politics of both. Grattan, than whom no public man was ever more free from unjust suspicion of others, always remained under the conviction, that Pitt had made merely a temporary use of Lord Fitzwilliam’s popularity, in order to cheat the Irish out of the immense supplies they had voted; and all the documents of the day, which have since seen the light, accord well with that view of the transaction. Lord Fitzwilliam was

Immediately replaced by Lord Camden, whose vicerealty extended into the middle of the year 1798: a reign which embraced all that remains to us to narrate, of the parliamentary politics of the era of Independence.

The sittings of Parliament were resumed during April, May, and June, but the complete emancipation bill was rejected three to one—155 to 55; the debates were now marked, on the part of Toler, Duigenan, Johnson and others, with the most violent anti-Catholic spirit. All this tended to inflame still more the exasperated feeling which already prevailed in the country between Orangemen and Defenders. Thus it came, that the High Court of Parliament which ought to have been the chief school of public wisdom—the calm correcting tribunal of public opinion—was made a principal engine in the dissemination of those prejudices and passions, which drove honest men to despair of constitutional redress, and swelled the ranks of the secret political societies, till they became coëxtensive with the population.

The session of 1796 was even more hopeless than the immediately preceding one. A trade motion of Grattan's on the address commanded only 14 votes out of 140; in the next session his motion in favor of equal rights to persons of all religious creeds, obtained but 12 votes out of 160! From these figures it is clear that above a third of the members of the House no longer attended; that of those who did attend, the overwhelming and invariable majority—ten to one—were for all the measures of repression and coercion which marked these two sessions. The Insurrection Act, giving power to the magistrates of any county to proclaim martial law; the Indemnity Act protecting magistrates from the consequences of exercising "a vigor beyond the law;" the Riot Act, giving authority to disperse any number of persons by force of arms without notice; the Suspension of the *habeas corpus* (against which only 7 members out of a house of 164 voted)—all were evidences to Grattan, that the usefulness of the House of Commons, as then constituted, was, for the time, lost or destroyed. It is quite clear that he came to this conviction slowly and reluctantly; that he struggled against it with manly fortitude through three sessions; that he yielded to it at length, when there was no longer a possibility of resistance.—

when to move or to divide the House, had become a wretched farce, humiliating to the country and unworthy of his own earnest and enthusiastic patriotism.

Under these circumstances, the powerless leader and his devoted staff resolved to withdraw, formally and openly, from further attendance on the House of Commons. The deplorable state of the country, delivered over to an irresponsible magistracy and all the horrors of martial law; the spread among the patriotic rising generation of French principles; the scarcely concealed design of the Castle to goad the people into insurrection, in order to deprive them of their liberties; all admonished the faithful few that the walls of Parliament were no longer their sphere of usefulness. One last trial was, however, made in May, 1797, for a reform of Parliament. Mr. George Ponsonby moved his usual motion, and Curran, Hardy, Sir Lawrence Parsons, Charles Kendall Bushe, and others, ably supported him. The division was 30 to 117. It was on this debate, that Grattan, whose mournful manner contrasted so strongly with his usual enthusiasm, concluded a solemn exposition of the evils the administration were bringing on the country, by these affecting words: "We have offered you our measure—you will reject it; we deprecate yours—you will persevere; having no hopes left to persuade or to dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, *and after this day shall not attend the House of Commons.*" The secession thus announced was accomplished; at the general election two months later, Grattan and his colleague, Lord Henry Fitzgerald, refused to stand again for Dublin; Curran, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and others, followed his example. A few patriots hoping against hope, were, however, returned, a sort of forlorn hope, to man the last redoubt of the Constitution. Of these was William Conyngham Plunkett, member for Charlemont, Grattan's old borough, a constitutionalist of the school of Edmund Burke, worthy to be named among the most illustrious of his disciples.

In the same July, on the 7th of the month, on which the Irish elections were held, that celebrated Anglo-Irish statesman expired at Beaconsfield, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His last thoughts—his last wishes, like his first—were with his native

land. His regards continued fixed on the state of Ireland, while vision and faculty remained. His last efforts in writing and conversation were to plead for toleration, concession and conciliation towards Ireland. The magisterial gravity of Burke was not calculated to permit him to be generally popular with an impulsive people, but as years roll on, and education extends its dominion, his reputation rises and brightens above every other reputation of his age, British or Irish. Of him no less truly than powerfully did Grattan say in the Imperial Parliament, in 1815: "He read everything, he saw everything, he foresaw everything. His knowledge of history amounted to a power of foretelling; and when he perceived the wild work that was doing in France, that great political physician, intelligent of symptoms, distinguished between the access of fever and the force of health; and what other men conceived to be the vigor of her constitution, he knew to be no more than the paroxysm of her madness; and then, prophet-like, he denounced the destinies of France, and in his prophetic fury, admonished nations."



CHAPTER XIII.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

HALF measures of justice may satisfy the generation which achieves them, but their successors will look with other eyes, as well on what has been won as on that which is withheld. The part in possession will appear to their youthful sense of abstract right and wrong far less precious than the part in expectancy, for it is in the nature of the young to look forward, as it is of the old to turn their regards to the past. The very recollection of their fathers will stimulate the new generation to emulate their example, and will render them averse to being bound by former compromises. So necessary is it for statesmen, when they yield to a just demand long withheld, to yield gracefully and to yield all that is fairly due.

The celebrated group known to us as "the United Irishmen,"

were the birth of a new generation, entering together on the public stage. With few exceptions, the leading characters were all born within a few years of each other: Neilson in 1761, Tone, Arthur O'Connor and Lord Edward Fitzgerald in '62, McNevin in '63, Sampson and Thomas Addis Emmett in '64, and Russell in '67. They had emerged into manhood while the drums of the Volunteers were beating victorious marches, when the public hopes ran high, and the language of patriotism was the familiar speech of every-day life.

In a settled state of society it would have been natural for the first minds of the new generation to carry their talents, gratefully and dutifully, into the service of the first reputations of the old; but Irish society, in the last years of the last century, was not in a settled condition; the fascination of French example, and the goading sense of national wrongs only half-righted, inflamed the younger generation with a passionate thirst for speedy and summary justice on their oppressors. We must not look, therefore, to see the Toncs and Emmetts continuing in the constitutional line of public conduct marked out by Burke in the one kingdom, and Grattan in the other. The new age was revolutionary, and the new men were filled with the spirit of the age. Their actions stand apart; they form an episode in the history of the century to which there may be parallels, but a chapter in the history of their own country original and alone.

The United Irish Society sprung up at Belfast in October, 1791. In that month, Theobald Wolfe Tone, then in his 28th year, a native of Kildare, a member of the bar, and an excellent popular pamphleteer, on a visit to his friend Thomas Russell, in the northern capital, was introduced to Samuel Neilson, proprietor of the *Northern Star* newspaper, and several other kindred spirits, all staunch reformers, or "something more." Twenty of these gentlemen meeting together, adopted a programme prepared by Tone, which contained these three simple propositions: that "English influence" was the great danger of Irish liberty; that a reform of parliament could alone create a counterpoise to that influence; and that such a reform to be just should include Irishmen of all religious denominations. On Tone's return to Dublin, early in November, a branch society was formed on the Belfast basis.

The Hon. Simon Butler, a leading barrister, was chosen chairman, and Mr. Napper Tandy, an active middle-aged merchant, with strong republican principles, was secretary. The solemn declaration or oath, binding every member "to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions," was drawn up by the Dublin club, and became the universal bond of organization. Though the Belfast leaders had been long in the habit of meeting in "secret committee," to direct and control the popular movements in their vicinage, the new society was not, in its inception, nor for three years afterwards, a secret society. When that radical change was proposed, we find it resisted by a considerable minority, who felt themselves at length compelled to retire from an association the proceedings of which they could no longer approve. In justice to those who remained, adopting secrecy as their only shield, it must be said, that the freedom of the press and of public discussion had been repeatedly and frequently violated before they abandoned the original maxims and tactics of their body, which were all open and above-board.

In 1792, Simon Butler, and Oliver Bond—a prosperous Dublin merchant of northern origin—were summoned to the bar of the House of Lords, condemned to six months' imprisonment, and a fine of £500 each, for having acted as chairman and secretary of one of the meetings, at which an address to the people, strongly reflecting on the corrupt constitution of Parliament, was adopted. In '94, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, one of the purest and most chivalrous characters of any age, was convicted by a packed jury of circulating the famous "Universal Emancipation" address of his friend, Dr. William Drennan, the poet-politician of the party. He was defended by Curran, in the still more famous speech in which occurs his apostrophe to "the genius of Universal Emancipation;" but he atoned in the cells of Newgate, for circulating the dangerous doctrine which Drennan had broached, and Curran had immortalized.

The regular place of meeting of the Dublin society was the Tailors' Hall, in Back Lane, a spacious building, called, from the number of great popular gatherings held in it, "the Back Lane Parliament." Here Tandy, in the uniform of his new National

Guard, whose standard bore the harp without the crown, addressed his passionate harangues to the applauding multitude; here, Tone, whose *forte*, however, was not oratory, constantly attended; here, also, the leading Catholics, Keogh and McCormack, the "Gog" and "Magog," of Tone's extraordinary *Memoirs*, were occasionally present. And here, on the night of the 4th of May, 1794, the Dublin society, found themselves suddenly assailed by the police, their papers seized, their officers who were present arrested, and their meeting dispersed. From that moment we may date the new and secret organization of the brotherhood, though it was not in general operation till the middle of the following year.

This new organization, besides its secrecy, had other revolutionary characteristics. For "reform of Parliament," was substituted in the test, or oath, representation "of all the people of Ireland," and for petitions and publications, the enrollment of men, by baronies and counties, and the appointment of officers, from the least to the highest in rank, as in a regular army. The unit was a lodge of twelve members with a chairman and secretary, who were also their corporal and sergeant; five of these lodges formed a company, and the officers of five such companies a baronial committee, from which again, in like manner, the county committees were formed. Each of the provinces had its Directory, while in Dublin the supreme authority was established, in an "Executive Directory" of five members. The orders of the Executive were communicated to not more than one of the Provincial Directors, and by him to one of each County Committee, and so in a descending scale till the rank and file were reached; an elaborate contrivance, but one which proved wholly insufficient to protect the secrets of the organization from the ubiquitous espionage of the government.

In May, 1795, the new organization lost the services of Wolfe Tone, who was compromised by a strange incident, to a very serious extent. The incident was the arrest and trial of the Rev. William Jackson, an Anglican clergyman, who had imbibed the opinions of Price and Priestley, and had been sent to Ireland by the French Republic, on a secret embassy. Betrayed by a friend and countryman named Cockayne, the unhappy Jackson took poison in prison, and expired in the dock. Tone had been seen

with Jackson, and through the influence of his friends, was alone protected from arrest. He was compelled, however, to quit the country, in order to preserve his personal liberty. He proceeded with his family to Belfast, where before taking shipping for America, he renewed with his first associates, their vows and projects, on the summit of "the Cave Hill," which looks down upon the rich valley of the Laggan, and the noble town and port at its outlet. Before quitting Dublin, he had solemnly promised Emmett and Russell, in the first instance, as he did his Belfast friends in the second, that he would make the United States his *route* to France, where he would negotiate a formidable national alliance, for "the United Irishmen."

In the year in which Tone left the country, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother of the Duke of Leinster, and formerly a Major in the British army, joined the society; in the next year—near its close—Thomas Addis Emmett, who had long been in the confidence of the promoters, joined; as did, about the same time, Arthur O'Connor, nephew of Lord Longueville, and ex-member for Philipstown, and Dr. William James McNevin, a Connaught Catholic, educated in Austria, then practicing his profession with eminent success in Dublin. These were felt to be important accessions, and all four were called upon to act on "the Executive Directory," from time to time, during 1796 and 1797.

The coercive legislation carried through Parliament, session after session—the Orange persecutions in Armagh and elsewhere—the domiciliary visits—the military outrages in town and country—the free quarters, whipping and tortures—the total suppression of the public press—the bitter disappointment of Lord Fitzwilliam's recall—the annual failure of Ponsonby's motion for reform—finally, the despairing secession of Grattan and his friends from Parliament—had all tended to expand the system, which six years before was confined to a few dozen enthusiasts of Belfast and Dublin, into the dimensions of a national confederacy. By the close of this year, 500,000 men had taken the test, in every part of the country, and nearly 300,000 were reported as armed, either with firelocks or pikes. Of this total, 110,000 alone were returned for Ulster; about 60,000 for Leinster, and the remainder from Connaught and Munster. A fund, ludicrously small, £1,400

sterling, remained in the hands of the Executive after all the outlay which had taken place, in procuring arms, in extending the union, and in defending prisoners arrested as members of the society. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was chosen commander-in-chief; but the main reliance, for munitions, artillery, and officers, was placed upon the French republic.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH FRANCE AND HOLLAND.—THE THREE EXPEDITIONS NEGOTIATED BY TONE AND LEWINEB.

THE close of the year 1795 saw France under the government of the Directory, with Carnot in the cabinet, and Pichegru, Jourdain, Moreau, Hoché, and Buonaparte at the head of its armies. This government, with some change of persons, lasted from October 1795 to November '99, when it was supplanted by the consular revolution. Within the compass of those four years lie the negotiations which were carried on and the three great expeditions which were fitted out by France and Holland, at the instance of the United Irishmen.

On the 1st of February, 1796, Tone, who had sailed from Belfast the previous June, arrived at Havre from New York, possessed of a hundred guineas and some useful letters of introduction. One of these letters, written in cipher, was from the French Minister at Philadelphia to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Charles Lacroix; another was to the American Minister in France, Mr. Monroe, afterwards President of the United States, by whom he was most kindly received, and wisely advised, on reaching Paris. Lacroix received him courteously and referred him to a subordinate called Madgett, but after nearly three months wasted in interviews and explanations, Tone, by the advice of Monroe, presented himself at the Luxembourg palace, and demanded audience of the "Organizer of Victory." Carnot also listened to him attentively, asked and obtained his true name,

and gave him another *rendezvous*. He was next introduced to Clarke (afterwards Duc de Feltre), Secretary at War, the son of an Irishman, whom he found wholly ignorant of Ireland; and finally, on the 12th of July, General Hoché, in the most frank and winning manner, introduced himself. At first the Directory proposed sending to Ireland no more than 5,000 men, while Tone pleaded for 20,000; but when Hoché accepted the command, he assured Tone he would go "in sufficient force." The "pacificator of La Vendée," as the young general was called—he was only thirty-two,—won at once the heart of the enthusiastic founder of the United Irishmen, and the latter seems to have made an equally favorable impression. He was at once presented with the commission of a *chef de brigade* of infantry—a rank answering to that of colonel with us—and was placed as adjutant on the general's staff. Hoché was all ardor and anxiety; Carnot cheered him on by expressing his belief that it would be "a most brilliant operation;" and certainly Tone was not the man to damp such expectations, or allow them to evaporate in mere complimentary assurances.

During the autumn months the expedition was busily being fitted out at Brest, and the general headquarters were at Rennes. The Directory, to satisfy themselves that all was as represented by Tone, had sent an agent of their own to Ireland, by whom a meeting was arranged on the Swiss frontier between Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Dr. MacNevin, and Hoché. From this meeting—the secret of which he kept to himself—the young general returned in the highest spirits, and was kinder than ever to his adjutant. At length, early in December, all was ready, and on the 16th the Brest fleet stood out to sea: 17 sail of the line, 13 frigates, and 13 smaller ships, carrying 15,000 picked troops, the *élite* of "the Army of the Ocean," and abundance of artillery and munitions of war. Tone was in the *Indomptable*, 80 guns, commanded by a Canadian named Bedout; Hoché and the Admiral in the frigate *Fraternité*; Grouchy, so memorable for the part he played then and afterwards, was second in command. On the third morning, after groping about and losing each other in Atlantic fog, one-half the fleet (with the fatal exception of the *Fraternité*) found themselves close in with the coast of Kerry

They entered Bantry Bay, and came to anchor, ten ships of war, and "a long line of dark hulls resting on the green water." Three or four days they lay dormant and idle, waiting for the General and Admiral; Bouvet, the Vice-Admiral, was opposed to moving in the absence of his chief; Grouchy was irresolute and nervous; but at length, on Christmas day, the council of war decided in favor of debarkation. The landing was to take place next morning; 6,500 veterans were prepared to step ashore at daylight, but without their artillery, their military chest, and their general. Two hours beyond midnight Tone was roused from sleep by the wind, which he found blowing half a gale. Pacing the gallery of the *Indomptable* till day dawned, he felt it rising louder and angrier, every hour. The next day it was almost a hurricane, and the Vice-Admiral's frigate, running under the quarter of the great 80-gun ship, ordered them to slip anchor and stand out to sea. The whole fleet was soon driven off the Irish coast; that part of it, in which Grouchy and Tone were embarked, made its entrance into Brest on New Year's day; the ship which carried Hoché and the Admiral, only arrived at La Rochelle on the 15th. The Directory and the General, so far from being discouraged by this failure, consoled themselves by the demonstration they had made, of the possibility of a great fleet passing to and fro, in British waters, for nearly a month, without encountering a single British vessel of war. Not so the Irish negotiator; on him, light-hearted and daring as he was, the disappointment fell with crushing weight; but he magnanimously carried Grouchy's report to Paris, and did his utmost to defend the unlucky general from a cabal which had been formed against him.

While Tone was reluctantly following his new chief to the Meuse and the Rhine—with a promise that the Irish expedition was delayed, not abandoned—another, and no less fortunate negotiator, was raising up a new ally for the same cause, in an unexpected quarter. The Batavian republic, which had risen in the steps of Pichegru's victorious army, in 1794, was now eager to imitate the example of France. With a powerful fleet, and an unemployed army, its chiefs were quite ready to listen to any proposal which would restore the maritime ascendancy of Holland, and bring back to the recollection of Europe the memory of the puissant

Dutch republic. In this state of affairs, the new agent of the Irish Directory, Edward John Lewines, a Dublin attorney, a man of great ability and energy, addressed himself to the Batavian government. He had been sent abroad with very general powers, to treat with Holland, Spain, France, or any other government at war with England, for a loan of half a million sterling, and a sufficient auxiliary force to aid the insurrection. During two months' stay at Hamburg, the habitual route in those days from the British ports to the continent, he had placed himself in communication with the Spanish agent there, and had, in forty days, received an encouraging answer from Madrid. On his way, probably to Spain, to follow up that fair prospect, he reached the Netherlands, and rapidly discovering the state of feeling in the Dutch, or as it was then called the *Batavian* republic, he addressed himself to the Directors, who consulted Hoché, by whom in turn Tone was consulted. Tone had a high opinion of Lewines, and at once proceeded with him to the Hague, where they were joined, according to agreement, by Hoché. The Dutch Committee of Foreign Affairs, the Commander-in-chief, General Dandaels, and the Admiral, De Winter, entered heartily into the project. There were in the Texel 16 ships of the line and 10 frigates, victualled for three months, with 15,000 men and 80 field guns on board. The only serious difficulty in the way was removed by the disinterestedness of Hoché; the French Foreign Minister having demanded that 5,000 French troops should be of the expedition, and that Hoché should command in chief; the latter, to conciliate Dandaels and the Dutch, undertook to withdraw the proposal, and gracefully yielded his own pretensions. All then was settled: Tone was to accompany Dandaels with the same rank he had in the Brest expedition, and Lewines to return, and remain, as "Minister-resident" at Paris. On the 8th of July, Tone was on board the flag-ship, the *Vryheid*, 74 guns, in the Texel, and "only waiting for a wind," to lead another navy to the aid of his compatriots.

But the winds, "the only unsubsidized allies of England," were strangely adverse. A week, two, three, four, five, passed heavily away, without affording a single day in which that mighty fleet could make an offing. Sometimes for an hour or two it shifted to



1.5 2.8
2.5 3.2
3.6 4.5
5.0 6.3
8.0 10.0

10
1.5

the desired point, the sails were unclewed and the anchors shortened, but then, as if to torture the impatient exiles on board, it veered back again and settled steadily in the fatal south-west. At length, at the end of August, the provisions being nearly consumed, and the weather still unfavorable, the Dutch Directory resolved to land the troops and postpone the expedition. De Winter, as is known, subsequently found an opportunity to work out, and attack Lord Duncan, by whom he was badly beaten. Thus ended Irish hopes of aid from Holland. The indomitable Tone rejoined his chief on the Rhine, where, to his infinite regret, Hoche died the following month—September 18th, 1797—of a rapid consumption, accelerated by cold and carelessness. “Hoche,” said Napoleon to Barry O’Meara at Saint Helena, “was one of the first generals France ever produced. He was brave, intelligent, abounding in talent, decisive and penetrating. Had he landed in Ireland, he would have succeeded. He was accustomed to civil war, had pacified La Vendée, and was well adapted for Ireland. He had a fine, handsome figure, a good address, was prepossessing and intriguing.” The loss of such a patron, who felt himself, according to Tone’s account, especially bound to follow up the object of separating Ireland from England, was a calamity greater and more irreparable than the detention of one fleet or the dispersion of the other.

The third expedition, in promoting which Tone and Lewines bore the principal part, was decided upon by the French Directory, immediately after the conclusion of peace with Austria, in October, 1797. The decree for the formation of “the Army of England,” named Buonaparte Commander-in-Chief, with Desaix as his second. Buonaparte consulted Clarke as to who he most confided in among the numerous Irish refugees then in Paris—there were some twenty or thirty, all more or less known, and more or less in communication with the Directory—and Clarke answered at once, “Tone, of course.” Tone, with Lewines, the one in a military, the other in an ambassadorial capacity, had frequent interviews with the young conquerer of Italy, whom they usually found silent and absorbed, always attentive, sometimes asking sudden questions betraying great want of knowledge of the British Islands, and occasionally, though rarely, breaking

out into irresistible invectives against Jacobinism and the English system, both of which he so cordially detested. Every assurance was given by the General, by the Directors, by Merlin du Douai, Barras, and Talleyrand especially, that the expedition against England would never be abandoned. Tone, in high spirits as usual, joined the division under the command of his countryman, General Kilmaine, and took up his quarters at Havre, where he had landed without knowing a soul in France two years before.

The winter wore away in busy preparations at Havre, at Brest, and at La Rochelle,—and, which seemed mysterious to the Irish exiles—at Toulon. All the resources of France, now without an enemy on the continent, were put forth in these preparations. But it soon appeared they were not put forth for Ireland. On the 20th of May, 1798—within three days of the outbreak in Dublin, Wexford, and Kildare—Buonaparte sailed with the *élite* of all that expedition for Alexandria, and “the Army of England” became, in reality, “the Army of Egypt.”

The bitterness, the despondency, and desperation which seized on the Irish leaders in France, and on the rank and file of the United Irishmen at home, on receiving this intelligence, are sufficiently illustrated in the subsequent attempts under Humbert and Bompert, and the partial, ineffectual risings in Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught, during the summer and autumn of 1798. After all their high hopes from France and her allies, this was what it had come to at last! A few frigates, with three or four thousand men, were all that could be spared for the succor of a kingdom more populous than Egypt and Syria combined; the granary of England, and the key of her Atlantic position. It might have been some comfort to the family of Tone to have read, thirty years afterwards, in their American asylum, or for the aged Lewines to have read in the Parisian retreat in which he died, the memorable confession of Napoleon at Saint Helena. “If instead of the expedition to Egypt, I had undertaken that to Ireland, what,” he asked, “could England do now? On such chances,” he mournfully added, “depend the destinies of empires!”

CHAPTER XV.

THE INSURRECTION OF 1792

It is no longer matter of assertion merely, but simple matter of fact, that the English and Irish ministers of George III., regarded the insurrectionary movement of the United Irishmen, as at once a pretext and a means, for effecting a legislative union between the two countries. Lord Camden, the viceroy who succeeded Lord Fitzwilliam in March '95—with Mr. Pelham as his chief secretary, in a letter to his relative, the Hon. Robert Stewart, afterwards Lord Castlereagh, announced this policy, in unmistakable terms, so early as 1793; and all the official correspondence published of late years, concerning that period of British and Irish history, establishes the fact beyond the possibility of denial.

Such being the design, it was neither the wish nor the interest of the government, that the insurrection should be suppressed, unless the Irish constitution could be extinguished with it. To that end they proceeded in the coercive legislation described in a previous chapter; to that end they armed with irresponsible power the military officers and the oligarchical magistracy; with that view they quartered those yeomanry regiments which were known to be composed of Orangemen, on the wretched peasantry of the most Catholic counties, while the corps in which Catholics or United Irishmen were most numerous, were sent over to England, in exchange for Scotch fencibles and Welsh cavalry. The outrages committed by all these volunteer troops, but above all by the Orange yeomanry of the country, were so monstrous that the gallant and humane Sir John Moore exclaimed, "if I were an Irishman, I would be a rebel!"

It was, indeed, impossible for any man however obscure, or however eminent, to live longer in the country, without taking sides. Yet the choice was at best a hard and unhappy one. On the one side was the Castle, hardly concealing its intention of goading on the people, in order to rob them of their Parliament;

on the other was the injured multitude, bound together by a secret system which proved in reality no safeguard against traitors in their own ranks, and which had been placed by its Protestant chiefs under the auspices of an infidel republic. Between the two courses men made election according to their bias or their necessities, or as they took local or general, political or theological views of the situation. Both houses of the legislature unanimously sustained the government against the insurrection; as did the judges, the bar, and the Anglican clergy and bishops. The Presbyterian body were in the beginning all but unanimous for a republican revolution and the French alliance; the great majority of the Catholic peasantry were, as the crisis increased, driven into the same position, while all their bishops and a majority of the Catholic aristocracy, adhered to that which they, with the natural tendency of their respective orders, considered the side of religion and authority. Thus was the nation sub-divided within itself; Protestant civilian from Protestant ecclesiastic, Catholic layman from Catholic priest, tenant from lord, neighbor from neighbor, father from son, and friend from friend.

During the whole of '97, the opposing parties were in a ferment of movement and apprehension. As the year wore on, the administration, both English and Irish, began to feel that the danger was more formidable than they had foreseen. The timely storm which had blown Grouchy out of Bantry Bay, the previous Christmas, could hardly be reckoned on again, though the settled hostility of the French government knew no change. Thoroughly well informed by their legion of spies both on the Continent and in Ireland, every possible military precaution was taken. The Lord Lieutenant's proclamation for disarming the people issued in May, was rigorously enforced by General Johnstone in the South, General Hutchinson in the West, and Lord Lake in the North. Two hundred thousand pikes and pike-heads were said to have been discovered or surrendered, during the year, and several thousand firelocks. The yeomanry, and English and Scotch corps amounted to 35,000 men, while the regular troops were increased to 50,000 and subsequently to 80,000, including three regiments of the Guards. The defensive works at Cork, and other vulnerable points were strengthened at an immense cost;

the "Pigeon House" fort, near Dublin, was enlarged, for the city itself was pronounced by General Vallancey, Colonel Pakenham, and other engineer authorities dangerously weak, if not wholly untenable. A system of telegraphic signals was established from all points of the coast with the Capital, and every precaution taken against the surprise of another French invasion.

During the summer assize, almost every considerable town and circuit had its state trial. The sheriffs had been carefully selected beforehand by the Castle, and the juries were certain to be of "the right sort," under the auspices of such sheriffs. Immense sums in the aggregate were contributed by the United Irish for the defence of their associates; at the Down assizes alone, not less than seven hundred or eight hundred guineas were spent in fees and retainers; but at the close of the term, Mr. Beresford was able to boast to his friend Lord Auckland, that but one of all the accused had escaped the penalty of death or banishment! The military tribunals, however, did not wait for the idle formalities of the civil courts. Soldiers and civilians, yeomen and townsmen, against whom the informer pointed his finger, were taken out, and summarily executed. Ghastly forms hung upon the thick-set gibbets, not only in the market places of country towns, and before the public prisons, but on all the bridges of the metropolis. Many of the soldiers, in every military district were shot weekly and almost daily for real or alleged complicity with the rebels. The horrid torture of picketing, and the blood-stained lash, were constantly resorted to, to extort accusations or confessions. Over all these atrocities the furious and implacable spirit of Lord Clare presided in Council, and the equally furious and implacable Luttrell, Lord Carhampton, as commander-in-chief. All moderate councils were denounced as nothing short of treason, and even the elder Beresford, the Privy Councillor, was compelled to complain of the violence of his noble associates, and his inability to restrain the ferocity of his own nearest relatives—meaning probably his son John Claudius, and his son-in-law, Sir George Hill.

It was while this spirit was abroad, a spirit as destructive as ever animated the councils of Sylla or Marius in old Rome, or prompted the decrees of Robespierre or Marat in France, that the

genius and courage of one man, redeemed the lost reputation of the law, and upheld against all odds the sacred claims of personal liberty. This man was John Philpot Curran, the most dauntless of advocates, one of the truest and bravest of his race. Although a politician of the school of Grattan, and wholly untainted with French principles, he identified himself absolutely with his unhappy clients, "predestined to death." The genius of patriotic resistance which seemed to have withdrawn from the Island with Grattan's secession from Parliament, now reappeared in the last place where it might have been expected—in those courts of death, rather than of justice—before those predetermined juries, beside the hopeless inmates of the crowded dock, personified in the person of Curran. Often at midnight, amid the clash of arms, his wonderful pleadings were delivered; sometimes, as in Dublin, where the court rooms adjoined the prisons, the condemned, or the confined, could hear, in their cells, his piercing accents breaking the stillness of the early morning, pleading for justice and mercy—pleading always with superhuman perseverance, but almost always in vain. Neither menaces of arrest, nor threats of assassination, had power to intimidate that all-daring spirit; nor, it may be safely said, can the whole library of human history present us a form of heroism superior in kind or degree to that which this illustrious advocate exhibited during nearly two years, when he went forth daily, with his life in his hand, in the holy hope to snatch some human victim from the clutch of the destroyer thirsting for his blood.

In November, '97, some said from fear of personal consequences, some from official pressure in a high quarter, Lord Carhampton resigned the command of the forces, and Sir Ralph Abercromby was appointed in his stead. There could not be a more striking illustration of the system of terror patronized by government than was furnished in the case of Sir Ralph as Commander-in-Chief. That distinguished soldier, with his half century of services at his back, had not been a week in Dublin before he discovered the weakness of the viceroy, and the violence of his principal advisers, the chancellor, the speaker, Lord Castlereagh and the Beresfords. Writing in confidence to his son, he says. "The abuses of all kinds I found here can scarcely be be-

lied or enumerated." The instances he cites of such abuses are sufficiently horrible to justify the strong language which brought down on his head so much hostility, when he declared in his proclamation of February, '98, that the Irish army was "formidable to every one but the enemy." These well-known opinions were so repugnant to the Castle policy that that party held a caucus in the speaker's chambers, at which it was proposed to pass a vote of censure in Parliament on the General, whom they denounced as "a sulky mule," "a Scotch beast," and by other similar names. Though the Parliamentary censure dropped, they actually compelled Lord Camden to call on him to retract his magnanimous order. To this humiliation the veteran stooped "for the sake of the king's service," but at the same time he proffered his resignation. After two months' correspondence, it was finally accepted, and the soldier who was found too jealous of the rights of the people to be a fit instrument of their destruction, escaped from his high position, not without a profound sentiment of relief. His verdict upon the barbarous policy pursued in his time was always expressed, frankly and decisively. His entire correspondence, private and public, bears one and the same burthen—the violence, cruelty, and tyranny of Lord Camden's chief advisers, and the pitiful weakness of the viceroy himself. Against the infamous plan of letting loose a lustful and brutal soldiery to live at "free quarters" on a defenceless and disarmed people—an outrage against which Englishmen had taken perpetual security at *their* revolution, as may be seen in "the Bill of Rights," he struggled during his six months' command, but with no great success. The plan, with all its horrors, was upheld by the Lord-Lieutenant, and more than any other cause, precipitated the rebellion which exploded at last, just as Sir Ralph was allowed to retire from the country. His temporary successor, Lord Lake, was troubled with no such scruples as the gallant old Scotsman.

Events followed each other in the first months of 1798, fast and furiously. Towards the end of February, Arthur O'Connor, Father James Quigley, the brothers John and Benjamin Binns, were arrested at Margate on their way to France; on the 6th of March, the *Press* newspaper, the Dublin organ of the party, as

the *Star* had been the Ulster organ, was seized by government, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and William Sampson being at the time in the office. On the 12th of March, on the information of the traitor, Thomas Reynolds, the Leinster delegates were seized in conclave, with all their papers, at the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge street, Dublin. On the same information, Addis Emmett and Dr. MacNevin were taken in their own houses, and Sampson in the north of England: of all the executive, Lord Edward alone escaping those sent in search of him. This was, as Tone notes in his journal, on the ill news reaching France, "a terrible blow." O'Connor's arrest in Kent, Sampson's in Carlisle, and the other arrests in Belfast and Dublin, proved too truly that treason was at work, and that the much-prized oath of secrecy was no protection whatever against the devices of the Castle and the depravity of its secret agents. The extent to which that treason extended, the number of their associates who were in the pay of their deadly enemies, was never known to the United Irish leaders; time has, however, long since "revealed the secrets of the prison-house," and we know now, that men they trusted with all their plans and hopes, such as McNally and McGucken, were quite as deep in the conspiracy to destroy them as Mr. Reynolds and Captain Armstrong.

The most influential members of the Dublin Society remaining at large contrived to correspond with each other, or to meet by stealth after the arrest at Bond's. The vacancies in the Executive were filled up by the brothers John and Henry Sheares, both barristers, sons of a wealthy Cork banker, and former member of Parliament, and by Mr. Lawless, a surgeon. For two months longer these gentlemen continued to act in concert with Lord Edward, who remained undetected notwithstanding all the efforts of government, from the 12th of March till the 19th of May following. During those two months the new Directors devoted themselves with the utmost energy to hurrying on the armament of the people, and especially to making proselytes among the militia, where the gain of one man armed and disciplined was justly accounted equal to the enlistment of three or four ordinary adherents. This part of their plan brought the brothers Sheares into contact, among others, with Captain John

Warneford Armstrong, of the Queen's County Yeomanry, whom they supposed they had won over, but who was, in reality, a better-class spy, acting under Lord Castlereagh's instructions, Armstrong cultivated them sedulously, dined at their table, echoed their opinions, and led the credulous brothers on to their destruction. All at last was determined on; the day of the rising was fixed—the 23d day of May—and the signal was to be the simultaneous stoppage of the mail coaches, which started nightly from the Dublin post-office, to every quarter of the kingdom. But the counter-plot anticipated the plot. Lord Edward, betrayed by a person called Higgins, proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*, was taken on the 19th of May, after a desperate struggle with Majors Swan and Sirr, and Captain Ryan, in his hiding place in Thomas street; the brothers Sheares were arrested in their own house on the morning of the 21st, while Surgeon Lawless, escaped from the city, and finally, from the country, to France. Thus for the second time was the insurrection left without a head; but the organization had proceeded too far to be any longer restrained, and the Castle, moreover, to use the expression of Lord Castlereagh, "took means to make it explode."

The first intelligence of the rebellion was received in Dublin on the morning of the 24th of May. At Rathfarnham, within three miles of the city, 500 insurgents attacked Lord Ely's yeomanry corps with some success, till Lord Roden's dragoons, hastily despatched from the city, compelled them to retreat, with the loss of some prisoners and two men killed, whom Mr. Beresford saw the next day, literally "*cut to pieces*—a horrid sight." At Dunboyne the insurgents piked an escort of the Reay Fencibles (Scotch) passing through their village, and carried off their baggage. At Naas, a large popular force attacked the garrison, consisting of regulars, Ancient Britons (Welsh), part of a regiment of dragoons, and the Armagh militia; the attack was renewed three times with great bravery, but finally, discipline, as it always will, prevailed over mere numbers, and the assailants were repulsed with the loss of 140 of their comrades. At Prosperous, where they cut off to a man a strong garrison composed of north Cork militia, under Captain Swayne, the rising was more successful. The commander in this exploit was Dr. Esmonde, brother

of the Wexford baronet, who, being betrayed by one of his own subalterns, was the next morning arrested at breakfast in the neighborhood, and suffered death at Dublin on the 14th of the following month.

There could hardly be found a more unfavorable field for a peasant war than the generally level and easily accessible county of Kildare, every parish of which is within a day's march of Dublin. From having been the residence of Lord Edward, it was, perhaps, one of the most highly organized parts of Leinster, but as it had the misfortune to be represented by Thomas Reynolds, as county delegate, it labored under the disadvantage of having its organization better known to the government than any other. We need hardly be surprized, therefore, to find that the military operations in this county were all over in ten days or a fortnight; when those who had neither surrendered nor fallen, fell back into Meath or Connaught, or effected a junction with the Wicklow rebels in their mountain fastnesses. Their struggle, though so brief, had been creditable for personal bravery. Attacked by a numerous cavalry and militia under General Wilford, by 2,500 men, chiefly regulars, under General Dundas, and by 800 regulars brought up by forced marches from Limerick, under Sir James Duff, they showed qualities, which if well directed, would have established for their possessors a high military reputation. At Monastereven they were repulsed with loss, the defenders of the town being in part Catholic loyalists, under Captain Cassidy; at Rathangan they were more successful, taking and holding the town for several days; at Clane, the captors of Prosperous were repulsed; while at Old Killcullen, their associates drove back General Dundas' advance, with the loss of 22 regulars and Captain Erskine killed. Sir James Duff's wanton cruelty in sabring and shooting down an unarmed multitude on the Curragh, won him the warm approval of the extermination party in the capital, while Generals Wilford and Dundas narrowly escaped being reprimanded for granting a truce to the insurgents under Aylmer, and accepting of the surrender of that leader and his companions. By the beginning of June the six Kildare encampments of insurgents were totally dispersed, and their most active officers in prison or fugitives west or south.

By a preconceived arrangement, the local chiefs of the insurrection in Dublin and Meath, gathered with their men on the third day after the outbreak, at the historic hill of Tara. Here they expected to be joined by the men of Cavan, Longford, Louth and Monaghan; but before the northerners reached the trysting place, three companies of the Reay Fencibles, under Captain McClean, the Kells and Navan yeomanry under Captain Preston, (afterwards Lord Tara,) and a troop of cavalry under Lord Fingal, surrounded the royal hill. The insurgents, commanded by Gilshine and other leaders, entrenched themselves in the graveyard which occupies the summit of Tara, and stoutly defended their position. Twenty-six of the Highlanders and six of the Yeomanry fell in the assault, but the bullet reached farther than the pike, and the defenders were driven, after a sharp action, over the brow of the eminence, and many of them shot or sabred down as they fled.

Southward from the capital the long pent up flame of dissatisfaction broke out on the same memorable day, May 23d. At Dunlavin, an abortive attempt on the barrack revealed the fact that many of the yeomanry were thoroughly with the insurgents. Hardly had the danger from without passed over, when a military inquiry was improvised. By this tribunal, nineteen Wexford, and nine Kildare yeomanry, were ordered to be shot, and the execution of the sentence followed immediately on its finding. At Blessington, the town was seized, but a nocturnal attack on Carlow was repulsed with great loss. In this last affair, the rebels had *rendezvoused* in the domain of Sir Edward Crosbie, within two miles of the town. Here arms were distributed and orders given by their leader, named Roche. Silently and quickly they reached the town they hoped to surprise. But the regular troops, of which the garrison was chiefly composed, were on the alert, though their preparations were made full as silently. When the peasantry emerged from Tullow street, into an exposed space, a deadly fire was opened upon them from the houses on all sides. The regulars, in perfect security themselves, and abundantly supplied with ammunition, shot them down with deadly, unerring aim. The people soon found there was nothing for it but retreat, and carrying off as best they could their killed and wounded,

they retired sorely discomfited. For alleged complicity in this attack, Sir Edward Crosbie was shortly afterward arrested, tried and executed. There was not a shadow of proof against him, but he was known to sympathize with the sufferings of his countrymen, to have condemned in strong language the policy of provocation, and that was sufficient. He paid with the penalty of his head for the kindness and generosity of his heart.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE INSURRECTION OF 1798.—THE WEXFORD INSURRECTION.

The most formidable insurrection, indeed the only really formidable one, broke out in the county of Wexford, a county in which it was stated there were not 200 sworn United Irishmen, and which Lord Edward Fitzgerald had altogether omitted from his official list of counties organized in the month of February. In that brief interval, the government policy of provocation had the desired effect, though the explosion was of a nature to startle those who occasioned it.

Wexford, geographically, is a peculiar county, and its people are a peculiar people. The county fills up the south-eastern corner of the island, with the sea south east, the river Barrow to the west, and the woods and mountains of Carlow and Wicklow to the north. It is about forty miles long by twenty-four broad; the surface undulating and rising into numerous groups of detached hills, two or more of which are generally visible from each conspicuous summit. Almost in the midst flows the river Slaney, springing from a lofty Wicklow peak, which sends down on its northern slope the better known river Liffey. On the estuary of the Slaney, some seventy miles south of Dublin, stands the county town, the traveller journeying to which by the usual route then taken, passed in succession through Arklow, Gorey, Ferns, Enniscorthy, and other places of less consequence, though familiar enough in the fiery records of 1798. North-westward, the only road in those days from Carlow and Kilkenny, crossed

the Blackstairs at Scollagh-gap, entering the county at Newtown-barry, the ancient Bunclody; westward, some twenty miles, on the river Barrow, stands New Ross, often mentioned in this history, the road from which to the county town passes through Scullabogue and Taghmore (*Tá'mun*), the former at the foot of Carrickbyrne rock, the latter at the base of what is rather hyperbolically called "the mountain of Forth." South and west of the town, towards the estuary of Waterford, lie the Baronies of Forth and Bargy, a great part of the population of which, even within our own time, spoke the language Chaucer and Spenser wrote, and retained many of the characteristics of their Saxon, Flemish, and Cambrian ancestors. Through this singular district lay the road towards Duncannon fort, on Waterford harbor, with branches running off to Bannow, Ballyhack and Dunbrody. We shall therefore speak of all the localities we may have occasion to mention as on or near one of the four main roads of the county, the Dublin, Carlow, Ross, and Waterford roads.

The population of this territory was variously estimated in 1798, at 150,000, 180,000, and 200,000. They were, generally speaking, a comfortable and contented peasantry, for the Wexford landlords were seldom absentees, and the farmers held under them by long leases and reasonable rents. There were in the county few great lords, but there was little poverty and no pauperism. In such a soil, the secret societies were almost certain to fail, and if it had not been for the diabolical experiments of Lord Kingsborough's North Cork Militia, it is very probable that that orderly and thrifty population would have seen the eventful year we are describing pass over their homes without experiencing any of the terrible trials which accompanied it. But it was impossible for human nature to endure the provocations inflicted upon this patient and prosperous people. The pitch-cap and the triangle were resorted to on the slightest and most frivolous pretexts. "A sergeant of the North Cork Militia," says Mr. Hay, the county historian, "nicknamed, *Tom the Devil*, was most ingenious in devising new modes of torture. Moistened gunpowder was frequently rubbed into the hair cut close and then set on fire; some, while shearing for this purpose, had the tips of their ears snipt off; sometimes an entire ear, and often both

ears were completely cut off; and many lost part of their noses during the like preparation. But, strange to tell," adds Mr. Hay, "these atrocities were publicly practised without the least reserve in open day, and no magistrate or officer ever interfered, but shamefully connived at this extraordinary mode of quieting the people! Some of the miserable sufferers on these shocking occasions, or some of their relations or friends, actuated by a principle of retaliation, if not of revenge, cut short the hair of several persons whom they either considered as enemies or suspected of having pointed them out as objects for such desperate treatment. This was done with a view that those active citizens should fall in for a little experience of the like discipline, or to make the fashion of short hair so general that it might no longer be a mark of party distinction." This was the origin of the nickname "Croppie," by which, during the remainder of the insurrection, it was customary to designate all who were suspected or proved to be hostile to the government.

Among the magistracy of the county were several persons who, whatever might have been their conduct in ordinary times, now showed themselves utterly unfit to be entrusted with those large discretionary powers, which Parliament had recently conferred upon all justices of the peace. One of these magistrates, surrounded by his troops, perambulated the county with an executioner, armed with all the equipments of his office; another carried away the lopped hands and fingers of his victims, with which he stirred his punch in the carousals that followed every expedition. At Carnew, midway between the Dublin and Carlow roads, on the second day of the insurrection, twenty eight prisoners were brought out to be shot at as targets in the public ball alley; on the same day Enniscorthy witnessed its first execution for treason, and the neighborhood of Ballaghkeen was harried by Mr. Jacob, one of the magistrates whose method of preserving the peace of the county has been just referred to. The majority of the bench, either weakly or willingly, sanctioned these atrocities, but some others, among them a few of the first men in the county, did not hesitate to resist and condemn them. Among these were Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, of Bargy Castle, Mr. Fitzgerald, of Newpark, and Mr. John Henry Colclough, of

Tintern Abbey; but all these gentlemen were arrested on Saturday, the 26th of May—the same day, or more strictly speaking, the eve of the day on which the Wexford outbreak occurred.

On the day succeeding these arrests, being Whitsunday, Father John Murphy, parish priest of Kilcormick, the son of a small farmer of the neighborhood, educated in Spain, on coming to his little wayside chapel, found it laid in ashes. To his flock as they surrounded him in the open air, he boldly preached that it would be much better for them to die in a fair field than to await the tortures inflicted by such magistrates as Archibald Jacob, Hunter Gowan, and Hawtrey White. He declared his readiness to share their fate, whatever it might be, and in response, about 2,000 of the country people gathered in a few hours upon Oulart Hill, situated about half-way between Enniscorthy and the sea, and eleven miles north of Wexford. Here they were attacked on the afternoon of the same day by the North Cork militia, Colonel Foote, the Shilmalier Yeoman cavalry, Colonel Le Hunté, and the Wexford cavalry. The rebels, strong in their position, and more generally accustomed to the use of arms than persons in their condition in other parts of the country, made a brave and successful stand. Major Lambert, the Hon. Captain De Courcey (brother of Lord Kinsale), and some other officers, fell before the long-shore guns of the Shilmalier fowlers; of the North Cork detachment, only the Colonel, a Sergeant, and two or three privates escaped; the cavalry, at the top of their speed, galloped back to the county town.

The people were soon thoroughly aroused. Another popular priest of the diocese, Michael Murphy, on reaching Gorey, finding his chapel also rifled, and the altar desecrated, turned his horses head and joined the insurgents, who had gathered on Kilmahon hill, near Carnew. Signal fires burned that night on all the eminences of the county, which seemed as if they had been designed for so many watch-towers; horns resounded; horsemen galloped far and near; on the morrow of Whitsunday all Wexford arose, animated with the passions and purposes of civil war.

On the 28th, Ferns, Camolin, and Enniscorthy were taken by the insurgents; the latter after an action of four hours, in which a

captain, two lieutenants, and eighty of the local yeomanry fell. The survivors fled to Wexford, which was as rapidly as possible placed in a state of defence. The old walls and gates were still in good repair, and 300 North Cork, 200 Donegal, and 700 local militia ought to have formed a strong garrison within such ramparts, against a mere tumultuous peasantry. The yeomen, however, thought otherwise, and two of the three imprisoned popular magistrates were sent to Enniscorthy to exhort and endeavor to disperse the insurgents. One of them only returned, the other, Mr. Fitzgerald, joined the rebels; who, continuing their march, were allowed to take possession of the county town without striking a blow. Mr. Bagenal Harvey, the magistrate still in prison, they insisted on making their commander-in-chief; a gentleman of considerable property, by no means destitute of courage, but in every other respect quite unequal to the task imposed upon him. After a trial of his generalship at the battle of Ross, he was transferred to the more pacific office of President of the Council, which continued to sit and direct operations from Wexford, with the coöperation of a sub-committee at Enniscorthy. Captain Matthew Keogh, a retired officer of the regular army, aged but active, was made governor of the town, in which a couple of hundred armed men were left as his guards. An attempt to relieve the place from Duncannon had utterly failed. General Fawcett, commanding that important fortress set out on his march with this object on the 30th of May—his advanced guard of 70 Meathian yeomanry, having in charge three howitzers, whose slower movements it was expected the main force would overtake long before reaching the neighborhood of danger. At Taghmon this force was joined by Captain Adams with his command, and thus reinforced they continued their march to Wexford. Within three miles of the town the road wound round the base of the "three rock" mountain; evening fell as the royalists approached this neighborhood, where the victors of Oulart, Enniscorthy, and Wexford had just improvised a new camp. A sharp volley from the long-shore-men's guns, and a furious onslaught of pikes threw the royal detachment into the utmost disorder. Three officers of the Meathian cavalry, and nearly one hundred men were placed *hors de combat*; the three howitzers, eleven gunners, and several

prisoners taken; making the third considerable success of the insurgents within a week.

Wexford county now became the theater of operations, on which all eyes were fixed. The populace gathered as if by instinct into three great encampments, on Vinegar hill, above Enniscorthy; on Carrickbyrne, on the road leading to Ross, and on the hill of Corrigrua, seven miles from Gorey. The principal leaders of the first division were Fathers Kearns and Clinch, and Messrs. Fitzgerald, Doyle and Redmond; of the second, Bagenal Harvey, and Father Philip Roche; of the last, Anthony Perry of Inch, Esmond Kyan, and the two Fathers Murphy, Michael and John. The general plan of operations was that the third division should move by way of Arklow and Wicklow on the capital; the second to open communication with Carlow, Kilkenny, and Kildare by Newtownbarry and Scollagh-gap; while the first was to attack New Ross, and endeavor to hasten the rising in Munster.

On the 1st of June, the advance of the northern division marching upon Gorey, then occupied in force by General Loftus, were encountered four miles from the town, and driven back with the loss of about a hundred killed and wounded. On the 4th of June, Loftus, at the instance of Colonel Walpole, aid-de-camp to the Lord Lieutenant, who had lately joined him with considerable reinforcements, resolved to beat up the rebel quarters at Corrigrua. It was to be a combined movement; Lord Ancram, posted with his militia and dragoons at the bridge of Scaramalsh, where the poetic Banna joins the Slaney, was to prevent the arrival of succors from Vinegar hill; Captain McManus with a couple of companies of yeomanry, stationed at another exposed point from which intelligence could be obtained and communicated; while the General and Colonel Walpole, marched to the attack by roads some distance apart, which ran into one within two miles of Corrigrua camp. The main body of the king's troops were committed to the lead of Walpole, who had also two six-pounders and a howitzer. After an hour and a half's march he found the country changed its character near the village of Clogh (*cló*), where the road descending from the level arable land, dips suddenly into the narrow and winding pass of Tubberneering. The sides of the pass were lined with a bushy shrubbery, and the roadway at

the bottom embanked with ditch and dyke. On came the confident Walpole, never dreaming that these silent thickets were so soon to re-echo the cries of the onslaught. The 4th dragoon guards, the Ancient Britons under Sir Watkyn Wynne, the Antrim militia under Colonel Cope, had all entered the defile before the ambuscade was discovered. Then, at the first volley Walpole fell with several of those immediately about his person; out from the shrubbery rushed the pikemen, clearing ditch and dyke at a bound; dragoons and fencibles went down like the sward before the scythe of the mower; the three guns were captured and turned on the flying survivors; the regimental flags taken, with all the other spoils pertaining to such a retreat. It was, in truth, an immense victory for a mob of peasants, marshalled by men who that day saw their first, or at most their second action. Before forty-eight hours they were masters of Gorey, and talked of nothing less than the capture of Dublin, within another week or fortnight!

From Vinegar hill the concerted movement was made against Newtownbarry, on the 2d of June, the rebels advancing by both banks of the Slaney, under cover of a six-pounder—the only gun they had with them. The detachment in command of the beautiful little town, half hidden in its leafy valley, was from 600 to 800 strong, with a troop of dragoons, and two battalion guns, under command of Colonel L'Estrange; these after a sharp fusillade on both sides were driven out, but the assailants, instead of following up the blow dispersed for plunder or refreshment, were attacked in turn, and compelled to retreat with a reported loss of 400 killed. Three days later, however, a still more important action, and a yet more disastrous repulse from the self-same cause, took place at New Ross, on the Barrow.

The garrison of Ross, on the morning of the 5th of June, when General Harvey appeared before it, consisted of 1,400 men—Dublin, Meath, Donegal and Clare militia, Mid-Lothian fencibles, and English artillery. General Johnston—a veteran soldier—was in command, and the place, strong in its well preserved old walls, had not heard a shot fired in anger, since the time of Cromwell. Harvey was reported to have with him 20,000 men; but if we allow for the exaggeration of numbers common to all such move-

ments. we may perhaps deduct one-half, and still leave him at the head of a formidable force—10,000 men, with three field pieces. Mr. Furlong, a favorite officer, being sent forward, to summon the town, was shot down by a sentinel, and the attack began. The main point of assault was the gate known as "three bullet gate," and the hour, five o'clock of the lovely summer's morning. The obstinacy with which the town was contested, may be judged from the fact, that the fighting continued for nearly ten hours, with the interruption of an hour or two at noon. This was the fatal interruption for the rebels. They had, at a heavy cost, driven out the royalists, with the loss of a colonel (Lord Mountjoy), three captains, and above 200 men killed; but of their friends and comrades treble the number had fallen. Still the town, an object of the first importance, was theirs, when worn out with heat, fatigue, and fasting since sunrise, they indulged themselves in the luxury of a deep unmeasured carouse. The fugitive garrison finding themselves unpursued, halted to breathe on the Kilkenny bank of the river, were rallied by the veteran Johnson, and led back again across the bridge, taking the surprized revellers completely unprepared. A cry was raised that this was a fresh force from Waterford; the disorganized multitude endeavored to rally in turn, but before the leaders could collect their men, the town was once more in possession of the king's troops. The rebels, in their turn, unpursued by their exhausted enemies, fell back upon their camping ground of the night before, at Corbet hill and Slieve-kielter. At the latter, Father Philip Roche, dissatisfied with Harvey's management, established a separate command, which he transferred to a layman of his own name, Edward Roche, with whom he continued to act and advise during the remainder of this memorable month.

The summer of 1798 was for an Irish summer remarkably dry and warm. The heavy Atlantic rains which at all seasons are poured out upon that soil, seemed suspended in favor of the insurgent multitudes, amounting to 30,000 or 40,000 at the highest, who on the different hill summits posted their nightly sentinels, and threw themselves down on turf and heather to snatch a short repose. The kindling of a beacon, the lowing of cattle, or the hurried arrival of scout or messenger, hardly interfered with

slumbers which the fatigues of the day, and, unhappily also, the potations of the night rendered doubly deep. An early morning mass mustered all the Catholics, unless the very depraved, to the chaplain's tent—for several of the officers, and the chaplains always were supplied with tents; and then a hasty meal was snatched before the sun was fairly above the horizon, and the day's work commenced. The endurance exhibited by the rebels, their personal strength, swiftness and agility; their tenacity of life, and the ease with which their worst wounds were healed, excited the astonishment of the surgeons and officers of the regular army. The truth is, that the virtuous lives led by that peaceful peasantry before the outbreak, enabled them to withstand privations and hardships under which the better fed and better clad Irish yeomen and English guardsmen would have sunk prostrate in a week.

Several signs now marked the turning of the tide against the men of Wexford. Waterford did not rise after the battle of Ross; while Munster, generally, was left to undecided councils, or held back in hopes of another French expedition. The first week of June had passed over, and neither northward nor westward was there any movement formidable enough to draw off from the devoted county the combined armies which were now directed against its camps. A gunboat fleet lined the coast from Bannow round to Wicklow, which soon after appeared off Wexford bar, and forced an entrance into the harbor. A few days earlier, General Needham marched from Dublin, and took up his position at Arklow, at the head of a force variously stated at 1,500 to 2,000 men, composed of 120 cavalry under Sir Watkyn Wynne, two brigades of militia under Colonels Cope and Maxwell, and a brigade of English and Scotch fencibles under Colonel Skerrett. There were also at Arklow about 300 of the Wexford and Wicklow mounted yeomanry raised by Lord Wicklow, Lord Mountnorris, and other gentlemen of the neighborhood. Early on the morning of the 9th of June, the northern division of the rebels left Gorey in two columns, in order if possible to drive this force from Arklow. One body proceeding by the coast road hoped to turn the English position by way of the strand, the other taking the inner line of the Dublin road, was to assail the town at its upper or inland suburb. But General Needham had made the

most of his two days' possession; barricades were erected across the road, and at the entrance to the main street; the graveyard and bridge commanding the approach by the shore road, were mounted with ordnance; the cavalry were posted where they could best operate, near the strand; the barrack wall was lined with a *banquette* or stage, from which the musketeers could pour their fire with the greatest advantage, and every other precaution taken to give the rebels a warm reception. The action commenced early in the afternoon, and lasted till eight in the evening—five or six hours. The inland column suffered most severely from the marksmen on the *banquette*, and the gallant Father Michael Murphy, whom his followers believed to be invulnerable, fell leading them on to the charge for the third time. On the side of the sea, Esmond Kyan was badly wounded in the arm, which he was subsequently obliged to have amputated, and though the fearless Shilmaliers drove the cavalry into and over the Ovoca, discipline and ordnance prevailed once again, over numbers and courage. As night fell, the assailants retired slowly towards Coolgreney, carrying off nine carloads of their wounded, and leaving, perhaps, as many more on the field; their loss was variously reported from 700 to 1,000, and even 1,500. The opposite force returned less than 100 killed, including Captain Knox, and about as many wounded. The repulse was even more than that at Ross, dispiriting to the rebels, who, as a last resort, now decided to concentrate all their strength on the favorite position at Vinegar Hill.

Against this encampment, therefore, the entire available force of regulars and militia within fifty miles of the spot were concentrated by orders of Lord Lake, the commander-in-chief. General Dundas from Wicklow was to join General Loftus at Carnew on the 18th; General Needham was to advance simultaneously to Gorey; General Sir Henry Johnson to unite at Old Ross with Sir James Duff from Carlow; Sir Charles Asgill was to occupy Gore's bridge and Borris; Sir John Moore was to land at Ballyhack ferry, march to Foulke's mill, and united with Johnson and Duff, to assail the rebel camp on Carrickbyrne. These various movements ordered on the 16th, were to be completed by the 20th, on which day from their various new positions, the entire force, led by these six general officers, was to surround Vinegar

Hill, and make a simultaneous attack upon the last stronghold of the Wexford rebellion.

This elaborate plan failed of complete execution in two points. *First*, the camp on Carrickbyrne, instead of waiting the attack, sent down its fighting men to Foulke's Mill, where, in the afternoon of the 20th they beat up Sir John Moore's quarters, and maintained from 3 o'clock till dark, what that officer calls "a pretty sharp action." Several times they were repulsed and again formed behind the ditches and renewed the conflict; but the arrival of two fresh regiments, under Lord Dalhousie, taught them that there was no farther chance of victory. By this affair, however, though at a heavy cost, they had prevented the junction of all the troops, and, not without satisfaction, they now followed the two Roches, the priest and the layman, to the original position of the mountain of Forth; Sir John Moore, on his part, taking the same direction, until he halted within sight of the walls of Wexford. The other departure from Lord Lake's plan was on the side of General Needham, who was ordered to approach the point of attack by the circuitous route of Oulart, but who did not come up in time to complete the investment of the hill.

On the morning of the appointed day, about 13,000 royal troops were in movement against the 20,000 rebels whom they intended to dislodge. Sir James Duff obtained possession of an eminence which commanded the lower line of the rebel encampment, and from this point a brisk cannonade was opened against the opposite force; at the same time the columns of Lake, Wilford, Dundas, and Johnson, pushed up the south-eastern, northern and western sides of the eminence, partially covered by the fire of these guns, so advantageously placed. After an hour and a half's desperate fighting, the rebels broke and fled by the unguarded side of the hill. Their route was complete, and many were cut down by the cavalry, as they pressed in dense masses on each other, over the level fields and out on the open highways. Still this action was far from being one of the most fatal as to loss of life, fought in that county; the rebel dead were numbered only at 400, and the royalists killed and wounded at less than half that number.

It was the last considerable action of the Wexford rising, and

all the consequences which followed being attributed arbitrarily to this cause, helped to invest it with a disproportionate importance. The only leader lost on the rebel side was Father Clinch, of Enniscorthy, who encountered Lord Roden hand to hand in the retreat, but who, while engaged with his lordship whom he wounded, was shot down by a trooper. The disorganization, however, which followed on the dispersion, was irreparable. One column had taken the road by Gorey to the mountains of Wicklow — another to Wexford, where they split into two parts, a portion crossing the Slaney into the sea-coast parishes, and facing northward by the shore road, the other falling back on "the three rocks" encampment, where the Messrs. Roche held together a fragment of their former command. Wexford town, on the 22d, was abandoned to Lord Lake, who established himself in the house of Governor Keogh, the owner being lodged in the common jail. Within the week, Bagenal Harvey, Father Phillip Roche, and Kelly of Kihane, had surrendered in despair, while Messrs. Grogan and Colclough, who had secreted themselves in a cave in the great Saltee Island, were discovered, and conducted to the same prison. Notwithstanding the capitulation agreed to by Lord Kingsborough, the execution and decapitation of all these gentlemen speedily followed, and their ghastly faces looked down for many a day from the iron spikes above the entrance of Wexford Court House. Mr. Esmond Kyan, the popular hero of the district, as merciful as brave, was discovered some time subsequently paying a stealthy visit to his family; he was put to death on the spot, and his body weighted with heavy stones, thrown into the harbor. A few mornings afterwards the incoming tide deposited it close by the dwelling of his father-in-law, and the rites of Christian burial, so dear to all his race, were hurriedly rendered to the beloved remains.

The insurrection in this county, while it abounded in instances of individual and general heroism, was stained also, on both sides, by many acts of diabolical cruelty. The aggressors, both in time and in crime were the yeomanry and military; but the popular movement dragged wretches to the surface who delighted in repaying torture with torture, and death with death. The butcheries of Dunlavin and Carnew were repaid by the massa-

eres at Scullabogue and Wexford bridge, in the former of which 110, and in the latter 35 or 40 persons were put to death in cold blood, by the monsters who absented themselves from the battles of Ross and Vinegar Hill. The executions at Wexford bridge would probably have been swelled to double the number, had not Father Corrin, one of the priests of the town, rushing in between his Protestant neighbors and the ferocious Captain Dixon, and summoning all present to pray, invoked the Almighty "to show them the same mercy" they showed their prisoners. This awful supplication calmed even that savage rabble, and no further execution took place. Nearly forty years afterwards, Captain Kellet, of Clonard, ancestor of the Arctic discoverer, and others whom he had rescued from the very grasp of the executioner, followed to the grave that revered and devoted minister of mercy!

It would be a profitless task to draw out a parallel of the crimes committed on both sides. Two facts only need be recorded: that although from 1798 to 1800, not less than *sixty-five* places of Catholic worship were demolished or burned in Leinster, (twenty-two of which were in Wexford county), only *one* Protestant church, that of Old Ross, was destroyed in retaliation; and that although towards men, especially men in arms, the rebels acted on the fierce Mosaic maxim of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," no outrage upon women is laid to their charge, even by their most exasperated enemies.



CHAPTER XVII.

THE INSURRECTION ELSEWHERE.—FATE OF THE LEADING UNITED IRISHMEN.

ON the 21st of June, the Marquis Cornwallis, whose name is so familiar in American and East Indian history, arrived in Dublin, to assume the supreme power, both civil and military. As his chief secretary, he recommended Lord Castlereagh, who had acted

in that capacity during the latter part of Lord Camden's administration in consequence of Mr. Pelham's illness; and the Pitt-Portland administration appointed his lordship accordingly, because among other good and sufficient reasons "he was so unlike an Irishman."

While the new viceroy came to Ireland still more resolute than his predecessor to bring about the long-desired legislative union, it is but justice to his memory to say, that he as resolutely resisted the policy of torture and provocation pursued under Lord Camden. That policy had, indeed, served its pernicious purpose, and it was now possible for a new ruler to turn a new leaf; this Lord Cornwallis did from the hour of his arrival, not without incurring the ill-concealed displeasure of the Castle cabal. But his position gave him means of protection which Sir Ralph Abercromby had not; he was known to enjoy the personal confidence of the king; and those who did not hesitate three months before to assail by every abusive epithet the humane Scottish baronet, hesitated long before criticising with equal freedom the all-powerful viceroy.

The sequel of the insurrection may be briefly related: next to Wexford, the adjoining county of Wicklow, famous throughout the world for its lakes and glens, maintained the chief brunt of the Leinster battle. The brothers Byrne, of Ballymanus, with Holt, Kæckett, and other local leaders, were for months, from the difficult nature of the country, enabled to defy those combined movements by which, as in a huge net, Lord Lake had swept up the camps of Wexford. At Hæckettstown, on the 25th of June, the Byrnes were repulsed with considerable loss, but at Ballyellis, on the 30th, fortune and skill gave them and their Wexford comrades a victory, resembling in many respects that of Clough. General Needham, who had again established his headquarters at Gorey, detached Colonel Preston, with some troops of Ancient Britons, the 4th and 5th Dragoons, and three yeomanry corps, to attack the insurgents who were observed in force in the neighborhood of Monaseed. Aware of this movement, the Byrnes prepared in the ravine of Ballyellis a well-laid ambushade, barricading with carts and trees the farther end of the pass. Attacked by the royalists they retreated towards this pass, were hotly pur-

sued, and then turned on their pursuers. Two officers and sixty men were killed in the trap, while the terrified rear-rank fled for their lives to the shelter of their headquarters. At Ballyraheene, on the 2d of July, the king's troops sustained another check in which they lost two officers and ten men, but at Ballygullon, on the 4th, the insurgents were surrounded between the forces of General Needham, Sir James Duff, and the Marquis of Huntley. This was the last considerable action in which the Wicklow and Wexford men were unitedly engaged. In the dispersion which followed, "Billy Byrne of Ballymanus," the hero of his county, paid the forfeit of his life; while his brother Garrett subsequently surrendered, and was included in the Banishment Act.

Anthony Perry, of Inch, and Father Kearns, leading a much diminished band into Kildare, formed a junction with Aylmer and Reynolds of that county, and marched into Meath, with a view of reaching and surprising Athlone. The plan was boldly and well conceived, but their means of execution were deplorably deficient. At Clonard they were repulsed by a handful of troops well armed and posted; a combined movement always possible in Meath, drove them from side to side during the mid-week of July, until at length, hunted down as they were, they broke up in twos and threes to seek any means of escape. Father Kearns and Mr. Perry were, however, arrested, and executed by martial law at Enderrerry. Both died bravely; the priest sustaining and exhorting his companion to the last.

Still another band of the Wexford men under Father John Murphy and Walter Devereux crossed the Barrow at Gore's bridge, and marched upon Kilkenny. At Lowgrange they surprised an outpost; at Castlecomer, after a sharp action, they took the town, which Sir Charles Asgill endeavored, but without success, to relieve. Thence they continued their march towards Athy in Kildare, but being caught between two or rather three fires, that of Major Mathews, from Maryboro', General Dunne, from Athy, and Sir Charles Asgill, they retreated on Old Leighlin, as if seeking the shelter of the Carlow mountains. At Kilkenny hill, however, they were forced into action under most unfavorable circumstances, and utterly routed. One Father Murphy, fell in the engagement, the other, the precursor of the insur-

rection, was captured three days afterward, and conveyed a prisoner to General Duff's headquarters at Tullow. Here he was put on his trial before a military commission composed of Sir James Duff, Lord Roden, Colonels Eden and Foster, and Major Hall. Hall had the meanness to put to him, prisoner as he was, several insulting questions, which at length the high-spirited rebel answered with a blow. The commission thought him highly dangerous, and instantly ordered him to execution. His body was burned, his head spiked on the market-house of Tullow, and his memory gibbeted in all the loyal publications of the period. On his person, before execution, were found a crucifix, a pix, and letters from many Protestants, asking his protection; as to his reputation, the priest who girded on the sword only when he found his altar overthrown and his flock devoured by wolves, need not fear to look posterity in the face.

Of the other Leinster leaders, Walter Devereux, the last colleague of Father Murphy, was arrested at Cork, on the eve of sailing for America, tried and executed; Fitzgerald and Aylmer were spared on condition of expatriation; months afterwards, Holt surrendered, was transported, and returned after several years, to end his days where he began his career; Dwyer alone maintained the life of a Rapparee for five long years among the hills of Wicklow, where his adventures were often of such a nature as to throw all fictitious conceptions of an outlaw's life into commonplace by comparison. Except in the fastnesses frequented by this extraordinary man, and in the wood of Killaughram, in Wexford, where the outlaws with the last stroke of national humor, assumed the name of *The Babes in the Wood*, the Leinster insurrection was utterly trodden out within two months from its first beginning, on the 23d of May. So weak against discipline, arms, munitions and money, are all that mere naked valor and devotion can accomplish!

In Ulster, on the organization of which so much time and labor had been expended for four or five years preceding, the rising was not more general than in Leinster, and the actual struggle lasted only a week. The two counties which moved *en masse* were Down and Antrim, the original chiefs of which, such as Thomas Russell and Samuel Neilson, were unfortunately in prison.

The next leader on whom the men of Antrim relied, resigned his command on the very eve of the appointed day; this disappointment and the arrest of the Rev. Steele Dickson in Down, compelled a full fortnight's delay. On the 7th of June, however, the more determined spirits resolved on action, and the first movement was to seize the town of Antrim, which, if they could have held it, would have given them command of the communications with Donegal and Down, from both of which they might have expected important additions to their ranks. The leader in this enterprise was Henry John McCracken, a cotton manufacturer of Belfast, thirty-two years of age, well educated, accomplished and resolute, with whom was associated a brother of William Orr, the proto-martyr of the Ulster Union. The town of Antrim was occupied by the 22d light dragoons, Colonel Lumley, and the local yeomanry under Lord O'Neill. In the first assault the insurgents were successful, Lord O'Neill, five officers, forty-seven rank and file having fallen, and two guns being captured; but Lumley's dragoons had hardly vanished out of sight, when a strong reinforcement from Blaris camp arrived and renewed the action, changing premature exultation into panic and confusion. Between two and three hundred of the rebels fell, and McCracken and his staff deserted by their hasty levies, were arrested wearied and hopeless, about a month later, wandering among the Antrim hills. The leaders were tried at Belfast and executed.

In Down two actions were fought, one at Saintfield on the 7th of June, under Dr. Jackson—where Colonel Stapleton was severely handled—and another and more important one at Ballynabinch, under Henry Munro, on the 13th, where Nugent—the district General, commanded in person. Here, after a gallant defense, the men of Down were utterly routed; their leader, alone and on foot, was captured some five or six miles from the field, and executed two days afterward before his own door at Lisburn. He died with the utmost composure; his wife and mother looking down on the awful scene from the windows of his own house.

In Munster, with the exception of a trifling skirmish between the Westmeath yeomanry under Sir Hugh O'Reilly, with whom were the Caithness legion under Major Innes, and a body of 300 or 400 ill-armed peasants who attacked them on the 19th of June,

on the road from Clonakilty to Bandon, there was no notable attempt at insurrection. But in Connaught very unexpectedly, as late as the end of August, the flame extinguished in blood in Leinster and Ulster, again blazed up for some days with portentous brightness. The counties of Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon and Galway, had been partially organized by those fugitives from Orange oppression in the North, who, in the years '95, '96 and '97, had been compelled to flee for their lives into Connaught, to the number of several thousands. They brought with the tale of their sufferings the secret of Defenderism; they first taught the peasantry of the West, who, safe in their isolated situation and their overwhelming numbers, were more familiar with poverty than with persecution, what manner of men then held sway over all the rest of the country, and how easily it would be for Irishmen once united and backed by France, to establish, under their own green flag, both religious and civil liberty.

When, therefore, three French frigates cast anchor in Killalla Bay, on the 22d of August, they did not find the country wholly unprepared, though far from being as ripe for revolt as they expected. These ships had on board 1,000 men, with arms for 1,000 more, under command of General Humbert, who had taken on himself in the state of anarchy which then prevailed in France, to sail from La Rochelle, with this handful of men, in aid of the insurrection. With Humbert were Mathew Tone and Bartholomew Teeling; and immediately on his arrival he was joined by Messrs. McDonnell, Moore, Bellew, Barrett, O'Dowd, and O'Donnell of Mayo, Blake of Galway, Plunkett of Roscommon, and a few other influential gentlemen of that Province—almost all Catholics. Three days were spent at Killalla which was easily taken, in landing stores, enrolling recruits, and sending out parties of observation. On the 4th, (Sunday,) Humbert entered Ballina without resistance, and on the same night set out for Castlebar, the county town. By this time intelligence of his landing was spread over the whole country, and both Lord Lake and General Hutchinson had advanced to Castlebar, where they had from 2,000 to 3,000 men under their command. The place could be reached only by two routes from the northwest by the Foxford road, or a long deserted mountain road which led over the pass of Barna.

gee, within sight of the town. Humbert accustomed to the long marches and difficult country of La Vendee, chose the unfrequented and therefore unguarded route, and to the consternation of the British generals descended through the pass of Barnagee, soon after sunrise, on the morning of Monday, August 27th. His force consisted of 900 French bayonets, and between 2,000 and 3,000 new recruits; the action which commenced at 7 o'clock, was short, sharp, and decisive; the yeomanry and regulars broke and fled, some of them never drawing rein till they reached Tuam, while others carried their fears and their falsehoods as far inland as Athlone—more than sixty miles from the scene of action. In this engagement, still remembered as "the races," the royalists confessed to the loss killed, wounded, or prisoners, of 18 officers, and about 350 men, while the French commander estimated the killed alone at 600. Fourteen British guns and five stand of colors were also taken. A hot pursuit was continued for some distance by the native troops under Mathew Tone, Teeling, and the Mayo officers; but Lord Roden's famous corps of "Fox-hunters," covered the retreat and checked the pursuers at French hill. Immediately after the battle a Provincial Government was established at Castlebar, with Mr. Moore of Moore Hall, as President; proclamations addressed to the inhabitants at large, commissions to raise men, and *assignats* payable by the future Irish Republic, were issued in its name.

Meanwhile the whole of the royalist forces were now in movement toward the capital of Mayo, as they had been toward Vinegar hill two months before. Sir John Moore and General Hunter marched from Wexford towards the Shannon. General Taylor with 2,500 men advanced from Sligo towards Castlebar; Colonel Maxwell was ordered from Enniskillen to assume command at Sligo; General Nugent from Lisburn occupied Enniskillen, and the Viceroy, leaving Dublin in person, advanced rapidly through the midland counties to Kilbeggan, and ordered Lord Lake and General Hutchinson, with such of their command as could be depended on, to assume the aggressive from the direction of Tuam. Thus Humbert and his allies found themselves surrounded on all sides—their retreat cut off by sea, for their frigates had returned to France immediately on their landing; three thousand men

against not less than thirty thousand, with at least as many more in reserve, ready to be called into action at a day's notice.

The French general determined if possible to reach the mountains of Leitrim, and open communications with Ulster, and the northern coast, upon which he hoped soon to see succor arrive from France. With this object he marched from Castlebar to Cooloney, (35 miles), in one day; here he sustained a check from Colonel Vereker's militia, which necessitated a change of route; turning aside, he passed rapidly through Dromahaine, Manor-Hamilton, and Ballintra, making for Granard from which accounts of a formidable popular outbreak had just reached him. In three days and a half he had marched 110 miles, flinging half his guns into the rivers that he crossed, lest they should fall into the hands of his pursuers. At Ballinamuck, county Longford, on the morning of the 8th of September; and here he prepared to make a last desperate stand. The end could not be doubtful, the numbers against him being ten to one; after an action of half an hour's duration, two hundred of the French having thrown down their arms, the remainder surrendered, as prisoners of war. For the rebels no terms were thought of, and the full vengeance of the victors was reserved for them. Mr. Blake, who had formerly been a British officer was executed on the field; Mathew Tone and Teeling were executed within the week in Dublin; Mr. Moore, President of the Provisional Government was sentenced to banishment by the clemency of Lord Cornwallis, but died on shipboard; ninety of the Longford and Kilkenny militia who had joined the French were hanged, and the country generally given up to pillage and massacre. As an evidence of the excessive thirst for blood it may be mentioned that at the recapture of Killaala a few days later, four hundred persons were killed, of whom fully one-half were non-combatants.

The disorganization of all government in France in the latter half of '98, was illustrated not only by Humbert's unauthorized adventure, but by a still weaker demonstration under General Reay and Napper Tandy, about the same time. With a single armed brig these daring allies made a descent on the 17th of September, on Rathlin Island, well equipped with eloquent proclama-

tions, bearing the date "first year of Irish liberty." From the postmaster of the island they ascertained Humbert's fate, and immediately turned the prow of their solitary ship in the opposite direction; Reay, to rise in after times to honor and power; Tandy, to continue in old age, the dashing career of his manhood, and to expiate in exile the crime of preferring the country of his birth to the general centralizing policy of the empire with which she was united. Twelve days after the combat at Ballinamuck, while Humbert and his men were on their way through England to France, a new French fleet, under Admiral Bompard, consisting of one 74-gun ship, "the Hoche," eight frigates, and two smaller vessels, sailed from Brest. On board this fleet were embarked 3,000 men under General Hardi, the remnant of the army once menacing England. In this fleet sailed Theobald Wolfe Tone, true to his motto *nil desperandum*, with two or three other refugees of less celebrity. The troops of General Hardi however, were destined never to land. On the 12th of October, after tossing about for nearly a month in the German ocean and the North Atlantic, they appeared off the coast of Donegal, and stood in for Lough Swilly. But another fleet also was on the horizon. Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, with an equal number of ships, but a much heavier armament, had been cruising on the track of the French during the whole time they were at sea. After many disappointments the flag-ship and three of the frigates were at last within range and the action began. Six hours fighting laid the Hoche a helpless log upon the water; nothing was left her but surrender; two of the frigates shared the same fate on the same day; another was captured on the 14th, and yet another on the 17th. The remainder of the fleet escaped back to France.

The French officers landed in Donegal were received with courtesy by the neighboring gentry, among whom was the Earl of Cavan, who entertained them at dinner. Here it was that Sir George Hill, son-in-law to Commissioner Beresford, an old college friend of Tone's, identified the founder of the United Irishmen under the uniform of a French Adjutant-general. Stepping up to his old schoolmate he addressed him by name, which Tone instantly acknowledged, inquiring politely for Lady Hill, and other members

of Sir George's family. He was instantly arrested, ironed, and conveyed to Dublin under a strong guard. On the 10th of November, he was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be hanged: he begged only for a soldier's death—"to be shot by a platoon of grenadiers." This favor was denied him, and the next morning he attempted to commit suicide. The attempt did not immediately succeed; but one week later—on the 19th of November—he died from the results of his self-inflicted wound, with a compliment to the attendant physician upon his lips. Truth compels us to say he died the death of a Pagan; but it was a Pagan of the noblest and freest type of Grecian and Roman times. Had it occurred in ancient days, beyond the Christian era, it would have been a death every way admirable; as it was, that fatal final act must always stand between Wolfe Tone and the Christian people for whom he suffered, sternly forbidding them to invoke him in their prayers; or to uphold him as an example to the young men of their country. So closed the memorable year 1798, on the baffled and dispersed United Irishmen. Of the chiefs imprisoned in March and May, Lord Edward had died of his wounds and vexation; Oliver Bond of apoplexy; the brothers Sheares, Father Quigley, and William Michael Byrne on the gibbet. In July, on Samuel Nelson's motion, the remaining prisoners in Newgate, Bridewell, and Kilmainham, agreed, in order to stop the effusion of blood, to expatriate themselves to any country, not at war with England, and to reveal the general secrets of their system, without inculcating individuals. These terms were accepted, as the Castle party needed their evidence to enable them to promote the cherished scheme of legislative Union. But that evidence delivered before the Committees of Parliament by Emmett, MacNevin, and O'Connor, did not altogether serve the purposes of government. The patriotic prisoners made it at once a protest against, and an exposition of, the despotic policy under which their country had been goaded into rebellion. For their firmness they were punished by three years confinement in Fort George, in the Scottish Highlands, where, however, a gallant old soldier, Colonel Stuart, endeavored to soften the hard realities of a prison by all the kind attentions his instructions permitted him to show these unfortunate gentlemen. At the peace of Amiens, (1802),

they were at last allowed the melancholy privilege of expatriation. Russell and Dowdall were permitted to return to Ireland, where they shared the fate of Robert Emmett in 1803; O'Connor, Corbet, Allen, Ware, and others cast their lot in France, where they all rose to distinction; Emmett, MacNevin, Sampson, and the family of Tone were reunited in New York, where the many changes and distractions of a great metropolitan community have not even yet obliterated the memories of their virtues, their talents, and their accomplishments.

It is impossible to dismiss this celebrated group of men whose principles and conduct so greatly influenced their country's destiny, without bearing explicit testimony to their heroic qualities as a class. If ever a body of public men deserved the character of a brotherhood of heroes, so far as disinterestedness, courage, self-denial, truthfulness and glowing love of country constitute heroism, these men deserved that character. The wisdom of their conduct, and the intrinsic merit of their plans, are other questions. As between their political system and that of Burke, Grattan and O'Connell, there always will be, probably, among their countrymen, very decided differences of opinion. That is but natural: but as to the personal and political virtues of the United Irishmen there can be no difference; the world has never seen a more sincere or more self-sacrificing generation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—BEFORE THE UNION.

"Nothing strengthens a dynasty," said the first Napoleon, "more than an unsuccessful rebellion." The partial uprising of the Irish people in 1798 was a rebellion of this class, and the use of such a failure to an able and unscrupulous administration, was illustrated in the extinction of the ancient legislature of the kingdom, before the recurrence of the third anniversary of the insurrection.

This project, the favorite and long-cherished design of Mr. Pitt,

was cordially approved by his principal colleagues, the Duke of Portland, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Dundas; indeed it may be questioned whether it was not as much Lord Grenville's design as Pitt's, and as much George the Third's personal project as that of any of his ministers. The old king's Irish policy was always of the most narrow and illiberal description. In his memorandum on the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, he explains his views with the business-like brevity which characterized all his communications with his ministers while he retained possession of his faculties; he was totally opposed to Lord Fitzwilliam's emancipation policy, which he thought adopted "in implicit obedience to the heated imagination of Mr. Burke." To Lord Camden his instructions were, "to support the old English interest as well as the Protestant religion," and to Lord Cornwallis, that no further "indulgence could be granted to Catholics," but that he should steadily pursue the object of effecting the union of Ireland and England.

The new viceroy entered heartily into the views of his sovereign. Though unwilling to exchange his English position as a Cabinet Minister and Master-General of Ordnance for the troubled life of a Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he at length allowed himself to be persuaded into the acceptance of that office, with a view mainly to carrying the Union. He was ambitious to connect his name with that great imperial measure, so often projected, but never formally proposed. If he could only succeed in incorporating the Irish with the British legislature, he declared he would be satisfied to retire from all other public employments; this would look on his day as finished, and his evening of ease and dignity fully earned. He was not wholly unacquainted with the kingdom against which he cherished these ulterior views; for he had been, nearly thirty years before, when he fell under the lash of *Junius*, one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland. For the rest he was a man of great information, tact, and firmness; indefatigable in business; tolerant by temperament and conviction; but both as a general and a politician it was his lot to be identified in India and in Ireland with successes which might better have been failures, and in America, with failures which were much more beneficial to mankind than his successes.

In his new sphere of action his two principal agents were Lord Clare and Lord Castlereagh, both Irishmen; the Chancellor, the son of what in that country is called "a spoiled priest," and the Secretary, the son of an ex-volunteer and member of Flood's Reform Convention. It is not possible to regard the conduct of these high officials in undermining and destroying the ancient national legislature of their own country, in the same light as that of Lord Cornwallis, or Mr. Pitt, or Lord Grenville. It was but natural, that as Englishmen, these ministers should consider the empire in the first place; that they should desire to centralize all the resources and all the authority of both Islands in London; that to them the existence of an independent Parliament at Dublin, with its ample control over the courts, the revenues, the defences, and the trade of that kingdom, should appear an obstacle and a hindrance to the unity of the imperial system. From their point of view they were quite right, and had they pursued their end, complete centralization, by honorable means, no stigma could attach to them even in the eyes of Irishmen; but with Lords Clare and Castlereagh the case was wholly different. Born in the land, deriving income as well as existence from the soil, elected to its parliament by the confidence of their countrymen, attaining to posts of honor in consequence of such election, that they should voluntarily offer their services to establish an alien and a hostile policy on the ruins of their own national constitution, which, with all its defects, was national, and was corrigible; this betrayal of their own, at the dictate of another State, will always place the names of Clare and Castlereagh on the detested list of public traitors. Yet though in such treason united and identified, no two men could be more unlike in all other respects. Lord Clare was fiery, dogmatic, and uncompromising to the last degree; while Lord Castlereagh was stealthy, imperturbable, insidious, bland, and adroit. The Chancellor endeavored to carry everything with a high hand, with a bold, defiant, confident swagger; the Secretary, on the contrary, trusted to management, expediency, and silent tenacity of purpose. The one had faith in violence, the other in corruption; they were no inapt personifications of the two chief agencies by which the union was effected—Force and Fraud.

The Irish Parliament which had been of necessity adjourned during the greater part of the time the insurrection lasted, assembled within a week of Lord Cornwallis' arrival. Both Houses voted highly loyal addresses to the king and lord-lieutenant, the latter seconded in the Commons by Charles Kendal Bushe, the college companion of Wolfe Tone! A vote of £100,000 to indemnify those who had suffered from the rebels—subsequently increased to above £1,000,000—was passed *una voce*; another placing on the Irish establishment certain English militia regiments passed with equal promptitude. In July, five consecutive acts—a complete code of penalties and proscription—were introduced, and after various debates and delays, received the royal sanction on the 6th of October, the last day of the session of 1798. These acts were: 1. The Amnesty Act, the exceptions to which were so numerous “that few of those who took any active part in the rebellion,” were, according to the Cornwallis' correspondence, “benefited by it.” 2. An Act of Indemnity, by which all magistrates who had “exercised a vigor beyond the law” against the rebels, were protected from the legal consequences of such acts. 3. An Act for attainting Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Harvey and Mr. Grogan, against which Curran, taking “his instructions from the grave,” pleaded at the bar of the House of Lords, but pleaded in vain. (This act was finally reversed by the Imperial Parliament in 1819.) 4. An act forbidding communication between persons in Ireland and those enumerated in the Banishment Act, and making the return to Ireland after sentence of Banishment by a court-martial a transportable felony. 5. An act to compel fifty-one persons therein named to surrender before 1st of December, 1798, under pain of high treason. Among the fifty-one were the principal refugees at Paris and Hamburg: Tone, Lewines, Tandy, Deane Swift, Major Plunkett, Anthony McCann, Harvey Morres, etc. On the same day in which the session terminated, and the royal sanction was given to these acts, the name of Henry Grattan was, a significant coincidence, formally struck, by the king's commands, from the roll of the Irish Privy Council!

This legislation of the session of 1798, was fatal to the Irish Parliament. The partisans of the Union, who had used the re-

bellion to discredit the constitution, now used the Parliament to discredit itself. Under the influence of a fierce reactionary spirit, when all merciful and moderate councils were denounced as treasonable, it was not difficult to procure the passage of sweeping measures of proscription. But with their passage vanished the former popularity of the domestic legislature. And what followed? The constitution of '82 could only be upheld in the hearts of the people; and, with all its defects, it had been popular before the sudden spread of French revolutionary notions distracted and dissipated the public opinion which had grown up within the era of independence. To make the once cherished authority, which liberated trade in '79, and half emancipated the Catholics in '93, the last executioner of the vengeance of the Castle against the people, was to place a gulf between it and the affections of that people in the day of trial. To make the anti-unionists in Parliament, such as the speaker, Sir Lawrence Parsons, Plunkett, Ponsonby and Bushe, personally responsible for this vindictive code, was to disarm them of the power, and almost of the right, to call on the people whom they turned over, bound hand and foot, to the mercy of the minister in '98, to aid them against the machinations of that same minister in '99. The last months of the year were marked besides by events already referred to, and by negotiations incessantly carried on, both in England and Ireland, in favor of the Union. Members of both Houses were personally courted and canvassed by the prime minister, the secretaries of state, the viceroy and the Irish secretary. Titles, pensions and offices were freely promised. Vast sums of secret service money, afterwards added as a charge to the public debt of Ireland, were remitted from Whitehall. An army of pamphleteers marshalled by under-secretary Cooke, and confidentially directed by the able but anti-national Bishop of Meath, (Dr. O'Beirne,) and by Lord Castlereagh personally, plied their pens in favor of "the consolidation of the empire." The lord chancellor, the chief secretary and Mr. Beresford, made journeys to England, to assist the prime minister with their local information, and to receive his imperial confidence in return. The Orangemen were neutralized by securing a majority of their leaders; the Catholics, by the

establishment of familiar communication with the bishops. The viceroy complimented Dr. Troy at Dublin; the Duke of Portland lavished personal attentions on Dr. Moylan, in England. The Protestant clergy were satisfied with the assurance that the maintenance of their establishment would be made a fundamental article of the Union, while the Catholic bishops were given to understand that complete Emancipation would be one of the first measures submitted to the Imperial Parliament. The oligarchy were to be indemnified for their boroughs, while the advocates of reform were shown how hopeless it was to expect a House constituted of *their* nominees, ever to enlarge or amend its own exclusive constitution. Thus for every description of people a particular set of appeals and arguments was found, and for those who discarded the affectation of reasoning on the surrender of their national existence, there were the more convincing arguments of titles, employments, and direct pecuniary purchase. At the close of the year of the rebellion, Lord Cornwallis was able to report to Mr. Pitt that the prospects of carrying the measure were better than could have been expected, and on this report he was authorized to open the matter formally to Parliament in his speech at the opening of the following session.

On the 22d of January, 1799, the Irish legislature met under circumstances of great interest and excitement. The city of Dublin, always keenly alive to its metropolitan interests, sent its eager thousands by every avenue, towards College Green. The viceroy went down to the Houses, with a more than ordinary guard, and being seated on the throne in the House of Lords, the Commons were summoned to the bar. The House was considered a full one, 217 members being present. The viceregal speech congratulated both Houses on the suppression of the late rebellion, on the defeat of Bompert's squadron, and the recent French victories of Lord Nelson; then came, amid profound expectation, this concluding sentence:—"The unremitting industry," said the viceroy, "with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavoring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your attention, and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest,

may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire." On the paragraph of the address, reëchoing this sentiment, which was carried by a large majority in the Lords, a debate ensued in the Commons which lasted till one o'clock of the following day, above twenty consecutive hours. Against the suggestion of a Union spoke Ponsonby, Parsons, Fitzgerald, Barrington, Plunkett, Lee, O'Donnell and Bushe; in its favor, Lord Castlereagh, the Knight of Kerry, Corry, Fox, Osborne, Duigenan, and some other members little known. The galleries and lobbies were crowded all night by the first people of the city, of both sexes, and when the division was being taken, the most intense anxiety was manifested, within doors and without. At length the tellers made their report to the speaker, himself an ardent anti-Unionist, and it was announced that the numbers were—"for the address 105, for the amendment 106," so the paragraph in favor of "consolidating the empire" was lost by one vote! The remainder of the address tainted with the association of the expunged paragraph, was barely carried by 107 to 105. Mr. Ponsonby had attempted to follow his victory by a solemn pledge binding the majority never again to entertain the question, but to this several members objected and the motion was withdrawn. The ministry found some consolation in this withdrawal, which they characterized as "a retreat after a victory," but to the public at large, unused to place much stress on the minor tactics of debate, nothing appeared but the broad, general fact, that the first overture for a Union had been rejected. It was a day of immense rejoicing in Dublin; the leading anti-Unionists were escorted in triumph to their homes, while the Unionists were protected by strong military escorts from the popular indignation. At night the city was illuminated, and the patrols were doubled as a protection to the obnoxious minority.

Mr. Ponsonby's amendment, affirmed by the House of Commons, was in these words:—"That the House would be ready to enter into any measure short of surrendering their free, resident and independent legislature as established in 1782." This was the

ultimatum of the great party which rallied in January, 1799, to the defence of the established constitution of their country. The arguments with which they sustained their position were few, bold, and intelligible to every capacity. There was the argument from Ireland's geographical situation, and the policy incident to it; the historical argument; the argument for a resident gentry occupied and retained in the country by their public duties; the commercial argument; the revenue argument; but above all, the argument of the incompetency of Parliament to put an end to its own existence. "Yourselves," exclaimed the eloquent Plunkett, "you may extinguish, but Parliament you cannot extinguish. It is enthroned in the hearts of the people—it is enshrined in the sanctuary of the constitution—it is as immortal as the island that protects it. As well might the frantic suicide imagine that the act which destroys his miserable body should also extinguish his eternal soul. Again, therefore, I warn you. Do not dare to lay your hands on the Constitution—it is above your powers!"

These arguments were combated on the grounds that the islands were already united under one crown—that that species of union was uncertain and precarious—that the Irish Parliament was never in reality a national legislature; that it existed only as an instrument of class legislation; that the Union would benefit Ireland materially as it had benefited Scotland; that she would come in for a full share of imperial honors, expenditure and trade; that such a Union would discourage all future hostile attempts by France or any other foreign power against the connection, and other similar arguments. But the division which followed the first introduction of the subject showed clearly to the Unionists that they could not hope to succeed with the House of Commons as then constituted; that more time and more preparation were necessary. Accordingly, Lord Castlereagh was authorized in March, to state formally in his place, that it was not the intention of the government to bring up the question again during that session; an announcement which was hailed with a new outburst of rejoicing in the city.

But those who imagined the measure was abandoned were sadly deceived. Steps were immediately taken by the Castle to deplete the House of its majority, and to supply their places be-

fore another session with forty or fifty new members, who would be entirely at the beck of the chief secretary. With this view, thirty-two new county judgeships were created; a great number of additional inspectorships and commissioners were also placed at the Minister's disposal; thirteen members had peerages for themselves or for their wives, with remainder to their children, and nineteen others were presented to various lucrative offices. The "Escheatorship of Munster"—a sort of Chiltern Hundreds office—was accepted by those who agreed to withdraw from opposition, for such considerations, but who could not be got to reverse their votes. By these means, and a lavish expenditure of secret service money, it was hoped that Mr. Pitt's stipulated majority of "not less than fifty" could be secured during the year.

The other events of the session of '99, though interesting in themselves, are of little importance compared to the union debates. In the English Parliament, which met on the same day as the Irish, a paragraph identical with that employed by Lord Cornwallis in introducing the subject of the Union, was inserted in the king's speech. To this paragraph, repeated in the address, an amendment was moved by the celebrated Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and resisted with an eloquence scarcely inferior to his own, by his former *protegé* and countryman, George Canning. Canning, like Sheridan, had sprung from a line of Irish literateurs and actors; he had much of the wit and genius of his illustrious friend, with more worldly wisdom, and a higher sentiment of personal pride. In very early life, distinguished by great oratorical talents, he had deliberately attached himself to Mr. Pitt, while Sheridan remained steadfast to the last, in the ranks of the Whig or liberal party. For the land of their ancestors both had, at bottom, very warm, good wishes; but Canning looked down on her politics from the heights of empire, while Sheridan felt for her honor and her interests with the affection of an expatriated son. We can well credit his statement to Grattan, years afterwards, when referring to his persistent opposition to the Union, he said, he would "have waded in blood to his knees," to preserve the Constitution of Ireland. In taking this course he had with him a few eminent friends. General Fitzpatrick, the former Irish Secretary Mr. Tierney, Mr. Hobhouse,

Dr. Lawrence, the executor of Edmund Burke, and Mr. afterwards Earl Grey. Throughout the entire discussion these just-minded Englishmen stood boldly forward for the rights of Ireland, and this highly honorable conduct was long remembered as one of Ireland's real obligations to the Whig party.

The resolutions intended to serve as "the basis of union," were introduced by Mr. Pitt, on the 21st of January, and after another powerful speech in opposition, from Mr. Grey, who was ably sustained by Mr. Sheridan, Dr. Lawrence, and some twenty others, were put and carried. The following are the resolutions:

1st. "In order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions as may be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

2d. "It would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, on a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

3d. "For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing law, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

4th. "For the same purpose it would be fit to propose that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled the parliament of the United Kingdom of great Britain and Ireland; and that such a number of lords, spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by the acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland previous to the said union; and that every

member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the United Kingdom shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take, and subscribe the said oaths, and make the same declarations as are required by law to be taken, subscribed, and made by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

5th. "For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

6th. "For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs, or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland, of any articles now duty free, and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles, which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations, as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts: that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to an internal duty in one kingdom, such counter-vailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid) shall be imposed as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect; and that all matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

7th. "For the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interests or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the United Kingdom, in peace or war, shall be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportion shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

8th. "For the like purpose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the United Kingdom to require."

Mr. Pitt, on the passage of these resolutions, proposed an address, stating that the commons had proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended in the royal message, that they entertained a firm persuasion of the probable benefits of a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles; that they were therefore induced to lay before his majesty such propositions as appeared to them to be best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his wisdom in due time and in proper manner, to communicate them to the lords and commons of Ireland, with whom they would be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as might be found most conducive to the accomplishment of that great and salutary work.

On the 19th of March, Lord Grenville introduced the same resolutions in the Lords, where they were passed after a spirited opposition speech from Lord Holland, and the basis, so far as the King, Lords, and Commons of England were concerned, was laid. In proroguing the Irish houses on the 1st of June, Lord Corn-

walls alluded to these resolutions, and the anxiety of the king, as the common father of his people, to see both kingdoms united in the enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution.

This prorogation was originally till August, but in August it was extended till January, 1800. In this long interval of eight months, the two great parties, the Unionists and anti-Unionists were incessantly employed, through the press, in social intercourse, in the grand jury room, in county and city meetings, by correspondence, petitions, addresses, each pushing forward its own views with all the zeal and warmth of men who felt that on one side they were laboring for the country, on the other for the empire. Two incidents of this interval were deeply felt in the patriot ranks, the death at an advanced age of the venerable Charlemont, the best member of his order Ireland had ever known, and the return to the kingdom and to public life of Lord Charlemont's early friend and *protégé*, Henry Grattan. He had spent above a year in England, chiefly in Wales and the Isle of Wight. His health all this time had been wretched; his spirits low and despondent, and serious fears were at some moments entertained for his life. He had been forbidden to read or write, or to hear the exciting news of the day. Soothed and cheered by that admirable woman, whom Providence had given him, he passed the crisis, but he returned to breathe his native air, greatly enfeebled in body, and sorely afflicted in mind. The charge of theatrical affectation of illness has been brought against Grattan by the Unionists,—against Grattan who, as to his personal habits, was simplicity itself! It is a charge undeserving of serious contradiction.



CHAPTER XIX.

LAST SESSION OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.—THE LEGISLATIVE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

WHEN the Irish Parliament met for the last time, on the 15th of January, 1800, the position of the Union question stood thus:

27 new Peers had been added to the House of Lords where the Castle might therefore reckon with safety on a majority of three to one. Of the Lords spiritual, only Dr. Marlay of Waterford, and Dr. Dixon of Down and Connor, had the courage to side with their country against their order. In the Commons there was an infusion of some 50 new borough members, many of them general officers, such as Needham, and Packenham, all of them nominees of the Castle, except Mr. Saurin returned for Blessington, and Mr. Grattan, at the present moment, for Wicklow. The great constitutional body of the bar had, at a general meeting, the previous December, declared against the measure by 162 to 33. Another powerful body, the bankers, had petitioned against it, in the interest of the public credit. The Catholic bishops in their annual meeting had taken up a position of neutrality as a body, but under the artful management of Lord Castlereagh, the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, with the Bishop of Cork, and some others, were actively employed in counteracting anti-Union movements among the people. Although the vast majority of that people had too much reason to be disgusted and discontented with the legislation of the previous three years, above 700,000 of them petitioned against the measure, while all the signatures which could be obtained in its favor, by the use of every means at the command of the Castle, did not much exceed 7,000.

The Houses were opened on the 15th of January. The viceroy not going down, his message was read in the Lords, by the Chancellor, and in the Commons, by the Chief Secretary. It did not directly refer to the basis laid down in England, nor to the subject matter itself; but the leaders of the Castle party in both houses, took care to supply the deficiency. In the Lords, proxies included, Lord Clare had 75 to 26, for his Union address; in the Commons, Lord Castlereagh congratulated the country on the improvement which had taken place in public opinion, since the former session. He briefly sketched his plan of Union, which, while embracing the main propositions of Mr. Pitt, secured the Church establishment, bid high for the commercial interests, hinted darkly of emancipation to the Catholics, and gave the proprietors of boroughs to understand that their interest in those convenient constituencies would be capitalized, and a good round sum given

to buy out their perpetual patronage. In amendment to the address, Sir Lawrence Parsons moved, seconded by Mr. Savage of Down, that the House would maintain *intact* the Constitution of '82, and the debate proceeded on this motion. Ponsonby replied to Castlereagh; Plunkett and Bushe were answered by the future judges, St. George Daly and Luke Fox; Toler contributed his farce, and Dr. Duigenan his fanaticism. Through the long hours of the winter's night the eloquent war was vigorously maintained. One who was himself a distinguished actor in the struggle, (Sir Jonah Barrington,) has thus described it: "Every mind" he says "was at its stretch, every talent was in its vigor: it was a momentous trial; and never was so general and so deep a sensation felt in any country. Numerous British noblemen and commoners were present at that and the succeeding debate, and they expressed opinions of Irish eloquence which they had never before conceived, nor ever after had an opportunity of appreciating. Every man on that night seemed to be inspired by the subject. Speeches more replete with talent and energy, on both sides, never were heard in the Irish Senate; it was a vital subject. The sublime, the eloquent, the figurative orator, the plain, the connected, the metaphysical reasoner, the classical, the learned, and the solemn declaimer, in a succession of speeches so full of energy and enthusiasm, so interesting in their nature, so important in their consequence, created a variety of sensations even in the bosom of a stranger, and could scarcely fail of exciting some sympathy with a nation which was doomed to close for ever that school of eloquence which had so long given character and celebrity to Irish talent."

At the early dawn, a special messenger from Wicklow, just arrived in town, roused Henry Grattan from his bed. He had been elected the previous night for the borough of Wicklow, (which cost him £2,400 sterling), and this was the bearer of the returning officer's certificate. His friends, weak and feeble as he was, wished him to go down to the House, and his heroic wife seconded their appeals. It was seven o'clock in the morning of the 16th when he reached College Green, the scene of his first triumphs twenty years before. Mr. Egan, one of the staunchest anti-Unionists, was at the moment, on some rumor, probably, of

his approach, apostrophising warmly the father of the Constitution of '82, when that striking apparition appeared at the bar. Worn and emaciated beyond description, he appeared leaning on two of his friends, Arthur Moore and W. B. Ponsonby. He wore his volunteer uniform, blue with red facings, and advanced to the table, where he removed his cocked hat, bowed to the speaker, and took the oaths. After Mr. Egan had concluded, he begged permission from his seat beside Plunkett, to address the House sitting, which was granted, and then in a discourse of two hours duration, full of his ancient fire and vigor, he asserted once again, by the divine right of intellect, his title to be considered the first Commoner of Ireland. Gifted men were not rare in that assembly; but the inspiration of the heart, the uncontrollable utterance of a supreme spirit, not less than the extraordinary faculty of condensation, in which, perhaps, he has never had a superior in our language, gave the Grattan of 1800 the same preëminence among his cotemporaries, that was conceded to the Grattan of 1782. After eighteen hours discussion the division was taken, when the result of the long recess was clearly seen; for the amendment there appeared 96, for the address 138 members. The Union majority, therefore, was 42. It was apparent from that moment that the representation of the people in Parliament had been effectually corrupted; that that assembly was no longer the safeguard of the liberties of the people. Other ministerial majorities confirmed this impression. A measure to enable 10,000 of the Irish militia to enter the regular army, and to substitute English militia in their stead, followed; an inquiry into outrages committed by the sheriff and military in King's county, was voted down; a similar motion somewhat later, in relation to officials in Tipperary met the same fate. On the 5th of February, a formal message proposing a basis of Union was received from his Excellency, and debated for twenty consecutive hours—from 4 o'clock of one day, till 12 of the next. Grattan, Plunkett, Parnell, Ponsonby, Saurin, were, as always, eloquent and able, but again the division told for the minister, 160 to 117—majority 43. On the 17th of February, the House went into committee on the proposed articles of Union, and the Speaker (John Foster) being now on the floor, addressed the House with great ability in review of Mr. Pitt's

recent Union speech, which he designated "a paltry production." But again, a majority mustered at the nod of the minister 161 to 140—a few not fully committed showing some last faint spark of independence. It was on this occasion that Mr. Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, member for Newry, made for the third or fourth time that session, an attack on Grattan which brought out, on the instant, that famous "phillipic against Corry," unequalled in our language, for its well-suppressed passion, and finely condensed denunciation. A duel followed, as soon as there was sufficient light; the Chancellor was wounded, after which the Castlereagh tactics of "fighting down the opposition," received an immediate and lasting check.

Throughout the months of February and March, with an occasional adjournment, the Constitutional battle was fought, on every point permitted by the forms of the House. On the 25th of March, the Committee, after another powerful speech from the Speaker, finally reported the resolutions which were passed by 154 to 107—a majority of 47. The Houses then adjourned for six weeks to allow time for corresponding action to be taken in England. There, there was little difficulty in carrying the measure. In the Upper House, Lords Derby, Holland, and King only opposed it; in the Lower, Sheridan, Tierney, Grey, and Lawrence mustered on a division, 30 votes against Pitt's 206. On the 21st of May, in the Irish Commons, Lord Castlereagh obtained leave to bring in the Union Bill by 160 to 100; on the 7th of June the final passage of the measure was effected. That closing scene has been often described, but never so graphically, as by the diamond pen of Jonah Barrington.

"The galleries were full, but the change was lamentable. They were no longer crowded with those who had been accustomed to witness the eloquence and to animate the debates of that devoted assembly. A monotonous and melancholy murmur ran through the benches; scarcely a word was exchanged amongst the members; nobody seemed at ease; no cheerfulness was apparent; and the ordinary business, for a short time, proceeded in the usual manner.

"At length, the expected moment arrived: the order of the day for the third reading of the bill for a 'legislative union be-

tween Great Britain and Ireland,' was moved by Lord Castlereagh. Unvaried, tame, cold-blooded, the words seemed frozen as they issued from his lips; and, as if a simple citizen of the world, he seemed to have no sensation on the subject.

"At that moment he had no country, no God, but his ambition. He made his motion, and resumed his seat, with the utmost composure and indifference.

"Confused murmurs again ran through the house. It was visibly affected. Every character, in a moment, seemed involuntarily rushing to its index—some pale, some flushed, some agitated—there were few countenances to which the heart did not despatch some messenger. Several members withdrew before the question could be repeated, and an awful, momentary silence succeeded their departure. The speaker rose slowly from 'hat chair which had been the proud source of his honors and of his high character. For a moment he resumed his seat, but the strength of his mind sustained him in his duty, though his struggle was apparent. With that dignity which never failed to signalize his official actions, he held up the bill for a moment in silence. He looked steadily around him on the last agony of the expiring parliament. He at length repeated, in an emphatic tone, 'As many as are of opinion that THIS BILL do pass, say *ay*.' The affirmative was languid, but indisputable. Another momentary pause ensued. Again his lips seemed to decline their office. At length, with an eye averted from the object he hated, he proclaimed, with a subdued voice, '*The eyes have it*.' The fatal sentence was now pronounced. For an instant he stood statue-like; then indignantly, and with disgust, flung the bill upon the table, and sank into his chair with an exhausted spirit. An independent country was thus degraded into a province. Ireland, as a nation, was extinguished."

The final division in the Commons was 153 to 88, nearly 60 members absenting themselves, and in the Lords, 76 to 17. In England all the stages were passed in July, and on the 2d of August, the anniversary of the accession of the House of Brunswick, the royal assent was given to the legislation, which declared the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, one and inseparable!

By the provisions of this statute, compact, or treaty, the gov.

sovereignty of the United Kingdom was to follow the order of the Act of Succession; the Irish peerage was to be reduced by the filling of one vacancy for every three deaths, to the number of one hundred: from among these twenty-eight representative peers were to be elected for life, and four spiritual lords to sit in succession. The number of Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament was fixed at one hundred, (increased to one hundred and five); the churches of England and Ireland were united like the kingdoms, and declared to be one in doctrine and discipline. The debt of Ireland, which was less than £4,000,000 in 1797, increased to £14,000,000 in '99, and had risen to nearly £17,000,000 in 1801, was to be alone chargeable to Ireland, whose proportionate share of general taxation was then estimated at 2-17ths of that of the United Kingdom. The Courts of Law, the Privy Council, and the Viceroyalty, were to remain at Dublin, the canopy and the shadows of departed nationality.

On the 1st day of January, 1801, in accordance with this great Constitutional change, a new imperial standard was run up on London Tower, Edinburgh Castle, and Dublin Castle. It was formed of the three crosses of St. Patrick, Saint Andrew, and Saint George, and is that popularly known to us as "the Union Jack." The *fleur de lis* and the word "France," were struck from the royal title, which was settled by proclamation to consist henceforth of the words *Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor*.

The foul means by which this counter revolution was accomplished have, perhaps, been already sufficiently indicated. It may be necessary, however, in order to account for the continued hostility of the Irish people to the measure, after more than sixty years' experience of its results, to recapitulate them very briefly. Of all who voted for the Union, in both houses, it was said that only six or seven were known to have done so on conviction. Great borough proprietors, like Lord Ely and Lord Shannon, received as much as £15,000 sterling in "compensation" for their loss of patronage; while proprietors of single seats received £15,000. That the majority was avowedly purchased, in both houses, is no longer matter of inference, nay, that some of them were purchased twice over is now well known. Lord Carysfort,

an active partizan of the measure, writing in February, 1800, to his friend the Marquis of Buckingham, frankly says: "The majority, which has been bought at an enormous price, must be bought over again, perhaps more than once, before all the details can be gone through." His lordship himself, and the order to which he belonged, and those who aspired to enter it, were, it must be added, among the most insatiable of these purchased supporters. The *Dublin Gazette* for July, 1800, announced not less than sixteen new peerages, and the same publication for the last week of the year, contained a fresh list of twenty-six others. Forty-two creations in six months was a stretch of prerogative far beyond the most arbitrary of the Stuarts or Tudors, and forms one, not of the least unanswerable evidences, of the utterly corrupt considerations which secured the support of the Irish majority in both houses.

It was impossible that a people like the Irish, disinterested and unselfish to a fault, should ever come to respect a compact brought about by such means and influences as these. Had, however, the Union, vile as were the means by which it was accomplished, proved to the real benefit of the country—had equal civil and religious rights been freely and at once extended to the people of the lesser kingdom—there is no reason to doubt that the measure would have become popular in time, and the vices of the old system be better remembered than its benefits, real or imaginary. But the Union was never utilized for Ireland; it proved in reality what Samuel Johnson had predicted, when spoken of in his day: "Do not unite with us, sir," said the gruff old moralist to an Irish acquaintance; "it would be the union of the shark with his prey; we should unite with you only to destroy you."

In glancing backward over the long political connexion of Ireland and England we mark four great epochs. The Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169; the statute of Kilkenny decreeing eternal separation between the races, "the English pale" and "the Irish enemy," 1367; the Union of the Crowns, in 1541, and the Legislative Union, in 1801. One more cardinal event remains to be recorded, the Emancipation of the Catholics, in 1829.

BOOK XII.

FROM THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND TO THE EMANCIPATION
OF THE CATHOLICS.

CHAPTER I.

AFTER THE UNION.—DEATH OF LORD CLARE.—ROBERT EMMETT'S
EMEUTE.

THE plan of this brief compendium of Irish history obliges us to sketch for some years farther on, the political and religious annals of the Irish people. Having described in what manner their distinctive political nationality was at length lost, it only remains to show how their religious liberties were finally recovered.

The first striking effect of the Union was to introduce Catholic Emancipation into the category of imperial difficulties, and to assign it the very first place on the list. By a singular retribution, the Pitt administration with its 200 of a House of Commons majority, its absolute control of the Lords, and its seventeen years' prescription in its favor, fell upon this very question, after they had used it to carry the Union, within a few weeks of the consummation of that Union. The cause of this crisis was the invincible obstinacy of the king, who had taken into his head, at the time of Lord Fitzwilliam's recall from Ireland, that his coronation oath bound him in conscience to resist the Catholic claims. The suggestion of this obstacle was originally Lord Clare's; and though Lord Kenyon and Lord Stowell had declared it unfounded in law, Lord Loughborough and Lord Eldon were unfortunately of a different opinion. With George III., the idea became a

monomaniac certainty, and there is no reason to doubt that he would have preferred abdication to its abandonment.

The king was not for several months aware how far his prime minister had gone on the Catholic question in Ireland. But those who were weary of Pitt's ascendancy, were, of course, interested in giving him this important information. The minister himself, wrapped in his austere self-reliance, did not volunteer explanations even to his sovereign, and the king broke silence very unexpectedly a few days after the first meeting of the Imperial Parliament (January 22d, 1801). Stepping up to Mr. Dundas at the levee, he began in his usual manner, "What's this? what's this? this, that this young Lord (Castlereagh) has brought over from Ireland to throw at my head? The most Jacobinical thing I ever heard of! Any man who proposes such a thing is my personal enemy." Mr. Dundas replied respectfully but firmly, and immediately communicated the conversation to Mr. Pitt. The king's remarks had been overheard by the bystanders, so that either the minister or the sovereign had now to give way. Pitt, at first, was resolute; the king then offered to impose silence on himself as regarded the whole subject, provided Mr. Pitt would agree to do likewise, but the haughty minister refused, and tendered his resignation. On the 5th of February, within five weeks of the consummation of the Union, this tender was most reluctantly and regretfully accepted. Lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, and others of his principal colleagues went out of office with him; Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh following their example. Of the new cabinet, Addington, the speaker, was premier, with Lord Hardwicke as lord-lieutenant of Ireland. By the enemies of Pitt this was looked upon as a mere administration *ad interim*; as a concerted arrangement to enable him to evade an unfavorable peace—that of Amiens—which he saw coming; but it is only fair to say, that the private letters of the period, since published, do not sanction any such imputation. It is, however, to be observed, *per contra*, that three weeks after his formal resignation, he had no hesitation in assuring the king, who had just recovered from one of his attacks brought on by this crisis, that he would never again urge the Catholic claims on his majesty's notice. On this understanding he returned to office in the spring

of 1804; to this compact he adhered till his death, in January, 1806.

In Ireland, the events immediately consequent upon the Union, were such as might have been expected. Many of those who had been instrumental in carrying it, were disappointed and discontent with their new situation in the empire. Of these, the most conspicuous and the least to be pitied, was Lord Clare. That haughty, domineering spirit, accustomed to dictate with almost absolute power to the privy councillors and peerage of Ireland, experienced nothing but mortification in the Imperial House of Lords. The part he hoped to play on that wider stage he found impossible to assume; he confronted there in the aged Thurlow and the astute Loughborough, law lords as absolute as himself, who soon made him conscious that, though a main agent of the Union, he was only a stranger in the united legislature. The Duke of Bedford reminded him that "the Union had not transferred his dictatorial powers to the Imperial Parliament;" other noble lords were hardly less severe. Pitt was cold, and Grenville ceremonious; and in the arrangements of the Addington ministry he was not even consulted. He returned to Ireland before the first year of the Union closed, in a state of mind and temper which preyed upon his health. Before the second session of the Imperial Parliament assembled, he had been borne to the grave amid the revilings and hootings of the multitude. Dublin, true to its ancient disposition, which led the townfolk of the twelfth century to bury the ancestor of Dermid McMurrough with the carcass of a dog, filled the grave of the once splendid Lord Chancellor with every description of garbage.

On the other hand Lord Castlereagh, younger, suppler, and more accommodating to English prejudices, rose from one Cabinet office to another, until at length, in fifteen years from the Union, he directed the destinies of the Empire, as absolutely, as he had moulded the fate of Ireland. To Castlereagh and the Wellesley family, the Union was in truth, an era of honor and advancement. The sons of the spendthrift amateur, Lord Mornington, were reserved to rule India, and lead the armies of Europe; while the son of Flood's colleague in the Reform convention of 1783, was destined to give law to Christendom, at the Congress of Vienna.

A career very different in all respects from those just mentioned, closed in the second year of Dublin's widowhood as a metropolis. It was the career of a young man of four-and-twenty, who snatched at immortal fame and obtained it, in the very agony of a public, but not for him, a shameful death. This was Robert, youngest brother of Thomas Addis Emmett, whose *meute* of 1803 would long since have sunk to the level of other city riots, but for the matchless dying speech of which it was the prelude and the occasion. This young gentleman was in his 20th year when expelled with nineteen others from Trinity College, in 1798, by order of the visitors, Lord Clare and Dr. Duigenan. His reputation as a scholar and debater was already established within the college walls, and the highest expectations were naturally entertained of him by his friends. One of his early college companions—Thomas Moore—who lived to know all the leading men of his age, declares that of all he had ever known, he would place among "the highest of the few" who combined in "the greatest degree pure moral worth with intellectual power"—Robert Emmett. After the expatriation of his brother, young Emmett visited him at Fort George, and proceeded from thence to the Continent. During the year the Union was consummated he visited Spain, and travelled through Holland, France, and Switzerland till the peace of Amiens. Subsequently he joined his brother's family in Paris, and was taken into the full confidence of the exiles, then in direct communication with Buonaparte and Talleyrand. It was not concealed from the Irish by either the First Consul, or his minister, that the peace with England was likely to have a speedy termination; and accordingly, they were not unprepared for the new declaration of war between the two countries, which was officially made at London and Paris, in May, 1803—little more than twelve months after the proclamation of the peace of Amiens.

It was in expectation of this rupture, and a consequent invasion of Ireland, that Robert Emmett returned to Dublin, in October, 1802, to endeavor to reestablish in some degree the old organization of the United Irishmen. In the same expectation, MacNevin, Corbet, and others of the Irish in France, formed themselves, by permission of the First Consul, into a legion, under

command of Tone's trusty aid-de-camp, McSheehy; while Thomas Addis Emmett and Arthur O'Connor remained at Paris, the plenipotentiaries of their countrymen. On the rupture with England Buonaparte took up the Irish negotiation with much earnestness; he even suggested to the exiles the colors and the motto under which they were to fight, when once landed on their own soil. The flag on a tricolor ground, was to have a green center, bearing the letters *R. I.*—*Republique Irlandaise*. The legend at large was to be: *L'indépendance de l'Irlande—Liberté de Conscience*; a motto which certainly told the whole story. The First Consul also suggested the formation of an Irish Committee at Paris, and the preparation of statements of Irish grievances for the *Moniteur*, and the semi-official papers.

Robert Emmett seems to have been confidently of opinion soon after his return to Dublin, that nineteen out of the thirty-two counties would rise; and, perhaps, if a sufficient French force had landed, his opinion might have been justified by the fact. So did not think, however, John Keogh, Valentine Lawless (Lord Cloncurry), and other close observers of the state of the country. But Emmett was enthusiastic, and he inspired his own spirit into many. Mr. Long, a merchant, placed £1,400 sterling at his disposal; he had himself, in consequence of the recent death of his father, stock to the amount of £1,500 converted into cash, and with these funds he entered actively on his preliminary preparations. His chief confidants and assistants were Thomas Russell and Mathew Dowdall, formerly prisoners at Fort George, but now permitted to return; William Putnam McCabe, the most adventurous of all the party, a perfect Proteus in disguise; Gray, a Wexford attorney; Colonel Lumm of Kildare, an old friend of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; Mr. Long, before mentioned; Hamilton, an Enniskillen barrister, married to Russell's niece; James Hope of Templepatrick, and Michael Dwyer, the Wicklow outlaw, who had remained since '98 uncaptured in the mountains.

In the month of March, when the renewal of hostilities with France was decided on in England, the preparations of the conspirators were pushed forward with redoubled energy. The still wilder conspiracy headed by Colonel Despard in London, the previous winter, the secret and the fate of which was well known to

the Dublin leaders—Dowdall being Despard's agent—did not in the least intimidate Emmett or his friends. Despard suffered death in February, with nine of his followers, but his Irish confederates only went on with their arrangements with a more reckless resolution. Their plan was the plan of O'Moore and Maguire, to surprise the Castle, seize the authorities and secure the capital; but the Dublin of 1803 was in many respects very different from the Dublin of 1641. The discontent, however, arising from the recent loss of the Parliament might have turned the city scale in Emmett's favor, had his first stroke been successful. The emissaries at work in the Leinster and Ulster counties gave besides sanguine reports of success, so that, judging by the information in his possession, an older and cooler head than Robert Emmett's might well have been misled into the expectation of nineteen counties rising if the signal could only be given from Dublin Castle. If the blow could be withheld till August, there was every reason to expect a French invasion of England, which would drain away all the regular army, and leave the people merely the militia and the volunteers to contend against. But all the Dublin arrangements exploded in the melancholy *emeute* of the 23d of July, 1803, in which the chief-justice, Lord Kilwarden, passing through the disturbed quarter of the city at the time, was cruelly murdered; for which, and for his cause, Emmett suffered death on the same spot on the 20th of September following. For the same cause, the equally pure-minded and chivalrous Thomas Russell was executed at Downpatrick; Kearney, Roche, Redmond and Howley also suffered death at Dublin; Allen, Putnam McCabe and Dowdall escaped to France, where the former became an officer of rank in the army of Napoleon; Michael Dwyer, who had surrendered on condition of being allowed to emigrate to North America, died in exile in Australia, in 1825. Others of Emmett's known or suspected friends, after undergoing two, three, and even four years' imprisonment, were finally discharged without trial. Mr. Long, his generous banker, and James Hope, his faithful emissary, were both permitted to end their days in Ireland.

The trial of Robert Emmett, from the wonderful death speech delivered at it, is perfectly well known. But in justice to a man

of genius equal if not superior to his own—an Irishman, whose memory is national property, as well as Emmett's, it must here be observed, that the latter never delivered, and had no justification to deliver the vulgar diatribe against Plunkett, his prosecutor, now constantly printed in the common and incorrect versions of that speech. Plunkett, as attorney-general, in 1803, had no option but to prosecute for the crown; he was a politician of a totally different school from that of Emmett; he shared all Burke and Grattan's horror of French revolutionary principles. In the fervor of his accusatory oration he may have gone too far; he may have, and in reading it now, it is clear to us that he did, pressed too hard upon the prisoner in the dock. He might have performed his awful office with more sorrow and less vehemence, for there was no doubt about *his* jury. But withal, he gave no fair grounds for any such retort as is falsely attributed to Emmett, the very style of which proves its falsity. It is now well known that the apostrophe in the death speech, commencing "you viper," alleged to have been addressed to Plunkett, was the interpolation many years afterwards of that literary Ishmaelite—Walter Cox of the *Hibernian Magazine*;—who through such base means endeavored to aim a blow at Plunkett's reputation. The personal reputation of the younger Emmett, the least known to his countrymen of all the United Irish leaders, except by the crowning act of his death, is safe beyond the reach of calumny, or party zeal, or time's changes. It is embalmed in the verse of Moore and Southey, and the precious prose of Washington Irving. Men of genius in England and America have done honor to his memory; in the annals of his own country his name deserves to stand with those youthful chiefs, equally renowned, and equally ready to seal their patriotism with their blood—Sir Cahir O'Doherty and Hugh Roe O'Donnell.

CHAPTER II.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD HARDWICKE (1801 TO 1806), AND OF THE
DUKE OF BEDFORD (1806 TO 1808).

DURING the five years in which Lord Hardwicke was viceroy of Ireland, the *habeas corpus* remained suspended, and the Insurrection Act continued in force. These were the years in which the power of Napoleon made the most astonishing strides; the years in which he remodeled the German Empire, placed on his own head the iron crown of Lombardy, on his sister's that of Etruria, and on his brother's that of Holland; when the Consulate gave place to the Empire, and Dukedoms and Principalities were freely distributed among the marshals of the Grand Army. During all these years, Napoleon harassed England with menaces of invasion, and excited Ireland with corresponding hopes of intervention. The more far-seeing United Irishmen, however, had so little faith in these demonstrations that Emmett and MacNevin emigrated to the United States, leaving behind them in the ranks of the French army, those of their compatriots who, either from habit or preference, had become attached to a military life. It must however be borne in mind, for it is essential to the understanding of England's policy towards Ireland, in the first twelve or fourteen years after the Union, that the wild hope of a French invasion never forsook the hearts of a large portion of the Irish people, so long as Napoleon Buonaparte continued at the head of the government of France. During the whole of that period the British government were kept in constant apprehension for Ireland; under this feeling they kept up and increased the local militia; strengthened garrisons, and replenished magazines; constructed a chain of Martello towers round the entire coast, and maintained in full rigor the Insurrection Act. They refused, indeed, to the Munster magistrates in 1803, and subsequently, the power of summary convictions which they possessed in '98; but they sent special Commissions of their own into the suspected counties, who put men to death with as little remorse as if they

had been so many hydrophobic dogs. Ten, twelve, and even twenty capital executions was no uncommon result of a single sitting of one of those murderous commissions, over which Lord Norbury presided; but it must be added that there were other judges, who observed not only the decencies of every-day life, but who interpreted the law in mercy as well as in justice. They were a minority, it is true, but there were some such, nevertheless.

The session of the Imperial Parliament of 1803-'4, was chiefly remarkable for its war speeches and war budget. In Ireland 50,000 men of the regular militia were under arms and under pay; 70,000 volunteers were enrolled, battalioned and ready to be called out in case of emergency, to which it was proposed to add 25,000 sea-fencibles. General Fox, who it was alleged had neglected taking proper precaution at the time of Robert Emmett's *emeute*, was replaced by Lord Cathcart, as commander-in-chief. The public reports at least of this officer, were highly laudatory of the discipline and conduct of the Irish militia.

In May, 1804, Mr. Pitt returned to power, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister, when the whole Pitt policy towards Ireland, France, and America, was of course resumed; a policy which continued to be acted on during the short remainder of the life of its celebrated author.

The year 1805 may be called the first year of the revival of public spirit and public opinion after the Union. In that year Grattan had allowed himself to be persuaded by Fox, into entering the Imperial Parliament, and his old friend Lord Fitzwilliam found a constituency for him, in his Yorkshire borough of Malton. About the same time, Pitt, or his colleagues, induced Plunkett to enter the same great assembly, providing him with a constituency at Midhurst, in Sussex. But they did not succeed—if they ever attempted—to match Plunkett with Grattan. Those great men were warm and close friends in the Imperial as they had been in the Irish Parliament; very dissimilar in their genius, they were both decided anti-Jacobins; both strenuous advocates of the Catholic claims, and both proud and fond of their original country. Grattan had more poetry, and Plunkett more science; but the heart of the man of colder exterior opened and swelled out, in

one of the noblest tributes ever paid by one great orator to another, when Plunkett introduced in 1821, in the Imperial Parliament, his allusion to his illustrious friend, then recently deceased.

Preparatory to the meeting of Parliament in 1805, the members of the old Catholic Committee who had not met for any such purpose for several years, assembled in Dublin, and prepared a petition which they authorized their chairman, Lord Fingall, to place in such hands as he might choose, for presentation in both Houses. His lordship on reaching London waited on Mr. Pitt, and entreated him to take charge of the petition; but he found that the Prime Minister had promised the king one thing and the Catholics another, and, therefore, declined acceding to his request. He then gave the petition into the charge of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, and by them the subject was brought accordingly before the Lords and Commons. This debate in the Commons was remarkable in many respects, but most of all for Grattan's *début*. A lively curiosity to hear one of whom so much had been said in his own country, pervaded the whole House, as Grattan rose. His grotesque little figure, his eccentric action, and his strangely cadenced sentences rather surprised than attracted attention, but as he warmed with the march of ideas, men of both parties warmed to the genial and enlarged philosophy, embodied in the interfused rhetoric and logic of the orator; Pitt was seen to beat time with his hand to every curiously proportioned period, and at length both sides of the House broke into hearty acknowledgements of the genius of the new member for Malton. But as yet their cheers were not followed by their votes; the division against going into Committee was 336 to 124.

In sustaining Fox's motion, Sir John Cox Hipplesley had suggested "the Veto" as a safeguard against the encroachments of Rome, which the Irish bishops would not be disposed to refuse. Archbishop Troy, and Dr. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, gave considerable praise to this speech, and partly at their request it was published in pamphlet form. This brought up directly a discussion among the Catholics, which lasted until 1810, was renewed in 1813, and not finally set at rest till the passage of the bill of 1829, without any such safeguard. Sir John C. Hipplesley had

modeled his proposal, he said, on the liberties of the Gallican Church. "Her privileges," he added, "depended on two prominent maxims: 1st. That the Pope had no authority to order or interfere in anything in which the civil rights of the kingdom were concerned. 2d. That notwithstanding the Pope's supremacy was acknowledged in cases purely spiritual, yet, in other respects, his power was limited by the decrees of the ancient councils of the realm." The Irish church, therefore, was to be similarly administered, to obviate the objections of the opponents of complete civil emancipation.

In February, 1806, on the death of Pitt, Mr. Fox came into power, with an uncertain majority and a powerful opposition. In April, the Duke of Bedford arrived, as viceroy at Dublin, and the Catholics presented, through Mr. Keogh, a mild address, expressive of their hopes that "the glorious development" of their emancipation would be reserved for the new government. The Duke returned an evasive answer in public, but privately, both at Dublin and London, the Catholics were assured that, as soon as the new premier could convert the king—as soon as he was in a position to act—he would make their cause his own. No doubt Fox, who had great nobleness of soul, intended to do so; but on the 13th of September of the same year, he followed his great rival, Pitt, to the vaults of Westminster Abbey. A few months only had intervened between the death of the rivals.

Lords Grey and Grenville, during the next recess, having formed a new administration, instructed their Irish secretary, Mr. Elliot, to put himself in communication with the Catholics, in relation to a measure making them eligible to naval and military offices. The Catholics accepted this proposal with pleasure, but at the opening of the session of 1807, in a deputation to the Irish government, again urged the question of complete emancipation. The bill in relation to the army and navy had, originally, the king's acquiescence; but early in March, after it had passed the Commons, George III. changed his mind—if the expression may be used of him—at that time. He declared he had not considered it at first so important as he afterwards found it; he intimated that it could not receive his sanction; he went farther—he required a written pledge from Lords Grey and Grenville

never again to bring forward such a measure, "nor ever to propose anything connected with the Catholic question." This unconstitutional pledge they refused to give, hurried the bill into law and resigned. Mr. Spencer Perceval was then sent for, and what was called "the No-Popery cabinet," in which Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh were the principal secretaries of state, was formed. Thus, for the second time in six years, had the Catholic question, made and unmade cabinets.

The Catholics were a good deal dispirited in 1805, by the overwhelming majority by which their petition of that year was refused to be referred to a committee. In 1806, they contented themselves with simply addressing the Duke of Bedford, on his arrival at Dublin. In 1807, the "No-Popery cabinet," by the result of the elections, was placed in possession of an immense majority—a fact which excluded all prospects of another change of government. But the Committee were too long accustomed to disappointments to despair even under these reverses. Early in the next session their petition was presented, by Mr. Grattan in the Commons, and Lord Donoughmore in the Lords. The majority against going into committee was, in the Commons, 153; in the Lords, 87. Similar motions in the session of 1808, made by the same parties, were rejected by majorities somewhat reduced, and the question, on the whole, might be said to have recovered some of its former vantage ground, in despite of the bitter, pertinacious resistance of Mr. Perceval, in the one House, and the Duke of Portland in the other.

The short-lived administration of Mr. Fox, though it was said to include "all the talents," had been full of nothing but disappointment to his Irish supporters. The Duke of Bedford was, indeed, a great improvement on Lord Hardwicke, and Mr. Ponsonby on Lord Redesdale, as Chancellor, and the liberation of the political prisoners confined since 1803 did honor to the new administration. But there the measures of justice so credulously expected, both as to persons and interests, ended. Curran, whose professional claims to advancement were far beyond those of dozens of men who had been, during the past ten years, lifted over his head, was neglected, and very naturally dissatisfied; Grattan, never well adapted for a courtier, could not obtain even minor

appointments for his oldest and staunchest adherents; while the Catholics found their Whig friends, now that they were in office, as anxious to exact the hard conditions of the Veto as Castle-reagh himself.

In truth, the Catholic body at this period, and for a few years subsequently, was deplorably disorganized. The young generation of Catholic lawyers who had grown up since the relief act of '93 threw the profession open to them, were men of another stamp from the old generation of Catholic merchants, who had grown up under the relief act of 1778. In the ten years before the Union, the Catholic middle class was headed by men of business; in the period we have now reached, their principal spokesmen came from "the Four Courts." John Keogh, the ablest, wisest and firmest of the former generation, was now passing into the decline of life, was frequently absent from the Committee, and when present, frequently overruled by younger and more ardent men. In 1808, his absence, from illness, was regretted by Mr. O'Connell in an eloquent speech addressed to the Committee on the necessity of united action and incessant petitions. "Had he been present," said the young barrister, "his powers of reasoning would have frightened away the captious objections" to that course, "and the Catholics of Ireland would again have to thank their old and useful servant for the preservation of their honor and the support of their interests." It was a strange anomaly, and one which continued for some years longer, that the statesmen of the Catholic body should be all Protestants. A more generous or tolerant spirit than Grattan's never existed; a clearer or more fearless intellect than Plunkett's was not to be found; nobler and more disinterested friends than Ponsonby, Curran, Burroughs and Wallace, no people ever had; but still they were friends from without; men of another religion, or of no particular religion, advising and guiding an eminently religious people in their struggle for religious liberty. This could not always last; it was not natural, it was not desirable that it should last, though some years more were to pass away before Catholic Emancipation was to be accomplished by the union, the energy and the strategy of the Catholics themselves.

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND—(1807 TO 1813).

CHARLES, fourth Duke of Richmond, succeeded the Duke of Bedford, as viceroy, in April, 1807, with Lord Manners as Lord Chancellor, John Foster, Chancellor of the Exchequer—for the separate exchequer of Ireland continued to exist till 1820—and Sir Arthur Wellesley, as Chief Secretary. Of these names, the two last were already familiar to their countrymen, in connection with the history of their own Parliament; but the new Chief Secretary had lately returned home covered with Indian laurels, and full of the promise of other honors and victories to come.

The spirit of this administration was repressive, anti-Catholic and high Tory. To maintain and strengthen British power, to keep the Catholics quiet, to get possession of the Irish representation and convert it into a means of support for the Tory party in England, these were the leading objects of the seven years' administration of the Duke of Richmond. Long afterwards, when the chief secretary of 1807, had become "the most high, mighty and noble prince," whom all England, and nearly all Europe delighted to honor, he defended the Irish administration of which he had formed a part, for its habitual use of corrupt means and influence, in arguments which do more credit to his frankness than his morality. He had "to turn the moral weakness of individuals to good account," such was his argument. He stoutly denied that "the whole nation is, or ever was corrupt;" but as "almost every man of mark has his price," the Chief Secretary was obliged to use corrupt influences "to command a majority in favor of order;" however the particular kinds of influence employed might go against his grain, he had, as he contended, no other alternative but to employ them.

With the exception of a two months campaign in Denmark—July to September, 1807—Sir Arthur Wellesley continued to fill the office of Chief Secretary, until his departure for the Peninsula, in July, 1808. Even then he was expressly requested to retain

the nominal office, with power to appoint a deputy, and receive meanwhile the very handsome salary of £8,000 sterling a year. In the wonderful military events, in which during the next seven years Sir Arthur was to play a leading part, the comparatively unimportant particulars of his Irish Secretariate have been long since forgotten. We have already described the general spirit of that administration: it is only just to add, that the dispassionate and resolute secretary, though he never shrank from his share of the jobbery done daily at the Castle, repressed with as much firmness the over-zeal of those he calls "red-hot Protestants," as he showed in resisting, at that period, what he considered the unconstitutional pretensions of the Catholics. An instance of the impartiality to which he was capable of rising, when uninfluenced by partisan or religious prejudices, is afforded by his letter dissuading the Wexford yeomanry from celebrating the anniversary of the battle of Vinegar Hill. He regarded such a celebration as certain "to exasperate party spirit," and "to hurt the feelings of others;" he, therefore, in the name of the lord lieutenant, strongly discouraged it, and the intention was accordingly abandoned. It is to be regretted that the same judicious rule was not at the same time enforced by government as to the celebration of the much more obsolete and much more invidious anniversaries of Aughrim and the Boyne.

The general election which followed the death of Fox, in November, 1806, was the first great trial of political strength under the Union. As was right and proper, Mr. Grattan, no longer indebted for a seat to an English patron however liberal, was returned at the head of the poll for the city of Dublin. His associate, however, the banker, La Touche, was defeated; the second member elect being Mr. Robert Shaw, the Orange candidate. The Catholic electors to a man, under the vigorous prompting of John Keogh and his friends, polled their votes for their Protestant advocate; they did more, they subscribed the sum of £4,000 sterling to pay the expenses of the contest, but this sum Mrs. Grattan induced the treasurer to return to the subscribers. Ever watchful for her husband's honor, that admirable woman, as ardent a patriot as himself, refused the generous tender of the Catholics of Dublin. Although his several elections had cost

Mr. Grattan above £54,000—more than the whole national grant of 1782—she would not, in this case, that any one else should bear the cost of his last triumph in the widowed capital of his own country.

The great issue tried in this election of 1807, in those of 1812, 1818, and 1826, was still the Catholic question. All other Irish, and most other imperial domestic questions were subordinate to this. In one shape or another, it came up in every session of Parliament. It entered into the calculations of every statesman of every party; it continued to make and unmake cabinets; in the press and in every society, it was the principal topic of discussion. While tracing, therefore, its progress, from year to year, we do but follow the main stream of national history; all other branches come back again to this centre, or exhaust themselves in secondary and forgotten results.

The Catholics themselves, deprived in Ireland of a parliament on which they could act directly, were driven more and more into permanent association, as the only means of operating a change in the Imperial legislature. The value of a legal, popular, systematic, and continuous combination of "the people" acting within the law, by means of meetings, resolutions, correspondence, and petitions, was not made suddenly, nor by all the party interested, at one and the same time. On the minds of the more sagacious, however, an impression, favorable to such organized action, grew deeper year by year, and at last settled into a certainty which was justified by success.

In May, 1809, the Catholic Committee had been reconstructed, and its numbers enlarged. In a series of resolutions it was agreed that the Catholic lords, the surviving delegates of 1793, the committee which managed the petitions of 1805 and 1807, and such persons "as shall distinctly appear to them to possess the confidence of the Catholic body," do form henceforth the General Committee. It was proposed by O'Connell, to avoid "the Convention Act," "that the noblemen and gentlemen aforesaid are not representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof." The Committee were authorized to collect funds for defraying expenses; a treasurer was chosen, and a permanent Secretary, Mr. Edward Hay, the historian of the Wexford rebellion—an active

and intelligent officer. The new committee acted with great judgment in 1810, but in 1811 Lord Fingal and his friends projected a General Assembly of the leading Catholics, contrary to the Convention Act, and to the resolution just cited. O'Connell was opposed to this proposition; yet the assembly met, and were dispersed by the authorities. The chairman, Lord Fingal, and Drs. Sheridan and Kirwan, secretaries, were arrested. Lord Fingal, however, was not prosecuted, but the Secretaries were, and one of them expiated by two years' imprisonment his violation of the act. To get rid of the very pretext of illegality, the Catholic Committee dissolved, but only to reappear under a less vulnerable form, as "the Catholic Board."

It is from the year 1810 that we must date the rise, among the Catholics themselves, of a distinctive line of policy, suited to the circumstances of the present century, and the first appearance of a group of public men, capable of maintaining and enforcing that policy. Not that the ancient leaders of that body were found deficient, in former times, either in foresight or determination; but new times called for new men; the Irish Catholics were now to seek their emancipation from the imperial government; new tactics and new combinations were necessary to success; and, in brief, instead of being liberated from their bonds at the good will and pleasure of benevolent Protestants, it was now to be tested whether they were capable of contributing to their own emancipation,—whether they were willing and able to assist their friends and to punish their enemies.

Though the Irish Catholics could not legally meet in convention any more than their Protestant fellow-countrymen, there was nothing to prevent them assembling voluntarily, from every part of the kingdom, without claim to delegation. With whom the happy idea of "the aggregate meetings" originated is not certainly known, but to O'Connell and the younger set of leading spirits this was a machinery capable of being worked with good effect. No longer confined to a select Committee, composed mainly of a few aged and cautious, though distinguished persons, the fearless "agitators," as they now began to be called, stood face to face with the body of the people themselves. The disused theatre in Fishamble street was their habitual place of meeting

in Dublin, and there, in 1811 and 1812, the orators met to criticize the conduct of the Duke of Richmond—to denounce Mr. Wellesley Pole—to attack secretaries of state and prime ministers—to return thanks to Lords Grey and Grenville for refusing to give the unconstitutional anti Catholic pledge required by the king, and to memorial the Prince Regent. From those meetings, especially in the year 1812, the leadership of O'Connell must be dated. After seven years of wearisome probation, after enduring seven years the envy and the calumny of many who, as they were his fellow-laborers, should have been his friends; after demonstrating for seven years that his judgment and his courage were equal to his eloquence, the successful Kerry barrister, then in his thirty-seventh year, was at length generally recognized as "the counsellor" of his co-religionists—as the veritable "Man of the People." Dangers, delays and difficulties lay thick and dark in the future, but from the year, when in Dublin, Cork and Limerick, the voice of the famous advocate was recognized as the voice of the Catholics of Ireland, their cause was taken out of the category of merely ministerial measures, and exhibited in its true light as a great national contest, entered into by the people themselves, for complete civil and religious freedom.

Sir Arthur Wellesley had been succeeded in 1810 in the secretaryship by his brother, Mr. Wellesley Pole, who chiefly signalized his administration by a circular against conventions, and the prosecution of Sheridan and Kirwan, in 1811. He was in turn succeeded by a much more able and memorable person—*Mr.*, afterwards Sir Robert Peel. The names of Peel and Wellington come thus into juxtaposition in Irish politics in 1812, as they will be found in juxtaposition on the same subject twenty and thirty years later.

Early in the session of 1812, Mr. Perceval, the premier, had been assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons, by Bellingham, and a new political crisis was precipitated on the country. In the government which followed, Lord Liverpool became the chief, with Castlereagh and Canning as members of his administration. In the general election which followed, Mr. Grattan was again returned for Dublin, and Mr. Plunkett was elected for Trinity College, but Mr. Curran was defeated at Newry,

and Mr. Christopher Hely Hutchinson, the liberal candidate, at Cork. Upon the whole, however, the result was favorable to the Catholic cause, and the question was certain to have several additional Irish supporters in the new House of Commons.

In the administrative changes that followed, Mr. Peel, though only in his twenty-fourth year, was appointed to the important post of Chief Secretary. The son of the first baronet of the name—this youthful statesman had first been elected for Cashel, almost as soon as he came of age, in 1809. He continued Chief Secretary for six years, from the twenty-fourth to the thirtieth year of his age. He distinguished himself in the House of Commons almost as soon as he entered it, and the predictions of his future premiership were not, even then, confined to members of his own family. No English statesman, since the death of William Pitt, has wielded so great a power in Irish affairs as Sir Robert Peel, and it is, therefore, important to consider, under what influence, and by what maxims he regulated his public conduct during the time he filled the most important administrative office in that country.

Sir Robert Peel brought to the Irish government, notwithstanding his Oxford education and the advantages of foreign travel which he had enjoyed, prejudices the most illiberal, on the subject of all others on which a statesman should be most free from prejudice—religion. An anti-Catholic of the school of Mr. Perceval and Lord Eldon, he at once constituted himself the principal opponent of Grattan's annual motion in favor of Catholic Emancipation. That older men, born in the evil time, should be bigots and defenders of the Penal Code, was hardly wonderful, but a young statesman, exhibiting at that late day, such studied and active hostility to so large a body of his fellow subjects, naturally drew upon his head the execrations of all those whose enfranchisement he so stubbornly resisted. Even his great abilities were most absurdly denied, under this passionate feeling of wrong and injustice. His Constabulary and his Stipendiary Magistracy were resisted, ridiculed and denounced, as outrages on the liberty of the subject, and assaults on the independence of the bench. The term *Peeler* became synonymous with spy, informer and traitor, and the Chief Secretary was detested not only for the illiberal

sentiments he had expressed, but for the machinery of order he had established. After half a century's experience, we may safely say, that the Irish Constabulary have shown themselves to be a most valuable police, and as little deserving of popular ill-will as any such body can ever expect to be, but they were judged very differently during the secretaryship of their founder; for, at that time, being new and intrusive, they may, no doubt, have deserved many of the hard and bitter things which were generally said of them.

The first Session of the new Parliament in the year 1813—the last of the Duke of Richmond's viceroyalty—was remarkable for the most important debate which had yet arisen on the Catholic question. In the previous year, a motion of Canning's, in favor of "a final and conciliatory adjustment," which was carried by an unexpected majority of 235 to 106, encouraged Grattan to prepare a detailed Emancipation Bill, instead of making his usual annual motion of referring the Catholic petitions to the consideration of the Committee. This bill recited the establishment of the Protestant succession to the crown, and the establishment of the Protestant religion in the State. It then proceeded to provide that Roman Catholics might sit and vote in Parliament; might hold all offices, civil and military, except the offices of Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal in England, or Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Chancellor of Ireland; another section threw open to Roman Catholics all lay corporations, while a proviso excluded them either from holding or bestowing benefices in the Established Church. Such was the Emancipation Act of 1813, proposed by Grattan; an act far less comprehensive than that introduced by the same statesman in 1795, into the Parliament of Ireland, but still, in many of its provisions, a long stride in advance.

Restricted and conditioned as this measure was, it still did not meet the objections of the opponents of the question, in giving the crown a Veto in the appointment of the bishops. Sir John Heppesley's pernicious suggestion—reviving a very old traditional policy—was embodied by Canning in one set of amendments, and by Castlereagh in another. Canning's amendments, as summarised by the eminent Catholic jurist, Charles Butler, were to this effect;

"He first appointed a certain number of Commissioners, who were to profess the Catholic religion, and to be lay peers of Great Britain or Scotland, possessing a freehold estate of one thousand pounds a year; to be filled up, from time to time, by his majesty, his heirs, or successors. The Commissioners were to take an oath for the faithful discharge of their office, and the observance of secrecy in all matters not thereby required to be disclosed, with power to appoint a Secretary with salary (proposed to be five hundred pounds a year), payable out of the consolidated fund. The Secretary was to take an oath similar to that of the Commissioners.

"It was then provided, that every person elected to the discharge of Roman Catholic episcopal functions in Great Britain or Scotland should, previously to the discharge of his office, notify his then election to the Secretary; that the Secretary should notify it to the Commissioners, and they to the Privy Council, with a certificate 'that they did not know or believe any thing of the person nominated, which tended to impeach his loyalty or peaceable conduct;' unless they had knowledge of the contrary, in which case they should refuse their certificate. Persons obtaining such a certificate were rendered capable of exercising episcopal functions within the United Kingdom; if they exercised them without a certificate, they were to be considered guilty of a misdemeanor, and liable to be sent out of the kingdom.

"Similar provisions respecting Ireland were then introduced."

"The second set of clauses," says Mr. Butler, "was suggested by Lord Castlereagh, and provided that the commissioners under the preceding clauses—with the addition, as to Great Britain, of the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, or first commissioner of the Great Seal for the time being, and of one of his majesty's principal Secretaries of State, being a Protestant, or such other Protestant member of his Privy Council as his majesty should appoint—and with a similar addition in respect to Ireland—and with the further addition, as to Great Britain, of the person then exercising episcopal functions among the Catholics in London—and, in respect to Ireland, of the titular Roman Catholic Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin,—should be Commissioners for the purposes thereafter mentioned.

"The Commissioners thus appointed were to take an oath for the discharge of their office, and observance of secrecy, similar to the former, and employ the same Secretary, and three of them were to form a quorum.

"The bill then provided, that subjects of his majesty, receiving any bull, dispensation, or other instrument, from the see of Rome, or any person in foreign parts, acting under the authority of that see, should, within six weeks, send a copy of it, signed with his name, to the secretary of the Commissioners, who should transmit the same to them.

"But with a proviso, that if the person receiving the same should deliver to the Secretary of the Commission, within the time before prescribed, a writing under his hand, certifying the fact of his having received such a bull, dispensation, or other instrument, and accompanying his certificate with an oath, declaring that 'it related, wholly and exclusively, to spiritual concerns, and that it did not contain, or refer to, any matter or thing which did or could, directly or indirectly, affect or interfere with the duty and allegiance which he owed to his majesty's sacred person and government, or with the temporal, civil, or social rights, properties, or duties of any other of his majesty's subjects, then the Commissioners were, in their discretion, to receive such certificate and oath, in lieu of the copy of the bull, dispensation, or other instrument.

"Persons conforming to these provisions were to be exempted from all pains and penalties, to which they would be liable under the existing statutes; otherwise, they were to be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor; and in lieu of the pains and penalties, under the former statutes, be liable to be sent out of the kingdom.

"The third set of clauses provided that, within a time to be specified, the Commissioners were to meet and appoint their Secretary, and give notice of it to his majesty's principal Secretaries of State in Great Britain and Ireland; and the provisions of the act were to be in force from that time."

On the second reading, in May, the Committee of Parliament, on motion of the Speaker, then on the floor, struck out the clause enabling Catholics "to sit and vote in either house of Parliament."

by a majority of four votes: 251 against 247. Mr. Ponsonby immediately rose, and, observing that, as "the bill without the clause," was unworthy both of the Catholics and its authors, he moved the chairman do leave the chair. The committee rose, without a division, and the Emancipation Bill of 1813 was abandoned.

Unhappily, the contest in relation to the Veto, which had originated in the House of Commons, was extended to the Catholic body at large. Several of the noblemen, members of the board, were not averse to granting some such power as was claimed to the crown; some of the professional class, more anxious to be emancipated than particular as to the means, favored the same view. The bishops at the time of the Union, were known to have entertained the idea, and Sir John Hipposley had published their letters, which certainly did not discourage his proposal. But the second order of the clergy, the immense majority of the laity, and all the new prelates, called to preside over vacant sees, in the first decade of the century, were strongly opposed to any such connexion with the head of the State. Of this party, Mr. O'Connell was the uncompromising organ, and, perhaps, it was his course on this very subject of the Veto, more than anything else, which established his pretensions to be considered the leader of the Catholic body. Under the prompting of the majority, the Catholic prelates met and passed a resolution declaring that they could not accept the bill of 1813 as a satisfactory settlement. This resolution they formally communicated to the Catholic Board, who voted them, on O'Connell's motion, enthusiastic thanks. The minority of the Board were silent rather than satisfied, and their dissatisfaction was shown rather by their absence from the Board meetings than by open opposition.

Mr. O'Connell's position, from this period forward, may be best understood from the tone in which he was spoken of in the debates of parliament. At the beginning of the session of 1815, we find the chief secretary (Mr. Peel) stating that he "possesses more influence than any other person" with the Irish Catholics, and that no meeting of that body was considered complete unless a vote of thanks to Mr. O'Connell was among the resolutions.

CHAPTER IV.

O'CONNELL'S LEADERSHIP—1813 TO 1821.

WHILE the Veto controversy was carried into the press and the Parliamentary debates, the extraordinary events of the last years of Napoleon's reign became of such extreme interest as to cast into the shade all questions of domestic policy. The parliamentary fortunes of the Catholic question varied with the fortunes of the war, and the remoteness of external danger. Thus, in 1815, Sir Henry Parnell's motion for a committee was rejected by a majority of 228 to 147; in 1816, on Mr. Grattan's similar motion, the vote was 172 to 141; in 1817, Mr. Grattan was again defeated by 245 to 221; in this session an act exempting officers in the army and navy from forswearing Transubstantiation passed and became law. The internal condition of the Catholic body, both in England and Ireland, during all those years, was far from enviable. In England there were Cisalpine and Ultramontane factions; in Ireland, Vetoists and anti-Vetoists. The learned and amiable Charles Butler—among jurists, the ornament of his order, was fiercely opposed to the no less learned Dr. Milner, author of "The End of Controversy," and "Letters to a Prebendary." In Ireland, a very young barrister, who had hardly seen the second anniversary of his majority, electrified the aggregate meetings with a new Franco-Irish order of eloquence, naturally enough employed in the maintenance of Gallican ideas of church government. This was Richard Lalor Shiel, the author of two or three successful tragedies, and the man, next to O'Connell, who wielded the largest tribunitian power over the Irish populace during the whole of the subsequent agitation. Educated at Stonehurst, he imbibed from refugee professors French idioms and a French standard of taste, while, strangely enough, O'Connell, to whom he was at first opposed, and of whom he became afterwards the first lieutenant, educated in France by British refugees, acquired the cumbrous English style of the Douay Bible and the Rheims Testament. The contrast between the two men was every way extreme; physically, mentally and politically; but it

is pleasant to know, that their differences never degenerated into distrust, envy or malice; that, in fact, Daniel O'Connell had throughout all his after life no more steadfast personal friend than Richard Lalor Shiel.

In the progress of the Catholic agitation, the next memorable incident was O'Connell's direct attack on the Prince Regent. That powerful personage, the *de facto* sovereign of the realm, had long amused the Irish Catholics with promises and pledges of being favorable to their cause. At an aggregate meeting, in June, 1812, Mr. O'Connell maintained that there were four distinct pledges of this description in existence. 1. One given in 1806, through the Duke of Bedford, then Lord Lieutenant, to induce the Catholics to withhold their petitions for a time. 2. Another given the same year in the prince's name by Mr. Ponsonby, then Chancellor. 3. A pledge given to Lord Kenmare, *in writing*, when at Cheltenham. 4. A verbal pledge given to Lord Fingal, in the presence of Lords Clifford and Petre, and reduced to writing and signed by these three noblemen, soon after quitting the Prince's presence. Over the meeting at which this indictment was preferred, Lord Fingal presided, and the celebrated "witchery" resolutions, referring to the influence then exercised on the prince by Lady Hertford, were proposed by his lordship's son, Lord Killeen. It may, therefore, be fairly assumed, that the existence of the fourth pledge was proved, the first and second were never denied, and as to the third—that given to Lord Kenmare—the only correction ever made was, that the Prince's message was delivered verbally, by his Private Secretary, Colonel McMahon, and not in writing. Lord Kenmare, who died in the autumn of 1812, could not be induced, from a motive of delicacy, to reduce his recollection of this message to writing, but he never denied that he had received it, and O'Connell, therefore, during the following years, always held the Prince accountable for this, as for his other promises. Much difference of opinion arose as to the wisdom of attacking a person in the position of the Prince; but O'Connell, fully persuaded of the utter worthlessness of the declarations made in that quarter, decided for himself that the bold course was the wise course. The effect already was various. The English Whigs, the Prince's early and constant friends, who had

followed him to lengths that honor could hardly sanction, and who had experienced his hollow-heartedness when lately called to govern during his father's illness; they, of course, were not sorry to see him held up to odium in Ireland, as a dishonored gentleman and a false friend. The Irish Whigs, of whom Lord Moira and Mr. Ponsonby were the leaders, and to whom Mr. Grattan might be said to be attached rather than to belong, saw the rupture with regret, but considered it inevitable. Among "the Prince's friends" the attacks upon him in the Dublin meetings were regarded as little short of treason; while by himself, it is well known the "witchery" resolutions of 1812 were neither forgotten nor forgiven.

The political position of the Holy See, at this period was such as to induce and enable an indirect English influence to be exercised, through that channel, upon the Irish Catholic movement. Pope Pius VII., a prisoner in France, had delegated to several persons at Rome certain vicarious powers, to be exercised in his name, in case of necessity; of these, more than one had followed him into exile, so that the position of his representative devolved at length upon Monsignor Quarrantotti, who, early in 1814, addressed a rescript to Dr. Poynter, vicar-apostolic of the London district, commendatory of the Bill of 1813, including the Veto, and the Ecclesiastical Commission proposed by Canning and Castlereagh. Against these dangerous concessions, as they considered them, the Irish Catholics dispatched their remonstrances to Rome, through the agency of the celebrated Wexford Franciscan, Father Richard Hayes; but this clergyman, having spoken with too great freedom, was arrested, and suffered several months' confinement in the Eternal City. A subsequent embassy of Dr. Murray, coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin, on behalf of his brother prelates, was attended with no greater advantage, though the envoy himself was more properly treated. On his return to Ireland, at a meeting held to hear his report, several strong resolutions were unanimously adopted, of which the spirit may be judged from the following—the concluding one of the series—"Though we sincerely venerate the supreme pontiff as visible head of the church, we do not conceive that our apprehensions for the safety of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland can or ought to be re-

moved by any determination of His Holiness, adopted, or intended to be adopted, not only without our concurrence, but in direct opposition to our repeated resolutions and the very energetic memorial presented on our behalf, and so ably supported by our deputy, the Most Reverend Dr. Murray; who, in that quality, was more competent to inform His Holiness of the real state and interests of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland than any other with whom he is said to have consulted."

The resolutions were transmitted to Rome, signed by the two archbishops present, by Dr. Everard, the coadjutor of the Archbishop of Cashel, by Dr. Murray, the coadjutor of the Archbishop of Dublin, by the Bishops of Meath, Cloyne, Clonfert, Kerry, Waterford, Derry, Achonry, Killala, Killaloe, Kilmore, Ferns, Limerick, Elphin, Cork, Down and Connor, Ossory, Raphoe, Clogher, Dromore, Kildare and Leighlin, Ardagh, and the Warden of Galway. Dr. Murray, and Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Cork, were commissioned to carry this new remonstrance to Rome, and the greatest anxiety was felt for the result of their mission.

A strange result of this new *embroglio* in the Catholic cause was, that it put the people on the defensive for their religious liberties, not so much against England as against Rome. The unlucky Italian Monsignor who had volunteered his sanction of the Veto, fared scarcely better at the popular gatherings than Lord Castlereagh, or Mr. Peel. "Monsieur Forty-eight," as he was nicknamed in reference to some strange story of his ancestor taking his name from a lucky lottery ticket of that number, was declared to be no better than a common Orangeman, and if the bitter denunciations uttered against him, on the Liffey and the Shannon, had only been translated into Italian, the courtly Prelate must have been exceedingly amazed at the democratic fury of a Catholic population, as orthodox as himself, but much more jealous of state interference with things spiritual. The second order of the clergy were hardly behind the laity, in the fervor of their opposition to the rescript of 1814. Their entire body, secular and regular, residing in and about Dublin, published a very strong protest against it, headed by Dr. Blake, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, in which it was denounced as "pregnant with mischief" and entirely "non-obligatory upon the Catholic

Church in Ireland." The several ecclesiastical provinces followed up these declarations with a surprising unanimity, and although a Vetoistical address to His Holiness was dispatched by the Cis-alpine club in England, the Irish ideas of Church government triumphed at Rome. Drs. Murray and Milner were received with his habitual kindness by Pius VII.; the illustrious Cardinal Gonsalvi was appointed by the Pope to draw up an explanatory rescript, and Monsignor Quarrantotti was removed from his official position. The firmness manifested at that critical period by the Irish church has since been acknowledged with many encomiums by all the successors of Pope Pius VII.

The Irish government, under the new Viceroy, Lord Whitworth (the former ambassador to Napoleon), conceiving that the time had come, in the summer of 1814, to suppress the Catholic Board, a proclamation forbidding his majesty's subjects to attend future meetings of that body issued from Dublin Castle, on the 3d of June. The leaders of the body, after consultation at Mr. O'Connell's residence, decided to bow to this proclamation and to meet no more as a Board; but this did not prevent them, in the following winter, from holding a new series of Aggregate meetings, far more formidable, in some respects, than the deliberative meetings which had been suppressed. In the vigorous and somewhat aggressive tone taken at these meetings, Lord Fingal, the chief of the Catholic peerage, did not concur, and he accordingly withdrew for some years from the agitation, Mr. Sheil, the Bellews, Mr. Ball, Mr. Wyse of Waterford, and a few others, following his example. With O'Connell remained the O'Connor Don, Messrs. Finlay and Lidwell (Protestants), Purcell O'Gorman, and other popular persons. But the cause sustained a heavy blow in the temporary retirement of Lord Fingal and his friends, and an attempt to form a "Catholic Association," in 1815, without their coöperation, signally failed.

During the next five years, the fortunes of the great Irish question fluctuated with the exigencies of Imperial parties. The second American war had closed, if not gloriously, at least without considerable loss to England; Napoleon had exchanged Elba for St. Helena; Wellington was the Achilles of the Empire, and Castlereagh its Ulysses. Yet it was not in the nature of those

free Islanders, the danger and pressure of foreign war removed, to remain always indifferent to the two great questions of domestic policy—Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. In the session of 1816, a motion of Sir John Newport's to inquire into the state of Ireland, was successfully resisted by Sir Robert Peel, but the condition and state of public feeling in England could not be as well ignored by a Parliament sitting in London. In returning from the opening of the Houses in January 1817, the Regent was hooted in the street, and his carriage riddled with stones. A reward of £1,000, issued for the apprehension of the ringleaders, only gave additional *éclat* to the fact, without leading to the apprehension of the assailants.

The personal unpopularity of the Regent seems to have increased, in proportion as death removed from him all those who stood nearest to the throne. In November, 1817, his oldest child, the Princess Charlotte, married to Leopold, since King of Belgium, died in childbed; in 1818, the aged Queen Charlotte died; in January, 1820, the old king in the eighty-second year of his age, departed this life. Immediately afterwards the former Princess of Wales, long separated from her profligate husband, returned from the Continent to claim her rightful position as Queen Consort. The disgraceful accusations brought against her, the trial before the House of Lords which followed, the courage and eloquence of her counsel, Brougham and Denman, the eagerness with which the people made her cause their own, are all well remembered events, and all beside the purpose of this history. The unfortunate lady died after a short illness, on the 7th of August, 1821; the same month in which his Majesty—George IV.—departed on that Irish journey, so satirized in the undying verse of Moore and Byron.

Two other deaths, far more affecting than any among the mortalities of royalty, marked the period at which we have arrived. These were the death of Curran in 1817, and the death of Grattan, in 1820.

Curran, after his failure to be returned for Newry, in 1812, had never again attempted public life. He remained in his office of Master of the Rolls, but his health began to fail sensibly. During the summers of 1816 and '17, he sought for recreation in Scotland, England and France, but the charm which travel could

not give—the charm of a cheerful spirit—was wanting. In October, 1817, his friend, Charles Phillips, was suddenly called to his bed-side at Brompton, near London, and found him with one side of his face and body paralyzed cold. “And this was all,” says his friend, “that remained of Curran—the light of society—the glory of the forum—the Fabricius of the senate—the idol of his country.” Yes! even to less than this, was he soon to sink. On the evening of the 14th of October, he expired, in the 68th year of his age, leaving a public reputation as free from blemish as ever did any man who had acted a leading part, in times like those through which he had passed. He was interred in London, but twenty years afterwards, the committee of the Glasnevin Cemetery, near Dublin, obtained permission of his representatives to remove his ashes to their grounds, where they now finally repose. A tomb modeled from the tomb of Scipio covers the grave, bearing the simple but sufficient inscription—CURRAN. Thus was fulfilled the words he had uttered long before—“The last duties will be paid by that country on which they are devolved; nor will it be for charity that a little earth will be given to my bones. Tenderly will those duties be paid, as the debt of well-earned affection, and of gratitude not ashamed of her tears”

Grattan's last days were characteristic of his whole life. As the session of 1820 progressed, though suffering from his last struggle with disease, he was stirred by an irresistible desire to make his way to London, and present once more the petition of the Catholics. Since the defeat of his Relief Bill of 1813, there had been some estrangement between him and the more advanced section of the agitators, headed by O'Connell. This he was anxious, perhaps, to heal or to overcome. He thought, moreover, that even if he should die in the effort, it would be, as he said himself, “a good end.” Amid—

“The trees which a nation had given, and which bowed
As if each brought a new civic crown to his head,”

he consulted with the Catholic delegates early in May. O'Connell was the spokesman, and the scene may yet be rendered immortal by some great national artist. All present felt that the aged patriot was dying, but still he would go once more to London, to fall, as he

said, "at his post." In leaving Ireland he gave to his oldest friends directions for his funeral—that he might be buried in the little churchyard of Moyanna, on the estate the people gave him in 1782! He reached London, by slow stages, at the end of May, and proposed to be in his place in the House on the 4th of June. But this gratification was not permitted him: on the morning of the 4th, at six o'clock, he called his son to his bedside, and ordered him to bring him a paper containing his last political opinions. "Add to it," he said, with all his old love of antithesis, "that I die with a love of liberty in my heart, and this declaration in favor of my country, in my hand."

So worthily ended the mortal career of Henry Grattan. He was interred by the side of his old friend, Charles James Fox, in Westminster Abbey; the mourners included the highest imperial statesmen, and the Catholic orphan children; his eulogium was pronounced in the House of Commons by William Conyngham Plunkett, and in the Irish capital by Daniel O'Connell.

CHAPTER V.

RETROSPECT OF THE STATE OF RELIGION AND LEARNING DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

BEFORE relating the decisive events in the contest for Catholic emancipation, which marked the reign of George IV., we may be permitted to cast a glance backward over the religious and secular state of Ireland, during the sixty years' reign of George III.

The relative position of the great religious denominations underwent a slow but important revolution during this long reign. In the last days of George II., a Chief-Justice was bold enough to declare that "the laws did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom;" but under the sway of his successor, though much against that successor's will, they advanced from one constitutional victory to another, till they stood, in the person of the Earl Marshal, on the very steps of the throne. In the towns

and cities, the Catholic laity, once admitted to commerce and the professions, rose rapidly to wealth and honor. A Dublin Papist was at the head of the wine trade; another was the wealthiest grazier in the kingdom; a third, at Cork, was the largest provision merchant. With wealth came social ambition, and the heirs of these enfranchised merchants were by a natural consequence the judges and legislators of the next generation.

The ecclesiastical organization of Ireland, as described in 1800 by the bishops in answer to queries of the Chief Secretary, was simple and inexpensive. The four archbishops and twenty bishops, were sustained by having certain parishes attached to their cathedrals, *in commendam*: other *Cathedraticum* there seems to have been none. Armagh had then 350 parish priests, Tuam 206, Cashel 314, and Dublin 156: in all 1126. The number of curates or coadjutors was at least equal to that of the parish priests; while of regulars then returned the number did not exceed 450. This large body of religious—24 prelates, nearly 3,000 clergy—exclusive of female religious—were then, and have ever since been, sustained by the voluntary contributions of the laity, paid chiefly at the two great festivals of Christmas and Easter, or by customary offerings made at the close of the ceremonies of marriages, baptisms, and death. Though the income of some of the churches was considerable, in the great majority of cases the amount received barely sufficed to fulfil the injunction of St. Patrick to his disciples, that “the lamp should take but that wherewith it was fed.”

The Presbyterian clergy, though in some respects more dependent on their congregations than the Catholics were, did not always, nor in all cases, depend on the voluntary principle for their maintenance. The Irish Supply Bill contained an annual item before the Union of £7,700 for the Antrim synod, and some other dissenting bodies. The *regium donum* was not, indeed, general; but that it might be made so, was one of the inducements held out to many of that clergy to secure their countenance for the Legislative Union.

The Established Church continued, of course, to monopolize University honors, and to enjoy its princely revenues and all political advantages. Trinity College continued annually to farm

Its 200,000 acres at a rental averaging £100,000 sterling. Its wealth, and the uses to which it is put, are thus described by a recent writer: "Some of Trinity's senior fellows enjoy higher incomes than cabinet ministers; many of her tutors have revenues above those of cardinals; and junior fellows, of a few days' standing, frequently decline some of her thirty-one church livings with benefices which would shame the poverty of scores of continental, not to say Irish, Catholic archbishops. Even eminent judges hold her professorships; some of her chairs are vacated for the Episcopal bench only; and majors and field officers would acquire increased pay by being promoted to the rank of head porter, first menial, in Trinity College. Apart from her princely fellowships and professorships, her seventy Foundation, and sixteen non-Foundation Scholarships, her thirty Sizarships, and her fourteen valuable Studentships, she has at her disposal an aggregate, by bequests, benefactions, and various endowments, of 117 permanent exhibitions, amounting to upwards of £2,000 per annum." The splendor of the highest Protestant dignitaries may be inferred from what has been said formerly of the Bishop of Derry, of the Era of Independence. The state maintained by the chief bishop—Primate Robinson, who ruled Armagh from 1765 to 1795—is thus described by Mr. Cumberland in his *Memoirs*. "I accompanied him," says Cumberland, "on Sunday forenoon to his cathedral. We went in his chariot of six horses attended by three footmen behind, whilst my wife and daughters, with Sir William Robinson, the primate's elder brother, followed in my father's coach, which he lent me for the journey. At our approach the great western door was thrown open, and my friend (in person one of the finest men that could be seen) entered, like another Archbishop Laud, in high prelatial state, preceded by his officers and ministers of the church, conducting him in files to the robing chamber, and back again to the throne." It may well be conceived with what invidious eyes the barely tolerated Papists of the city of Saint Patrick must have looked on all this pageantry, and their feelings were no doubt those in some degree of all their coreligionists throughout the kingdom.

The Irish Establishment, during the reign of George III. numbered among its prelates and clergy many able and amiable men

At the period of the Union, the two most distinguished were Dr. O'Beirne, Bishop of Meath, an ex-priest, and Dr. Young, Bishop of Clonfert, a former fellow of Trinity College. As a Bible scholar, Dr. Young ranked deservedly high, but as a variously accomplished writer, Dr. O'Beirne was the first man of his order. His political papers, though occasionally disfigured with the bigotry natural to an apostate, are full of a vigorous sagacity; his contributions to general literature, such as his paper on *Tanistry*, in Vallency's *Collectanea*, show how very much greater things still he was capable of. It is not a little striking that the most eminent bishop, as well as the most celebrated Anglican preacher of that age, in Ireland (Dean Kirwan), should both have been ordained as Catholic priests.

The national literature which we have noted a century earlier, as changing gradually its tongue, was now mainly, indeed we might almost say solely, expressed in English. It is true the songs of "Carolan the Blind," were sung in Gaelic by the Longford firesides, where the author of "the Deserted Village" listened to their exquisite melody, moulding his young ear to a sense of harmony full as exquisite; but the glory of the Gaelic muse was past. He, too, unpromising as was his exterior, was to be one of the bright harbingers of another great era of Hiberno-English literature. When, within two generations, out of the same exceedingly restricted class of educated Irishmen and women, we count the names of Goldsmith, Samuel Madden, Arthur Murphy, Henry Brooke, Charles Macklin, Sheridan, Burke, Edmund Malone, Maria Edgeworth, Lady Morgan, "Psyche" Tighe, and Thomas Moore, it is impossible not to entertain a very high opinion of the mental resources of that population, if only they were fairly wrought and kindly valued by the world.

One memorable incident of literary history—the Ossianic outbreak of 1760—aided powerfully though indirectly in the revival of the study of the ancient Celtic history of Scotland and Ireland. Something was done then, by the Royal Irish Academy, to meet the storm of Anglo-Norman incredulity and indignation; much more has been done since, to place the original records of the Three Kingdoms on a sound critical basis. The dogmatism of the unbelievers in the existence of a genuine body of ancient

Celtic literature has been rebuked; and the folly of the theorists who, upon imaginary grounds, constructed pretentious systems, has been exposed. The exact originals of MacPherson's odes have not been found, after a century of research, and may be given up, as non-existent; but the better opinion seems now to be, by those who have studied the fragments of undoubted antiquity attributed to the son of the warrior Fion, that whatever the modern translator may have invented, he certainly did not invent Ossian.

To the stage, within the same range of time, Ireland gave some celebrated names: Quinn, Barry, Sheridan, Mrs. Woffington, Mrs. Jordan, and Miss O'Neill; and to painting, one preëminent name—the eccentric, honest, and original, James Barry.

But of all the arts, that in which the Irish of the Georgian era won the highest and most various triumphs was the art of Oratory. What is now usually spoken of as “the Irish School of Eloquence,” may be considered to have taken its rise from the growth of the Patriot party in Parliament, in the last years of George II. Every contemporary account agrees in placing its first great name—Anthony Malone—on the same level with Chatham and Mansfield. There were great men before Malone, as before Agamemnon; such as Sir Toby Butler, Baron Rice, and Patrick Darcy; but he was the first of our later succession of masters. After him came Flood and John Hely Hutchinson; then Grattan and Curran; then Plunkett and Bushe; then O'Connell and Shiel. In England, at the same time, Burke, Barré, Sheridan, and Sir Phillip Francis, upheld the reputation of Irish oratory; a reputation generously acknowledged by all parties, as it was illustrated in the ranks of all. The Tories, within our own recollection, applauded as heartily the Irish wit and fervor of Canning, Croker, and North, as the Whigs did the exhibition of similar qualities in their Emancipation allies.

Nothing can be less correct, than to pronounce judgment on the Irish School, either of praise or blame, in sweeping general terms. Though a certain family resemblance may be traced among its great masters, no two of them will be found nearly alike. There are no echoes, no servile imitators, among them. In vigorous argumentation and severe simplicity, Plunkett re-

sembled Flood, but the temperament of the two men—and Oration is nearly as much a matter of temperament as of intellect—was widely different. Flood's movement was dramatic, while Plunkett's was mathematical. In structural arrangement, Sheil occasionally—very occasionally—reminds us of Grattan; but if he has not the wonderful condensation of thought, neither has he the frequent antithetical abuses of that great orator. Burke and Sheridan are as distinguishable as any other two of their contemporaries; Curran stands alone; O'Connell never had a model, and never had an imitator who rose above mimicry. Every combination of powers, every description of excellence, and every variety of style and character, may be found among the masterpieces of this great school. Of their works many will live forever. Most of Burke's, many of Grattan's, and one or two of Curran's have reached us in such preservation as promises immortality. Selections from Flood, Sheridan, Canning, Plunkett and O'Connell will survive; Sheil will be more fortunate, for he was more artistic, and more watchful of his own fame. His exquisite finish will do for him, what the higher efforts of men, indifferent to the grand audience of posterity, will have forfeited for them.

It is to be observed, farther, that the inspiration of all these men was drawn from the very hearts of the people, among whom they grew. With one or two exceptions, sons of humble peasants, of actors, of at most middle class men, they were true, through every change of personal position, to the general interests of the people—to the common weal. From generous thoughts and a lofty scorn of falsehood, fanaticism and tyranny, they took their inspiration; and as they were true to human nature, so will mankind, through successive ages, dwell fondly on their works and guard lovingly their tombs.

CHAPTER VI.

THE IRISH ABROAD, DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

THE fond tenacity with which the large numbers of the Irish people who have established themselves in foreign states have always clung to their native country; the active sympathy they have personally shown for their relatives at home; the repeated efforts they have made to assist the Irish in Ireland, in all their public undertakings, requires that, as an element in O'Connell's final and successful struggle for Catholic Emancipation, we should take a summary view of the position of "the Irish abroad."

While the emigrants of that country to America, naturally pursued the paths of peace, those who, from choice or necessity, found their way to the European Continent, were, with few exceptions, employed mainly in two departments—war and diplomacy. An Irish Abbé, like the celebrated preacher, McCarthy—or an Irish merchant firm, such as the house of the same name at Bordeaux, might be met with, but most of those who attained any distinction did so by the sword or the pen, in the field or the cabinet.

In France, under the revolutionary governments from '91 to '99, the Irish were, with their old-world notions of God and the Devil, wholly out of place; but under the Consulate and the Empire, they rose to many employments of the second class, and a few of the very first. From the ranks of the expatriated of '98, Buonaparte promoted Arthur O'Connor and William Corbet to the rank of General; Ware, Allen, Byrne, the younger Tone, and Keating to that of Colonel. As individuals, the Emperor was certainly a benefactor to many Irishmen; but as a nation, it was one of their most foolish delusions, to expect in him a deliverer. On the restoration of the Bourbons, the Irish officers who had acquired distinction under Napoleon, adhered generally to his fortunes, and tendered their resignations; in their place, a new group of Franco-Irish descendants of the old Brigades-men, began to show themselves in the *salons* of Paris, and the Bureaus of the Ministers. The last swords drawn for "the legitimate branch" in '91, was

by Count Dillon and his friend, Count Wall; their last defender, in 1830, was General Wall of the same family.

Though the Irish in France, especially those resident at Paris, exercised the greatest influence in favor of their original country—an influence which met all traveled Englishmen wherever the French language was understood—their compatriots in Spain and Austria had also contributed their share to range Continental opinion on the side of Ireland. Three times, during the century, Spain was represented at London by men of Irish birth, or Irish origin. The British merchant who found Alexander O'Reilly Governor of Cadiz, or the diplomatist who met him as Spanish ambassador, at the Court of Louis XVI., could hardly look with uninstructed eyes, upon the lot of his humblest namesake in Cavan. His family, indeed, produced a succession of eminent men, in Spain and Austria. "It is strange," observed Napoleon to those around him, on his second entry into Vienna, in 1809, "that on each occasion—in November, 1806, as this day—on arriving in the Austrian capital, I find myself in treaty and in intercourse with the respectable Count O'Reilly." Napoleon had other reasons for remembering this officer; it was his dragoon regiment which saved the remnant of the Austrians, at Austerlitz. In the Austrian army list at that period, when she was the ally of England, there were above forty Irish names, from the grade of Colonel up to that of Field-marshal. In almost every field of the Peninsula, Wellington and Anglesea learned the value of George the Second's imprecation on the Penal Code, which deprived him of such soldiers as conquered at Fontenoy. It cannot be doubted that even the constant repetition of the names of the Blakes, O'Donnells, and Sarsfields, in the bulletins sent home to England, tended to enforce reflections of that description on the statesmen and the nation, and to inspire and sustain the struggling Catholics. A powerful argument for throwing open the British army and navy to men of all religions, was drawn from these foreign experiences; and, if such men were worthy to hold military commissions, why not also to sit in Parliament, and on the Bench?

The fortunes of the Irish in America, though less brilliant for the few, were more advantageous as to the many. They were

during the war of the revolution, and the war of 1812, a very considerable element in the American republic. It was a violent exaggeration to say, as Lord Mountjoy did, in moving for the repeal of the Penal laws, "that England lost America, by Ireland;" but it is very certain that Washington placed great weight on the active aid of the gallant Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Southern Irish troops, and the sturdy Scotch-Irish of New Hampshire. Franklin in his visit to Ireland, bore the rupture, and Jefferson in his correspondence, always enumerates the Irish, as one element of reliance, in the contest between the Colonies and the Empire.

In the immediate cause of the war of 1812, this people were peculiarly interested. If the doctrines of "the right of search" and "once a subject always a subject," were to prevail, no Irish emigrant could hope to become—or having become, could hope to enjoy the protection of—an American citizen. It was, therefore, natural that men of that origin should take a deep interest in the war, and it seems something more than a fortuitous circumstance, when we find in the chairman of the Senatorial Committee of 1812, which authorized the President to raise the necessary levies—an Irish emigrant, John Smilie, and in the Secretary-at-war, who acted under the powers thus granted, the son of an Irish emigrant, John Caldwell Calhoun. On the Canadian frontier, during the war which followed, we find in posts of importance, Brady, Mullany, McComb, Croghan and Reilly; on the lakes, Commodore McDonough, and on the ocean, Commodores Shaw and Stewart—all Irish. On the Mississippi, another son of Irish emigrant parents, with his favorite lieutenants, Carroll, Coffee and Butler, brought the war to a close by his brilliant defence of New Orleans. The moral of that victory was not lost upon England; the life of Andrew Jackson, with a dedication "to the People of Ireland" was published at London, and Dublin, by the most generally popular writer of that day—William Cobbett.

In the cause of South American independence, the Irish under O'Higgins and McKenna in Chili, and under Bolivar and San Martin in Colombia and Peru, were largely engaged, and honorably distinguished. Colonel O'Connor, nephew to Arthur, was San Martin's chief of the staff; General Devereux, with his Irish

legion rendered distinguished services to Bolivar and Don Bernardo. O'Higgins was hailed as the Liberator of Chili. During that long ten years' struggle, which ended with the evacuation of Carraccas in 1823, Irish names are conspicuous on almost every field of action. Bolivar's generous heart was warmly attached to persons of that nation. "The doctor who constantly attends him," says the English General, Miller, "is Dr. Moore, an Irishman, who had followed the Liberator from Venezuela to Peru. He is a man of great skill in his profession, and devotedly attached to the person of the Liberator. Bolivar's first aide-de-camp, Colonel O'Leary, is a nephew of the celebrated Father O'Leary. In 1818, he embarked, at the age of seventeen, in the cause of South American independence, in which he has served with high distinction, having been present at almost every general action fought in Colombia, and has received several wounds. He has been often employed on diplomatic missions, and in charges of great responsibility, in which he has always acquitted himself with great ability."

That these achievements of the Irish abroad produced a favorable influence on the situation of the Irish at home, we know from many collateral sources; we know it also from the fact, that when O'Connell succeeded in founding a really national organization, subscriptions and words of encouragement poured in on him, not only from France, Spain and Austria, but from North and South America, not only from the Irish residents in those countries, but from their native inhabitants—soldiers and statesmen—of the first consideration. The services and virtues of her distinguished children in foreign climes, stood to the mother country instead of treaties and alliances.

CHAPTER VII.

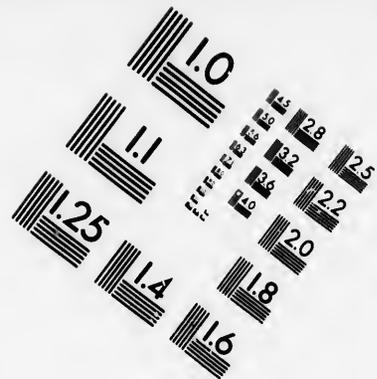
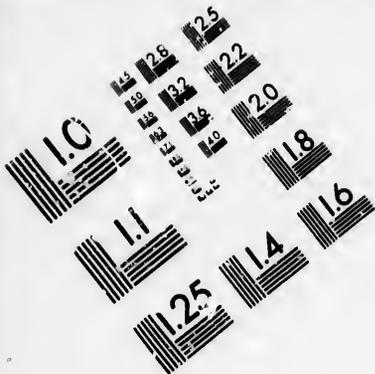
O'CONNELL'S LEADERSHIP.—THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.—
1821 TO 1826.

At the beginning of the year 1821, O'Connell, during the intervals of his laborious occupations in court and on circuit, addressed a series of stirring letters to "the People of Ireland," remarkable as containing some of the best and most trenchant of his political writings. His object was to induce the postponement of the annual petition for Emancipation, and the substitution instead of a general agitation for Parliamentary reform, in conjunction with the English reformers. Against this conclusion—which he ridiculed "as the fashion for January, 1821"—Mr. Shiel published a bitter, clever, rhetorical reply, to which O'Connell at once sent forth a severe and rather contemptuous rejoinder. Shiel was quite content to have Mr. Plunkett continue Grattan's annual motion, with all its "conditions" and "securities." O'Connell declared he had no hope in petitions except from a reformed Parliament, and he, therefore, was opposed to such motions altogether, especially as put by Mr. Plunkett, and the other advocates of a Veto. Another session was lost in this controversy, and when Parliament rose, it was announced that George IV. was coming to Ireland "on a mission of Conciliation."

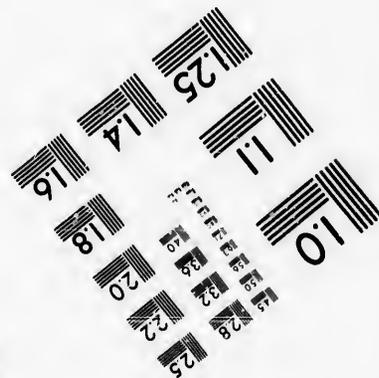
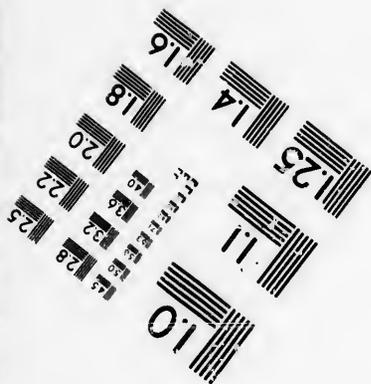
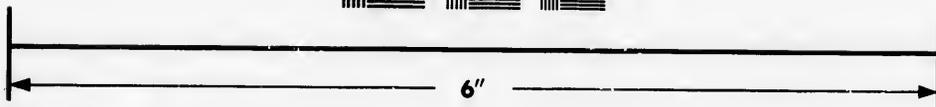
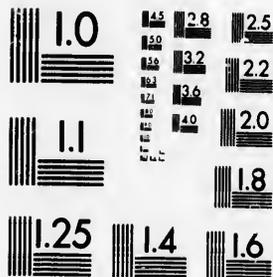
On this announcement Mr. O'Connell advised that the Catholics should take advantage of his Majesty's presence to assemble and consider the state of their affairs, but a protest against "connecting in any manner the king's visit with Catholic affairs," was circulated by Lords Fingal, Netterville, Gormanstown, and Killeen, Messrs. Baggott, Shiel, Wyse, and other Commoners. O'Connell yielded, as he often did, for the sake of unanimity. The king's visit led to many meetings and arrangements, in some of which his advice was taken, while in others he was outvoted or overruled. Nothing could exceed the patience he exhibited at this period of his life, when his naturally impetuous temperament was still far from being subdued by the frosts of age.

Many liberal Protestants at this period—the king's brief visit—





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were so moved with admiration for the judicious and proper conduct of the Catholic leaders, that a new but short-lived organization called "the Conciliation Committee," was formed. The ultra Orange zealots, however, were not to be restrained even by the presence of the sovereign for whom they professed so much devotion. In the midst of the preparations for his landing, they celebrated, with all its offensive accompaniments, the 12th of July, and at the Dublin dinner to the king—though after he had left the room—they gave their charter toast of "the glorious, pious, and immortal memory." The Committee of Conciliation soon dwindled away, and like the visit of George IV., left no good result behind.

The year 1822 was most remarkable, at its commencement, for the arrival of the Marquis of Wellesley, as Lord-Lieutenant, and at its close, for the assault committed on him in the theatre, by the Dublin Orangemen. Though the Marquis had declined to interfere in preventing the annual Orange celebration, he was well known to be friendly to the Catholics; their advocate, Mr. Plunkett, was his Attorney General; and many of their leaders were cordially welcomed at the Castle. These proofs were sufficient for the secret tribunals which sat upon his conduct, and when his lordship presented himself, on the night of the 14th of December, at the theatre, he was assailed by an organized mob, one of whom flung a heavy piece of wood, and another a quart bottle, towards the state box. Three Orangemen, mechanics, were arrested and tried for the offence, but acquitted on a technical defect of evidence; a general feeling of indignation was excited among all classes in consequence, and it is questionable if Orangeism, in Dublin, ever recovered the disgust occasioned by that dastardly outrage.

The great and fortunate event, however, for the Catholics, was the foundation of their new Association, which was finally resolved upon at an Aggregate Meeting held in "Townsend Street Chapel," on the 10th of May, 1823. This meeting had been called by an imposing requisition signed with singular unanimity by all the principal Catholic gentleman. Lord Killeen presided. Mr. O'Connell moved the formation of the Association. Sir Thomas Esmonde seconded the motion; Mr. Shiel—lately and

sincerely reconciled to O'Connell—sustained it. The plan was simple and popular. The Association was to consist of members paying a guinea a year, and associates paying a shilling; a standing committee was to form the government, the regular meetings were to be weekly—every Saturday; and the business to consist of organization, correspondence, public discussions, and petitions. It was, in effect, to be a sort of exterr and unauthorized Parliament, acting always within the Constitution, with a view to the modification of the existing laws, by means not prohibited in those laws themselves. It was a design, subtle in conception, but simple in form; a natural design for a lawyer-liberator to form, and for a people strongly prepossessed in his favor to adopt; but one, at the same time, which would require a rare combination of circumstances to sustain for any great length of time, under a leader less expert, inventive, and resolute.

The parliamentary position of the Catholic question, at the moment of the formation of the Association, had undergone another strange alteration. Lord Castlereagh, having attained the highest honors of the empire, died by his own hand the previous year. Lord Liverpool remained Premier, Lord Eldon Chancellor, Mr. Canning became Foreign Secretary, with Mr. Peel, Home Secretary, the Duke of Wellington continuing Master-General of the Ordnance. To this cabinet, so largely anti-Catholic, the chosen organ of the Irish Catholics, Mr. Plunkett, was necessarily associated as Irish Attorney General. His situation, therefore, was in the session of 1823 one of great difficulty; this Sir Francis Burdett and the radical reformers at once perceived, and in the debates which followed, pressed him unmercifully. They quoted against him his own language denouncing cabinet compromises on so vital a question, in 1813, and to show their indignation, when he rose to reply, they left the house in a body. His speech, as always, was most able, but the house, when he sat down, broke into an uproar of confusion. Party spirit ran exceedingly high; the possibility of advancing the question during the session was doubtful, and a motion to adjourn prevailed. A fortnight later, at the first meeting of the Catholic Association, a very cordial vote of thanks to Plunkett, was carried by acclamation.

The new Catholic organization was laboring hard to merit popular favor. Within the year of its organization we find the Saturday meetings engaged with such questions as church rates; secret societies; correspondence with members of both houses; voting public thanks to Mr. Brougham; the penal laws relating to the rights of sepulture; the purchase of a Catholic cemetery near Dublin; the commutation of tithes; the admission of Catholic freemen into corporations; the extension of the Association into every county in Ireland, and other more incidental subjects. The business-like air of the weekly meetings, at this early period, is remarkable: they were certainly anything but mere occasions for rhetorical display. But though little could be objected against, and so much might be said in favor of the labors of the Association, it was not till nearly twelve months after its organization, when O'Connell proposed and carried his system of monthly penny subscriptions to the "Catholic Rent," that it took a firm and far-reaching hold on the common people, and began to excite the serious apprehensions of the oligarchical factions in Ireland and England.

This bold, and at this time much ridiculed step, infused new life and a system hitherto unknown into the Catholic population. The parish collectors, corresponding directly with Dublin, established a local agency, coextensive with the kingdom; the smallest contributor felt himself personally embarked in the contest; and the movement became, in consequence, what it had not been before, an eminently popular one. During the next six months the receipts from penny subscriptions exceeded £100 sterling per month, representing 24,000 subscribers; during the next year they averaged above £500 a week, representing nearly half a million enrolled Associates!

With the additional means at the disposal of the Finance Committee of the Association, its power rose rapidly. A morning and an evening journal were at its command in Dublin; many thousands of pounds were expended in defending the people in the courts, and prosecuting their Orange and other enemies. Annual subsidies, of £5,000 each, were voted for the Catholic Poor schools, and the education of missionary priests for America; the expenses of parliamentary and electioneering agents were

also heavy. But for all these purposes "the Catholic Rent," of a penny per month from each associate, was found amply sufficient.

At the close of 1824, the government, really alarmed at the formidable proportions assumed by the agitation, caused criminal informations to be filed against Mr. O'Connell, for an alleged seditious allusion to the example of Bolivar, the liberator of South America; but the Dublin grand jury ignored the bills of indictment founded on these informations. Early in the following session, however, a bill to suppress "Unlawful Associations in Ireland," was introduced by Mr. Goulburn, who had succeeded Sir Robert Peel as Chief Secretary, and was supported by Plunkett—a confirmed enemy of all extra-legal combinations. It was aimed directly at the Catholic Association, and passed both houses; but O'Connell found means "to drive," as he said, "a coach and six through it." The existing Association dissolved on the passage of the act; another, called "the *New Catholic Association*," was formed for "charitable and other purposes," and the agitators proceeded with their organization, with one word added to their title, and immensely additional *éclat* and success.

In Parliament, the measure thus defeated was followed by another, the long-promised Relief Bill. It passed in the Commons in May, accompanied by two clauses, or as they were called, "wings," most unsatisfactory to the Catholic body. One clause disfranchised the whole class of electors known as the "forty-shilling freeholders;" the other provided a scale of state maintenance for the Catholic clergy. A bishop was to have £1,000 per annum; a dean £300; a parish priest £200; a curate £60. This measure was thrown out by the House of Lords, greatly to the satisfaction, at least, of the Irish Catholics. It was during this debate in the upper house, that the Duke of York, presumptive heir to the throne, made what was called his "ether speech"—from his habit of dosing himself with that stimulant on trying occasions. In this speech he declared, that so "help him God," he would never, never consent to acknowledge the claims put forward by the Catholics. Before two years were over, death had removed him to the presence of that Awful Being whose name he had so rashly invoked, and his brother, the Duke of Clarence, assumed his position, as next in succession to the throne.

The Catholic delegates, Lord Killeen, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Lawless, and Shiel, were in London at the time the Duke of York made his memorable declaration. If, on the one hand, they were regarded with dislike amounting to hatred, on the other, they were welcomed with cordiality by all the leaders of the liberal party. The venerable Earl Fitzwilliam emerged from his retirement to do them honor; the gifted and energetic Brougham entertained them with all hospitality; at Norfolk House they were banqueted in the room in which George III. was born: the millionaire-demagogue Burdett, the courtly, liberal Lord Grey, and the flower of the Catholic nobility, were invited to meet them. The delegates were naturally cheered and gratified; they felt, they must have felt, that their cause had a grasp upon Imperial attention, which nothing but concession could ever loosen.

Committees of both houses, to inquire into the state of Ireland, had sat during a great part of this Session, and among the witnesses were the principal delegates, with Drs. Murray, Curtis, Kelly, and Doyle. The evidence of the latter—the eminent Prelate of Kildare and Leighlin—attracted most attention. His readiness of resource, clearness of statement, and wide range of information, inspired many of his questioners with a feeling of respect, such as they had never before entertained for any of his order. His writings had already made him honorably distinguished among literary men; his examination before the Committees made him equally so among statesmen. From that period he could reckon the Marquises of Anglesea and Wellesley, Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Brougham, among his correspondents and friends, and, what he valued even more, among the friends of his cause. Mr. O'Connell, on the other hand, certainly lost ground in Ireland by his London journey. He had, unquestionably, given his assent to both "wings," in 1825, as he did to the remaining one in 1828, and thereby greatly injured his own popularity. His frank and full recantation of his error, on his return, soon restored him to the favor of the multitude, and enabled him to employ, with the best effect, the enormous influence which he showed he possessed at the general elections of 1826. By him mainly the Beresfords were beaten in Waterford, the Fosters in Louth, and the Leslies

in Monaghan. The independence of Limerick city, of Tipperary, Cork, Kilkenny, Longford, and other important constituencies, was secured. The parish machinery of the Association was found invaluable for the purpose of bringing up the electors, and the people's treasury was fortunately able to protect to some extent the fearless voter, who, in despite of his landlord, voted according to the dictates of his own heart.

The effect of these elections on the empire at large was very great. When, early in the following spring, Lord Liverpool, after fifteen years' possession of power, died unexpectedly, George IV. sent for Canning and gave him *carte blanche* to form a cabinet without excepting the question of Emancipation. That high spirited and really liberal statesman associated with himself a ministry, three-fourths of whom were in favor of granting the Catholic claims. This was in the month of April; but to the consternation of those whose hopes were now so justly raised, the gifted Premier held office only four months; his lamented death causing another "crisis," and one more postponement of "the Catholic question."

CHAPTER VIII.

O'CONNELL'S LEADERSHIP.—THE CLARE ELECTION.—EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS.

A VERY little reflection will enable us to judge, even at this day, the magnitude of the contest in which O'Connell was the great popular leader, during the reign of George IV. In Great Britain, a very considerable section of the ancient peerage and gentry, with the Earl Marshal at their head, were to be restored to political existence, by the act of Emancipation; a missionary, and barely tolerated clergy were to be clothed, in their own country, with the commonest rights of British subjects—protection to life and property. In Ireland, seven eighths of the people, one-third

of the gentry, the whole of the Catholic clergy, the numerous and distinguished array of the Catholic bar, and all the Catholic townsmen, taxed but unrepresented in the corporate bodies, were to enter on a new civil and social condition, on the passage of the act. In the colonies, except Canada, where that church was protected by treaty, the change of Imperial policy towards Catholics was to be felt in every relation of life, civil, military and ecclesiastical, by all persons professing that religion. Some years ago, a bishop of Southern Africa declared, that, until O'Connell's time, it was impossible for Catholics to obtain any consideration from the officials at the Cape of Good Hope. Could there be a more striking illustration of the magnitude of the movement, which, rising in the latitude of Ireland, flung its outermost wave of influence on the shores of the Indian ocean?

The adverse hosts to be encountered in this great contest, included a large majority of the rank and wealth of both kingdoms. The king, who had been a Whig in his youth, had grown into a Tory in his old age; the House of Lords were strongly hostile to the measure, as were also the universities, both in England and Ireland; the Tory party, in and out of Parliament; the Orange organization in Ireland; the civil and military authorities generally, with the great bulk of the rural magistracy and the municipal authorities. The power to overcome this power should be indeed formidable, well organized and wisely directed.

The Lord Lieutenant selected by Mr. Canning, was the Marquis of Anglesea, a frank soldier, as little accustomed to play the politician as any man of his order and distinction could be. He came to Ireland, in many respects the very opposite of Lord Wellesley; no orator certainly, and so far as he had spoken formerly, an enemy rather than a friend to the Catholics. But he had not been three months in office when he began to modify his views; he was the first to prohibit, in Dublin, the annual Orange outrage on the 12th of July, and by subsequent, though slow degrees, he became fully convinced that the Catholic claims could be settled only by Concession. Lord Francis Leveson Gower afterwards Earl of Ellesmere, accompanied the Marquis as Chief Secretary.

The accession to office of a prime minister friendly to the Cath

tholics, was the signal for a new attempt to raise that "No-Popery" cry which had already given twenty years of political supremacy to Mr. Perceval, and Lord Liverpool. In Ireland, this feeling appeared under the guise of what was called "the New Reformation," which, during the summer of 1827, raged with all the proverbial violence of the *odium theologicum* from Cork to Derry. Priests and parsons, laymen and lawyers, took part in this general politico-religious controversy, in which every possible subject of difference between Catholic and Protestant was publicly discussed. Archbishop Magee of Dublin, the Rev. Sir Harcourt Lees, son of a former English placeman at the Castle, and the Rev. Mr. Pope, were the clerical leaders in this crusade; Exeter-Hall sent over to assist them the Honorable and Reverend Baptist Noel, Mr. Wolff, and Captain Gordon, a descendant of the hero of the London riot of 1789. At Derry, Dublin, Carlow, and Cork, the challenged agreed to defend their doctrines. Father Maginn, Maguire, Maher, McSweeney, and some others, accepted these challenges; Messrs. O'Connell, Shiel, and other laymen, assisted, and the oral discussion of theological and historical questions became as common as town talk in every Irish community. Whether, in any case, these debates conduced to conversion is doubtful; but they certainly supplied the Catholic laity with a body of facts and arguments very necessary at that time, and which hardly any other occasion could have presented. The Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, however, considered them far from beneficial to the cause of true religion; and though he tolerated a first discussion in his diocese, he positively forbade a second. The Archbishop of Armagh and other prelates issued their mandates to the clergy to refrain from these oral disputes, and the practice fell into disuse.

The notoriety of "the Second Reformation" was chiefly due to the ostentatious patronage of it by the lay chiefs of the Irish oligarchy. Mr. Synge, in Clare, Lord Lorton, and Mr. McClintock at Dundalk, were indefatigable in their evangelizing exertions. The Earl of Roden—to show his entire dependence on the translated Bible—threw all his other books into a fish pond on his estate. Lord Farnham was even more conspicuous in the revival; he spared neither patronage nor writs of ejectment to convert his

tenantry. The reports of conversions upon his lordship's estates, and throughout his county, attracted so much notice, that Drs. Curtis, Crolly, Magauran, O'Reilly, and McHale, met on the 9th of December, 1826, at Cavan, to inquire into the facts. They found, while there had been much exaggeration on the part of the reformers, that some hundreds of the peasantry had, by various powerful temptations, been led to change their former religion. The Bishops received back some of the converts, and a jubilee established among them completed their re-conversion. The Hon. Mr. Noel and Captain Gordon posted to Cavan, with a challenge to discussion for their lordships; of course, their challenge was not accepted. Thomas Moore's inimitable satire was the most effective weapon against such fanatics.

The energetic literature of the Catholic agitation attracted much more attention than its oral polemics. Joined to a bright army of Catholic writers including Dr. Doyle, Thomas Moore, Thomas Furlong, and Charles Butler, there was the powerful phalanx of the *Edinburgh Review* led by Jeffrey and Sidney Smith, and the English liberal press, headed by William Cobbett. Thomas Campbell, the Poet of Hope, always and everywhere the friend of freedom, threw open his *New Monthly*, to Sheil, and William Henry Curran, whose sketches of the Irish Bar and Bench, of Dublin politics, and the county elections of 1826, will live as long as any periodical papers of that day. The indefatigable Shiel, writing French as fluently as English, contributed besides, to the *Gazette de France*, a series of papers, which were read with great interest on the Continent. These articles were the precursors of many others, which made the Catholic question at length an European question. An incident quite unimportant in itself, gave additional zest to these French articles. The Duke de Montebello, with two of his friends, Messrs. Duvergier and Thayer, visited Ireland in 1826. Duvergier wrote a series of very interesting letters on the "State of Ireland," which, at the time, went through several editions. At a Catholic meeting in Ballinasloe, the Duke had some compliments paid him, which he gracefully acknowledged, expressing his wishes for the success of their cause. This simple act excited a great deal of criticism in England. The Paris press was roused in consequence, and the

French Catholics, becoming more and more interested, voted an address and subscription to the Catholic association. The Bavarian Catholics followed their example, and similar communications were received from Spain and Italy.

But the movement abroad did not end in Europe. An address from British India contained a contribution of three thousand pounds sterling. From the West Indies and Canada, generous assistance was rendered.

In the United States sympathetic feeling was most active. New York felt almost as much interested in the cause as Dublin. In 1826 and 1827, associations of "Friends of Ireland" were formed at New York, Boston, Washington, Norfolk, Charleston, Augusta, Louisville, and Bardstown. Addresses in English and French were prepared for these societies, chiefly by Dr. McNevin, at New York, and Bishop England, at Charleston. The American, like the French press, became interested in the subject, and eloquent allusions were made to it in Congress. On the 20th of January, 1828, the veteran McNevin wrote to Mr. O'Connell—"Public opinion in America is deep, and strong, and universal, in your behalf. This predilection prevails over the broad bosom of our extensive continent. Associations similar to ours are everywhere starting into existence—in our largest and wealthiest cities—in our hamlets and our villages—in our most remote sections; and at this moment, the propriety of convening, at Washington, delegates of the friends of Ireland, of all the states, is under serious deliberation. A fund will ere long be derived from American patriotism in the United States, which will astonish your haughtiest opponents."

The Parliamentary fortunes of the great question were at the same time brightening. The elections of 1826, had, upon the whole, given a large increase of strength to its advocates. In England and Scotland, under the influence of the "No Popery" cry, they had lost some ground, but in Ireland they had had an immense triumph. The death of the generous-hearted Canning, hastened as it was by anti-Catholic intrigues, gave a momentary check to the progress of liberal ideas; but they were retarded only to acquire a fresh impulse destined to bear them, in the next few years, farther than they had before advanced in an entire century.

The *ad interim* administration of Lord Goderich gave way, by its own internal discords, in January, 1828, to the Wellington and Peel administration. The Duke was Premier, the Baronet leader of the House of Commons; with Mr. Huskisson, Lord Palmerston, in the cabinet; Lord Anglesea remained as Lord Lieutenant. But this coalition with the friends of Canning was not destined to outlive the session of 1828; the lieutenants of the late Premier were doomed, for some time longer, to suffer for their devotion to his principles.

This session of 1828, is—in the history of religious liberty—the most important and interesting in the annals of the British Parliament. Almost at its opening, the extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of a petition signed by 800,000 Irish Catholics, praying for the repeal of “the Corporation and Test Acts,” enacted on the restoration of Charles II., against the non-Conformists. Monster petitions, both for and against the repeal of these Acts, as well as for and against Catholic emancipation, soon became of common occurrence. Protestants of all sects petitioned for, but still more petitioned against equal rights for Catholics; while Catholics petitioned for the rights of Protestant dissenters. It is a spectacle to look back upon with admiration and instruction; exhibiting as it does, so much of a truly tolerant spirit in Christians of all creeds, worthy of all honor and imitation.

In April, “the Corporation and Test Acts” were repealed; in May the Canningites seceded from the Duke’s government, and one of the gentlemen brought in to fill a vacant seat in the Cabinet—Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, member for Clare—issued his address to his electors, asking a renewal of their confidence. Out of this event grew another, which finally and successfully brought to an issue the century-old Catholic question.

The Catholic Association, on the accession of the Wellington-Peel Cabinet, had publicly pledged itself to oppose every man who would accept office under these statesmen. The memory of both as ex-secretaries—but especially Peel’s—was odious in Ireland. When, however, the Duke had sustained, and ensured thereby the passage of the repeal of “the Corporation and Test Acts,” Mr. O’Connell at the suggestion of Lord John Russell, the mover of the repeal, endeavored to get his angry and uncompro-

missing resolution against the Duke's government rescinded. Powerful as he was, however, the Association refused to go with him, and the resolution remained. So it happened that when Mr. Fitzgerald presented himself to the Electors of Clare, as the colleague of Peel and Wellington, the Association at once endeavored to bring out an opposition candidate. They pitched with this view on Major McNamara, a liberal Protestant of the county at the head of one of its oldest families and personally popular; but this gentleman after keeping them several days in suspense, till the time of nomination was close at hand, positively declined to stand against his friend, Mr. Fitzgerald, to the great dismay of the associated Catholics.

In their emergency, an idea, so bold and original, that it was at first received with general incredulity by the external public, was started. It was remembered by Sir David De Rouse, a personal friend of O'Connell's, that the late sagacious John Keogh had often declared the Emancipation question would never be brought to an issue till some Catholic member elect stood at the bar of the House of Commons demanding his seat. A trusted few were at first consulted on the daring proposition, that O'Connell himself, in despite of the legal exclusion of all men of his religion, should come forward for Clare. Many were the consultations, and diverse the judgments delivered on this proposal, but at length, on the reception of information from the county itself, which gave strong assurance of success, the hero of the adventure decided for himself. The bold course was again selected as the wise course, and the spirit-stirring address of "the arch-Agitator" to the electors, was at once issued from Dublin. "Your county," he began by saying, "wants a representative. I respectfully solicit your suffrages, to raise me to that station.

"Of my qualification to fill that station, I leave you to judge. The habits of public speaking, and many, many years of public business, render me, perhaps, equally suited with most men to attend to the interests of Ireland in Parliament.

"You will be told I am not qualified to be elected; the assertion, my friends, is untrue. I am qualified to be elected, and to be your representative. It is true that as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will, take the oaths at present prescribed to

members of Parliament; but the authority which created these oaths (the Parliament), can abrogate them: and I entertain a confident hope that, if you elect me, the most bigoted of our enemies will see the necessity of removing from the chosen representative of the people, an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his king and to his country."

This address was followed instantly by the departure of all the most effective agitators to the scene of the great contest. Shiel went down as conducting agent for the candidate; Lawless left his Belfast newspaper, and Father Maguire his Leitrim flock; Messrs. Steele and O'German Mahon, both proprietors in the county, were already in the field, and O'Connell himself soon followed. On the other hand, the leading county families, the O'Briens, McNamaras, Vandeleurs, Fitzgeralds and others, declared for their old favorite, Mr. Fitzgerald. He was personally much liked in the county; the son of a venerable anti-Unionist, the well-remembered Prime Sergeant, and a man besides of superior abilities. The county itself was no easy one to contest: its immense constituency (the 40-shilling freeholders had not yet been abolished), were scattered over a mountain and valley region, more than fifty miles long by above thirty wide. They were almost everywhere to be addressed in both languages—English and Irish—and when the canvass was over, they were still to be brought under the very eyes of the landlords, upon the breath of whose lips their subsistence depended, to vote the overthrow and conquest of those absolute masters. The little county town of Ennis, situated on the river Fergus, about 110 miles south-west of Dublin, was the centre of attraction or of apprehension, and the hills that rise on either side of the little prosaic river soon swarmed with an unwonted population, who had resolved, subsist how they might, to see the election out. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the eyes of the empire were turned, during those days of June, on the ancient patrimony of King Brian. "I fear the Clare election will end ill," wrote the Viceroy to the leader of the House of Commons. "This business," wrote the Lord Chancellor (Eldon), "must bring the Roman Catholic question to a crisis and a conclusion." "May the God of truth and justice protect and prosper you," was the public invocation for O'Connell's success.

by the bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. "It was foreseen," said Sir Robert Peel, long afterwards, "that the Clare election would be the turning point of the Catholic question." In all its aspects, and to all sorts of men, this then, was no ordinary election, but a national event of the utmost religious and political consequence. Thirty thousand people welcomed O'Connell into Ennis, and universal sobriety and order characterized the proceedings. The troops called out to overawe the peasantry, infected by the prevailing good humor, joined in their cheers. The nomination, the polling and the declaration, have been described by the graphic pen of Shiel. At the close of the poll the numbers were—O'Connell, 2,057; Fitzgerald, 1,075; so Daniel O'Connell was declared duly elected, amidst the most extraordinary manifestations of popular enthusiasm. Mr. Fitzgerald, who gracefully bowed to the popular verdict, sat down, and wrote his famous dispatch to Sir Robert Peel: "All the great interests," he said, "my dear Peel, broke down, and the desertion has been universal. Such a scene as we have had! Such a tremendous prospect as is open before us!"

This "tremendous prospect," disclosed at the hustings of Ennis, was followed up by demonstrations which bore a strongly revolutionary character. Mr. O'Connell, on his return to Dublin, was accompanied by a *levée en masse*, all along the route, of a highly imposing description. Mr. Lawless, on his return to Belfast, was escorted through Meath and Monaghan by a multitude estimated at 100,000 men, whom only the most powerful persuasions of the Catholic clergy, and the appeals of the well-known liberal commander of the district, General Thornton, induced to disperse. Troops from England were ordered over in considerable numbers, but whole companies, composed of Irish Catholics, signalized their landing at Waterford and Dublin by cheers for O'Connell. Reports of the continued hostility of the government suggested desperate councils. Mr. Ford, a Catholic solicitor, openly proposed, in the Association, exclusive dealing and a run on the banks for specie, while Mr. John Claudius Beresford, and other leading Orangemen, publicly predicted a revival of the scenes and results of 1798.

The Clare election was, indeed, decisive: Lord Anglesea, who

landed, fully resolved to make no terms with those he had regarded from a distance as no better than rebels, became now one of their warmest partisans. His favorite councillor was Lord Cloncurry, the early friend of Emmett and O'Connor; the true friend to the last of every national interest. For a public letter to Bishop Curtis, towards the close of 1828, in which he advises the Catholics to stand firm, he was immediately recalled from the government; but his former and his actual chief, within three months from the date of his recall, was equally obliged to surrender to the Association. The great duke was, or affected to be, really alarmed for the integrity of the empire, from the menacing aspect of events in Ireland. A call of parliament was accordingly made for an early day, and, on the 5th of March, Mr. Peel moved a committee of the whole house, to go into a "consideration of the civil disabilities of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects." This motion, after two days' debate, was carried by a majority of 188. On the 10th of March the Relief Bill was read for the first time, and passed without opposition, such being the arrangement entered into while in committee. But in five days all the bigotry of the land had been aroused; nine hundred and fifty-seven petitions had already been presented against it; that from the city of London was signed by more than "an hundred thousand freeholders." On the 17th of March it passed to a second reading, and on the 30th to a third, with large majorities in each stage of debate. Out of 320 members who voted on the final reading, 178 were in its favor. On the 31st of March it was carried to the Lords by Mr. Peel, and read a first time; two days later, on the 2d of April, it was read a second time, on motion of the Duke of Wellington; a bitterly contested debate of three days followed; on the 10th, it was read a third time, and passed by a majority of 104. Three days later the bill received the royal assent and became law.

The only drawbacks on this great measure of long-withheld justice, were, that it disfranchised the "forty-shilling freeholders" throughout Ireland, and condemned Mr. O'Connell, by the insertion of the single word "hereafter," to go back to Clare for reelection. In this there was little difficulty for him, but much petty spleen in the framers of the measure.

While the Relief Bill was still under discussion, Mr. O'Connell presented himself, with his counsel, at the bar of the House of Commons, to claim his seat as member for Clare. The pleadings in the case were adjourned from day to day, during the months of March, April and May. A committee of the House, of which Lord John Russell was Chairman, having been appointed in the meantime to consider the petition of Thomas Mahon and others, against the validity of the election, reported that Mr. O'Connell had been duly elected. On the 15th of May, introduced by Lords Ebrington and Duncannon, the new member entered the House, and advanced to the table to be sworn by the Clerk. On the oath of abjuration being tendered to him, he read over audibly these words—"that the sacrifice of the mass, and the invocation of the blessed Virgin Mary, and other saints, as now practiced in the church of Rome, are impious and idolatrous:" at the subsequent passage, relative to the falsely imputed Catholic "doctrine of the dispensing power" of the Pope, he again read aloud, and paused. Then slightly raising his voice, he bowed, and added, "I decline, Mr. Clerk, to take this oath. Part of it I know to be false; another part I do not believe to be true."

He was subsequently heard at the bar, in his own person, in explanation of his refusal to take the oath, and, according to custom, withdrew. The house then entered into a very animated discussion on the Solicitor General's motion, "that Mr. O'Connell, having been returned a member of this House before the passing of the Act for the Relief of the Roman Catholics, he is not entitled to sit or vote in this House unless he first takes the oath of supremacy." For this motion the vote on a division was 190 against 116: majority, 74. So Mr. O'Connell had again to seek the suffrages of the electors of Clare.

A strange, but well authenticated incident, struck with a somewhat superstitious awe both Protestants and Catholics, in a corner of Ireland the most remote from Clare, but not the least interested in the result of its memorable election. A lofty column on the walls of Derry bore the effigy of Bishop Walker, who fell at the Boyne, armed with a sword, typical of his martial inclinations, rather than of his religious calling. Many long years, by day and night, had his sword, sacred to liberty or ascendancy,

according to the eyes with which the spectator regarded it, turned its steadfast point to the broad estuary of Loch Foyle. Neither wintry storms nor summer rains had loosened it in the grasp of the warlike churchman's effigy, until, on the 13th day of April, 1829—the day the royal signature was given to the Act of Emancipation—the sword of Walker fell with a prophetic crash upon the ramparts of Derry, and was shattered to pieces. So, we may now say, without bitterness and almost without reproach, so may fall and shiver to pieces, every code, in every land beneath the sun, which impiously attempts to shackle conscience, or endows an exclusive caste with the rights and franchises which belong to the entire People!

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POPULAR HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BOOK XIII.

FROM THE EMANCIPATION OF THE CATH-
OLICS TO THE DUBLIN EXHIBITION
OF 1882, EMBRACING A FULL
ACCOUNT OF THE LAND
LEAGUE.

By David P. Conyngham, L.L.D.,

AUTHOR OF

ROSE PARNELL, THE FLOWER OF AYONDALE;
THE O'MAHONEY; THE O'DONNELLS OF
GLEN COTTAGE; THE LIVES OF THE
IRISH SAINTS AND MARTYRS,
ETC., ETC.

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BOOK XIII.*

CHAPTER I.

RESULTS OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.—THE TITHE WAR.—POOR LAW, TITHE AND MUNICIPAL REFORM ACTS.

Emancipation was in the eyes of Catholics a boon of such immense magnitude, that in their gratitude for the religious toleration it extended to them they were rather lavish of their thankfulness to England for the concession, and had it been followed by wise and conciliatory concessions, the bitter feeling against England that rankles in the Irish heart might have been softened into one of contented sufferance. Though the act struck the shackles from the souls of the Catholics of Ireland, it seemed to have only fastened the more those that fettered the limbs. True, it removed all obstacles from the free and full exercise of their religious functions and duties. It threw open the learned professions, with all their honors and emoluments, to the sons of the gentry, only, in many cases, to denationalize them by making them more zealous to secure Government patronage than to redress Irish grievances.

* McGee's History of Ireland, continued from 1829 down to 1882, by David P. Conyngham, L.L.D., author of the "Lives of the Irish Saints and Martyrs," and other works.

Religiously, Catholic Emancipation had trampled upon the bloody penal codes that had so long persecuted the people and proscribed their religion; politically, it only embittered the strife existing between the landlord class and the tenantry. The victory gained by O'Connell by his election for Clare made the landlords feel that they had lost hold on the forty-shilling freeholders, and therefore they had influence enough to saddle the bill with a clause disfranchising this large body of Irish yeomen.

The result was that the epidemical spirit of consolidating the small farms seized the landlords, and wholesale evictions followed. The consequence was, that the people thus robbed of their means, and worried by cruel and unprincipled persecution, banded themselves in many parts of the country with lawless bodies and secret societies as a bond of mutual protection, and too often with the spirit of retaliation upon their oppressors.

The treatment of the farmers, who had frightened England by their sturdy independence, and the disturbed state of the country, convinced O'Connell that there was no salvation for Ireland except in the protection of her own laws, administered by her own Parliament. Discontent and disappointment prevailed throughout the country. Crime and outrage prevailed especially in Tipperary, where an internecine war raged between the landlords and their tenants, and in the North, where religious hate and Orange fanaticism were inflamed by the poor toleration extended to the Catholics.

The very Act which emancipated the people disfranchised thousands of them, and led to their overthrow and ruin. Though the law qualified them to hold high office, it took the bread out of their children's mouths and flung themselves homeless and houseless adrift on the world.

The grievance of paying tithes for the maintenance of a Church in which the people did not believe became a prominent subject of agitation, and associations soon sprang into existence for the purpose of opposing this monstrous iniquity. The tithes represented Protestant Ascendancy, and always stared the people in the face in the person of a tithe-proctor, who was only too ready to strip them of their goods to satisfy the cupidity of an alien Church and resident ministers who gave nothing in return but hate and the rigid enforcement of the powers invested in them by law.

The Catholics naturally reasoned thus: "We are as five to one to our Protestant neighbors; have we not as good a right to demand that they should contribute to the support of our priests as that we should support their ministers without parishioners, or their churches without congregations?"

In 1830 King George IV. died, and was succeeded by his brother, King William IV., an event of little or no consequence to Ireland, for, no matter who reigned in St. James's, her treatment was the same.

On the 4th of February, 1830, Parliament opened but was soon dissolved, and a general election took place. This time O'Connell was elected for Waterford, and was succeeded in Clare by O'Gorman

Mahon. Several other Catholic gentlemen now entered Parliament for the first time. William Smith O'Brien was elected for Ennis, so that he took a prominent part in Irish politics when quite young.

A new organization called the "Society of the Friends of Ireland" took the place of the Catholic Association. The Government felt irritated because Catholic Emancipation did not fill the people with abject loyalty, and they resolved to resort to the old but always new system of dealing with Irish grievances, namely, by oppression and coercion.

The Marquis of Anglesea revived an old statute, just as Mr. Gladstone did, to suppress agitation in Ireland, and the Association had to be dissolved. It was immediately succeeded by another, whose constitution was carefully drafted by O'Connell, called "The Anti-Union Association."

Though O'Connell never omitted an opportunity of proclaiming that Ireland would never be happy or contented until her Parliament was restored to her, still this was the first organized movement in behalf of Repeal of the Union.

The feeling in behalf of repeal ran high in Dublin, and the 27th of December was set down for a great public demonstration of the trades-unions of Dublin in honor of O'Connell and the cause.

Lord Anglesea issued a proclamation forbidding the meeting, and made preparations to disperse it by force in case it was held. O'Connell very wisely prevented any demonstration, and therefore left him without excuse to fire upon the people. This was the beginning of a long and bitter conflict

between O'Connell and Lord Anglesea, in which the latter was always victorious, for he invariably resorted to the weapons of tyrants, namely, brute force and coercion. Any association could be pronounced "illegal and dangerous," with an accommodating sheriff, a bribed jury and a garrison of troops at the behest of the Lord Lieutenant.

It is truly said that history repeats itself, for the conflict between Gladstone and Parnell in our own time is simply a brutal repetition of that between Anglesea and O'Connell. On the one hand are might and power, exercised in defiance of all constitutional law; and on the other, protests and passive resistance, aided by the moral influence of public opinion.

O'Connell resolved to test the legality of Lord Anglesea's proclamation, and in connection with Mr. Lawless, Tom Steele, Mr. Barrett, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Clooney, and a few other gentlemen, attended the meeting, and were arrested, but admitted to bail. A great crowd filled the street in front of the magistrates' office, and when O'Connell made his appearance among them, he was received with wild demonstrations. He exclaimed: "Yesterday I was only half an agitator; to-day I am a whole one. Day and night will I now strive to fling off despotism, to redeem my country, to repeal the Union."

The "Agitator," as he was called, had now thrown down the gauntlet, and resolved to try issues with the Government.

O'Connell adroitly postponed his trial until he found the Whig Ministry in an embarrassing position, when they could not afford to antagonize him

and other elements against their Reform Bill; he then let judgment by default go against him, but was never brought up for sentence.

In 1831 the National School System was established in Ireland, by virtue of a bill introduced by Lord Stanley.

The tithes war raged fiercely this year; the people resisted their collection, and several serious conflicts took place in various parts of the country. On the 18th of June, 1831, a sale was advertised to take place for tithes at the little village of Newtownbarry, County Wexford. The market-place was crowded with people and their miserable effects. The Rev. Mr. McClintock, the Christian Minister who was selling the beds of the poor for the good of the Lord, was keeping guard over them, protected by a large force of police and yeomen. The sale commenced, some little hooting followed, and with little or no provocation, and acting, as has been asserted, under orders from this meek follower of Christ, the police and yeomen opened a murderous fire upon the unarmed peasantry. Thirteen men were slain, and about twenty more lay wounded upon the streets. No one was punished for this legal murder, and indeed the Orange faction, and many Protestants, too, lauded the act as a salutary warning to recusant Papists who were unwilling to contribute their very beds to the support of Protestant Ascendency.

But all this, instead of coercing the people, only irritated them to further resistance. Some tithe-proctors were slain, and six months afterwards occurred the bloody massacre at Carrickshock, County Kil-

kenny, where a process-server and thirteen policemen were killed by the infuriated peasantry.

This continued resistance to tithes was denounced in England as another Popish plot for the subversion of the established religion and the restoration of Popery. Indeed, grave English statesmen, and even historians, treated it in that light. Alison, the Tory historian, discovered in it "The Pope's influence in Ireland," and even looked upon the cholera, which raged in the Summer of 1832, as a blessing, as it abated the mania for agitation. This reminds us of the savage publication of the *London Times* in '48. When the people were dying in thousands of starvation and fleeing a plague-stricken country in plague-stricken ships, its only sympathy was the blasphemous exclamation: "Providence is settling the Irish question. The Irish are gone—gone with a vengeance, the Lord be praised."

All this time the most of Ireland was under coercion, for the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was conveniently suspended as soon as agitation of any kind made much headway. When studying the history of the period, we have oftentimes to pause and ask ourselves, Is not this the history of the present time?

Coercion, the atrocious instrument for torturing a people into desperation, for suppressing all peaceful expressions of public opinion, is now, as well as then, the law of the land, and has been almost continually in force ever since.

In 1832 the act abolishing negro slavery in the West Indies, and appropriating twenty millions to compensate the planters, was passed, and in the fol-

lowing year the "Church Temporalities Act" for Ireland was passed. Church rates were abolished; but this was only a boon to the landlords, for they immediately raised the rents of their unfortunate tenants-at-will, while the parsons were consoled by the appropriation of one million dollars to indemnify them for arrears of tithes.

In 1834 O'Connell renewed the Repeal agitation, and brought the question before Parliament. On the 23d of April he formally brought forward his motion for a Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. The question was debated for four days. O'Connell's greatest opponent was Mr. Spring Rice, afterwards Lord Monteagle. Of course, O'Connell's motion was voted down. The House of Peers rejected the proposition unanimously, declaring, in an address to the King, their firm resolution to maintain "the integrity of the Empire."

In December, 1834, another tithe-carnage scene took place at Rathcormack, a village in the County Waterford, where the Protestant rector had seized on the last stack of corn owned by a poor widow. The people made some show of resistance, and were fired upon by the police and yeomen, who killed and wounded several of them. The excitement and indignation caused by this murder was widespread. Archbishop McHale wrote a public letter to the Duke of Wellington, in which he said: "All the united authorities and the Senate can never annex the conscientious obligations of law to enactments that are contrary to right, reason and justice. And hence the stubborn and unconquerable resistance

of the people of Ireland to those odious acts—I will not call them laws—which have forced them to pay tribute to the teachers of an adverse creed. I shall fully declare my own resolve; I have leased a small farm, just sufficient to qualify for the exercise of this franchise. After paying the landlord his rent, neither to parson, proctor or agent shall I consent to pay, in the shape of tithes or any other tax, a penny which shall go to the support of the greatest nuisance in this or any other country.”

Such a declaration as this, coming from such a dignitary of the Catholic Church, affirming that the laws were unjust and iniquitous and should not be obeyed, fired on the people to greater resistance, and made the authorities pause in their unchristian work of robbing Catholics for the support of the Protestant Church.

On the morning of June 20th, 1837, William IV. breathed his last in Windsor Castle. There were eulogies, of course, pronounced upon his virtues and noble qualities, in and out of Parliament, though all the world were fully aware that he was a rough old sailor, of an irascible temper, self-willed, and stubborn almost beyond forbearance.

William had left no legitimate children, and the Crown passed therefore to the daughter of his brother, the Duke of Kent. This was the Princess Alexandrina Victoria, who was born at Kensington Palace, on May 24, 1819.

The Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Marquis of Conyngham, immediately left Windsor on

the death of the King, and waited on the Princess at Kensington, where the Coronation Oath was administered to her.

When Victoria ascended the throne, amidst the rejoicings of her English subjects, there was little or no enthusiasm in Ireland. The people there felt that it mattered little to them who reigned in Egypt, for their plagues and burdens were the same.

Within the first three years of her reign three important measures relating to Ireland passed through the British Parliament. Though on the surface plausible laws, the serpent lay hid beneath, and like everything emanating from England for Ireland, they were rank with poison in their conception and application. These acts were no other than the Poor Law, the Tithe Act and the Law of Municipal Reform.

The Poor Law had been in force in England since the reign of Henry VIII., the first Poor Law having been enacted in the twenty-seventh year of that monarch's reign. Indeed, such a law had at once become necessary in England on the suppression by Henry of the Catholic monasteries, which had been endowed by charitable people with a view principally to the support of the poor. Henceforth poverty was regarded as a crime, and the most brutal laws were directed against beggars. With the advent of the Reformation, as the non-Catholic historian Cobbett so forcibly points out, all Christian charity, all tender consideration for the wants of the poor, became things of the past. This Poor Law system, which was now at length to be applied to

Ireland, was not, it is almost needless to say, conceived in a philanthropic or benevolent spirit.

The sinister design of the Government was at once perceived by O'Connell, who pointed out that the object of this enactment was twofold—first, to secure absolute control of the great mass of the poor, who within the prison-walls of the workhouse would not be likely to enter as a factor into any possible insurrection; and secondly, to promote the work of depopulation of the "surplus inhabitants," for unscrupulous landlords, seeing that the law had made provision for the homeless poor, would be thereby encouraged in their work of eviction.

At this period a Scotchman named Nicholl was commissioned to go to Ireland and report on the condition of the poor. He saw much suffering and destitution in the island, and reported that during half the year no fewer than five hundred and eighty-five thousand persons, with two million three hundred thousand more dependent on them, were in a state of utter destitution. Upon the presentation of Nicholl's report, Lord John Russell prepared and introduced his Poor Law Bill, which, in spite of the most strenuous opposition of O'Connell and the Irish Hierarchy, became law in July, 1838. In a short time poorhouses dotted the land, and were fast filled by the terrible impetus given to the work of eviction.

This Poor Law system will ever be regarded by Irishmen as one of the most deadly of the many treacherous laws which, under the guise of friendship, England has enacted for Ireland.

The Tithe Bill, the next of these measures, became law in May, 1838. This was a grossly dishonest and disingenuous enactment, for while ostensibly relieving the tenant of the tithe-charge, it in reality made the landlord the medium through which the parson was to receive his tithes, under the name of "rent-charge." It seems scarcely credible, but it is nevertheless true, that in the face of this, the people were assured that they were relieved from the obnoxious tithe-charge.

The next important measure was the Municipal Reform Act. Notwithstanding the Emancipation Act, Catholics were virtually debarred from taking part in the municipal corporations, which were almost exclusively Protestant in their composition, there being only two hundred Catholics among a total of thirteen thousand corporators in Ireland. To remedy this glaring injustice, a Municipal Reform Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1835, by Attorney-General O'Loughlen. The object of the bill was to render the close corporations more representative and popular in their character, by investing in the citizens, with certain restrictions as to rating, the right to elect town-councilors. This very reasonable bill was defeated in the House of Lords, but the defeat only made louder and more persistent the demand of the Irish people for reform. Every year for the next three years (1837-8-9) the bill, with certain modifications, was only passed in the Commons to be unceremoniously thrown out in the Lords. Finally, in 1840, the bill, in modified shape, passed both houses, and became law on the

14th of February. This enactment would certainly be useful were it not for the introduction of a clause providing that the office of sheriff should not be elective as in England, but that the appointment should rest with the Lord Lieutenant. The injustice of this provision becomes apparent when it is considered that the functions of the sheriff are to take charge of the jury-list. But the Government were not to be deprived of an agency which in the subsequent history of Ireland stood them in good need in the manipulation of juries. One result of the passage of the Municipal Reform Act, it may here be mentioned, was the election of Daniel O'Connell as first Catholic Lord Mayor of Dublin.

CHAPTER II.

THE REPEAL MOVEMENT—THE MONSTER MEETINGS— ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF O'CONNELL AND THE REPEAL LEADERS.

THE years 1841 and 1842 were barren of important events, but the year 1843 will ever be memorable in Irish history as the *Repeal Year*. O'Connell had in 1839 organized what is called the "Precursor Society," a name given it from the fact that this organization was to make a final appeal to the British Government for justice, and if this were denied, the banner of Repeal of the Union was to be unfurled. The appeal was unanswered, and Repeal became the watchword. O'Connell went heart and soul into the new movement. He called for three millions of enrolled Repealers, and decided to get up and ad-

dress meetings throughout the country, and in order to do this the more effectually he ceased attending the London Parliament. In the Dublin Corporation he moved his famous resolution for the adoption of a petition to Parliament demanding a repeal of the union with England—in other words, a recurrence to the Irish Parliament of 1800, in which Ireland had her own House of Peers and House of Commons, the English Sovereign being also Sovereign of Ireland. His speech in support of this resolution was a masterpiece of eloquence, and the petition was adopted by a vote of forty-one to fifteen. The petition was soon afterwards adopted by the Cork Corporation.

O'Connell now left Dublin for the provinces, and then followed the monster repeal gatherings all over the island. Wherever he went to speak, the people, with the priests at their head, turned out *en masse*. An idea of the hold he had acquired on the people may be gathered from the simple statement that at the meeting at Tara no less than four hundred thousand people were present!

The great Irish Tribune at the outset proclaimed his intention to adhere strictly to legal and constitutional method in the achievement of his purpose. "Is it by force or violence, bloodshed or turbulence," he cried at one of those meetings, "that I shall achieve this victory, [repeal], dear above all earthly considerations to my heart? No! perish the thought forever. I will do it by legal, peaceable and constitutional means alone—by the electricity of public opinion, by the moral combination of good men,

and by the enrollment of four millions of Repealers. I am a disciple of that sect of politicians who believe that the greatest of all sublunary blessings is *too dearly purchased at the expense of a single drop of human blood.*" This last assertion was of course carrying his theory to a ridiculous extreme, but it goes to show how earnest and emphatic was his belief in constitutional agitation for the redress of grievances. O'Connell's injunctions to the public to preserve the peace were, however, strictly obeyed. One circumstance which contributed greatly to the preservation of order at O'Connell's leviathan gatherings was the fact that the vast mass of the people had become disciples of the great Father Mathew, "The Apostle of Temperance."

Father Mathew was in truth one of the greatest benefactors of the Irish race, and of humanity, the world over. The great temperance advocate was born at Thomastown House, near Cashel, County Tipperary, on the 10th of October, 1790. The family was of Welsh origin, and seem to have been settled in Tipperary since the civil war of 1641. Young Theobald was sent at an early age to Maynooth College, to be educated for the priesthood; but for some slight transgression he retired from that college, and completed his education for the priesthood at the Capuchin College, Kilkenny, where he was ordained in 1814. The first few years of his ministry were spent in Kilkenny, after which he was transferred to Cork City.

It is often erroneously considered that Father Mathew was the founder of the temperance move-

ment. This honor, however, belongs to a little band of Cork Quakers, the leading spirit of which was one honest William Martin. Mr. A. M. Sullivan, in his interesting work "New Ireland," describes very graphically how Father Mathew was led to espouse the total abstinence cause. "One day, while honest Bill Martin and Father Mathew were making their morning visitation of a hospital, the constantly-suggested theme of the miseries which drink brought on the people came uppermost. Mr. Martin, in a burst of passionate grief or invective, suddenly stopped and turned to his companion, exclaiming: 'Oh! Theobald Mathew, Theobald Mathew, what *thou* couldst do, if thou wouldst only take up this work of banishing the fiend that desolates the houses of thy people so!' The words of the honest Quaker fell on Father Mathew's ears with a wondrous power. For days and nights afterwards he pondered on the words of William Martin, and one morning after rising from prayer he exclaimed aloud: 'Here goes, in the name of God!' and instantly repaired to the office of Mr. Martin and announced his intention of joining the little temperance band. The good Quaker in the fullness of his joy actually wept like a child, and embracing the friar, cried out, "Thank God! thank God!"

Thus entered Father Mathew in his great crusade against drunkenness. The announcement of his accession to the "teetotal" band, which, though respected in Cork, were nevertheless unable to make much impression on the masses of the people, created something of a sensation in the city. Men

began to look at the question more seriously, they began to *think*. The temperance gatherings at once swelled into large proportions, and Father Mathew, with the approbation of the originator of the movement, established an organization under his own presidency, on the 10th of April, 1838. Thenceforth Father Mathew pushed forward the great movement with all the intense enthusiasm of his nature. He traveled all over the island, administering the pledge to thousands. In the Orange North, he was received with as much warmth as in "Rebel Cork." He did not confine his labors to Ireland, but crossing the Channel in 1843, preached the gospel of temperance in London and the large English cities. In 1849, he visited America, where he remained till the close of 1851, conferring untold benefit on thousands of his own race and of others. After this period his health broke down and he was compelled to abandon his labors in the cause of temperance. This great and good man died at Queenstown, on the 8th of December, 1856, universally lamented.

As we have said, Father Mathew's labors contributed to O'Connell's wonderful success in keeping the people within the bounds of the law, while at the same time firing them with the ardent determination to get back their native Parliament. Throughout the summer of 1843, monster Repeal gatherings were held all over the island.

The Government did not view these things impassively; on the 27th of April, Mr. Lane Fox, a Tory member, gave notice in the House of Commons, "That it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government

to take immediate steps to put an end to the agitation for Repeal"; and on the 9th of May, an Arms Bill for Ireland was introduced by Lord Eliot, Chief Secretary for Ireland. This bill provided: "That no man could keep arms of any sort, without first having a certificate from two householders rated to the poor at above £20, and then producing that certificate to the Justices at Sessions." If the application for arms was granted, they were to be *branded* and registered. After procuring a license, it was forbidden to remove, sell or bequeath any arms without a new registry. To have a pike or spear, or instrument serving for a pike or spear, was punishable by seven years' transportation. To prevent as far as possible the manufacture of pikes, blacksmiths were required to take out a license to pursue their trade. Domiciliary visits by the police on the mere "suspicion" of a magistrate was also a feature of the precious bill. But the most odious provision of the bill was that which declared that should any weapon be found in any house, out-house or stock-yard, the occupier was to be convicted, unless he could prove that it was there without his knowledge.

The introduction of this despotic measure only gave a further impetus to the Repeal movement. O'Connell was serene and imperturbable, the people kept within the limits of the law, and the huge gatherings became huger than ever. A powerful agency in keeping alive the spirit of patriotism was the *Nation* newspaper, founded in the autumn of 1842 by Mr. (now Sir) Charles Gavan Duffy, with whom were associated Thomas Davis and John Dillon.

The *Nation* was a surprise to friends and foes alike. It was conducted with consummate ability, and its galaxy of writers shed imperishable lustre on Ireland.

The Arms Bill was most strenuously resisted by the patriotic Irish members, conspicuous among whom was Mr. Smith O'Brien, who had not up to that time joined the ranks of the Repealers. But resistance was futile, and the Arms Bill became law. Simultaneously with the passage of the Arms Act, additional troops, principally English and Scotch, were dispatched to Ireland. War-steamers cruised around the coasts, and the police barracks were fortified. O'Connell and his Repealers, however, were not daunted by these warlike displays, and the meetings continued to be held with intensified enthusiasm. Many of the Irish members quitted Westminster and gathered round O'Connell, believing that the battle for Repeal could be most successfully waged in Ireland. The Government tried by divers petty persecutions to goad the people into rebellion. Catholic justices of the peace who had become Repealers were deprived of their commissions by the Lord Chancellor (Sir Edward Sugden), in the most insulting manner. Some twenty magistrates, including O'Connell and Lord French, were thus removed. O'Connell retaliated by having the dismissed magistrates appointed as "arbitrators," and calling on the people in all disputes to apply to the "arbitrators" in preference to the Queen's justices.

A great source of uneasiness to the British Government was the fact that in the United States the Repeal movement was taken up as ardently as in Ire-

land. In the large cities of the Republic meetings were held week after week, while O'Connell's exchequer was considerably augmented by remittances from America.

French expression of sympathy for Ireland was not wanting either, and the Paris *Constitutionnel* was outspoken in its encouragement of O'Connell and the Repeal movement.

Thus backed up by his people at home, and encouraged from abroad, the monster meetings went on. At the meeting in Mallow, at which at least two hundred thousand people attended, O'Connell in the course of his speech said: "Suppose for a moment that England found the Act of Union to operate not for her benefit—if, instead of decreasing her debt, it added to her taxation and liabilities, and made her burden more onerous—and, if she felt herself entitled to call for a repeal of that act, I ask Peel and Wellington, and let them deny it if they dare, and if they did they would be the scorn and by-word of the world, would she not have the right to call for a repeal of that act. And what are Irishmen that they should be denied the same privilege? Have we not the ordinary courage of Englishmen? Are we to be trampled under foot? Oh, they shall never trample me, at least. I was wrong—they may trample me, under foot—I say they may trample me, but it will be my dead body they will trample on, not the living man!" Thunders of applause greeted these words, and the people felt that in the last extremity, at least, O'Connell would not adhere to his "peace policy."

A grand and imposing meeting was that held at "Tara of the Kings," in the County Meath, on the 15th of August. A vast multitude was present, estimated in the *Nation* at seven hundred and fifty thousand, but Mitchell in his history, thinks that a gross exaggeration, and places the number at three hundred and fifty thousand. Probably a fair estimate would be half a million.

O'Connell stood beside the "Stone of Destiny," used in long-past ages for the coronation of the Monarchs of Ireland; beneath him was spread a boundless human ocean. It was a truly grand and impressive spectacle.

He successively addressed meetings of monster proportions in Roscommon, Clifden and Loughrea, but the crowning success of all was the leviathan gathering which met at Mullaghmast, in the County Kildare, on the 1st of October.

Mullaghmast was memorable in Irish history as the scene of the treacherous massacre of the Chiefs of Offaly and Leix with hundreds of their clansmen, by the English of the Pale, in 1577. Fully half a million people attended this meeting, and when O'Connell appeared in his aldermanic robes, surrounded by members of town corporations and distinguished priests and laymen, he received an ovation such as a king might envy. The eminent Irish sculptor John Hogan, amid breathless silence, came forward and placed on the head of "the uncrowned King of Ireland" an exquisitely embroidered cap, fashioned after the ancient Irish crown, exclaiming at the same time: "Sir, I only regret this cap is not

of gold!" And half a million shouts rent the air in approbation of the sentiment. The great tribune once more assured his audience that England could not continue much longer to refuse their just demand. He told them that he had already prepared his "plan for the renewed action of the Irish Parliament," as previously submitted at a meeting of the Repeal Association in Dublin. This Parliament was to consist of three hundred members, and O'Connell had already gone so far as to announce that he would convene three hundred representative Irishmen in Dublin, in December. The people were jubilant, and all believed that the full fruition of their hopes was near at hand. Little did they dream that all those fair hopes were to be blasted in the near future, and that the very assemblage at which they were now present was to be the last of the monster Repeal meetings of Ireland. Yet so an adverse destiny decided.

The Government now became thoroughly alarmed, and determined to grapple in deadly earnest with the Repeal movement. But as this movement was carried on within constitutional lines, some pretext for interference on the part of the Government was wanted.

England, however, always needed but a very flimsy pretext for interference with the rights of "the mere Irish," and the opportunity soon presented itself. A great metropolitan gathering was announced to be held at historic Clontarf, on Sunday, the 8th of October. For days previously the subject of the great meeting was uppermost in

men's minds. It was the great topic of discourse in Dublin and for miles around. All preparations for the great event were completed, when lo! outside the police barracks, and on the dead-walls of Dublin, on the day before the meeting, and just as the shades of evening were falling, appeared ominous proclamations, prohibiting the projected meeting to take place! Here was a dilemma for O'Connell. He had frequently dared the Government to attack him. Well, they have now at length thrown down the gage of battle; would he take it up?

The object of the Government in keeping back the proclamation until almost the last moment was apparent. It was simply to goad the people into insurrection. But O'Connell, who, it had now become apparent, never seriously contemplated physical resistance to the authorities, took immediate steps to prevent what to him seemed a terrible calamity. He issued a proclamation forbidding the contemplated meeting, and calling on the people to obey the orders of the Lord Lieutenant. This proclamation, aided by the almost superhuman exertions of the members of the Repeal Committee, had the desired effect, and when the troops—horse, foot and artillery—in strong force reached Clontarf, they encountered no enemy. The Government at once instituted proceedings against O'Connell and eight others, including John O'Connell (the Liberator's son), who was at the time Member of Parliament for Kilkenny; Charles Gavan Duffy, then editor of the *Nation*; Rev. Father Tyrrel, of Lusk, County Dublin; Rev. Father Tierney, of Clontibret,

County Monaghan; Richard Barrett, editor of the *Pilot*, Dublin; Thomas Steele, "Head Pacificator of Ireland"; Dr. Gray, of the *Freeman's Journal*; and Thomas M. Ray, Secretary of the Repeal Association. Of the nine traversers, Father Tyrrel died during the course of the trials, his death being caused by over-exertion in preventing his parishioners from going to the Clontarf meeting.

The trials extended over a period of several months, and meanwhile the Repeal agitation went on apace. A large hall—christened by O'Connell "Conciliation Hall," to typify the necessity of all Irishmen uniting and sinking party differences—which had been in progress for some time, was now completed, and on the 22d of October was opened with great enthusiasm. This, the first meeting was a monster gathering, and was presided over by John Augustus O'Neill, of Bunowen Castle, a retired cavalry officer and formerly M. P. of Hull, England. This meeting was signalized by William Smith O'Brien—who had up to that time been an obedient Whig—giving in his adhesion to the popular cause. O'Brien was the representative of the great and ancient house of Thomond, his family was Protestant, and by all social ties was bound to the pro-British faction in Ireland. His accession to the Repeal ranks, therefore, was hailed with joy by the people and with alarm on the part of their enemies. His noble and patriotic example was followed by many other Protestants of high social position; the funds of the Repeal Association swelled into large proportions, and a fresh impetus

was given to the national movement. Friendly encouragement and sympathy, as well as pecuniary aid from America, was not wanting, and the action of the Government seemed altogether to have a contrary effect to what was intended.

After a farce of a trial in which a packed jury, composed exclusively of Protestants, was impaneled by the vilest methods known to a vile Government, the traversers were found guilty, and on the 30th of May, 1844, O'Connell was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of £2,000, the others receiving lighter sentences. An appeal was taken to the House of Lords on a writ of error, and in the meantime O'Connell and his fellow-prisoners were confined in Richmond Penitentiary.

But the victory of the Government was a Pyrrhic one. Repeal meetings continued to be held, and patriotic Protestants were more and more drawn into the popular ranks. Smith O'Brien flung himself into the fight with ardor, and his services at this juncture were invaluable. After various delays, the appeal to the House of Lords was heard in September, 1844, the case being left in the hands of the Law Lords of that assembly. Three of the five Law Lords, Denman, Cottenham and Campbell, were in favor of reversing the sentence, and it was accordingly set aside. The Lord Chancellor (Lyndhurst) and Lord Brougham voted in the minority. The memorable words Lord Denman employed in condemning the manner in which the jury-lists were obtained are well known; such practices, he declared, would make of the law "a mockery, a de-

lusion and a snare." There was great rejoicing throughout Ireland over the action of the Lords, and a monster triumphal procession escorted the prisoners on their liberation through the streets of Dublin to O'Connell's residence. As O'Connell's carriage came in front of the old Parliament House, the Liberator rose from his seat and pointed to the stately portico. This little incident, eloquent however in its significance, was received with thundering cheers.

The people now looked forward with almost agonizing suspense to O'Connell's next move. His power was still unquestioned ; indeed, it is doubtful if at any period of his wonderful career Irishmen were more ready to obey his behests. In their steady and unflinching allegiance to their leader, they had made many and bitter sacrifices, and they were ready to do and dare much more. Indeed, they would have hailed with joy a declaration of war from O'Connell on the English garrison in Ireland, and there is little doubt that if they had been properly armed they would have made short work of British rule in the island. But O'Connell was now a changed man ; he was nearly seventy years of age, and his incarceration had had a visible effect on his system and spirits. In his speech there was henceforth an absence of that bold and defiant tone which had so often thrilled his people. He gradually alienated from himself the more fiery spirits of the Association, until finally an open rupture was created between him and the "Young Ireland" party, of which more shall be said by-and-by. Few even among

O'Connell's most obedient followers could indorse his declaration that "liberty was not worth the shedding of a drop of human blood!" But O'Connell when he gave expression to this absurd doctrine was entirely shattered in health, and softening of the brain had already set in. Indeed, he might now be said to have come to the end of his great career. The Repeal movement dragged on in a half-hearted manner; its power for usefulness was gone.

It will be well just now to glance at some Governmental measures which were heralded forth with a great flourish of trumpets as calculated to be of inestimable benefit to Ireland. On the 2d of April, 1845, Sir Robert Peel sent what he called a "message of peace to Ireland," in the shape of a proposed bill providing for a considerable increase in the grant to the College of Maynooth. This concession, such as it was, was made at a time when war was threatened between England and the United States, owing to a dispute about Oregon. Another of those "ameliorative" measures was the bill creating and endowing the three "Queen's Colleges." O'Connell vehemently denounced "the godless colleges," and, although some of the clergy, and even some of the bishops, at first regarded them as a substantial boon, all were afterwards brought around to the views of O'Connell. Those ingeniously devised measures, however, accomplished the purposes of the Government in tending to still further disintegrate the Repeal Association. Religious disputes were engendered by the Colleges Bill, and

Protestants were alienated from the Association. The next of those so-called remedial measures was the "Compensation of Tenants in Ireland" Bill. This bill proposed to do away with tenant-right by compensating tenants for all future improvements. It also proposed to get rid of a portion of Ireland's "surplus population" by a comprehensive scheme of emigration. Provision was likewise made whereby large numbers of laborers were to be employed on the waste lands of Ireland. This bill, which was denounced by Irish landlords and tenants alike, was defeated chiefly through the opposition of the landlord influence, who would not admit that tenants had any right whatsoever to "compensation." Thus Peel's scheme for disposing of Ireland's "surplus population" was frustrated; but his fell purpose was soon to be accomplished by a more terrible and deadly agency—viz., the famine. Misfortunes to nations as to individuals seldom come singly, and the gloom which was now beginning to overshadow the island was still further deepened by the death of the pure and noble Thomas Davis, which sad event for Ireland took place in September, 1845.

CHAPTER III.

THE FAMINE PERIOD.—FRIGHTFUL SCENES.—ENGLAND'S
HEARTLESS TREATMENT OF THE FAMINE.—FOREIGN
AID AND SYMPATHY.—SPLIT IN THE REPEAL RANKS.
—THE VAGRANCY ACT.—DEATH OF O'CONNELL.

The great bulk of the Irish people were known to depend for subsistence principally on the potato crop.

Now, the long continuance of cold wet weather in the Summer of 1845 all but completely ruined this crop. The blight was startlingly sudden in its ravages, and what at one time promised to be an abundant harvest was in the short space of a week transformed into blasted and withered fields. A cry of terror arose in the land. Before the famine had really set in hundreds of people perished of hunger on the roadsides. The evils of an alien Parliament never received a more terrible illustration than in the bungling incompetence—rather, we should say, the criminal apathy—of the English Government to meet the dreadful crisis in Ireland. Not but that they got repeated warnings of the dreaded calamity that was impending. As early as October, the Irish Mansion House Relief Committee implored the Government to call Parliament together and throw open the ports. The Government refused. The Corporation of Dublin sent a memorial to the Queen praying her to convene the Parliament, and to recommend the appropriation of some public money for public works, especially railways, in Ireland. The Town Council of Belfast took similar action. And on the 8th of December, O'Connell, addressing the Repeal Association, said: "If they ask me what are my propositions for relief of the distress, I answer, first, *tenant-right*. I would propose a law, giving to every man his own. I would give the landlord his land, and a fair rent for it; but I would give the tenant compensation for every shilling he might have laid out on the land in permanent improvements. And what next do I propose? *Repeal*

of the Union." Further on he said that if Ireland had her own Parliament, the ports would be thrown open, and that "the abundant crops with which Heaven has blessed her would be kept for the people of Ireland." Indeed, almost the universal voice of Ireland called for the opening of the ports. But the Government was inexorable, and the voice of the nation was unheeded. The executive, indeed, on the first appearance of the blight, commissioned Messrs. Playfair, Lindley, and Dr. (now Sir Robert) Kane, to examine and report upon the nature of the potato disease, &c.

Meanwhile immense shipments to England of grain (the Irish *grain* crops of '45 were abundant), cattle, sheep and hogs from Ireland were daily taking place. Indeed we have it from a Government source—Thorn's Official Directory—that more grain was shipped from Ireland to England in 1845—the first of the famine years—than in any previous year! The exports of grain and cattle to England in '45 amounted to about seventeen millions sterling. Most of the Irish grain crops was gone by the first of January, '46.

At length, after much valuable time was lost, during which hundreds perished of hunger, Parliament assembled late in January, 1846.

The *first* measure introduced was, characteristically enough—a coercion bill! Driven to desperation, it is not to be wondered that some of the unfortunate peasantry wreaked bloody vengeance on their heartless oppressors, who were only too ready to take advantage of the terrible situation in Ireland to

carry on the congenial work of eviction. Those agrarian outrages afforded the Government a pretext to introduce a most vile and odious coercive measure. The other measure which was introduced to meet the Irish crisis was a bill for the repeal of the corn laws. It was also proposed to abolish the duties on foreign beef, mutton and bacon. Though this measure looked plausible enough on the surface, it was in reality a cruel delusion. Ireland imported no corn or beef—on the contrary, she exported those commodities—and the bill might thus be said to be for England's exclusive benefit, that country being a large importer of those staples. The measure was in truth adverse to the interests of the Irish farmer, who hitherto had an advantage over the foreign corn-growers in the English market, because there was a duty on foreign but not on Irish provisions. Henceforth, the agricultural produce of the world was to be admitted on the same terms, to the evident disadvantage of the Irish farmer. The vast mass of the Irish people were obliged, as usual, to sell their corn and cattle in order to meet the rent. Throwing open the ports, therefore, in so far as that course was intended to grapple with the famine, was a mockery. The Irish ports were open to English ships, to carry away their cargoes of cattle and corn, while the Irish people were being decimated by hunger. If during those terrible times the Irish ports had been *closed* against all exports—a precaution which would undoubtedly have been taken had Ireland had a native Parliament—there would have been no famine.

As immediate relief measures, a grant was made of £50,000 for public works, and an equal amount for drainage of estates—both grants being made to the Commissioners of Public Works, and to be administered by that body. The utter inadequacy of this grant must have been as apparent to the English ministry as it was to the Irish people. Mr. Secretary Labouchere, in a statement in Parliament, in that very session, estimated the total money-loss accruing by the potato-blight at sixteen millions sterling. Now to replace this *absolutely necessary* food by foreign corn, taking into account the higher price of grain over potatoes, besides freight, an appropriation of twenty millions sterling would have been necessary. Thus the actual grant was about the two-hundredth part of what the occasion demanded! Miserably inadequate as it was, no effective measures were taken for its prompt application. The first three months of the year passed away, and the people found no relief. There was forsooth much preparation in the way of appointing commissions and clerks, and preparing stationery, schedules, specifications and red-tape.

Some of the Repeal leaders, including O'Connell, Smith O'Brien and others, proceeded to London in March, to endeavor to stir up the Ministry, or at least to ascertain their intentions. As to the relief grants, Smith O'Brien declared in the House that not one single guinea had up to that time been expended on the starving people. He was haughtily told that the Government had taken the matter in hand, and that was sufficient. It was evident that no

satisfaction could be had from the Government. And while famine was claiming its victims by the thousand, the crow-bar brigade completed the work of desolation. One landlord in County Galway, a Mrs. Gerrard, cleared out a whole village, containing two hundred and seventy souls!

The Coercion Bill, to which we have referred as having been introduced simultaneously with the bill for the repeal of the corn laws, proved the downfall of the Peel Ministry. On the 25th of May, 1846, the former measure was defeated by a coalition of the Whigs, Protectionists and Repealers, Sir Robert Peel immediately resigning office. The sincerity of the Whigs in voting against the Coercion Bill was attested soon afterwards by that party introducing and passing a still more stringent measure!

Peel, before retiring from office, hit upon an expedient for breaking up the Repeal Association. This was the imprisonment of Smith O'Brien for several weeks in the cellar of the House of Commons. The Repeal M. P.'s, believing that they could accomplish more for the cause by remaining in Ireland than by any efforts they could make in a hostile legislature, habitually absented themselves from Parliament. It was in vain that they were nominated on English railroad and other committees. They replied that they had more important business to attend to. But on the introduction of the Coercion Act, they proceeded to London to oppose that measure, and the Government soon took advantage of the situation by placing their names on railroad committees. O'Connell and his son obeyed the call, but O'Brien

refused and was imprisoned in the cellar for "contempt," whereupon all England became jubilant over the successful ruse of the Government. O'Brien's imprisonment had a most disastrous effect on the Repeal Association. The more ardent members applauded O'Brien's action, which was impliedly a censure on the course pursued by O'Connell. At first a sort of patched-up settlement was effected between the jarring elements; but it was short-lived. The "Eighty-two Club" voted a warm address to the imprisoned leader, thoroughly indorsing his conduct, and dispatched several members to present it to him in his dungeon. By the time the Whigs came in, the divisions in the Repeal Association came to a crisis. O'Connell, who always had a lurking distrust of the "juvenile members," as he sneeringly styled them, now abandoned all agitation of the Repeal question, and took measures to sever himself from the advanced section, or "Young Ireland." Mr. Smith O'Brien thus concisely describes how the split was produced:

"Negotiations were opened between Mr. O'Connell and the Whigs at Chesham Place. 'Young Ireland' protested in the strongest terms against an alliance with the Whigs; Mr. O'Connell took offense at the language used by Mr. Meagher and others. When I arrived in Dublin, after the resignation of Sir Robert Peel, I learned that he contemplated a rupture with the writers of the *Nation*. Before I went to the County of Clare, I communicated through Mr. Ray a special message to Mr. O'Connell, who was then absent from Dublin, to the effect, that though I was most anxious to occupy a neutral

position, I could not silently acquiesce in any attempt to expel the *Nation* or its party from the Association. Next came the Dungarvan election, and the new 'moral force' resolutions. I felt it my duty to protest against both at the Kilrush dinner. Upon my return to Dublin, I found a public letter from Mr. O'Connell, formally denouncing the *Nation*; and no alternative was left me but to declare that if that letter were acted upon I could not co-operate any longer with the Repeal Association. The celebrated two-day debate then took place. Mr. J. O'Connell opened an attack upon the *Nation* and upon its adherents. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Meagher defended themselves in language which it seemed to me did not transgress the bounds of decorum or of legal safety. Mr. John O'Connell interrupted Mr. Meagher in his speech, and declared that he could not allow him to proceed with the line of argument necessary to sustain the principles which had been arraigned. I protested against this interruption. Mr. J. O'Connell then gave us to understand that unless Mr. Meagher desisted, he (Mr. J. O'Connell) must leave the hall. I could not acquiesce in this attempt to stifle a fair discussion, and sooner than witness the departure of Mr. J. O'Connell from an Association founded by his father, I preferred to leave the assembly." The "moral force" resolutions alluded to above, condemned, at least by implication, as wrongful any and every effort, in any age or time, clime or country, to redress political wrongs by armed resort! It is no wonder that they called forth the righteous indignation of young Meagher,

who, in words of burning eloquence, refused to "abhor or stigmatize the sword." O'Brien's departure from Conciliation Hall was followed by that of Mitchell, Meagher, and the other "Young Irelanders," and there was practically an end to the Repeal Association. Meantime the twin destroyers, famine and fever, were doing their terrible work, and the exterminating landlords were in many cases enabled to regain their lands by the mere taking, all the inmates having perished. During 1846, not less than three hundred thousand people perished by famine, either directly or indirectly. But the British Government being sedulous to conceal the amount of the carnage, the Census Commissioners, in their Report for 1851, put the number of "registered" deaths by hunger alone—excluding, of course, the deaths by fever, the direct outcome of hunger—at 2,041. The value of those figures is therefore apparent.

In addition to the Coercion Act, the Whig Ministry brought in and carried this year the Labor-rate Act. The Poor Law System having utterly broken down in Ireland, this Labor-rate was intended as a sort of additional Poor-rate. The Labor-rate was payable by the same persons who were liable to the other Poor-rates, and the proceeds were to be applied to the execution of such public works (strictly *useless* works) as the Government might choose to sanction, all control and superintendence to be vested in Government officers. The Treasury was to advance the money in order to set the people immediately to work; and the advance was to be repaid in ten years by means of the increased rate.

Now the class who suffered most from the potato-blight were those small farmers, who, after paying their rents, were barely able to keep themselves above starvation. With this new tax on them, the terrible struggle which these people had been making to keep themselves from becoming subjects for relief was given up in great part, and they sank into the class of able-bodied paupers, and enrolled themselves as Government navvies, thus throwing themselves for support upon those who still strove to live by their own labor on their own land. In addition to the proceeds of the new Poor-rate, Parliament appropriated a further sum of £50,000 to be applied in giving work in some absolutely pauper districts, where there was no hope of ever raising rates to repay it. It is needless to say that the great majority of the Irish people, who had denounced the Poor Law System from its very inception, strongly condemned the new Act; their objections were brushed aside as being unworthy of serious consideration.

According to the wise dictates of their political economists, the Government decided that those relief works should be useless in character, and the strange spectacles were to be witnessed of men building bridges where there was no water, and cutting roads where there was no hill. The labor was absolutely wasted, the laborers utterly demoralized, and the way paved for next year's famine. The Labor-rate Act played into the hands of the exterminating landlords, who plied their nefarious game more vigorously than ever. Of the many thousands who had been evicted, those who could scrape up

enough money to pay their passage emigrated to America. The great "exodus" to the United States, which has been kept up more or less to the present day, set in with a rush. Men fled to the seas as if pursued by savage beasts. Many of these never reached their destination—they perished by hundreds in the terrible fever-ships of the period. And while so large a proportion of the bone and muscle of the country was being driven across the seas, nearly all of the agricultural laborers remaining were, by the operations of the Labor-rate Act, diverted from their proper pursuits. The *Dublin Evening Mail* of the time, a pro-British organ, speaking of the death of agricultural laborers in County Limerick, says: "There is not a laborer employed in the county, except on public works; and there is every prospect of the lands remaining untilled and unsown for next year." The *Cork Constitution*, another pro-British organ, bears similar testimony. Thus the Government by their own action insured the famine of '47—the most terrible year of the three famine years.

During the winter of 1846-1847 there was a frightful amount of extermination. In the same winter about four hundred thousand people perished of hunger and typhus-fever, while at least seventeen millions worth of the Irish harvests *again* went over to England.

The third and most destructive of the so-called "Relief" measures was the "Out-door Relief Act," passed in February, 1847. A new loan of ten millions sterling was to be raised, and to be applied

from time to time for relief of the famine—the half of the advances to be repaid by additional Poor Law rates—the other half to be a grant from the Treasury to pay able-bodied paupers for doing useless work. In this act was a clause—called the “Quarter Acre Clause”—providing that where a farmer who held land should be forced to apply for relief, he should not get it unless he first surrendered his farm to his landlord. One-quarter of an acre he might retain ; but all the rest must be given up. Henceforth farms were daily given up without even the formality of a Notice-to-Quit.

The Labor-rate Act having been now pronounced a failure in England, steps were taken by the new act for dismissing in batches the laborers employed on the public works. On the 6th of March, there were seven hundred and thirty thousand *heads* of families on the public works, representing nearly four millions of people. On the 10th of April, the number was reduced to 500,723. Within the next few months batches of 100,000 or so were in like manner dismissed. Most of these had now neither house nor home; and their only resource was the Outdoor Relief. For this they were ineligible if they held but one rood of land. Under the new law it was able-bodied idlers only who could be fed ; an attempt to till even one rood of ground was death.

It was in this year ('47), that the world, as if by a common impulse, moved by the terrible stories of Ireland's suffering, sent forth their contributions to that hapless land. Many charitable English people, let it be told to their credit, acted nobly in this

crisis; the good Society of Friends were conspicuous in their works of charity and humanity. The sympathy and substantial succor of *la belle France* were not wanting; while even poor Turkey sent forward a liberal contribution. But above all will Ireland ever remember the generous sympathy and aid of the people of the United States, who, in addition to large sums of money, sent two war-ships, the *Macedonian* and the *Jamestown*, to Ireland, loaded with provisions. Those contributions, either owing to the criminal intent or bungling incapacity of the British Government, did not accomplish anything like what they would have done had there been no Government interference. Before sending the *Jamestown*, the Americans had forwarded several cargoes of corn, intrusting its distribution to the agents of the Government Relief Committees, who locked it up in Government stores and allowed it to be very gradually distributed among the famishing people. They considered that its prompt application to the purpose for which it was sent would derange the Liverpool market. The Americans, therefore, seeing that by this mode of distribution their efforts had scarcely an appreciable effect towards diminishing Irish suffering, sent the *Jamestown* into Cork Harbor, and intrusted the disposal of its cargo to a committee of Cork citizens. Even here, the good intentions of the Americans were to a large extent frustrated. As the cargo of the *Jamestown* came into consumption, prices became a shade lower, and speculators made a rich harvest in shipping to Liverpool, and the heartless spectacle was

presented in many an Irish port of ships leaving for England laden with grain and cattle.

In 1847 was passed that infamous piece of legislation known as the "Vagrancy Act." As thousands of the unfortunate Irish were fleeing to England, in the hope of earning a livelihood, there the Government took alarm about typhus fever. Orders in council were suddenly issued, subjecting all vessels having deck-passengers to troublesome examinations and quarantine, and in less than a week afterwards four of the steamship companies between England and Ireland, on request of Ministers, raised the passage rate for deck-passengers. In this same year, vast numbers of destitute Irish people in England, whose labors for a large, perhaps the better, portion of their lives had gone to enrich that country, were sent back by parish and town authorities, and literally dumped on the Irish coasts.

The people were now in a terrible plight. They had no money to emigrate, and in their own country they had neither food nor shelter. The poor-houses were crammed; each of them was an hospital for typhus fever, and it was anything but an uncommon sight to see three or four fever patients in one bed, some dead and others not yet dead. Several unions, overwhelmed with rates, refused to provide coffins for the dead paupers, and in heaps they were thrown coffinless into holes. Other unions, with some outward show of decency, procured a coffin which had its bottom hinged at one side, and closed with a latch on the other, and this did duty in hundreds of cases of interment. The horrors of those famine

years no pen could exaggerate. It is no wonder that they excited the sympathy of a civilized world. But while Ireland received friendly aid and sympathy from almost every civilized country, it must be repeated emphatically that she never once during those terrible times solicited alms: that was done for her by her humane rulers, who deprived her of her substance with one hand, and held out the other to the world's charity for her. All Ireland wanted, was the use of her own, and this she could only have by Repeal of the Union. This England would not grant, but insisted instead that she should remain a nation of beggars. Thus, on the 17th of October, 1847, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued a form of thanksgiving for an "abundant harvest," to be read in all the churches, and on the same day a Royal Letter was issued, asking alms in those same churches for the starving Irish.

In February, 1847, the great Tribune, weighed down by grief over the horrors of the famine and the destruction of his fond hopes for Repeal of the Union, quitted Ireland for Rome. He desired to see the Pope, and then resign his spirit into the hands of its Creator in the Eternal City. In the inscrutable wisdom of Providence, these wishes were not destined to be realized; for on the 15th of May he died at Genoa, on the way. His death created the most profound grief amongst Irishmen the world over, and even his enemies heard with emotion the announcement of the sad event.

The horrid spectacle of his people perishing before his eyes, and the utter collapse of his schemes

for Repeal assuredly hastened his death. O'Connell was always a sincere Catholic, and his death was a truly edifying one. He bequeathed his body to Ireland and his heart to Rome, "not," as he said, "that he loved Ireland less, but that he loved Rome more." The funeral procession in Dublin was of monster proportions. Smith O'Brien and his confederates wished to attend the obsequies, and the fact that John O'Connell positively forbade their taking part will show how great was the breach between O'Connell's party and the Young Irelanders.

The Irish harvest of 1847 was again an abundant one, and if it could only be kept in the country there would have been no danger of famine. The terrible consequences of the unrestricted shipment of grain and cattle to England in the preceding years of the famine had by this time thoroughly exasperated the people. Indeed, John Mitchell and his compatriots boldly advocated the forcible stoppage of all convoys of Irish grain or cattle on their way to the seacoast for shipment. Their teachings aroused their countrymen, and in the County Clare mobs were beginning to stop the transport of provisions. Lord Clarendon was sent over in this year (1847), as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was full of conciliation and promises to stamp out the famine. To combat the teachings of the Mitchell School and to turn the thoughts and hopes of the people towards the Government, he recommended a tour of agricultural "lectures," the expense to be provided by the Royal Agricultural Society, aided by public grants. The lecturers were to go on every

estate, call the tenants together, and enlighten them on the principles of scientific agriculture. This cruel mockery of delivering highly scientific agricultural lectures to a people who expected to be turned out of their holdings the following spring was bad enough, but baser and more treacherous was Lord Clarendon's attempt to subsidize the Dublin press. It is to the credit of that press, however, that only one paper, a disreputable sheet called the *World*, edited by a blackmailer named Birch, was willing to sell itself to the enemy. This Birch, who lived by hush-money, and who was several times tried and convicted as a blackmailer, the Government were not above taking into their service, and paying for making weekly attacks of the most revolting character on Mitchell, O'Brien and Meagher, and the other leaders. All those things afterwards came to light, and much racy evidence was elicited in the case of Birch vs. Sir T. Redington, in which the worthy Government tool brings suit for "further sums" due him for "work and labor" performed.

Another measure of Lord Clarendon, ingenuously devised to cause division amongst the Irish people, was his great liberality towards Catholic lawyers in the distribution of patronage. Mr. Monahan, a Catholic barrister, for instance, was made Attorney-General for Ireland, and subsequently raised to the bench. It is needless to say that Monahan and others like him became most pliant and useful tools of the Government.

Meantime Mitchell and the writers in the *Nation* had been endeavoring to turn the minds of the peo-

ple to the only true remedy for their evils—that is, a combined effort to prevent export of provisions, and to resist process of ejection. Indeed, they would go further, and destroy root and branch the accursed system of landlordism in which was the real cause of Ireland's many ills. They knew that this could only be accomplished by a successful armed revolution, but they boldly declared at the same time that it were better to die with arms in their hands, fighting for *the right to live*, than die of starvation in a ditch. The Government took alarm at these bold doctrines, and another stringent Coercion Act was the result.

Unhappy Ireland! This year was truly for her a "Black Forty-seven." Assailed at once by famine and fever, the crow-bar brigades, emigration and coercion, she was a truly pitiable object. Captain Larcom, a Government Commissioner, be it remembered, in 1848, furnished a Report, from which it appears that in 1847 there were in all Ireland about seventy thousand heads of families evicted from their holdings. He says: "In the number of farms of from one to five acres, the decrease has been 24,147; from five to fifteen acres, 27,379; from fifteen to thirty acres, 4,274; whilst of farms above thirty acres, the *increase* has been 3,670." When the famine was over, and its results came to be estimated, it was found that Ireland had lost two millions and a half of her people. The census of Ireland in 1841 gave a population of 8,175,125. At the usual rate of increase there must have been in 1846, when the famine commenced, at least eight and a

half millions. At the same rate of increase there ought to have been in 1851 (famine was in the land till this latter year, though in a mitigated form after 1848), 9,018,799. But the census showed that in 1851 there were only 6,552,385—that is, a deficit of two millions and a half. Of this number, something like a million and a half died of hunger directly, or of fever superinduced by hunger.

CHAPTER IV.

YOUNG IRELAND AND THE "FORTY-EIGHT" MOVEMENT.

—THE ENCUMBERED ESTATES ACT.—THE TENANT LEAGUE.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL TITHES BILL.

The split in the Repeal ranks, and the formation of the Young Ireland party on a distinct basis, have been already briefly noticed, but it seems necessary that a more extended account should be given of the status, aims and policy of an organization which has been such a powerful factor in shaping the course of Irish political life in our days. It is a big mistake and a great injustice to regard the Young Irelanders merely as a set of wild enthusiasts, only capable of producing a ridiculous farce of an insurrection, such as they did at Ballinacorney in 1848. They worked loyally with O'Connell until circumstances, which were none of their creation, rendered their secession inevitable, and in their subsequent history, if we except the ill-advised insurrectionary attempt at Ballinacorney, there was nothing which Irishmen need have cause to excuse.

To them belongs the credit of essaying, for the first time in our generation, the task of purifying the Irish political atmosphere. The parliamentary representation of that country was long known to be grossly corrupt. Indeed, many a parliamentary seat came to be regarded as the exclusive property of some autocrat who had nothing in common with his constituents. The Young Irelanders boldly assailed this vicious system, and their resistance, though not followed in many cases by direct visible results, paved the way for that spirit of political independence which now happily prevails in Ireland.

The motto of the Young Irelanders, and the keynote of their policy, was, "Educate, that you may be free." They accordingly at an early period of their career determined to establish a weekly newspaper, which should tend "to create and foster public opinion in Ireland, and make it racy of the soil." The originators of this ambitious scheme were Charles Gavan Duffy, Thomas Osborne Davis and John Blake Dillon. The new paper was christened the *Nation*, the first number appearing on the 15th of October, 1842. At one bound the *Nation* sprang into popularity. The ability with which it was conducted surprised friends and foes alike. It was not so much a gleaner of news as a popular educator. As Mr. A. M. Sullivan so beautifully expresses in his "Young Ireland," "fervid prose and thrilling verse, literary essay and historical ballad, were all pressed into the service of Irish nationality. The effect was beyond all anticipation. The country seemed to awaken to a new life ; ' a soul had come into Erin.' "

Another laudable undertaking of the Young Irelanders was the bringing of good, healthy literature within reach of the masses. This they did in a series of monthly publications, known as "Duffy's Library of Ireland." Those publications were a powerful factor in the education of the masses.

But the greatest service, perhaps, the Young Irelander rendered their country, was their noble, and in a large degree successful, efforts to destroy religious hatred in Ireland, and to bring Protestants and Catholics to work together for their common country. There can be no doubt that their labors in that direction were most beneficent for Ireland, and that the fraternal spirit which now, more than at any previous period of Ireland's history, is abroad, may in a large degree be credited to their patriotic efforts.

Of the many distinguished men comprised in the Young Ireland party, in addition to those already named, we might mention the name of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, who as a minister of the Crown in Canada won high distinction, and whose brilliant career was prematurely closed by an assassin's bullet at Ottawa, in 1868. The gifted Thomas Francis Meagher won high distinction as a soldier and orator in America, and, after the war, was made Governor of Montana Territory, but unfortunately was accidentally drowned in the Missouri, as he was proceeding to assume office. "Honest John Martin" and J. P. Ronayne, both dead, have done good work for Ireland as parliamentary representatives. Hon. Richard O'Gorman is now one of the most honored

citizens of New York, and has been many times elected to some of the highest positions in the gift of the people. Mitchell went home to Ireland to die in 1875, and before his death was elected as Tipperary's parliamentary representative. R. D. Williams, whose exquisite lays and humorous poetical contributions are prized by all Irishmen, sleeps in a Louisiana grave. Dr. Kevin Izod O'Doherty, John O'Hogan, Samuel Ferguson, Michael Doheny, Dennis Florence McCarthy, Rev. Charles Meehan, Denny Lane, James Clarence Mangan, John Kells Ingram—the author of "Who fears to speak of Ninety-eight?"—and though last, not least, the three poetesses of the *Nation*, "Speranza," or Lady Wilde; "Eva," or Eva May Kelly, now Mrs. Kevin Izod O'Doherty; and "May," or Miss Ellen Downing—those are the most prominent of that brilliant band that made up the Young Ireland party.

William Smith O'Brien was the recognized leader of the Young Ireland party. He was a man of high social position, connected with some of the most aristocratic families in Ireland, and an extensive land-owner. He was a lineal descendant of King Brian Boru, the hero of Clontarf, and was justly proud of his ancient and noble lineage. His public and private character was above reproach; he was the very impersonation of truth and honor.

The opening of 1848 found the *Nation* and the Young Ireland party bolder and more defiant than ever in their language. Witnessing the cruel work of the famine, and the operation of an Algerian Code, which stifled almost the last vestige of human

liberty in Ireland, it is no wonder that the idea of physical resistance to an intolerable tyranny began to take a firm hold in the minds of many of the Young Irelanders. It is true the physical force doctrine was not yet openly or even privately advocated, except perhaps by a very few of the more ardent spirits, but it was evident to any observant person that things were drifting in that direction. For a considerable time after their withdrawal from the O'Connell party, the Young Irelanders worked earnestly and loyally in the Repeal interest, and had no idea of employing other than moral means towards the attainment of the end which both parties had then in view. The Young Ireland organization was known as the "Irish Confederation," and recognized William Smith O'Brien as its leader; while the "Old" or original Repeal Association was conducted by John O'Connell. Now, long before the great Tribune's death, the original Repeal Association had become much emasculated, and under the feeble leadership of O'Connell's son, this condition of things became aggravated; and the result was that there was much dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Young Irelanders, many of whom abandoned all hope of wringing any concessions from England by constitutional means. Indeed, towards the close of 1847, it became evident that in the Irish Confederation itself there were two parties—one, under the leadership of John Mitchell, favoring armed resistance; the other counseling a more prudent course. In an article in the *Nation*, Mitchell declared that the time had come for calling upon the Irish people

to face an armed struggle. This line of action was repudiated by Mitchell's colleagues on the *Nation*, Duffy and McGee, and the consequence was that Mitchell retired from the paper, and carried the controversy into the council-room of the Confederation. Mitchell's policy was strongly condemned by Smith O'Brien, Gavan Duffy, John B. Dillon, T. F. Meagher, Richard O'Gorman, D'Arcy McGee, and others, and after two days' debate, on the 5th of February, 1848, when the question was submitted to a vote, was overwhelmingly rejected. Mitchell and his party thereupon withdrew from the Confederation.

Mitchell's indomitable spirit, however, was not so easily to be subjugated. He started a paper called the *United Irishman*, in which he boldly advocated his policy of insurrection. Though his course at the time was regarded by all except his immediate followers as foolhardy, within a few days an event occurred which was destined to make him master of the situation, so far as the Confederates were concerned. This was the French Revolution of '48. The 24th of February saw King Louis Philippe a fugitive, and the French Republic proclaimed. The astounding news set Ireland ablaze. It filled the hearts of the people with hope, and the vision of Ireland as a nation free and disenthralled fired the popular mind. Popular upheavals were the order of the day all over the Continent. From Paris, from Berlin, from Vienna, came the same thrilling news—the people were rising in their might against oppression.

The *United Irishman* was now sought for by all, and its contents devoured with avidity. It became still bolder in its tone, and published instructions on barricading and street warfare. Even the Confederate leaders, who had only a short time before opposed Mitchell's policy, were seized with the popular enthusiasm. They, too, believed that Ireland's opportunity had come. Confederate "clubs" were formed all over the country, in which instruction in military tactics occupied the first attention. Even Smith O'Brien, though conservative in his views, at a meeting of the Confederation, on the 15th of March, introduced a resolution that an address of congratulation be presented to the French people. The citizens of Dublin, at a meeting held subsequently, adopted a similar resolution.

The Government was not an unattentive spectator of all these things. On the 21st of March, O'Brien, Meagher and Mitchell were arrested, the first two charged with seditious speeches; Mitchell, with seditious writings—and it soon became evident that the Executive intended to strike hard. Before the trials, O'Brien and Meagher, in company with an intelligent and patriotic tradesman named Hollywood, proceeded to France, to present M. de Lamartine, President of the Provisional Government, with the addresses of congratulation from the Irish Confederation and the citizens of Dublin. On their return, O'Brien found the British House of Commons engaged in discussing a new bill "for the further security of Her Majesty's Crown." The law which they were now to enact for Ireland was the "Trea-

son-felony Law," under the provisions of which the writing and printing, or open and advised speaking, of incitements to insurrection in Ireland should be deemed a felony, punishable by transportation. When O'Brien, from his place in Parliament, condemned this bill, the scene in the House of Commons was scandalously and outrageously indecent. "Honorable" members had recourse to howls, cat-calls and other unseemly demonstrations worthy of an assembly of Yahoos. The measure was of course passed by overwhelming majorities, and a new weapon for the oppression of Ireland was thus forged.

The deputies, on their return to Dublin, were received with enthusiasm, and Meagher, at a monster meeting, presented the citizens of Dublin with a magnificent Irish Tricolor of green, white and orange, surmounted by a pikehead. The Government prosecutions of the Confederate leaders now came on, the cases of O'Brien and Meagher being first tried. To the great joy of the people, the juries disagreed, and the prosecutions fell through. Mitchell, however, was not allowed to escape so easily. Before his trial took place, on the 22d of May, the "Treason-felony Act" was in operation, and his conviction was a foregone conclusion; on the 26th he was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation beyond the seas! That sentence gave a deathblow to the insurrectionary movement of 1848, of which Mitchell was the life and soul. That movement was utterly condemned and discountenanced by all the conservative elements of the population, including

the Catholic clergy and the O'Connell Repealers. To the opposition of the clergy in particular was due the fact that the movement was confined to narrow limits, and that anything like a general rising was averted.

The forcible removal of Mitchell from their midst inflamed the Confederates, who now redoubled their exertions in preparing for the inevitable. The Council of the Confederation was reconstructed, and the clubs all over the country exhorted to procure arms, to be ready for the rising, which it was now understood should take place in the Autumn of 1848. The *Irish Tribune*, edited by Kevin Izod O'Doherty and R. D. Williams, was started to take the place of the *United Irishman*. It was a bold and ably conducted paper, one of its contributors being John Savage. Still another organ—the *Irish Felon*, owned and edited by John Martin—made its appearance two weeks afterwards, its first issue being on the 24th of June. Those papers, in fiery language, continued for successive weeks to openly and boldly preach the gospel of insurrection. This was allowed to proceed for a few weeks, when suddenly the Government interfered, the police were ordered to stop the sale of the "seditious" papers by vendors in the streets, and warrants were issued for the arrest of the editors, Martin, Duffy, O'Doherty and Williams. Searches for arms were instituted all over the country, and it soon became evident that the Government was bent on forcing an insurrection before the harvest. Parliament passed a bill for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, and warrants

were issued for the arrest of O'Brien, Meagher, and the other Confederate leaders. O'Brien, when he heard of this, was stopping at the house of a friend in Ballinkule, County Wexford. He was joined by Dillon and Meagher, and the three betook themselves to the hills of Tipperary, where they resolved to raise a force and march on Kilkenny, the intention being to make this city the headquarters, for the time being, of a provisional government.

But it was a forlorn hope that Smith O'Brien was leading. Famine still held its deadly grasp upon the land, and in thousands the starved and dispirited people were flung out from their holdings, to seek refuge in the poorhouse or the grave. Add to this the fact that the clergy—certainly from the most conscientious motives—were strenuous in dissuading the people from entering into so hopeless a struggle, and it is no wonder that the movement collapsed almost at its inauguration. There is no question, however, that but for this clerical opposition O'Brien would soon have found himself at the head of thousands, instead of the straggling band of peasants which he led in the miserable attempt at Ballingary. At Farrenrary House—since known in the surrounding district, as if in bitter irony, as the "War House"—a body of forty-five armed policemen, under the command of a Captain Trant, barricaded themselves. There was but one prompt and effectual way of reducing the place, and that was by firing it. Some hay and straw was brought up, and as, in the midst of a deadly fusillade from the police, the house was about to be set on fire, O'Brien interfered and for-

bade the attempt. The house was the residence of a widow named McCormack, whose five children were at the moment within, and the Confederate leader could not refuse the appeal of the mother to spare her little ones. O'Brien's followers were disgusted at what they deemed his faintheartedness, and the siege was abandoned. Of the insurgents, two were killed and a few were wounded. The casualties on the side of the constabulary were not known ; but it was believed that one or two were killed and several wounded. Thus ended the "insurrection" of "Forty-eight." Thus vanished the brilliant hopes of the Confederates.

It must be said that O'Brien was by nature entirely unsuited to play the part of a military leader. His refined and sensitive nature would shrink from the performance of many things which, from a military point of view, might, perhaps, be regarded as of prime necessity. After this abortive rising, O'Brien scarcely made any attempt to avoid arrest, and was soon in the hands of the authorities. Indeed, thanks to the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Government soon had nearly all the Confederate leaders in prison. O'Gorman, Dillon and Doheny, however, managed to escape to America. The trials followed in due course. The editors were tried under the Treason-felony Act, and O'Brien and his immediate followers under the Common Law for "high treason," having appeared in arms against the Government. The trial of the insurgents, O'Brien, Meagher, MacManus and O'Donohue, took place at Clonmel, under a Special Commission. The juries were packed,

and, of course, the prisoners were convicted. They were sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered.

In October and November, 1848, Duffy, of the *Nation*, Williams and O'Doherty, of the *Tribune*, and Martin, of the *Felon*, were tried in Green Street, Dublin. O'Doherty and Martin were convicted, Williams was acquitted, while the jury disagreed in the case of Duffy. The latter, however, was retained in prison, and not even after a second jury had failed to convict him would the Government let him go. When, however, the trouble was all over, the prosecution against him was abandoned. It is a most suggestive fact that this man afterwards became Prime Minister of Victoria. The sentences of those who were condemned to death were, by a special Act of Parliament, commuted to transportation for life. They were accordingly transported to Van Diemen's Land, O'Doherty and Martin, who had been each sentenced to ten years' transportation, accompanying them.

The situation of Ireland was now gloomy in the extreme; a black pall of despair seemed to overshadow the land. "Now for the first time these six hundred years," triumphantly shouted the *London Times*, "England has Ireland at her mercy, and can deal with her as she pleases." The ravages of famine during 1848 were hardly less horrible than in the preceding year. "Upwards of one hundred and fifty ass-hides," so said an item in the commercial reports of a Dublin paper, "have been delivered in Dublin from the County Mayo, for exportation to Liverpool. The carcasses, owing to the scarcity of

provisions, had been used as food." Emigration during 1848, as in 1847, went on on a huge scale. The *Times* said the Celts were "going with a vengeance." This "Irish exodus" is almost without a parallel in history. It is true that emigrations from Germany have gone on on a large scale, but they have not been attended by the frightful scenes of suffering and death which characterized the Irish exodus. The sentimental ties, too, that bind an Irishman to his little holding are unknown to the German, who leaves his country in a purely practical spirit, with the hope of bettering his condition. But aside from mere sentiment, the terrible horrors attendant on the Irish exodus of those times can hardly be exaggerated. The emigrants, flying from fever-stricken hovels, carried the plague with them on board, and the vessels were transformed into huge floating charnel-houses. A large proportion of them never reached their destination. They died in thousands on the voyage, and the ocean-bed was strewn with their corpses. An idea may be had of the frightful havoc thus wrought, from some figures given by Mr. Labouchère, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, on the 11th of February, 1848. "Out of 106,000 emigrants," says Mr. Labouchère, "who during the past twelve months crossed the Atlantic for Canada and New Brunswick, 6,100 perished on the voyage; 4,100, on their arrival; 5,200, in the hospitals; and 1,900, in the towns to which they repaired. The entire mortality was no less than 17 per cent. of the total number emigrating to those places; the number of deaths being 17,300." And

these are the statistics for only one of several such years of horror and misery!

Meanwhile the Government kept up a show of coercion for the starving Irish people. When Parliament met late in January, 1849, the Queen's Speech called attention with regret to the fact that there had been another failure of the potato crop in 1848. Ireland, too, was to continue to receive the benefit, "for a limited period," of the Coercion Act. Thus in 1849 as in 1882 coercion and conciliation were to go hand in hand. Feeble and ineffectual were the measures taken by England to avert the famine in the preceding years, and her remedies this year must be characterized in the same terms. If, when the first season of famine appeared, she had appropriated to stay its course as much as she expended to purchase the freedom of the slaves in the British West India Islands, the world would have been spared one of the most horrible chapters in its history.

The Encumbered Estates Act was one result of the Irish famine. Before famine visited Ireland, many of the landlords were deeply involved in debt—indeed, many of them were landlords only in name. Loaded down with mortgages and tied with divers family settlements, they could scarcely be said to be the owners of the estates they claimed. The annual rent-roll might be high, yet the landlord found that but a small proportion of the income reverted to him. This condition of things had the natural effect, in the case of the less conscientious of the class, of extorting ruinous rack-rents from

the tenants, who in default of payment were ruthlessly evicted. The Encumbered Estates Act was designed "to enable a court especially constituted to order the sale of estates encumbered by indebtedness, on the petition so praying of any person sufficiently interested as owner or creditor; all statutes, settlements, deeds or covenants to the contrary notwithstanding; to the end that debts justly due might be paid so far as the property could answer them; that a proprietary emancipated from the injurious restraints of family settlement and the crushing burdens of family debts might be brought to the aid of the Irish land system; and that a concise, simple and indefeasible form of title might be substituted for the voluminous, confused and ponderous legal scrolls in which title to landed property was hitherto set forth." Early in February, 1848, this measure was introduced in the House of Lords, but, owing to various delays, it was not till the 8th of May that it reached its final stages in that body. On the 24th of July, 1848, it was read a third time in the House of Commons, and in a few days more became law.

There can be no question but the Encumbered Estates Act was a useful measure in various respects. In the breaking up and selling of estates, consequent on its operations, many Catholics were among the purchasers. The *time* of its enactment, however, was anything but an opportune one for the class whose interests it most closely touched. Landed property was at that period a drug in the market. Estates were sold at ruinously low prices; in many

cases the proceeds were insufficient to meet the mortgages, and the proprietors were utterly ruined. As an instance of the depreciation in value, it may be cited that Lough Cooter Castle, in County Galway, the seat of Lord Gort, which was built at a cost of £70,000 was sold for £17,000 ; and an estate that should have left a handsome income after all liabilities were paid was unable to free the mortgage. Much sympathy was manifested towards Lord Gort, who was a good landlord and popular with his tenantry ; but there were many others whose fate the Irish people contemplated with equanimity, if not with satisfaction. Many of them had ruthlessly plundered and persecuted their tenants, and Nemesis had now overtaken themselves.

We have seen that evictions on a gigantic scale have been one terrible outcome of the famine. By 1850, the number of evictions going on attracted profound alarm, and the very spirit of self-preservation urged some organized effort to stay this terrible outpouring of the nation's blood. As early, indeed, as the Spring of 1849, public meetings were held in condemnation of the wholesale clearances which were going on. Following upon the public meetings came the formation of "Tenant Protection Societies." Cullum, in the County Kilkenny, has had the honor of organizing the first of those societies. Others were rapidly formed all over the country. Ulster, led on by the high-minded William Sharman Crawford, M.P., was not less determined and energetic in this respect than the others. Now, although Ulster enjoyed a great advantage over the

other provinces, in that the system of *tenant-right* was recognized there, yet, as the rent was always a first lien on the tenant-right, the Ulster farmers, with the pressure of famine times, soon began to feel the evil effects of landlordism. As conservative a body as the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster, at a meeting held in May, 1850, adopted a resolution that a petition be presented to Parliament in favor of tenant-right.

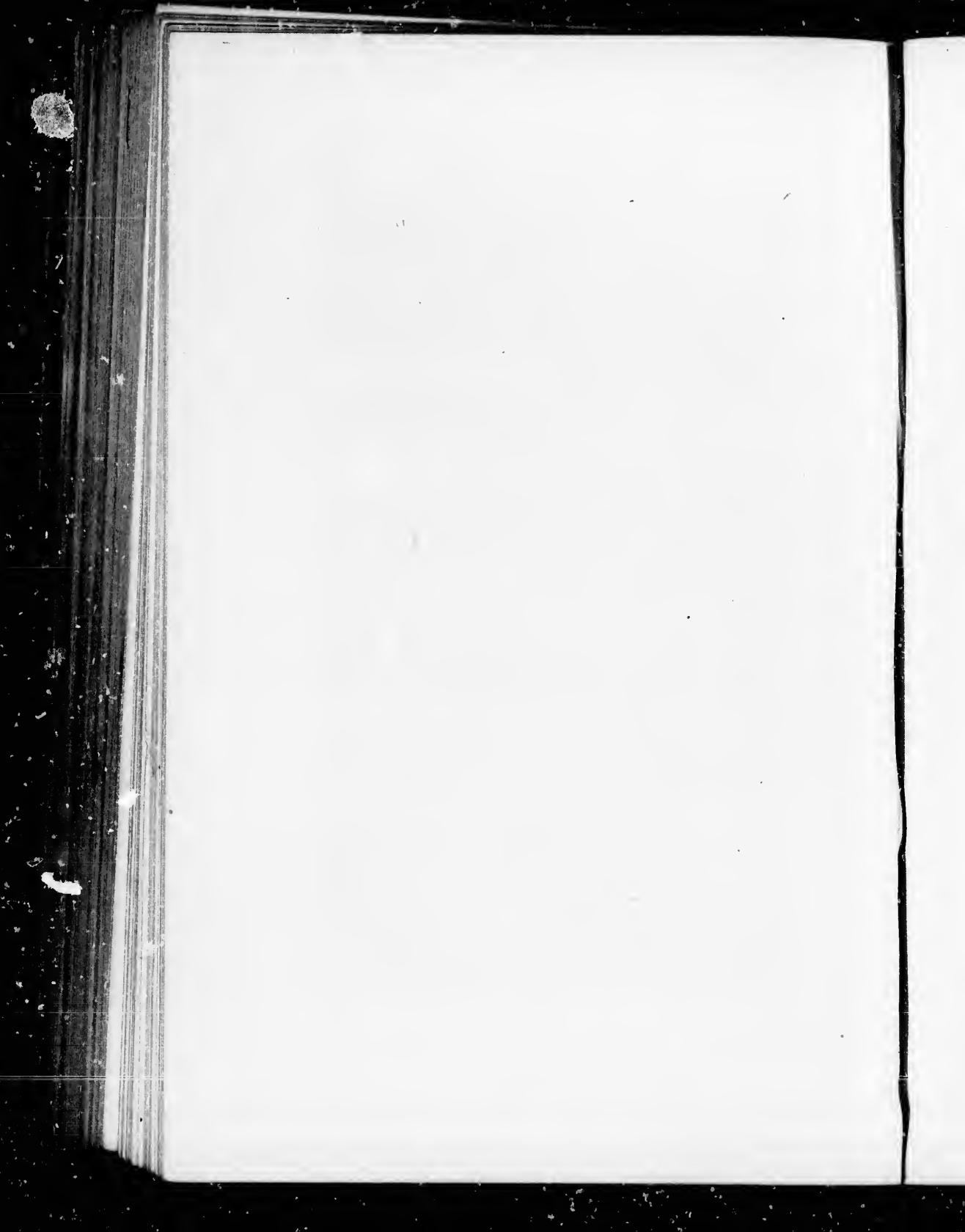
On the 6th of August, 1850, a truly national Conference was held in Dublin, to devise measures looking towards the arrest of the terrible exterminating process which was in operation all over the island. The Conference lasted four days, and was presided over by Dr. James McKnight, of the *Banner of Ulster*. Resolutions were adopted declaring that "a fair valuation of rent between landlord and tenant in Ireland" was indispensable; that "the tenant should not be disturbed in his possession so long as he paid such rent"; and that "the tenant should have a right to sell his interest with all its incidents at the highest market value." And in view of the fact that crushing arrears of rent had been accruing during the famine years, the following resolution was also adopted:

"That, in any valuation which shall be made before the 31st of December—the valuers shall, on the demand of either landlord or tenant, inquire into the arrears of rent due by the tenant; shall estimate the amount which during the famine years would have been due and payable for rent under a valuation, if such had been made, according to the

prices and circumstances of same years, and also the amount which during the same period has actually been paid for rent to the landlord ; shall award the balance, if any, to be the arrears then due ; and that the amount so awarded for arrears be payable by installments, at such period as shall be fixed by the valutors, and shall be recoverable in all respects as if it were rent."

On the third day, a new organization was established, called "The Irish Tenant League." Before the Conference separated, a Council was chosen of one hundred and twenty.

The new movement was taken up throughout the country with enthusiasm. Everything boded well for the cause. Protestants and Catholics were working shoulder to shoulder, when the Durham Letter of Lord John Russell, issued on the 4th of November, 1850, was cast as a firebrand into the ranks. The Catholic Church in England had been just organized on a basis of diocesan and parochial divisions. This was another "Popish encroachment," and was not to be tolerated. Lord John Russell would have an act passed to prevent it. The fierce controversies and passions arising out of the Durham Letter broke up that bond of union between Catholics and Protestants which had been happily forming at the time, and the Tenant League suffered in consequence. In 1851 the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was passed, and it became an offense for a Catholic prelate to write "Archbishop of Westminster" or "Bishop of Cork" after his name.



CHAPTER V.

ALARM IN ENGLAND AT THE ATTITUDE OF FRANCE.—
THE SADLIER-KEOGH TREACHERY.—THE CRIMEAN
WAR.—A ROMANTIC ABDUCTION.*

The year 1852 was one of considerable emotion and excitement in England, and consequently, of unfeigned satisfaction in Ireland. The steady progress of the Prince President of France to Imperialism had alarmed all Europe, and revived the military spirit which hurled his great uncle from a throne to a prison. In England, both terror and enthusiasm were strangely combined, and the formation of a volunteer army served as a kind of safety-valve to allay the fears of invasion and to strengthen the military ardor of the country. There seemed good cause for all this trepidation and preparation, for it was too evident that the Bonapartist Empire was to be restored, with all its military prestige and traditional hatred of England. These fears, to a certain extent, were justified, for before the end of the year Prince Louis Napoleon, President of the French Republic, was Napoleon the Third. His accession to the throne greatly increased public apprehension, for it was generally supposed that he would inaugurate a European war, in order to arouse the martial spirit of the French people, and to divert their

* Mitchell's History of Ireland, continued from 1852 to 1882, by David P. Conyngham, L.L.D., author of the "Lives of the Irish Saints and Martyrs" and other works.

criticisms upon his violation of faith and honor. Thus was England and other European nations kept in a state of suspense, and compelled to place both their armies and navies upon a war footing.

Lord John Russell's Whig Ministry having been defeated on the Militia Bill, he resigned and was succeeded by Lord Derby and a Tory Administration. Under him the Free Trade League was reorganized, and secured much support from the countenance of the Minister. In July a dissolution of Parliament took place, and a general election followed.

The Elections in Ireland were characterized by a strong partisan spirit. Tenant-right had become a national issue. There was also much bitterness of feeling on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which, though allowed to fall into disuse, had irritated the people by its futile attempt at a revival of the penal laws.

The supporters of "The Irish Tenant League," which had been established in 1850, flung themselves into the election contest with a fierce energy, and with the determination of sending to Parliament so many Irish Members pledged to their policy as would seriously impede the action of Parliament, if not force from it a settlement of the land question. All the earthly hopes of the Irish people were fixed on the return of an honest, independent party. The crowbar brigade was equally active, and as there was no vote by ballot then, and the helpless tenants were confronted with the terrible alternatives of either supporting their oppressors and strength-

ing their power to tyrannize over them, or of opposing them and thus court certain eviction.

A new party had sprung up outside the Tenant League. Their bitter opposition to Lord John Russell's Titles Bill, and their zealous officiousness in defense of the Catholic Church, gained over to their side many adherents among the clergy. The controlling spirits among these defenders of the Church were Mr. John Sadlier, Member of Parliament for Carlow, and William Keogh, an adventurous barrister, who had been elected for Athlone.

The outburst of "Papal Aggression" in England opened a wide field for the ambitious fanaticism of these designing knaves. The Tenant League leaders, led on by such men as Frederick Lucas, Dr. Gray, John Francis Maguire and Dr. James McKnight, tried hard to unite both Protestants and Catholics upon one common national platform, and had succeeded to a great extent in reconciling sectarian differences, and allaying the fanaticism of the North. On the other hand, the Keogh and Sadlier party tended to hopelessly antagonize Protestants and Catholics, by their bitter denunciations of the former, and by the establishment of a Catholic Defense Association. So adroitly did these place-hunting intriguers play their game, that they secured the confidence and support of the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and of his successor, the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, at that time Archbishop of Armagh.

Despite the marked favor shown by the prelates and priests to Keogh and Sadlier, they were the

objects of suspicion and distrust to keen observers of events in Ireland. They were conscious of this themselves, and protested overmuch against such base slanders. At a banquet given in Athlone, at which Archbishop McHale presided, Mr. Keogh, in earnest and solemn language, said: "Whigs or Tories, Peelites or Protectionists, are all the same to me; I will fight for my religion and my country, scorning and defying calumny. I declare, in the most solemn manner, before this august assembly, I shall not regard any party. I know that the road I take does not lead to preferment. I do not belong to the Whigs; I do not belong to the Tories. Here, in the presence of my constituents and my country—and I hope I am not so base a man as to make an avowal which could be contradicted to-morrow, if I was capable of doing that which is insinuated against me—I solemnly declare, if there was a Peelite administration in office to-morrow, it would be nothing to me. I will not support any party which does not make it the first ingredient of its political existence to Repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Act."

In like manner he pledged himself not to support any party which did not undertake to settle the land question and abolish the Established Church. The Irish landlords he denounced as "the most heartless, the most thriftless, and the most indefensible landocracy on the face of the earth." The marvelous eloquence of Mr. Keogh, his oath-bound abjurations, and his vehement protestations, did much to silence the doubts of those who looked upon him and his associates with suspicion and mistrust.

In the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, who, on the 7th of April, 1852, was named as successor to Dr. Murray in the Archbishopric of Dublin, he had found a warm friend and supporter, and his party was recognized by the prelate as the champions of the Church.

Some impulsive writers in the *Nation* and other journals, who were loud in their praise of the Carbonari Mazzini and Young Italy, helped to prejudice the Archbishop against the National party, and looking upon Messrs. Sadlier and Keogh as the orthodox defenders of order and religion, his influence leaned towards them in the ensuing election.

Ireland was sorely distracted by the conflicting issues and rival parties engaged in the election of 1852. The landlord interests were represented by Whigs and Tories alike, and the tenants were expected to vote, without any regard to their own convictions, for either, just as the landlord desired, otherwise they could reckon the consequences.

The Irish parties were divided into "Tenant Leaguers" and "Catholic Defenders," who opposed each other just as bitterly as they did the common enemy, and in several places they came into open conflict, and blood was shed, not for principle, but for party.

The result of the election was strongly in favor of the Tenant League party. Lucas was returned for Meath; Gavan Duffy, for New Ross; Maguire, for Dungarvan; and Henry Moore, for Mayo; but Dr. Gray was beaten for Monaghan. On the other hand, John Sadlier, his brother James, his three cousins, Frank and Vincent Scully and Robert Keating, as

well as Mr. Keogh, were all returned. The result of this election gave a narrow majority to the Liberal party.

On Wednesday, September 8th, a general conference of Irish Members of Parliament favorable to tenant-right was held in Dublin, at which forty members were present. At this meeting a resolution was passed declaring their future parliamentary policy and action, in which they pledged to hold themselves "perfectly independent of, and to act in opposition to, any government which did not make it a part of their policy and a Cabinet question to give to the tenantry of Ireland a measure embodying the principles of Mr. Sherman Crawford's bill."

On September 14th, 1852, the Duke of Wellington died at Walmer Castle, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. His end was as calm and peaceful as his life had been turbulent and glorious.

On November the 4th, the new Parliament opened. Its existence was short-lived, for on the 17th of the following month the Derby Government was defeated and went out of office a few days afterwards, and Lord Aberdeen was called on to form a new Cabinet.

The Derby Ministry was defeated by the weight of the votes of Irish Members, consequently there was great rejoicing in Ireland at the event, and all eyes turned hopefully to the Irish party, for it was evident that the fate of the Ministry, nay, even of Ireland itself, was in their hands.

The news from London was eagerly looked for. Whispers of treason and disaster were abroad, unfortunately to be realized. Ireland's curse of treach-

ery and disunion again handed her over a manacled slave to England. Lord Aberdeen had formed his Ministry. John Sadlier was Lord of the Treasury, and William Keogh, the Irish Solicitor-General.

This treacherous desertion of the cause of the people by Messrs. Sadlier and Keogh was a sad blow to the Clerical party, who had looked upon them as their champions, and it also paralyzed the efforts of the National party in general. The people had made terrible sacrifices at the polls, opposing their landlords almost in the face of certain eviction. What had they gained by all this? They had simply succeeded in placing in office a few men who had merely used them as stepping-stones to power and place. It is not to be wondered at that under these circumstances they were becoming heartily sick of Parliamentary agitation. A kind of political torpor seized the nation; agitation had ceased, and England pointed to the fact as proof that Ireland was content and prosperous. Though the national aspirations were dumb, they were not dead. There was a kind of sullen indifference and deep despair everywhere. The Government had bought off the leaders, and exploded the hopes and plans of the honest men among the tenant-leaguers. It was no wonder, therefore, that the people lost faith in one another, their confidence in the leaders, and their reliance on constitutional agitation. The chill of disappointment, the shock of recent betrayals, drove some of the best men in disgust into retirement. As Duffy truly said, Ireland lay "like a corpse on the dissecting-table;" but he might have added, that "she only

sleepeth," for both the Phoenix conspiracy and the Fenian organization breathed new life and hopes into her, and resuscitated her from her apathetic slumber.

Times of repose afford poor materials to the historian, therefore little of importance occurred in Ireland from the treason of the Sadlier party until Fenianism commenced to inspire the people with hope and life.

The new Parliament seemed to ignore Irish affairs, as if the fact that John Sadlier was a Cabinet Minister should satisfy the people of that country. In the new Coalition Ministry, headed by Lord Aberdeen, Mr. Gladstone first appeared as a Cabinet Member, for he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, with Lord Palmerston as Home Secretary, and Lord John Russell in the Foreign Office.

England had enjoyed a profound peace since Waterloo, but it seemed as if the death of Wellington was the signal for foreign diplomacy and national complications. The so-called Eastern Question, which simply meant England's dread of Russian encroachment upon her Indian possessions, constantly loomed up as a sort of national bugbear.

England felt that she had a deep interest in watching over every movement that threatened in any way to interfere with India. Turkey had ceased to be a cause of terror to either England or Russia, but the latter nation showed strong indications of her desire to absorb Turkey, making Constantinople the capital of her great empire. England was alive to the danger of allowing her to get control of the high road to India. This Eastern Ques-

tion seemed to increase in intensity and interest, and it soon became evident that nothing less than war could settle it. Any doubt on this point was removed when the Russians destroyed the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea, in November, 1853. Thus, while the Western Powers kept talking about peace and busied themselves with unmeaning conventions, Russia had commenced the conflict and inaugurated the Crimean War.

England's ultimatum to Russia was dispatched on February 27th, 1854, and was soon followed by a declaration of war. The fact that an alliance defensive and offensive existed between England and France gave considerable backbone to the latter. On the 14th of September, 1854, twenty-seven thousand English, thirty thousand French and seven thousand Turks landed on the shores of the Crimea. The battle of the Alma followed a few days afterwards, in which victory leaned towards the Allies, for Prince Mentschikoff was forced to abandon his entrenched position and fall back towards Sebastopol.

There was great rejoicing in England at the news of this victory, which in itself was of little importance. All the gasconaders of Parliament and the press indulged in liberal laudation of the irresistible bravery of the English soldiers; indeed, one should fancy, on reading the papers of the day, that the French were simply spectators of the conflict, while the fact is, on them fell the brunt of the battle. This laudation was soon turned into murmuring, for the battles at Sebastopol, Balaklava and Inkermann

which followed, brought consternation to England, and made her tremble for her Indian possessions. The whole campaign seemed to be a muddle on the part of the English, and only for their French allies they could not sustain it one month. To make the matter worse, the commissariat supplies were delayed or so damaged as to be unfit for use, and the soldiers had to pass through a terrible Crimean winter with poor supplies of tents, food and clothing. The officers and men were alike exposed to hunger and bitter cold, and more perished in this way than in actual battle.

It is not our province to follow the Crimean war, as Ireland was little affected by it, except so far as to open up a good market to the farmers for their produce, and to give an excellent pretext to the landlords to raise the rents on their tenants, which, by-the-way, they did not lower with the subsequent depression of prices. The Crimean war, though, might have inculcated a salutary lesson on Irish patriots. England, in her need of troops, had to leave Ireland to be garrisoned by policemen, who are only loyal while England has the upper hand, and militia who were simply disciplined rebels. Yet, with such advantages in her favor, Ireland was helpless and powerless.

The '48 movement had evaporated in a miserable fiasco; had it husbanded its strength until '54 it might have built up a republic out of the ruins of a nation. It is ever thus with Irish revolutionary movements: they are sure to take place to suit the interest of England, and at a time that she can

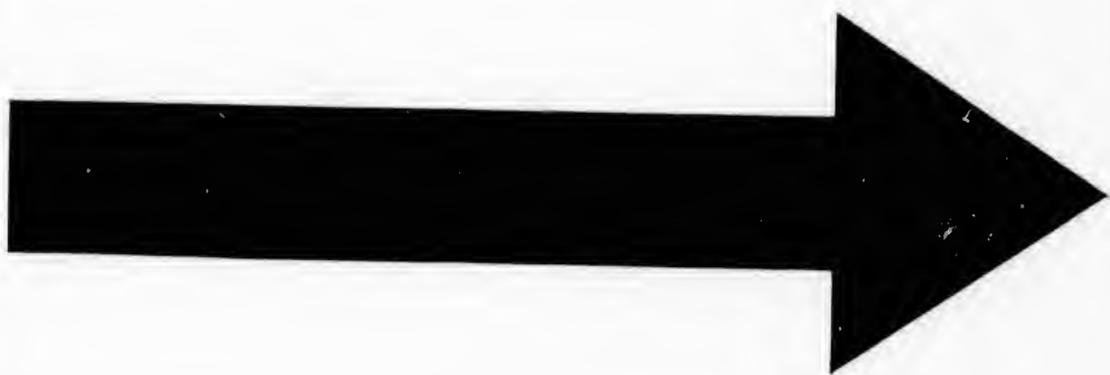
easily crush them out, either by the bayonet or the dungeon.

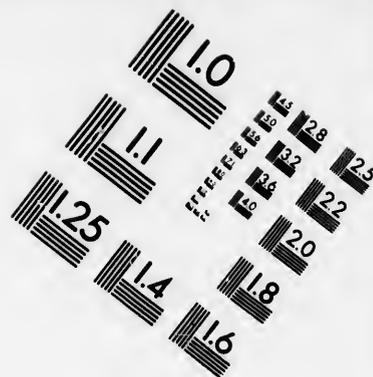
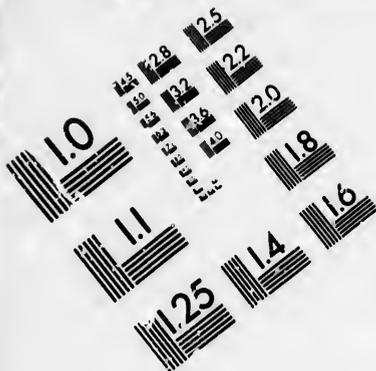
Though this may appear accidental, it is, on the contrary, the result of cool calculation on the part of England. Should she smell trouble ahead, and should any disaffection in Ireland threaten to paralyze her movements in European affairs, she intrigues and plots until she forces the Hotspurs of the enterprise into overt acts that render them amenable to English law. The Irish have yet to learn to be patient under taunts, to unite and organize, but above all to watch and wait, for a few years amount to nothing in the life of a nation, while success is everything.

With the close of the siege of Sebastopol, which lasted nearly a year, the Crimean war may be said to have ended. The death of the Czar Nicholas, who embodied the military spirit of Russia, was taken advantage of by Austria, and chiefly through the friendly interference of that power the Crimean war was brought to a close.

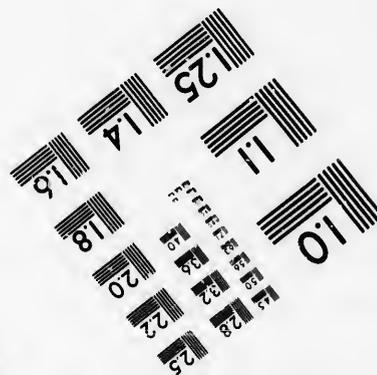
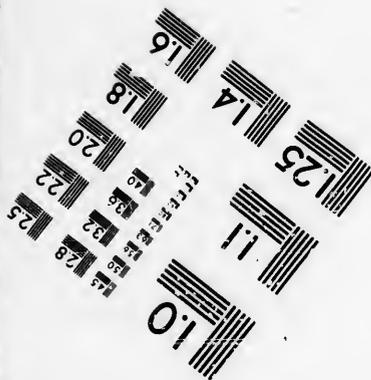
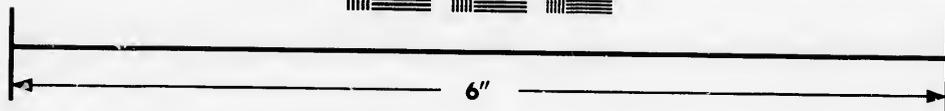
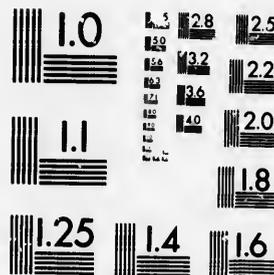
Two events which occurred about this time, though not of national importance, still created considerable excitement both in England and Ireland. The one was the suicide of John Sadlier; the other, nothing less than the romantic affair of an abduction, which, only for the high social standing of the parties concerned, would have created little or no attention, particularly in Ireland.

John Carden, of Barnane House, one of the magnates of the County Tipperary, a great landlord, grand juror, magistrate, deputy-lieutenant, and





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general exterminator, was a frequent visitor at Rathronan, the residence of the Hon. George Gough, eldest son of Field-Marshal Gough, the hero of Sobraon. Captain Gough had married an English lady of the name of Arbuthnot, whose sister, Eleanor, resided with him. With this lady Mr. Carden fell desperately in love, but his passion was not reciprocated. Maddened by his rejection and disappointment, he resorted to the terrible alternative of abducting the young lady.

On Sunday, July 2d, 1854, Mrs. Gough and her sister, accompanied by a Miss Linden, attended divine worship at Rathronan church, which is situated about midway between Fothard and Clonmel. Captain Gough was absent in Dublin, so that the ladies were escorted only by the driver. On their return from church they were attacked by Mr. Carden and a party of six men, who tried to drag Miss Arbuthnot from the carriage. The ladies made a desperate resistance, while the driver, named Dwyer, fought heroically to protect his charge. A young peasant named McGrath, and a man named Southwick, hearing the screams of the ladies, rushed to their assistance, and gave such opposition that Mr. Carden and his desperadoes were forced to retreat without the object of their criminal intent. The result was that "the Lord of Barnane" was flung into prison, and at the Clonmel assizes, which took place on the 27th of the month, he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, with hard labor, in the county jail, which sentence was fully carried out.

On the 4th of August, 1855, Mr. Gavan Duffy, the

founder of the *Nation* newspaper, announced that he was about throwing up his seat in Parliament, to leave for Australia. He was succeeded in the management of the *Nation* by John Corbel Hoey, A. M. Sullivan, and M. Clery. In his valedictory address, Mr. Duffy described, in moving language, the then hopeless state of Ireland. "A change might come," he said; "but unless the existing condition of things alter, there is no more hope for Ireland than for a corpse on the dissecting-table."

Duffy sailed for Australia in November, but not until he had closed the eyes of his gifted friend, Frederick Lucas, who died on the 23d of October, 1855.

As has been stated, the tide of Irish politics had turned in 1854 with the treachery of Sadlier and Keogh. Retribution seemed to follow in their track. It is well known that Keogh indulged freely in drink and dissipation, in his vain efforts to still the voice of conscience, and that he finally died the death of an idiotic drunkard. As for John Sadlier, his gilded life was a hell to him, and while the world was lost in admiration at his overmastering talents and great financial schemes, this man of envied success, the millionaire, the Lord of the Treasury, was propping up his tottering power and broken fortunes by forging deeds, conveyances and bills, for hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling. Driven by overpowering disasters, and the exposure of his frauds, he finally ended the terrible conflict by committing suicide.

On Sunday morning, February 17th, 1856, on a

little mound on Hampstead Heath, near London, the passers-by noticed a gentleman stretched as if in sleep. A silver tankard lay on the ground beside him. It smelt strongly of prussic acid. It was the corpse of John Sadlier, the banker.

The news flashed through the kingdom. There was alarm in London; there was a wild panic in Ireland. The Tipperary Bank closed its doors, and thousands of poor people who had their savings in it were irretrievably ruined.

About this time Mr. Cyrus W. Field visited England, to enlist capitalists in his great scheme of constructing an electric telegraph line under the Atlantic. Though his plan was listened to with polite curiosity, he found it difficult to secure any active co-operation from the merchants and scientific men before whom he laid his news.

M. de Lesseps visited England a few months later, full of his Suez Canal project. He was received with coldness, and his schemes denounced as impracticable; besides, it was said that such a canal, if it could be constructed, would be a standing menace to England's interests in Turkey and Egypt. Luckily neither Mr. Field nor M. de Lesseps were persons to be discouraged by such rebuffs. When the success of both schemes became apparent, England's appreciation was even more marked than her former disapprobation.

The year 1857 was made memorable by the Sepoy outbreak in India, which threatened the power and ascendancy of England in that vast empire. Though called a revolt, it was a rebellion of a combination of

the natives against England—a combination of military grievances, national hatred and religious fanaticism. Though the ostensible cause was opposition to greased cartridges, as being repulsive to the religious convictions both of Hindoo and Mohammedan, this quarrel was but the spark that fired the combustible materials which England's crushing despotism had prepared for the holocaust.

The native troops at Meerut had broken into mutiny, killing their officers and massacring several Europeans. They then marched on Delhi, and proclaimed the aged king Emperor of India. The mutiny was transfigured into a revolutionary war, and India was deluged with blood.

The massacres of Lucknow, Cawpore and elsewhere were avenged by similar brutality on the part of the English, who tied their prisoners to the cannon's mouth and blew them to pieces.

Among the most cruel and relentless of England's enemies was Nana Sahib, heir to one of the deposed princes of India. This man has been painted by English writers as a fiend, a monster of vice and savage cruelty, whilst in India his memory is still revered as that of an avenger raised up by the Prophet to punish the unbelieving Ghour. But, then, England's policy has ever been to slander her enemies in order to justify her own aggression; thus we find in Irish history the men whom she has branded as traitors loved and revered by the nation as patriots and martyrs.

The Indian outbreak is purely a matter of English history, and therefore we cannot enter into the

terrible details of the atrocious massacres and butcheries that characterized it. Suffice it to say that the bloody campaign came to an end, and that on May 1st, 1859, there was public thanksgiving in England for the pacification of India.

On January 14th, Felice Orsini and his fellow-conspirators attempted the assassination of the Emperor Napoleon, in the Rue Lepelletier, in Paris, by flinging into his carriage and among his attendants three bombs, which, though the Emperor escaped without a scratch, killed ten persons, wounding one hundred and fifty-six more, most of whom were harmless and unconcerned spectators of the procession. Orsini paid for his rash attempt on the scaffold, but Napoleon, no doubt, fearing a repetition of the terrible missiles, warmly entered into the cause of Italy.

This affair created an outburst of popular indignation in France against England. One of the persons implicated was a Frenchman, long resident in London; the plot was hatched in England, the bombs were manufactured in Birmingham by an Englishman, and were ordered for Orsini by an Englishman.

In 1859 the astute policy of Count Cavour, Minister to Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, forced a rupture between France and Austria. Cavour's policy was to establish a united Italian kingdom under his sovereign. With this object in view, he precipitated a war between Italy and Austria, having first compromised the Emperor Napoleon in the interest of the former. Lombardy had revolted, and on the 9th of April fifty thousand men had set out

from Vienna. On the 21st, an Austrian ultimatum was dispatched to Turin, calling on Piedmont to disarm the menacing forces it had been assembling for some time.

To this Victor Emmanuel replied by issuing an address to his army, declaring hostilities against Austria. Count Cavour had meanwhile telegraphed to the French Emperor : "Help, help! The Austrians are upon us!"

The French army marched immediately from Paris for Italy. On the same day the Austrians at one point and the Sardinians at another crossed the Ticino. Montebello was fought on the 20th of May; Palestro, on the 31st; Magenta, on the 4th of June; and Solferino on the 24th. Suddenly Napoleon offered terms of peace, and the Treaty of Villafranca, on the 11th of July, closed the Italian war of 1859.

During the conflict, a curious struggle of sympathies prevailed in Ireland. The people cherished love for France; and apprehensions for the Pope, on the other hand, placed them in an unpleasant dilemma. The Catholic prelates and clergy denounced the conduct of Napoleon as treacherous and perfidious. His assurances of safety and protection for the Pope they looked upon as delusive, for they justly reasoned that when Francis Joseph had been crushed, the Pope's turn would come next. Popular feeling in Ireland followed the French flag, the more so as the descendant of an Irishman, General Patrick MacMahon, had turned the tide of victory at Magenta, and for his distinguished services

was honored by the Emperor with the title of Duke of Magenta and Marshal of France.

A sword of honor was presented to him by the Irish, a mark of regard which the Marshal accepted with gratitude, stating in his address to the deputation which went to France to present it: "I will leave one day to my eldest son, Patrick, this magnificent sword. It will be for him, as it is for myself, a new pledge of those close ties which should unite him forever to the noble country of his ancestors."

While Napoleon was theorizing over his chimerical project of an Italian Confederation with the Pope at its head, the wily Cavour was secretly laying plans to foil him and to place Victor Emmanuel at the head of a United Italy. He had used France to strangle Austria, and his policy was to neutralize France either by her interests or dread of the intervention of some other power.

Savoy and Nice were ceded to France at the conclusion of peace, while the Romagna, Parma and Modena were appropriated by the Sardinian King. Victor Emmanuel openly rejected the Villafranca treaty, thus making it evident that he was perfectly in the hands of Cavour, Garibaldi, Mazzini, and the Carbonari of Italy, all of whom were bent on the overthrow of the Pope.

The year 1860 found Ireland heaving with intense excitement. Her Catholic enthusiasm was stirred to the profoundest depths. The Papacy was threatened, and it was evident that the Pope would be openly attacked. Meetings were held all over

the country to tender sympathy and support to His Holiness. A large sum of money was collected for his aid.

In England the Italian movement was hailed with applause and delight, and even the press proclaimed that the Pope should not be allowed to stand in the way of a United Italy and liberty. In Ireland, on the other hand, it was denounced as the rapacity of a dishonest state to undermine the Pontifical power, and as a blow aimed at the Church.

The more zealous the English journals became in hounding on the Italians, the more earnest became the Irish in support of the Pope. England sent forth public addresses, men and money to help Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel. Ireland poured forth her treasures into the lap of the Pope, and soon sent her young manhood to fight his battles.

Within a month after the matter was broached, nearly two thousand Irish Pontifical Zouaves were on their way in small parties to the Roman States, where they safely arrived, and were mobilized under General Lamoriciere.

Had the means allowed their transportation, over twenty thousand young men could have been sent within two months.

Startling events followed each other in rapid succession in Italy. Sicily fell into the hands of Garibaldi and his legion. On the 8th of September Naples fell without opposition, Francis II. having fled to Gaeta. The following day Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Naples. On

the 9th of September Cavour demanded from Cardinal Antonelli the disbandment of Lamoriciere's army. Without waiting a reply, the Sardinian army surprised Lamoriciere, and in a brief campaign the Pontifical troops, which had not time to arm or organize, were surprised and defeated at all points.

The Irish soldiers, under command of Major Myles W. O'Reilly, were under drill and imperfectly armed in Spoleto, Perugia and Faligno. General Fanti's Corps, after taking Perugia, summoned Spoleto to surrender. The town was held by Major O'Reilly and three hundred Irishmen, besides a few Franco-Belgians, Austrians and native Italians.

The gallant defense made by the Irish commanded won even the respect of General Brignone, of the Italian army, who, in the articles of capitulation, says: "The officers and soldiers shall be treated in all respects with that urbanity and the regard which befit honorable and brave troops, as they have proved themselves to be in this fight."

On the 28th of September Ancona also surrendered. Here, too, a handful of Irish greatly distinguished themselves. General Lamoriciere, in his official report of the campaign, bears testimony to the bravery and gallantry of the Irish at Perugia, at Spoleto, at Castelfidardo and at Ancona. "At Perugia," he says, "the Irish company and the greater part of the battalion of the 2d Regiment of the line alone showed themselves determined to do their duty." "At Spoleto," he says, "the Irish defended themselves with great gallantry." "At Castelfidardo," he says,

“two howitzers were moved forward under a very sharp fire, with the aid of the Irish. These brave soldiers, after having accomplished the mission with which they were charged, reunited themselves with the tirailleurs, and during the rest of the battle distinguished themselves in their ranks.”

The Irish Papal Zouaves were welcomed home with demonstrations of admiration and joy. At every town where a detachment alighted crowds assembled, wearing green boughs and flags. They were feted in every town and village which had sent forth a recruit to swell the ranks of the Pontifical Zouaves. Their enthusiastic reception at home was stimulated by the sneaking taunts of the English press, which as usual, when anything Irish is concerned, tried to throw ridicule on the movement, and branded the men themselves as cowards and fanatical hirelings, who, like the superstitious Hindoos, were ready and willing to immolate themselves at the dictation of their priests. The taunts and invectives of the English press called forth fierce rejoinders on the part of the Irish. But as slander and vilification is England's stock in trade, where Ireland is concerned, it would be wiser to have passed over her abuse in silence.

The year 1860 opened in England with a new and strong Ministry, with Lord Palmerston at its head, Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord John Russell, Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

They had come into power in troublous times. All over the world there seemed to be an upheaving, and beneath it a seething volcano. A new war had broken out in China. Fenianism was gaining stead-

ily in Ireland, while across the Atlantic were heard the first murmurings of the civil war in America.

John Brown had made his famous raid into Harper's Ferry, a town on the borders of Virginia and Maryland, in order to aid the escape of slaves. He was executed for the offense—we will not call it a crime—and with his last sigh on that gibbet tree went out the life of slavery.

During this year, the relations between England and China were much disturbed, while in England the old bugbear of a French invasion gained such hold that even Lord Palmerston had yielded so far to public alarm as to propose a vote of two million pounds to fortify the coasts against the Emperor of the French.

CHAPTER VI

THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.—THE ENGLISH IN FAVOR OF THE SOUTH, THE IRISH IN FAVOR OF THE NORTH.—THE "ALABAMA."—THE FENIAN MOVEMENT.—THE RISING.—THE MANCHESTER MARTYRS.

The Civil War in the United States, which broke out in 1861, helped to intensify the bitter feeling existing between England and Ireland. England was not long in openly giving expression to her sympathies with the South. Though her lecturers and writers had aroused a very bitter feeling throughout the country against negro slavery in the Southern States, though "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was a textbook

with them almost as sacred as the Gospel, still, when the issue came which would either perpetuate slavery or abolish it forever, the duplicity and mock philanthropy of England were made manifest.

The cause of the South meant slavery and the disruption of the Great Republic; the cause of the North meant the death of slavery and the triumph of a republican form of government.

England was not long in choosing. She went in for slavery and monarchy against freedom and republicanism. Not so in Ireland. To the Irish people America was the Mecca of all their hopes; and its republican form of government, their idol and model. It was the land of their hopes, the home of their kindred, and for it and its free, liberal institutions they were as ready and willing to lay down their lives as if it were the land of their birth.

The struggle in America was one for life and death between slavery and the principles of modern society—between monarchy and republicanism. We are chiefly concerned in the history of the American Civil War in so far as it concerned England and Ireland. From the fact that the Irish contributed largely to the ranks of the Federal armies, and that England supplied to the Confederates pirate-ships, men, arms and ammunition, the struggle has become part of the history of both England and Ireland.

On the 4th of March, President Lincoln was formally sworn into office. The President announced in his message that he had no intention to interfere with the institution of slavery where it existed; that the law gave him no power to do so, even if he had

the inclination; but that, on the other hand, no State could, upon its own mere motion, lawfully get out of the Union, and that acts of violence against the United States must be regarded as insurrectionary and revolutionary.

On February 18th, 1861, Mr. Jefferson Davis announced the determination of the South to maintain its independence by the final arbitrament of the sword, "if passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or influence the ambition of the North."

The State of South Carolina, which, with that of Massachusetts, did more to fan the feeling on the slavery and anti-slavery question into war than all the other States combined, was the first to precipitate the conflict, thus doing away with all possible chances of a compromise.

Fort Sumter guarded the entrance to Charleston, and was at the time garrisoned by Federal soldiers, and floated the flag of the United States. A vessel sent with men to re-enforce this little garrison was fired upon by the Confederates, and a few days later, April 12th, 1861, they opened fire on the fort from batteries which they had erected on the mainland.

The little garrison had no means of resistance, and after a harmless siege of two days, it surrendered.

This put an end to all arbitration and compromise, and as a consequence, the Great Rebellion followed. Four days after the surrender of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued his call for seventy-

five thousand men, which was cheerfully responded to, and by none more readily than by the Irish, who were to be found in every regiment and company in the Federal armies, and who subsequently gave several distinct organizations, such as Meagher's Irish Brigade and the Corcoran Legion, to the services of their adopted country.

With indecent haste England recognized the Southern Confederacy. On May 8th Lord John Russell announced in the House of Commons that, after consulting the law officers of the Crown, the Government were of opinion that the Southern Confederacy must be recognized as a belligerent power.

On the 13th, a neutrality proclamation was issued by the Government, which was *de facto* a recognition of the Southern States.

The dispute between the Cabinets at Washington and St. James's was intensified by the determination of the English Government not to surrender to the States the Confederate envoys, Slidell and Mason, who were captured on the *Trent*.

Far more serious than this, as a cause of quarrel, was the fitting-out of the *Alabama* and other privateers from English ports, in order to prey on American ships, and the aid given by the English Government, at the prompting of the French Emperor, to the Mexican expedition, which was a diversion in favor of the Confederates.

Englishmen insisted that the Northern statesmen were not going into the war with an unmixed motive; as if any state ever yet went to war with one single and undiluted purpose. A good deal

was heard about the manner in which the colored race were excluded from society in New York and the Northern States generally.

The exclusiveness was assuredly narrow-minded and bad enough; but it is one thing to say a colored man shall not sit next us in a theatre or a church, that he shall not go to school with one's son or marry one's daughter, and it is quite another thing to say that we have a right to scourge the colored man to death, to buy his son for a slave, and sell his daughter at the auction-block.

Not a few Englishmen condemned, boldly and out of hand, the whole principle of coercion in political affairs. They declared that the North had no right to put down secession; that the South had a right to secede. Yet the same men had upheld the heaven-appointed right of England to put down the rebellion in India, and would have drenched, if need were, Ireland in blood rather than allow her to withdraw from a partnership into which, after all, unlike the Southern States, she had never voluntarily entered.

It is important, for the fair understanding and appreciation of the events that followed, to remember that there was, among all the advocates of the South in England, a very general conviction that the North was sure to be defeated and broken up, and was therefore in no sense a formidable power. It is well also to bear in mind that there were only two European states which entertained this feeling and allowed it to be everywhere understood. The Southern scheme found support only in England

and in France. In all other European countries the sympathy of people and Government alike went with the North. In most places the sympathy arose from a detestation of slavery. In Russia, or at least with the Russian Government, it arose from a dislike of rebellion. But the effect was the same : that assurances of friendship came from all civilized countries to the Northern States except from England and France alone. One of the latest instructions given by Cavour on his deathbed, was that an assurance should be sent to the Federal Government that Italy could give its sympathies to no movement which tended to the perpetuation of slavery. The Pope, Pius IX., and Cardinal Antonelli repeatedly expressed their hopes for the success of the Northern cause. On the other hand, the Emperor of the French fully believed that the Southern cause was sure to triumph, and that the Union would be broken up; he was even very willing to hasten what he assumed to be the unavoidable end. He was anxious that England should join with him in some measures to facilitate the success of the South by recognizing the Government of the Southern Confederation. He got up the Mexican intervention, of which we shall have occasion presently to speak, and which assuredly he would never have attempted if he had not been persuaded that the Union was on the eve of disruption. He was not without warning. Many eminent Frenchmen well acquainted with America urged on him the necessity of caution. His cousin, Prince Napoleon, went over to America and surveyed the condition of

affairs from both points of view, talked with the leaders of both sides, visited both camps, and came back impressed with the conviction that the Southern movement for independence would be a failure. The Emperor Napoleon, however, held to his own views and his own schemes. He had afterward reason to curse the day when he reckoned on the break-up of the Union and persuaded himself that there was no occasion to take account of the Northern strength. Yet in France the French people in general were on the side of the North. Only the Emperor and his Government were on that of the South. In England, on the other hand, the vast majority of what are called the influential classes came to be heart and soul with the South.

The death of Prince Albert, or as he was called in court circles, the Prince Consort, which occurred about midnight, December 14th, 1861, removed one whose conservative counsel was in favor of a non-intervention policy.

After the dispute about the *Trent*, the feeling between England and the United States became one of distrust, and almost of hostility. We cannot help thinking that the manner in which the English Government managed the dispute, the superfluous display of force, like a pistol thrust at the head of a disputant whom mere argument is already bringing to reason, had a great deal to do with the growth of this bitter feeling. The controversy about the *Trent* was hardly over when Lord John Russell and Mr. Adams were engaged in the more prolonged and far more serious controversy

about the Confederate privateers. The adventures of the Confederate cruisers began with the escape of a small schooner, the *Savannah*, from Charleston, in June, 1861. It scoured the seas for a while as a privateer, and did some damage to the shipping of the Northern States. The *Sumter* had a more memorable career. She was under the command of Captain Semmes, who afterward became famous, and during her time she did some damage. The *Nashville* and the *Petrel* were also well known for a while. These were, however, but small vessels, and each had only a short run of it. The first privateer which became really formidable to the shipping of the North was a vessel called in her earlier history the *Oreto*, but afterward better known as the *Florida*. Within three months she had captured fifteen vessels. Thirteen of these she burned, and the other two were converted into cruisers by the Confederate Government. The *Florida* was built in Birkenhead, nominally for the use of the Italian Government. She got out of the Mersey without detention or difficulty, although the American Minister had warned the English Government of her real purpose. From that time Great Britain became what an American writer calls without any exaggeration "the naval base of the Confederacy." As fast as ship-builders could work, they were preparing in British shipping yards a privateer navy for the Confederate Government. Mr. Gladstone said in a speech, which was the subject of much comment, that Jefferson Davis had made a navy. The statement was at all events not

literally correct. The English ship-builders made the navy. Mr. Davis only ordered it and paid for it. But seven Confederate privateers were really formidable to the United States, and of these, five were built in British dock-yards. We are not including in the list any of the actual war-vessels, the rams and ironclads, that British energy had built for the Confederate Government.

Of these privateers, the most famous by far was the *Alabama*. It was the fortune of this vessel to be the occasion of the establishment of a new rule in the law of nations. It had nearly been her fortune to bring England and the United States into war. The *Alabama* was built expressly for the Confederate service in one of the dock-yards of the Mersey. She was built by the house of Laird, a firm of the greatest reputation in the ship-building trade, and whose former head was the representative of Birkenhead in the House of Commons. While in process of construction she was called the "290"; and it was not until she had put to sea and hoisted the Confederate flag, and Captain Semmes, formerly commander of the *Sumter*, had appeared on her deck in full Confederate uniform, that she took the name of the *Alabama*. During her career the *Alabama* captured nearly seventy Northern vessels. Her plan was always the same. She hoisted the British flag, and thus decoyed her intended victim within her reach; then she displayed the Confederate colors and captured her prize. Unless when there was some particular motive for making use of the captured vessels, they were burned. Sometimes

the blazing wreck became the means of decoying a new victim. Some American captain saw far off in the night the flames of a burning vessel reddening the sea. He steered to her aid, and when he came near enough, the *Alabama*, which was yet in the same waters and had watched his coming, fired her shot across his bows, hung out her flag, and made him her prisoner. One American captain bitterly complained that the fire, which, seen across the waves at any other time, became a summons to every seaman to hasten to the rescue, must thenceforward be a signal to him to hold his course and keep away from the blazing ship. The *Alabama* and her captain were, of course, much glorified in England. But the *Alabama* did not do much fighting; she preyed on merchant vessels that could not fight. She attacked where instant surrender must be the reply to her summons. Only twice, so far as we know, did she engage in a fight. The first time was with the *Hatteras*, a small blockading ship whose broadside was so unequal to that of the *Alabama* that she sunk in a quarter of an hour. The second time was with the United States ship-of-war *Kearsarge*, whose size and armament were about equal to her own. The fight took place off the French shore, near Cherbourg, and the career of the *Alabama* was finished in an hour. The Confederate rover was utterly shattered, and went down. Captain Semmes was saved by an English steam-yacht, and brought to England to be made a hero for a while, and then forgotten. The cruise of the *Alabama* had lasted nearly two years. During this time

she had contrived to drive American commerce from the seas. Her later cruising days were unprofitable, for American owners found it necessary to keep their vessels in port.

We need not follow any further the Civil War in America. The surrender of Lee and Johnston, the restoration of the Union, the emancipation of the colored race, and the assassination of President Lincoln, belong to American, and not to Irish, history. However, it is not out of place to say a few words relative to the part the Irish took in this terrible conflict.

The second regiment to leave New York in response to the President's call for the defense of the National Capital was Colonel Corcoran's Sixty-ninth Irish Regiment, and it was soon followed by Meagher's Zouaves, and other Irish organizations.

Though General Corcoran was under arrest at the opening of the war, for refusing to parade his regiment in honor of the Prince of Wales, he at once offered his services in defense of the Union, they were immediately accepted, and he and his gallant regiment hastily left for Washington.

General Corcoran was captured at the battle of Bull Run, and the three months term of service having expired, the command returned to New York.

Thomas Francis Meagher was commissioned Brigadier General and empowered to raise a brigade. In a few weeks the Sixty-ninth, Sixty-third, and Eighty-eighth Regiments were enrolled and ready to take the field. These were followed by several other Irish organizations throughout various parts of the

country. When Corcoran was subsequently released from Libby Prison he organized the Corcoran Legion, which did such signal service in the Virginia campaigns. Besides independent organizations such as the Ninth Massachusetts Regiment, composed exclusively of Irishmen, there was not a command in the army but had a large complement of Irish in its composition.*

It is computed that in the Federal armies alone about two hundred thousand Irishmen served from the firing on Fort Sumter to the surrender of Lee. Most of these were amalgamated with various commands scattered from the Empire State to sunny Florida, from Rappahannock's banks to the Pacific Slope.

On the bloody fields of Virginia, down amid the cotton-fields of Georgia and the swamps of the Carolinas, lie the bleached bones of thousands of Irish soldiers and chiefs.

Whether storming the bloody heights of Fredericksburg, or checking the enemy's advance at Fair Oaks and Malvern Hill, or making that fearful dash at Antietam, or rescuing the abandoned cannon at Chancellorsville, or driving Early from the Shenandoah Valley, or planting the stars and stripes on the walls of Charleston, Atlanta or Savannah, the Irish soldier in the American war has left behind him a reputation that the greatest detractor of his race, even the *London Times* itself, dare not call into question.

* See history of "The Irish Brigade and its Campaigns," by Major D. P. Conyngham.

The American war had given great vitality to Fenianism both at home and in America. Thousands of young men had entered the American army actuated as much by the desire to acquire a military knowledge which they might turn to practical account against England as by devotion to their adopted country. These brave but enthusiastic soldiers fed themselves with the hope that when the American war was over they had nothing to do but turn their arms against England. They filled their friends at home with this notion, and therefore scarcely a young man of spirit in Ireland but had flung himself into the arms of Fenianism.

The disaffected state of Ireland and the fear of an American invasion had haunted the last days of Lord Palmerston, and when he died in 1865, he left to his successor, Lord John Russell, a rich heritage of American complications and Irish discontent.

Of all the organized efforts of the Irish people to break the British yoke and raise Ireland to the position of a nation, that of Fenianism was the most formidable of modern times. This vast confederation of the Irish race, as it may justly be termed, succeeded for a time in uniting under its standard nearly all the organizations and societies which existed throughout the United Kingdom for revolutionary purposes. Fenianism may be said to have sprung into life, when, in 1858, James Stephens gathered up the shattered remnants of the Phœnix Society and brought the leading spirits of the movement under his control. The organization over which Mr. Stephens presided at this time was

known as the "Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood," and it was not until some three years later that the title of "Fenians" was given to it by John O'Mahony, on account of his Gaelic traditions, for this was the name of the Irish national militia which flourished in the second century.

In 1863 a convention of representatives from all branches of the organization, both in Ireland and the United States, was held in Chicago, on which occasion the work to be done by the branches in America and Ireland was mapped out for them. The Fenians in America were to aid the men in Ireland with money, arms and munitions of war, and were also to supply them with trained officers and men when the contemplated rising was about taking place. Accordingly the work went steadily on until the close of the American war gave a fresh and powerful impetus to the movement, and apparently presented to Irishmen the grand opportunity for which they had so long patiently waited. The feeling against England on account of the part she had taken in favor of the South, in supplying her with men, arms, ammunition and privateers, was so strong, that a war between the two powers seemed imminent. Even President Johnson, who had succeeded President Lincoln after the lamentable assassination of the latter, gave color to the rumor in an interview a delegation of Irish-American officers and Fenians had with him.

As soon as the Irish-American officers were mustered out of service, some hundreds of them lost no time in going to Ireland and placing themselves

under the control of the C. O. I. R., as the council of the Irish Republic was called. Their presence soon became known, and set the secret machinery of the Government at work. Accordingly a privy council was held at the Castle, and on that night, September 15th, 1865, the *Irish People* newspaper was seized, and with it O'Donovan Rossa, Thomas Clark Luby, John O'Leary, William Roantree, and others. Stephens had escaped so far. That there was an informer among them was too evident. A few days later, when the prisoners were placed in the dock, their tried and trusted associate, the man who was to swear away their lives, Pierce Nagle, stood in the witness stand. Of course the prisoners were convicted. There could be no hope before an English judge, a packed jury, and an Irish informer. O'Donovan Rossa was sentenced for life; O'Leary and Luby, twenty years each; Roantree and others, from ten to fifteen years each. Mr. George Hopper, brother-in-law of James Stephens, pleaded guilty and was let off with two years' confinement.

A military council was held, at which the Irish-American officers insisted on immediate action, but in this they were overruled by Mr. Stephens. The result of the conference was to put off the rising for three months longer.

After this, mistrust seized the minds of some of Stephens's best followers; for the fact that the most prominent men were picked up by the authorities, day after day, convinced them that treason lurked in their midst, and that there was another informer among them.

On Saturday morning, November 11th, 1865, James Stephens was arrested at his residence, Fairfield House, at Sandymount, where he resided under the name of Herbert. With him were also arrested Charles J. Kickham, Hugh Brophy and Edward Duffy.

This *coup d'etat*, it was surmised by the Crown authorities, would end the struggle. Their surmises were doomed to disappointment. Steps were taken to effect Mr. Stephens's release from Richmond Bridewell, in which he was immured, which was accomplished mainly through the agency of Daniel Byrne, a warden in the prison, and now a member of the New York police force. On the night of the 24th of November the plan was put into execution, and on the following day the country was startled with the announcement that Stephens had escaped.

Stephens, before leaving prison, pledged himself that the year should not pass over without the rising taking place, but outside its walls more cautious counsels prevailed, and he threw all possible obstacles in the way of the contemplated outbreak.

In not striking at the time suggested the Fenians made their great mistake, for there is no doubt but the army and constabulary were largely disaffected; hundreds of trained Irish-American officers were in the country; and so strong was the feeling in America against England, that an outbreak in Ireland could not fail to precipitate an armed conflict between the two nations. America was irritated by the part which England took during the Civil War. On every battle-field of the South was found beside

a fallen Confederate, a rifle, a sabre or a revolver stamped with the British crown. Rebel ships were built and manned and armed by Englishmen to destroy American commerce. The crews of these ships—who had been adjudged pirates according to all the usages of international law—were disbanded in English ports in defiance of the official protest of the United States Minister, and not only allowed to go free, but were also honored and feted. British emissaries had invaded American territory, robbed American banks and murdered American citizens. It was no wonder, therefore, that the disbanded soldiers burned to wipe out the stain; but diplomacy and policy bridged over the unpleasantness, and America to-day obsequiously pays homage to "Mother England."

The year 1865, on which the rising was to take place, had passed, and nearly two months of '66, yet Mr. Stephens managed to defer it. The American officers, growing impatient of this delay, called a military council, which met on the night of February 16th. No definite conclusion was arrived at, but before noon next day every Irish-American officer in Dublin, to the number of over two hundred, found himself an inmate of Kilmainham Jail.

Though the arrests were made under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, it was not until the following day (Sunday) that it had become law. But when did England observe or regard law in her dealings with Ireland?

Meanwhile these wholesale arrests continued until the prisons of Ireland were filled with "suspects."

The minions of the Castle were now in their glory. They had in their power a class of men whom they feared, and whom they delighted to insult and persecute.

A short time after these February arrests, Mr. Stephens, who had been concealed in the house of a Mrs. Butler, Summer Hill, Dublin, took his departure for France, from where, after two months, he sailed for the United States. Thus vanished from the scene of Irish revolutionary politics the "Central Organizer of the Irish Republic." A man, it is true, who had built up the most powerful organization for military purposes that ever existed in Ireland, but a man nevertheless who contributed more than all others to neutralize the very power he had created.

James Stephens was an organizer and a natural-born conspirator; had he been a patriot as well, whose actions were controlled by love of country and not egotistical vanity, he would have stepped aside when his work of organization was done, and permitted other heads and other hands to guide the powerful machinery which he had constructed, and which he lacked moral courage enough to put in active motion.

Every day the Fenian trials went on before Judge Keogh and a packed jury, and of course to be brought before such a tribunal was equivalent to conviction. A considerable amount of correspondence took place between the American officers in prison and Mr. Adams, the American Minister in London, and Mr. West, the American Consul in

Dublin, with a view of influencing the American Government to claim the right of trial or liberation for American citizens. These gentlemen seemed to favor England's claim—"once a subject, a subject for ever"—so that the suspects, though some of them had been in America since childhood and had served all through the American war, were still treated by England as her subjects, though disloyal and disobedient ones.

Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, took a different view of the matter, and as America was in no humor to be trifled with at the time, the release of the Irish-American prisoners was insisted upon and finally granted.

In the meantime the Fenian organization in America was disorganized by divided councils, and the Fenian Senate had deposed Col. John O'Mahony and elected William R. Roberts in his place, so that in America there were two organizations with two presidents at their head. The Roberts party decided on an invasion of Canada, and in May, 1866, an effort was made in that direction. On June 2d the handful of Irish under General O'Neill, who had crossed the border, met the Canadian forces, composing the "Queen's Own" and a spirited encounter took place which resulted in the rout of the British. On the 7th of June a proclamation was issued by President Johnson against the Fenian invasion of Canada, and troops having been sent to the borders, the whole movement soon collapsed. The O'Mahony party made a ridiculous movement about the same time on Canada, by seizing on an island called

Campo-Calla, but the fiasco soon fizzled out. About this time James Stephens arrived in New York, and at a monster meeting held in Jones' Wood he again pledged himself to immediate action in Ireland. Many retired from the movement in disgust. Stephens had been deposed and Col. Thomas J. Kelly filled his place. The following November Col. Kelly sailed for Ireland on the forlorn hope of preparing the way for an outbreak. On his arrival there a secret council was held, and the 12th of February, 1867, was set down for the rising. In the meantime a daring attempt was made to seize Chester Castle, England, which would have succeeded only for the treachery of the informer Corydon, who imposed himself on Stephens as an officer of the Irish Brigade and seemed to gain his entire confidence. This notorious informer had never risen higher than private in the Brigade, was hospital steward to Dr. Reynolds, and at one time servant to the writer.

The rising, which was adjourned from the 12th of February to the 6th of March, was now crushed out. The fact is, the people found themselves without competent heads or leaders; the Government being fully aware of their movements through the agency of their spies and informers, was everywhere prepared to receive them, and the whole affair subsided after a few sharp conflicts between the police and the people.

The so-called rising of 1867 was Utopian in conception and without head or leaders to bring it to a successful execution. Though it filled the English

dungeons with more suspects and Fenians, it showed one thing, namely, that the people of Ireland, properly organized and led, will fight desperately for their independence. The news of the uprising in Ireland caused the greatest excitement in America, and a small vessel called the *Jackmel*, but which was subsequently christened *Erin's Hope*, was fitted out to convey men and arms to Ireland. This vessel landed on the Irish shore some thirty officers, who were soon enjoying the hospitalities of Kilmainham.

This might be said to be the end of the long-threatened rising, but though a failure, it has sown such a crop of disaffection and self-reliance as to compel England's rule in Ireland to depend on bayonets and military garrisons.

The saddest record of this ill-timed rising was the execution of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, commonly called the Manchester Martyrs. Col. Thos. Kelly, in company with Captain Deasy, was arrested in Manchester the following September. In an attempt to rescue them a policeman named Brett was shot and killed.

A special commission was convened to try the men arrested, namely, William Allen, Michael Larkin, Michael O'Brien, Thomas Maguire and Edward Condon. The men were all convicted and sentenced to be hanged, on the evidence of vile informers. Though it was evident that Brett was shot accidentally and that none of the prisoners fired the shot, still a sacrifice should be made to appease English thirst for Irish blood, and Allen, Larkin and O'Brien were executed on the 23rd of November. Maguire

was pardoned and Condon was reprieved, though there was no evidence to show that they were more or less guilty of the crime than the men who were executed. The prisoners, at the conclusion of the trial, as well as on the fatal drop, all declared their innocence. As sentence was about being passed upon them, one of the prisoners said: "You will soon send us before God, and I am perfectly prepared to go. I have nothing to regret, or to retract, or to take back. I can only say, "GOD SAVE IRELAND."

Stepping to the front of the dock, with their hands and eyes raised with solemn earnestness to heaven, these five noble patriots and martyrs, in a loud, firm voice repeated, "GOD SAVE IRELAND!"

CHAPTER VII.

IRELAND'S FIRST CARDINAL.—DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE IRISH CHURCH.—THE HOME RULE AGITATION.—GLADSTONE AS A REFORMER.—THE IRISH LAND BILL OF 1870.—THE FRENCH WAR AND DETHRONEMENT OF THE EMPEROR.

The elevation of the Most Reverend Paul Cullen from the Archbishopric of Dublin to the Cardinalate, which took place in 1866, was a source of much rejoicing to the clergy of Ireland as well as to a large portion of their congregations. England had been honored by His Holiness Pius IX. with a special mark of his favor, by elevating the Most Rev. Dr. Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, to the Cardinalate in 1850. The faithful of Ireland justly

thought that after centuries of persecution of the Church in that country, they should not be ignored ; therefore the press and people earnestly pressed the consideration of raising Archbishop Cullen to the dignity of Cardinal, which the Pope finally consented to do. To the National element in Ireland Dr. Cullen's elevation was anything but pleasing. He had given a strong opposition to the Fenian movement, and this rendered him unpopular with the extremists, who bitterly denounced him as a "Castle-hack."

The truth is, though Cardinal Cullen was a man of liberal and patriotic views, he considered that he was in duty bound to oppose a movement which he believed was the offspring of secret societies, and which, in his opinion, should end in failure. Whatever difference of opinion there may be regarding his political views and actions, there can be but one regarding him as an ecclesiastic, namely, that he was a zealous, charitable, and in every sense an exemplary churchman. Since his translation from the Archbishopric of Armagh, which he had filled for three years, to that of Dublin, in 1852, and up until the time of his death, on the 24th of October, 1878, his labors on behalf of the Church in Ireland, over which he presided, were crowned with success and blessed with the most salutary fruits.

In 1868, Lord Derby, who had retired from the Ministry, was succeeded by Mr. Disraeli as Prime Minister. A liberal and enlightened policy was expected from the new administration, but so far as Ireland was concerned, the change of Ministry simply meant a change of masters. The duplicity of

Disraeli's policy was fully a verification of what he meant in *Vivian Grey*, when he declared that, for statesmen who would rule, "wisdom must be concealed under folly, and constancy under caprice."

Few changes were made in the Cabinet, and few bills of importance were introduced in the early part of Disraeli's administration. A bill was passed putting a stop to public executions, and the Government ventured on the step of acquiring possession of all the lines of telegraph, and making the control of communication by wire a part of the business of the Post Office. The Abyssinian war took place about this time, which terminated by the capture of Magdala and the death of King Theodore, who, in despair and in true Roman fashion, died by his own hand.

In the year 1868 a new element was introduced into Irish politics, or it might with more propriety be said that an old grievance was revived: we allude to the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Denis F. McCarthy happily says: "The Irish Peasant to his Mistress" is the name of one of Moore's finest songs. The Irish peasant tells his mistress of his undying fidelity to her. "Through grief and through danger" her smile has cheered his way. "The darker our fortunes the purer thy bright love burned;" it turned shame into glory; fear into zeal. Slave as he was, with her to guide him he felt free. She had a rival; and the rival was honored, "while thou wert mocked and scorned." The rival wore a crown of gold; the other's brows were girt with thorns. The rival wooed him to temples, while the

loved one lay hid in caves. "Her friends were all masters, while thine, alas, are slaves!" "Yet," he declares, "cold in the earth at thy feet I would rather be than wed one I love not, or turn one thought from thee."

The reader already understands the meaning of this poetic allegory. If he failed to appreciate its feeling it would be hardly possible for him to understand the modern history of Ireland. The Irish peasant's mistress is the Catholic Church. The rival is the State Church, set up by English authority. The worshipers in the Catholic faith had long to lie hid in caves, while the followers of the State Church worshiped in temples. The Irish peasant remained through centuries of persecution devotedly faithful to the Catholic Church. Nothing could win or wean him from it. The Irish population of Ireland were made apparently by nature for the Catholic faith. Hardly any influence on earth could make the genuine Celtic Irishman a Materialist, or what is called in France a Voltairean. Half his thoughts, half his life, belong to a world other than the material world around him. The supernatural becomes almost the natural for him. The streams, the valleys, the hills of his native country are peopled by mystic forms and melancholy legends, which are all but living things for him. Even the railway has not banished from the land his familiar fancies and dreams. The "good people" still linger around the raths and glens. The banshee even yet laments, in dirge-like wailings, the death of the representative of each ancient house. The very superstitions

of the Irish peasant take a devotional form. They are never degrading. His piety is not merely sincere, it is even practical. It sustains him against many hard trials, and enables him to bear, in cheerful patience, a lifelong trouble. He praises God for everything, not as an act of mere devotional formality, but as by instinct, the praise naturally rising to his lips. Old men and women in Ireland, who seem to the observer to have lived lives of nothing but privation and suffering, are heard to murmur with their latest breath the fervent declaration that the Lord was good to them always. Assuredly this genuine piety does not always prevent the wild Celtic nature from breaking forth into fierce excesses. Stormy outbursts of passion, gusts of savage revenge, too often sweep away the soul of the Irish peasant from the quiet moorings in which his natural piety and the teachings of his Church would hold it. But deep down in his nature is that faith in the other world and its visible connection and intercourse with this; his reverence for the teaching which gave him a clear title to immortality. For this reason, when the Irish peasant throws off altogether the guidance of religion, he is apt to rush into worse extravagances and excesses than most other men. He is not made to be a rationalist; he is made to be a believer.

The Irishman was bound by ties of indescribable strength and complication to his own Church. It was the teacher of that faith which especially commended itself to his nature and his temperament. It was made to be the symbol and the synonym of

patriotism and nationality. Centuries of the cruel, futile attempt to force another religion on him in the name of his English conquerors had made him regard any effort to change his faith, even by argument, as the attempt of a spy to persuade a soldier to forsake his flag. To abandon the Catholic Church was, for him, not merely to renounce his religion, but to betray his country. It seemed to him that he could not become a Protestant without also becoming a renegade to the National cause. The State Church set up in Ireland was to him a symbol of oppression. It was Gessler's hat stuck up in the market-place; only a slave would bow down to it. It was idle to tell him of the free spirit of Protestantism; Protestantism stood represented for him by the authority which had oppressed his fellow-countrymen and fellow-Catholics for generations; which had hunted men to the caves and the mountains for being Catholic, and had hanged and disemboweled them for being Irish. Almost every page of the history of the two countries was read with a different interpretation by the Irishman and the Englishman. To the English student Spenser was a patriot as well as a poet; to the Irish scholar he was the bitterest and most unthinking enemy of Ireland. To the Englishman of modern days Cromwell was a great statesman and patriot; the Irishman thought of him only as the remorseless oppressor of Ireland and the author of the massacre of Drogheda. The Englishman hated James II. because he fought against England at the Boyne; the Irishman despised him because he gave up the fight

so soon. Chesterfield was to Englishmen a fribble and a fop ; he was to Irishmen of education the one English Lord-Lieutenant who ever seemed to have any comprehension of the real needs of Ireland. Fox was denounced in England and adored in Ireland, because he made himself the champion of the principle of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas. One of Byron's chief offenses in the eyes of English Conservatives was that his enthusiasm for Ireland was almost equal to his enthusiasm for Greece. Again and again, in every generation, the object of admiration to Englishmen was the object of distrust or dislike, or both, to all Irishmen who professed to have in them anything of the sentiment of nationality. All this feeling of antagonism was undoubtedly strengthened and sharpened by the existence of the State Church. There was not one rational word to be said on principle for the maintenance of such an institution. Sydney Smith said, in his humorous way: "There is no abuse like it in all Europe, in all Asia, in all the discovered parts of Africa, and in all we have heard of Timbuctoo." No foreign statesman probably ever admired English institutions more than Count Cavour did. Yet Cavour wrote that the State Church in Ireland "remains to the Catholics a representative of the cause of their miseries, a sign of defeat and oppression. It exasperates their sufferings, and makes their humiliation more keenly felt." Every argument in favor of the State Church in England was an argument against the State Church in Ireland. The English Church, as an institution, is defended

on the ground that it represents the religious convictions of the great majority of the English people, and that it is qualified to take welcome charge of those who would otherwise be left without any religious care or teaching in England.

On March 16th, 1868, a remarkable debate took place in the House of Commons. It had for its subject the condition of Ireland, and it was introduced by a series of resolutions which Mr. John Francis Maguire, an Irish member, proposed. Mr. Maguire was a man of high character and great ability and earnestness. When therefore he invited the attention of the House of Commons to the condition of Ireland, the house knew that it was likely to have a fair and a trustworthy exposition of the subject. In the course of his speech, Mr. Maguire laid great stress upon the evil effect wrought upon Ireland by the existence of the Irish Church. He described it as "a scandalous and monstrous anomaly!" During the debate Lord Mayo, then Irish Secretary, made a speech in which he threw out some hint about a policy of equalizing all religious denominations in Ireland without sacrificing the Irish Church. He talked in a mysterious way of "leveling up, and not leveling down." It has never since been known for certain whether he was giving a hint of a scheme actually in the mind of the Government; whether he was speaking as one set up to feel his way into the opinion of the House of Commons and the public; or whether he was only following out some sudden and irresponsible speculations of his own. The words, however, pro-

duced a great effect on the House of Commons. It became evident at once that the question of the Irish Church was making itself at last a subject for the practical politician. Mr. Bright in the course of the debate strongly denounced the Irish Establishment, and enjoined the Government and all the great English parties to rise to the occasion and resolve to deal in some serious way with the condition of Ireland.

Mr. McCarthy in his *History of our Times* speaking of the debate says :

“Public expectation was not long kept in suspense. A few days after the debate on Mr. Maguire’s motion, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of a series of resolutions on the subject of the Irish State Church. The resolutions were three in number. The first declared that in the opinion of the House of Commons it was necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property. The second resolution pronounced it expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage ; and the third asked for an address to the Queen, praying that her Majesty would place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities of the Irish Church. The object of these resolutions was simply to prepare for the actual disestablishment of the Church, by providing that no further appointments should be made, and that the action of patronage should be stayed until Parliament should

decide the fate of the whole institution. On March 30th, 1868, Mr. Gladstone proposed his resolutions. Not many persons could have had much doubt as to the result of the debate. But if there were any such, their doubts must have begun to vanish when they read the notice of amendment to the resolutions which was given by Lord Stanley. The amendment proclaimed even more surely than the resolutions the impending fall of the Irish Church. Lord Stanley must have been supposed to speak in the name of the Government and the Conservative party; and his amendment merely declared that the House, while admitting that considerable modifications in the temporalities of the Church in Ireland might appear to be expedient, was of opinion 'that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or disendowment of that Church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new Parliament.' Mr. Gladstone seized on the evidence offered by the terms of such an amendment. He observed that before the hour at which notice was given of that amendment he had thought the thread of the remaining life of the Irish Established Church was short, but since the notice was given he thought it shorter still.

The debate was one of great power and interest. Some of the speakers were heard at their very best. Mr. Bright made a speech which was well worthy of the occasion and the orator. Mr. Gathorne Hardy was in his very element. He flung aside all consideration of amendment, compromise, or delay, and went in for a vehement defense of the Irish

Church. On the other hand, Mr. Lowe threw an intensity of bitterness remarkable even for him into the unsparing logic with which he assailed the Irish Church. That Church, he said, was 'like an exotic brought from a far country, tended with infinite pains and useless trouble. It is kept alive with the greatest difficulty, and at great expense, in an ungenial climate and an ungrateful soil. The curse of barrenness is upon it. It has no leaves, puts forth no blossom, and yields no fruit. Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?' Not the least remarkable speech of the debate was that made by Lord Cranbourne, who denounced the Government of which he was not long since a member with an energy of hatred almost like ferocity. He accused his late colleagues of having in every possible way betrayed the cause of Conservatism, and he assailed Mr. Disraeli personally in a manner which made older members think of the days when Mr. Disraeli was denouncing Sir Robert Peel. No eloquence and no invective however could stay the movement begun by Mr. Gladstone. When the division was called there were 331 votes for the resolutions and only 270 against them. The doom of the Irish Church was pronounced by a majority of 61. Mr. Disraeli made a wild effort, by speech and by letter, to get up an alarm in the country on the score of some imaginary alliance or conspiracy between 'High Church Ritualists' and 'Irish Romanists.' The attempt was a complete failure; there was only a little flash; no explosion came.

“Mr. Gladstone’s first resolution came to a division about a month after the defeat of Lord Stanley’s amendment. It was carried by a majority somewhat larger than that which had rejected the amendment : 330 votes were given for the resolution ; 265, against it. The majority for the resolution was therefore 65. Mr. Disraeli quietly observed that the Government must take some decisive step in consequence of that vote ; and a few days afterward it was announced that as soon as the necessary business could be got through, Parliament would be dissolved, and an appeal made to the country. On the last day of July the dissolution took place, and the elections came on in November. Not for many years had there been so important a general election. The keenest anxiety prevailed as to its results. The new constituencies created by the Reform Bill were to give their votes for the first time. The question at issue was not merely the existence of the Irish State Church. It was a general struggle of advanced Liberalism against Toryism. No one could doubt that Mr. Gladstone, if he came into power, would enter on a policy of more decided Liberalism than had ever been put into action since the days of the Reform Bill of Lord Grey and Lord John Russell. The result of the elections was on the whole what might have been expected. The Liberals had a great majority.”

Mr. Disraeli did not meet the new Parliament as Prime Minister. He at once resigned his office, and a new administration was formed, with Gladstone at its head. The disestablishment bill was

soon introduced in the new Parliament. Disraeli and his supporters gave the measure a violent opposition, but the bill was sent to the House of Lords by a vast majority. The Lords were prudent enough not to set themselves up in opposition to the public will, and the bill was carried by 179 to 146 votes, and on the 26th of July, 1869, the measure for the disestablishment of the Irish Church received the royal assent.

Meantime, as Mr. McCarthy says, "the wildest excitement prevailed out of doors among the defenders of the State Church. Furious denunciations of the Government resounded from platform and from pulpit. Even in measured and solemn convocation itself the most impassioned and vehement outcries were heard. One divine spoke of the measure as a great national sin. Another stigmatized it as altogether ungodly, wicked, and abominable. A third called upon the Queen to interfere personally, and exhorted her rather to jeopardize her crown in the effort than leave the Irish Church to be destroyed before her eyes. A great meeting was held in Exeter Hall, at which Mr. Gladstone was stigmatized as 'a traitor to his Queen, his country, and his God,' and one reverend gentleman described the Government as 'a cabinet of brigands.' At a meeting held in Ireland, a Protestant clergyman reminded the pastors of every Protestant church, that, sooner than give their churches up to any apostate system, a barrel of gunpowder and a box of matches would send them flying to the winds of heaven. This was, however,

only superfluous fury. No one proposed to turn the Protestant clergymen out of their churches. It is not impossible that the fiery ecclesiastic who gave this Guy Fawkes advice was himself ministering in a church which had been taken by force from its Catholic owners. The agitation against the bill produced, however, no sensible effect upon the mind of the country at large. It thundered and blazed for a few days or weeks here and there, and then, after occasional grumblings and sputterings, sank into mere silence."

Lord Derby did not long survive the passing of the measure which he had opposed with such fervor and so much pathetic dignity. His last speech was that which he delivered in the House of Lords against the second reading of the Irish Church Bill, on June 17th, 1869. "I am an o'd man," he said; "I have already passed three-score years and ten. My official life is entirely closed, my political life is nearly so, and in the course of nature my natural life cannot now be long." It was sooner ended perhaps than any one expected who heard him deliver that last eloquent protest against a measure of reform which he was unable to control, for, on the 23d of the following October, he died at Knowsley.

A new agitation had sprung up in Ireland. It was simply the revival of O'Connell's Repeal movement. It was called the Home Rule Organization, and embraced among its members some of the ablest and most influential men in the country, among whom were Isaac Butt, Edward Purdon,

Lord Mayor of Dublin, Sir John Barrington, Rev. Joseph E. Galbraith, F.T., C.D., the Venerable Archdeacon Goold, A. M. Sullivan, William Shaw, M.P., King-Harman, and about fifty other gentlemen of national prominence, besides a number of merchants and professional men. A meeting was held in the room of the Kilton Hotel, Dublin, on the 19th of May, 1870. Though it was private, the Orangeman and the Ultramontane, the staunch Conservative and sturdy Liberal, the Nationalist, Repealer, the Fenian and the Loyalist, all sat together discussing the subject in a friendly and sympathetic manner. Out of that meeting, of such incongruous elements, sprang what was known as the Home Rule Club.

At this conference was one man who quietly listened to the arguments, *pro* and *con*. Though he had strong Irish sympathies, though he had defended the Fenians in their hour of trial, he had heretofore never identified himself with Irish affairs. That man was Isaac Butt.

After a time he rose to his feet and spoke with great earnestness and emphasis in replying to some allusion to Irish sedition and Fenianism. "It is we—it is our inaction, our desertion of the people and the country, the abdication of our position and duties—that have cast these men into the eddies and whirlpools of rebellion!" he exclaimed. "If you are ready to lead them by constitutional courses to their legitimate national rights, they are ready to follow you. Trust me, we have all grievously wronged the Irish Catholics, priests and laymen.

As for the men whom misgovernment has driven into revolt, I say for them, that if they cannot aid you, they will not thwart your experiment. Arise! Be bold! Have faith, have confidence, and you will save Ireland; not Ireland alone, but England also!"

He concluded by proposing:

"That it is the opinion of this meeting that the true remedy for the evils of Ireland is the establishment of an Irish Parliament, with full control over our domestic affairs."

This motion, which was the birth of Home Rule, was unanimously carried by acclamation.

The organization was called "The Home Government Association of Ireland." A set of fundamental resolutions were also adopted, specifying the aim and object of the organization. Their tone and spirit may be inferred from the following clause, viz.:

"To obtain for our country the right and privilege of managing our own affairs, by a Parliament assembled in Ireland, composed of her Majesty the Sovereign and her successors, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland;

"To secure for that Parliament, under a federal arrangement, the right of legislating for and regulating all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, and control over Irish resources and revenues, subject to the obligation of contributing our just proportion of the Imperial expenditure."

The Home Rule agitation made steady progress, and the popular sentiment in its favor was shown by the election of several candidates pledged to its

principles: for instance, Mr. John Martin, a Home Rule candidate, was returned member for Meath; Mr. Mitchel Henry, for Galway; Mr. P. J. Smyth, for West Meath; and crowning all, Mr. Butt, for Limerick.

The Irish Land question had also become an important issue in Irish politics, and Gladstone recognizing the fact that the lard system was a monstrous grievance, resolved to grapple with it as he had done with the Established Church.

The land of Ireland was owned by a comparatively small number of landlords, the majority of whom were absentees, the representatives of titles acquired by conquest or confiscation. The old occupiers were compelled to become mere serfs or tenants at will to their conquerors, who, in order the better to keep them in subjection, kept them poor and oppressed. The unfortunate tenants had no interest in being industrious or in improving their farms.

If they improved the patch of soil they worked on, their rent was almost certain to be raised, or they were turned out of the land without receiving a farthing of compensation for their improvements. Of course there were many excellent landlords, humane and kindly men—men, too, who saw the wisdom of being humane and kind. But in the majority of cases the landlords and the agents held firmly by what seemed to them the right of property—the right to get as high a price for a piece of land as it would fetch in open competition. The demand for land was so great, the need of land was so vital, that men would offer any price for it. Men would

offer prices which they must have known they could never pay, which they must have known the land would never enable them to pay. Offering land for hire in Ireland was like offering money on loan to needy spendthrifts; any terms would be snatched at by the desperate borrower to-day, no matter what was to happen to-morrow. When the tenant had got hold of his piece of land, he had no idea of cultivating it to the best of his strength and opportunities. Why should he? The moment his holding began to show a better appearance, that moment he might look to having his rent raised, or to being turned out in favor of some competitor who offered higher terms for occupation. Why should he improve? Whenever he was turned out of the land he would have to leave his improvements for the benefit of the landlord or the newcomer. He was, therefore, content to scratch the soil instead of really cultivating it. He extracted all he could from it in his short day. He lived from hand to mouth, from hour to hour. The whole system of feudal tenure of land under a master was new to Ireland. It began with Ireland's conquest, and it was identified in the mind of the Irish peasant with Ireland's degradation. Everything was there that could make oppression bitter. The landlord began to be looked upon at last as the tenant's natural enemy. Ribbon societies were formed for the protection of the tenant. The protection afforded was only too often that of terrorism and assassination. The ribbonism of the south and west of Ireland was as strictly the product of the land system of the coun-

try as the trades-union outrages in America are the offspring of the unequal and unjust legislation that gave all the power to the master and lent no protection to the workman. All the while five out of every six English writers and political speakers were discouraging gravely on the incurable idleness and lawlessness of the Celtic race and the Irish peasant. The law gave the Irish tenant no security for the fruit of his labor, and Englishmen wondered that he was not laborious. The law told him that when he had sown he should not be entitled to reap, and Englishmen were angry that he would not persist in sowing. Imperial legislation showed itself his steadfast enemy, and Englishmen marveled at his want of respect for the law.

An eminent American traveler, writing on the state of Ireland, says :

"No one can conceive how terribly, sadly, wretchedly poor human beings can be and live, until he has ridden by cabin and crib, burrow and stile, and all the nameless shifts for shelter that offend the eye in the poorer parts of Ireland. Not one decent home, not one comfortable, tidy dwelling, not one cleanly, well-fed, neat human being. Troops of sad, wan, starved children, nearly naked, smeared to the eyes with dirt and ashes, and their unkempt heads powerfully garrisoned with 'Scotch grays,' followed us mile after mile, plaintively wailing, 'A penny if ye plaze, sur.' Men and women with the dull, dead expression of despair in their eyes, waded out to gaze upon us from their cabins and holes in the ground, or between the rocks, literally ankle deep in

mud and filth, and clad, or, rather, unclad, in such tattered tatters, that Lazarus was attired in princely robes in comparison. Deer stood in the fields and birds sat upon the trees, fearless of man, for no Irishman is permitted to have a gun, or to touch bird or beast, even though his family starve before his eyes. I also noticed that in the whole long ride of fifty-four miles I never saw a dog. Think of people too poor to keep a dog! But all through this country, amid mountain wilds and rugged passes, by cabin and den, through solitudes and desolation, ran a road better than rich and prosperous Springfield possesses. I might say all that, and still leave the impression that the road was a very poor one, and therefore I add that it was very good, smooth, even free from stones, and hard. The condition of Ireland is a burning, glaring disgrace and shame. The statesmanship that through all these years has been unable to devise and apply remedies for the amelioration of the sufferings of this generous, kindly and well-meaning people is weak and criminal, and deserves to be wiped out, peaceably or forcibly, as circumstances may require. If England cannot govern Ireland decently, so that it will cease to offend the sense and wring the hearts of civilized beholders, she ought to be made to 'step down and out.' We rode forty miles through lands wholly owned by two men, and one of these men had not been upon his estate for more than three years. The estates are managed by agents, who are instructed and compelled to squeeze and wrench every possible dollar, yes, farthing, from the starving tenants and

forward it to the owner, who spends it in London or the continental cities. If the tenant improves the estate, as soon as his lease expires his rent is raised to the full value of the improvements, or he is at once evicted and robbed of all his labors. The landlords refuse to give long leases, and thus no impulse of ambition, no light of hope, is permitted birth in the poor man's heart. I made a point of talking with the peasantry, and found they fully understand their grievances, and, although they have no definite plan for their redress, some leader will be raised up who will direct and guide their desperation into such effective form that English selfishness and conceit will be compelled to give it heed."

When we read such statements from the impartial pens of foreigners, we ask, Is it any wonder that Ireland is disloyal and rebellious, and only thirsting for the opportunity to fling off the English yoke?

The cry of land reform had been taken up from time to time by able men in Ireland and England; for generations it had been the subject of political agitation and parliamentary debate. The Devon Commission had made ample investigation of its principles and its operation. Mr. Sharman Crawford had in vain devoted an honest life to the advocacy of tenant-right. Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Chester Fortescue and Lord Naas had introduced measures trying more or less feebly to deal with Irish land tenure. Nothing came of all this. The supposed right of the landlord stopped the way.

Mr. Gladstone came into power as a reformer, and

in justice to him it must be said that he has done much to break down the feudal barriers that hedged in landlordism. In truth he was the first English statesman to recognize the fact that the tillers of the soil had some right in its products; and he declared in a speech delivered by him on an electioneering tour, that the Irish upas tree had three great branches—the State Church, the Land Tenure System, and the System of Education—and that he meant to hew them all down if he could.

After such an announcement as this, no one was surprised when, on February 15th, 1870, Mr. Gladstone introduced his Irish Land Bill into the House of Commons. The measure was one of far greater importance as regarded its principles than it proved to be in its practical operation. In plain words, what it did was to recognize the fact that the whole system of land tenure in Ireland, so far as it was the creature of law, was based upon a wrong principle. Mr. Gladstone's measure overthrew once for all the doctrine of the landlord's absolute and unlimited right. It recognized a certain property or partnership of the tenant in the land which he tilled.

After considerable discussion, the bill passed both houses without any substantial changes or alterations, and on August 1st it received the royal assent.

Gladstone's Irish Land Bill did not prove as great a boon as was anticipated.

The landlord class, always alive to their selfish interest, found means to frustrate the good intentions of the bill, and the result was increased evictions followed by agrarian outrages.

An event which caused much sorrow in England and throughout the civilized world was the sudden death of Charles Dickens, which took place on June 8th, 1870.

Gladstone, as a proof of his sincerity to effect judicious reforms, introduced other important measures.

He had pledged himself to abolish the State Church, which he had accomplished; to reform the Irish land tenure, which he found a herculean task; and to establish vote by ballot, which he finally succeeded in doing. While the Government was thus wrestling with public opinion in Ireland, and making certain concessions in the shape of reforms, the war broke out between France and Germany, which proved so disastrous to the former, and ended by the dethronement of Napoleon and the establishment of a French Republic.

In Ireland the Home Rule party were daily increasing in power and influence, and on the 18th of September, 1873, a conference was held in Dublin in the great circular hall of the Rotunda, where the celebrated Convention of the Irish Volunteers, under the Earl of Charlemont, held their deliberations in 1793.

Mr. William Shaw, M. P. for Cork, was elected president. With scarcely an alteration, the principles and programme of the Home Government Association were affirmed by national authority, and that organization thereupon being dissolved, a new one, "The Irish Home Rule League," was established to take charge of the national movement.

Nothing could better exemplify the temper of the people in favor of Home Rule than the fact that when vacancies occurred in the representation of Kilkenny and other counties, the Home Rule candidates were elected under most trying circumstances, and when Gladstone suddenly dissolved Parliament in January, 1874, and appealed to the country, the Home Rulers returned to Parliament with about sixty members pledged to support the movement.

The death of Louis Napoleon in 1873 allayed the fears of England and Germany, as well as of the young Republic of France, against a monarchical restoration in favor of the Napoleon dynasty.

About this time, too, Lord Lytton, the brilliant novelist; Dr. Livingstone, the famous explorer and missionary; John Stuart Mill, and other eminent men, died.

If Mr. Gladstone in his *coup d'etat* had surprised the country, the country in return surprised him, for on the assembling of the new Parliament Mr. Gladstone found himself in a hopeless minority, and therefore resigned the Premiership in favor of Disraeli.

The new Parliament opened with a Conservative ministry not only in office but in power. Mr. Disraeli found himself at the head of three hundred and sixty devoted followers; while not more than about two hundred and forty stood beneath the banner of the late Premier. As to the remaining sixty, a state of things previously unknown was about to present itself. Immediately on the conclusion of the elections, the Irish Home Rule members

assembled in the council-chamber of the City Hall, Dublin, and after deliberation earnest and prolonged adopted resolutions constituting themselves "a separate and distinct party in the House of Commons." In truth it was upon this understanding, expressed or implied, they were one and all returned. They forthwith proceeded to make the requisite arrangements to such an end. Nine of their body were elected to act as an executive council. Secretaries and "whips" were duly appointed. Motions and measures were agreed upon for introduction. Thus constituted, marshaled, and organized, the Irish Home Rulers took their seats in the imperial Parliament.

They decided to offer a bridge to the opposing forces of Irish demand and English refusal. Apart from the question of Home Rule, which they knew would require much time, they resolved to lay before the House of Commons several schemes of practical legislation; the merits of which could hardly be contested, and the success of which might fairly be expected. The concession of these would, on the one hand, lead the English people gradually to look into the nature of Irish claims, and, on the other hand, lead the Irish people to place more confidence in constitutional effort. It was probably the best and wisest policy such a party could devise. "You will gain nothing by it," said some amongst them; "you will accomplish nothing by this moderation. You will be blindly voted down all the same. It is a policy of combat you should set yourselves to pursue." "We shall try that, if we *must*; but not

if we can avoid it," answered the Home Rule chiefs.

Amidst such circumstances, beset by such difficulties, inspired by such hopes, facing so grave a problem, the Irish Home Rule Party pushed forward from 1874 to 1877, the exponents of a new policy, the representatives of a New Ireland at Westminster.

Mr. A. M. Sullivan sums up their hopes, their fears and disappointment as follows :

"From 1874 to 1878 the policy thus stated was steadily pursued. For the first two or three years, with a hopefulness of spirit that was blind to all discouragement, Mr. Butt led his forces to the cheerless endeavor. The gloomy prophecies were but too darkly fulfilled. He was, indeed, 'blindly voted down all the same.' It was not merely that his Home Rule motions were overwhelmed ; but even on what his adversaries themselves would call practical questions of the simplest character and most notorious utility, the strength of a combined Conservative and Liberal majority was mercilessly used to crush him. In every division the vote of Ireland—that is, the votes given by Irish representatives of every section and party—showed a remarkable preponderance in one direction ; while the overbearing vote of Great Britain, on these purely domestic Irish affairs, was just as preponderatingly in the other. As to the Home Rule motions, the first (Amendment to the Address, on the 20th March, 1874), exhibited these results : Irish vote—ayes, 48 ; noes, 26—defeated by 288 British votes. The second

(2nd July, 1874), Irish vote—ayes, 53 ; noes, 37—defeated by 421 British votes. The third (30th June, 1876), Irish vote—ayes, 52 ; noes, 33—rejected by 258 British votes. The fourth (24th April, 1877) showed similar results.

“This, however, it may be said, was on a question held by all British parties to be ‘beyond the range of practical politics.’ But the Irish questions *within* that range fared just the same. The questions of this latter class, which the Irish members declared to be of most importance, were a Land Bill and a Grand Jury Reform Bill. Besides these, they exhibited, moreover, a perseverance, nay, a pertinacity, that might well have moved their foes to admiration, in endeavors to assimilate the laws relating to Borough and Municipal Franchise in Ireland and England. Again and again, session after session, they pointed to the indisputable fact that they sought nothing for Irish municipalities or Irish voters, in borough or county, that English municipalities and English voters did not already enjoy. In vain—all in vain.”

Though the Home Rule agitation in Ireland was kept under the lash and frown of the British Government, the people showed their utter contempt of British law and the British Parliament by electing O'Donovan Rossa, who was then serving out his term in prison, as member of Parliament for Tipperary. The Government and their auxiliaries in Ireland became furious at this outrage, and of course declared the election illegal. In the next contest, Charles Kickham, who had been just released from

prison, and whose death we have lately to lament, was taken up by the gallant people of Tipperary, and though the Government threw into the scales all its influence, men, money and arms, against the people, Kickham was defeated only by four votes in such a vast constituency, and this small victory was secured by bribery and intimidation.

The bold peasantry of Tipperary chafed under this defeat, and demanded the resignation of Mr. White, the successful candidate, alleging that he was not the choice of the people, and with a unanimous shout they called on John Mitchell, the felon, to fill his place. He responded by leaving for Ireland, and on Saturday, July 25th, 1874, he arrived in Queenstown, the port from whence he was carried away in chains twenty-six years before, in the convict ship the *Scourge*. *

He returned to New York after visiting his friends in Ulster, as no vacancy occurred just then; but, in January, 1875, Colonel White resigned, and Mitchell was telegraphed to leave for Ireland, which he did, but before his arrival there he was elected member of Parliament for Tipperary.

The Government at once moved Parliament to quash the return, on the ground that John Mitchell was an unpardoned "felon," basing their action on the precedent set by Mr. Gladstone in the case of O'Donovan Rossa. The cases were widely different.

* It seems the *Scourge* quitted the harbor in a shower of rain, which, to Mitchell's regret, soon hid the land from view. It happened that when the steamer by which he arrived in 1874 entered the port, rain was falling heavily. "Good God!" he exclaimed, with a humorous smile, "is not that shower over yet?"

It was held by competent lawyers that John Mitchell's term of "transportation" had been endured and fulfilled "beyond the seas"; and as to his escape from Australia in 1854, the Crown lawyers, though again and again explicitly charged and challenged on the subject, flinched from the fatal point that (owing to circumstances needless to detail here) Mitchell was not in legal custody when taken from Cape Town to Tasmania. The House of Commons, however, in dealing with Irish disaffection, cares little for law or constitution, but goes straight to the object of "supporting the Government." The election of Mitchell was annulled. A new writ was issued. Again he was put in nomination—this time despite the remonstrances of the Home Rule leaders, who saw what was at hand. A local ultramarine Conservative had himself nominated, polled a handful of votes, and successfully claimed the seat, though Mitchell headed him by thousands. Before any formal decision on the subject could be delivered, the controversy was tragically ended. While the voices of the multitude were saluting John Mitchell victor, Death was claiming him as his own. He returned to the old family seat at Dromolane, where he quietly breathed his last, and was laid to rest in the old family burying-ground, where within a week the incorruptible John Martin was laid beside him.

The vacancy in the representation of Meath, caused by the death of John Martin, was filled by a young man who was destined to effect a revolution greater than O'Connell's in Irish politics.

This Protestant young gentleman was no other than Charles Stewart Parnell.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.—THE LAND LEAGUE AGITATION.—EXCITEMENT IN IRELAND.—SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS.—ARRESTS AND IMPRISONMENT.—THE ASSASSINATION OF LORD CAVENDISH AND MR. BURKE.—THE CEREMONIES OF THE UNVAILING OF THE O'CONNELL MONUMENT AND THE OPENING OF THE DUBLIN EXHIBITION, AUGUST 15TH, 1882.

Charles Stewart Parnell came of a family always dear and faithful to the Irish people.

On the roll of the Irish Parliament, in the crisis of its fate, the names of Sir John Parnell, and of Henry Parnell, his son, filled a prominent and an honorable place. The former had been Chancellor of the Exchequer ; but, recoiling from Pitt's proposal to subvert the Irish Constitution, he refused to support the Government in such a policy, and, after bribes and blandishments had failed to allure him, was dismissed to make room for the celebrated Isaac Corry. In the column of "Observations" in the famous "Red List" of Sir Jonah Barrington, there appears opposite the name of "Right Hon. Sir John Parnell" the one word, "Incorruptible." Both of these Parnells, father and son, stood by Henry Grattan to the last. We know of no family in whom,

for a well-authenticated record of two hundred years, the virtues of public integrity and private worth, as well as rare gifts of intellect, have been more conspicuously hereditary than in the Parnells.

Here it might not be out of place to say a few words about this remarkable young man himself.

Mr. Parnell was born in the ancestral mansion at Avondale, in June, 1846. Not only was he wholly educated in England and by Englishmen, but it may be said that from the age of six years until he had reached man's estate his life was passed on the English side of the Channel. The Parnells, although so intensely Irish, and such devoted friends of the Catholics, were always earnestly religious Protestants; and Mrs. Parnell tells us "particular pains were taken to place Charles with manifestly kind and religious people." At the age of six years he was placed at school in Yeovil, Somersetshire; next, with the Rev. Mr. Barton, at Kirk-Langley, Derbyshire; next, with the Rev. Mr. Wishaw, in Oxfordshire; and eventually at Cambridge University—the University of which his father was a graduate. Although the strong individuality of his American republican mother—a lady of remarkable intellectual power—cannot have been without its effect on him, young Parnell's political leanings up to the year 1867 were rather conservative and aristocratic.

The executions of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, at Manchester, made a deep impression on the heart of young Parnell, and his Irish feeling and patriotism soon after asserted themselves. After completing his education he spent a few years in travel, and

returned to his ancestral home at Avondale in 1871, to enter on his duties as a landed proprietor. He soon afterwards formed the Home Rule League.

A vacancy having occurred in the County Dublin, the League decided on running young Parnell against Colonel Taylor. It was a forlorn hope.

Mr. A. M. Sullivan says, speaking of the public meeting held to select a candidate :

“ Mr. Parnell made his *debut* in public life. The resolution which I had moved in his favor having been adopted with acclamation, he came forward to address the assemblage. To our dismay he broke down utterly. He faltered, he paused, went on, got confused, and, pale with intense but subdued nervous anxiety, caused every one to feel deep sympathy for him. The audience saw it all, and cheered him kindly and heartily ; but many on the platform shook their heads, sagely prophesying that if ever he got to Westminster, no matter how long he stayed there, he would either be a “ Silent Member,” or be known as “ Single-speech Parnell.”

A silent member, or single-speech Parnell! Oh, far-sighted individuals! Oh, men of prophetic power! What would the House of Commons not give—what would Her Majesty’s Ministers not give to-day—that your words had come true!

Colonel Taylor was re-elected easily ; but “ Young Parnell ” had borne himself so gallantly in the fight that, on the death of John Martin, as already mentioned, in the spring of 1875, he was adopted as the Home Rule candidate for Meath, and, despite a severe contest, was triumphantly returned.

As it now turns out, that was a not uneventful day in the parliamentary history of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. Parnell was at first a rather taciturn member of Parliament, but gradually he gained confidence, and assailed Government measures with such scathing vehemence, that those who looked upon him with feelings of forbearance now began to wonder and admire.

He thwarted the Government in their schemes, and exposed their crimes and their weakness in a scathing, cold-blooded manner.

On the 7th of April, 1877, the Mutiny Bill was brought before the House, and never did Parnell appear to better advantage than in the debate that followed. He showed up the brutality of the lash, the triangle, and other means of torturing the unfortunate soldier, in such a light that English members almost felt ashamed of themselves as well as of these relics of barbarism.

"Meantime," says Mr. Sullivan, "around the young Meath member and his headlong followers the popular opinion of Ireland had gathered and intensified day by day. Every shriek of anger in the English press was answered by a shout of rapturous exultation on the Irish shore. Every attempt of Parliament to censure, to punish, or to humiliate Mr. Parnell, raised him higher and higher in the esteem of his countrymen. Although still professing himself merely a private member of the Irish Party under Mr. Butt, he utterly dominated the titular leader. The Man of Moderation, the Policy of

Conciliation, had had their day. The Man and the Policy of Combat were now to have their turn."

The Irish people soon began to realize the terrible fact that the frightful scenes of the famine years again threatened them. The harvest of 1877 was a failure, yet the landlords exacted their rents to the last penny. The harvest of 1878 was also a failure, and a gloomy foreboding began to seize men's minds. The poor farmers borrowed and raised money by every possible means, in order to pay the landlords.

In the winter of 1878, the Irish farmers woke up to the terrible fact that, on the hazard of yet another crop, that of 1879, their very existence hung. The desperate rack-rents of the rising times lay heavy on them. They were deeply in debt to the banks, to the guano agents, and seedsmen. Yet at all sacrifices, and at any price, further credit must be had, or means obtained to put in the 1879 crop, and tide over the months to the autumn of that year. Now, indeed, they bitterly realized that the Land Act of 1870 was but a "monument of good intentions." It had been wholly impotent to protect them from the dexterous and relentless confiscation wrought by a yearly twist of the rent-screw. And Parliament! At the very moment these gloomy apprehensions were silently darkening the land, the House of Commons had once more contemptuously refused even an inquiry into the Irish Land Question. *

* For facts connected with the parliamentary career of Mr. Parnell and Irish affairs, we are greatly indebted to Mr. A. M. Sullivan's *New Ireland*.

The winter months of 1878-'79 were tided over with great difficulty by the poor farmers, but starvation threatened thousands who had nothing but their daily wages to live upon.

The peasantry of Connemara and other parts of Connaught were actually starving, and the "begging-box" was already going around for them. In April, 1879, a meeting was held in Mayo at which Michael Davitt came to the front as a land agitator. The history of this remarkable man was full of suffering and devotion. Michael Davitt's father was evicted in the terrible famine years, and he and his family crossed over to England, and settled at Haslingden, Lancashire. He never forgot his early wrongs and suffering, and the boy grew up to be a Fenian and a bitter hater of England.

He lost his arm by its being crushed by a wheel in the mill where he worked. He had then to take up other pursuits, which brought him more closely in connection with the Fenians.

In 1870 young Davitt was arrested in London, charged with being an arms-agent for the Fenians, tried, convicted, and sentenced to fifteen years penal servitude. A painful shock, a keen sense of wanton severity, went through all who knew him, for they all loved the frank, fearless, honorable young Irishman, and wept at his fate. For seven years he endured the horrors of penal servitude in association with criminals of such loathsome character that he never spoke of them afterwards save with a shudder. In 1878 he was, as it was called, "amnestied," the "amnesty" taking the shape of the ordinary ticket-of-leave

given to murderers and burglars ; but this the Government said was only a matter of form. Along with him were liberated Sergeant-Major MacCarthy and two or three others of the political prisoners—MacCarthy being now in the last gasp of heart disease, and it may be said, liberated only to die. On their arrival in Dublin, an immense concourse of the inhabitants—more than a hundred thousand people—with bands and banners, turned out to greet them. Next morning Davitt and MacCarthy were about to breakfast with Mr. Parnell at his hotel, when MacCarthy complained of a sudden faintness. Davitt sprang to his side, evidently fearing the worst. Putting his arm tenderly around his much-loved fellow-prisoner, he bore him to a sofa. The others rushed to his aid, and saw that it was all over with MacCarthy—that the wife and children in the south of Ireland whom he was hurrying off by that day's train to meet would hear his voice no more. Davitt, sobbing like a child, bent over him, and soon the faithful comrade's tears were falling on the face of the dead.

Davitt paid a hasty visit to the United States to see his mother and sister who resided there. While there he held council with Fenians and others prominently identified with Irish national matters. He had a scheme which was no other than the total abolition of landlordism and the substitution of peasant proprietors.

“Having,” writes Mr. Sullivan, “secured the good-will, if not actual co-operation, of a fair number of influential friends amongst the Advanced

Irishmen in the States, he returned to Ireland ; for the question still remained whether this New Departure, with its novel eclecticism, would take at home. How would the Home Rulers like to see a movement pushed to the front that might, for a time at all events, hide away their own? How would the remnants of the Fenian battalions—broken, disrupted, scattered, weakened, but not destroyed—take to a course of action which was to be open and above-board, avoiding violence and illegality, and working only by the ordinary modes of political warfare? Above all—and this seemed his greatest obstacle—how would the public men, the Catholic clergy, and the existing Tenant-Right Organizations (all pledged to a joint-proprietary-interest or Landlord-and-Tenant scheme of settlement) receive a project, the first principle of which was to decry and contemn as utterly inadequate “the Three F’s,” till now the maximum of the tenants’ demands? Davitt faced all these difficulties. After much quiet, patient, unobtrusive but arduous labor, he determined to raise the standard in his native country, and almost on the site of the ruined hearth that, thirty years ago, was his father’s home. This he did by organizing the demonstration above referred to, held at Irishtown on the 28th of April, 1879. He himself was prevented from being present by missing a railway train, but the meeting was attended and addressed by Mr. Daly, of Castlebar (who presided); by Mr. O’Connor Power, M.P.; Mr. John Ferguson, of Glasgow; Mr. Thomas Brennan, and Mr. J. J. Louden, B.L.”

This was the beginning of the Irish Land War of 1879-1882.

At first the Irish members and Home Rule leaders took no part in the new departure. They anxiously watched it. They knew that it was a scheme not to be lightly embraced.

Meantime it became evident that there was a famine in Ireland, and the Irish members appealed to the House, only to be laughed at for their groundless fears. On the 27th of May, 1879, the Irish members, finding that Parliament was about being adjourned without doing anything for Ireland, resolved to force the subject on the attention of the House of Commons.

Mr. O'Donnell said "he rose for the purpose of calling attention to the deplorable and unendurable condition of the landed interests in Ireland. The Land Bill of the Right Hon. gentleman, the member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), was a monument of the good intentions of that Right Hon. gentleman rather than of the capacity of English parties to deal with Irish questions."

He then proceeded to entreat the attention of the Government and of Parliament to the troubles that were gathering in Ireland.

Mr. Justin McCarthy said "he was perfectly certain that the distress in Ireland had become so great as to render an attempt by Parliament to deal with the question imperative and unavoidable. They (the Irish members) heard from farmers, from priests, and peasants alike that the crisis was imminent, urgent, and even perilous."

Mr. O'Connor Power said "how long did they think the Irish people would submit to have their grievances postponed for the convenience of the Government? If Parliament did not come forward, within a reasonable time, with some measure of legislation calculated to relieve the depression of the present state of agriculture in Ireland, scenes would arise in Ireland that would be far more dangerous to the rights of property, and to the order and tranquillity which should prevail in that country, than any that Ireland had been afflicted with in her long struggle with the ignorance, if not incompetency, of the English Parliament. If those warnings were now unheeded, and Parliament should plead for further delay, the consequences must be fixed on their own shoulders."

Mr. A. M. Sullivan said "there could be no doubt that there was alarming distress among the agricultural interests, not only of Ireland, but of Great Britain. He would neither express, nor join in expressing, any wholesale indictment against the landlords of Ireland. They fell, in his opinion, far short in many respects; but he had never failed to admit that in their errors and shortcomings they might be the creatures of circumstances, and that they possessed a great many excellent qualities which were not always remembered. . . . There was yet sufficient time to grapple with the evil."

Mr. Parnell said "he knew from experience that great agricultural distress prevailed in Ireland. He was talking the other day with a cess-collector who told him that he had never had such difficulty,

since 1847, in getting money from the farmers. . . . He would not prolong the discussion on that occasion ; but unless the Government were ready to afford some opportunities for the consideration of these subjects after Whitsuntide, and unless they intended, at all events, to do something in the direction of the recommendations of Mr. Shaw Lefevre's Committee, the question was one which would have to be taken up by the Irish members in a firm and determined fashion. It was one which deeply affected their constituencies, and even if they were disposed to hang back a little on the subject, the constituencies would not allow them."

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, T. M. Healy, Biggar, Gray, Sexton, Kelly, Dillon, Sullivan, and other members, recognized leaders of advanced ideas, followed in the same strain.

The House resented the idea that there was any danger of starvation in Ireland.

Mr. Lowther, Secretary for Ireland, pooh-poohed the whole affair, laughed at the idea of a crisis in Ireland, and angrily resented the interference of the Irish members.

That debate sealed the fate of landlordism in Ireland. The Irish members left the House, sore at heart, and feeling that concessions could be wrung from England only through menace and fear. Parnell declared himself in favor of Davitt's desperate scheme, and proceeded to Ireland to join the movement.

On the 8th of June, 1879, he appeared on the stand with Davitt at the Westport meeting, when

he uttered the memorable sentence : "Keep a firm grip of your homesteads."

On the 21st of October, at a meeting in Dublin of tenant-farmer delegates from all parts of Ireland, was founded "The Irish National Land League."

The principles and purposes of the organization were set forth in the following resolutions :

1. That the objects of the League are, first, to bring about a reduction of rack-rents ; second, to facilitate the obtaining of the ownership of the soil by the occupiers.

2. That the objects of the League can be best obtained by promoting organization among tenant-farmers ; by defending those who may be threatened with eviction for refusing to pay unjust rents ; by facilitating the working of the Bright Clauses of the Land Act during the winter ; and by obtaining such reform in the laws relating to land as will enable every tenant to become the owner of his holding by paying a fair rent for a limited number of years.

Thus was founded, perhaps, the most powerful political organization that Ireland has ever had. At this meeting Mr. Parnell was elected President ; Mr. Patriok Egan, Treasurer ; Mr. Michael Davitt and Mr. Thomas Brannan, Secretaries.

The Government at once recognizing the weight of this new power, denounced its members as Fenians in disguise, concealed rebels, and the like. While the fact was, the National element was bitterly opposed to the organization for they looked upon it as a revival of agitation in which they had

no faith. They might have clashed had not the counsel of cool-headed men prevailed, who made a kind of compromise, so that one organization might be a prop to the other without interfering with its internal affairs.

The Catholic clergy soon came to look upon the movement favorably, and many of them became its warmest advocates.

A new and terrible agent gave a powerful impetus to the Land League movement. This was famine—famine which threatened Ireland with the terrible visitations of '47 and '48. The harvest of '79 was a failure, the potato crop blighted beyond hope. The black worst had come. Famine was stalking through the land.

Mr. Parnell saw that the League must convert itself into a relief committee. He and John Dillon decided on going to the United States to appeal to the Irish there for the relief of their kindred at home.

John Dillon was the second son of John Dillon who was so prominently connected with the '48 movement, and was the worthy successor of his patriotic father.

On the 14th of December, 1879, Messrs. Parnell and Dillon sailed from Queenstown for America. They were greeted in New York with public and official reception, and in all the chief cities of the Union were welcomed with military parade and popular enthusiasm as the Ambassadors of Ireland to America. A few weeks later they were joined by Mr. T. M. Healy. Mr. Healy was just then

known to the outer world only as "Private Secretary to Mr. Parnell," but he was destined to make his mark in the British Parliament. An honor, never but once before, since the days of Washington, vouchsafed by the Congress of the United States to any man, citizen or stranger, was extended to Mr. Parnell; he was invited to address the Chamber on the Case of Ireland. From State to State, from town to town, he and his colleagues sped; speaking to immense and enthusiastic masses of people. In three months they obtained not far from 250,000 dollars for the relief of distress in Ireland, besides several thousands for the political purposes of the Land League.

They obtained something much more serious. This embassy, it may be said, resulted in the introduction of a new and important factor into Irish, or rather into British politics, namely, a strong, a permanent and systematized supply of financial support for political purposes in Ireland.

Meantime, throughout all the western districts of Ireland scenes harrowing and heart-rending beyond description were to be witnessed. The cry of anguish and despair rose on every breeze. It was like a ghastly recurrence of "Forty-Seven." In the schools—as some of the teachers, with moistened eyes, told the story—the terrible state of affairs at home could be read in the pinched and haggard countenances of the children. Inquiry revealed the fact in thousands and thousands of cases that they came to school every morning without a morsel of food since the previous day, and could at best only hope for

their share once a day of whatever the father or mother might beg or borrow from others nearly as poor as themselves. Next, the teachers observed the clothing, on the little girls especially, getting lankier and thinner, as the under-garments, few at best, went, shred by shred, to the village pawn-shop. Day by day, teacher and monitor could mark the gradual effects of gnawing hunger on the little faces, until one by one they were missed altogether from the school—and added to the cemetery.*

The "process" in Ireland is a veritable terror to the people; it means eviction, death by the roadside or the poor-house. A party of bailiffs started out with a load of these death-sentences of the poor, to a place called Carraroe, Connemara, on the 5th of January, 1880. It was a matter of death to the wretched peasants, and women—for few men were at home—fiercely assailed the bailiffs, actually flinging themselves on the bayonets of the police who guarded them.

The bailiffs and police were routed. This was the Lexington of the agrarian revolution in Ireland. It was the first blow in the war against rent.

Relief committees were established in various places, while the bailiffs and the police were abroad seizing on the starving peasants' wretched furniture and clothing for rent, and serving them with notices to quit. Is it any wonder that there were outrages and bloody reprisals over the West of Ireland?

Famine was spreading. The Government was apathetic and listless, and not until shamed into it

* "New Ireland," by A. M. Sullivan.

by the action of America did they even recognize its existence.

Three Central organizations for the relief of the famine districts were formed. One was got up by the Duchess of Marlborough, her husband being then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The other was the Mansion House Committee, which was established by the Lord Mayor, Mr. Edward Dwyer Gray, M. P., and the third was under the management of the Land League.

The Mansion House Committee, despite the ill-concealed jealousy of the good Duchess's rival organization, was the most important and successful of the three Relief Bodies, thanks to the indomitable zeal and energy of Mr. Gray, the Lord Mayor. But for its efforts (bravely supplemented by the Duchess and the Land League) the trap-coffin of '47 would have been at work again. Even as it was, hunger and plague made a grim score on the western seaboard.

In March, 1880, Lord Beaconsfield suddenly dissolved Parliament. Casting about for a good election "cry," he decided to go to the country on the charge that Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals had dangerous sympathies with the Irish Home Rule Party—meditated the concession of Home Rule, in fact—a "policy of decomposition" he called it. His own policy, however, in the raising of such a cry, proved to be the real "policy of decomposition," for in a few short weeks it effectually decomposed the Conservative party. Never was rout more disastrous than that which they suffered at the polls.

The Home Rule leaders called upon Irishmen everywhere to sink every other consideration, and strike hard against the Minister who thus had made hostility to Ireland his battle-cry. This call was responded to with strong enthusiasm; and it is beyond all question that in England alone some thirty or forty seats were carried by the Irish vote.

Mr. Sullivan, writing of the contest that followed, says: "Mr. Parnell hurried home instantly. He was not greatly pleased with what had been done; but he cordially recognized that we had acted for the best. I informed him that I was one of those most responsible for the course of action taken in thus flinging all our force into the anti-ministerial array; and I gave him my reasons. He told me it would have been infinitely better for Ireland to keep the Conservatives in power, as Lord Beaconsfield would infallibly bring England into some disastrous European complication, the occurrence of which would be the signal for concessions to Ireland far beyond anything Gladstone would ever conceive. It was now, however, undesirable or impracticable to undo what had been done, but not all too late, as Mr. Parnell considered, to accomplish a good deal of what he had planned to do in Ireland. This was to wage unsparing war, not so much on the Tories as on the Nominal Home Rulers and confessed Whigs. He struck at them fiercely—North, South, East and West. His great hindrance was a dearth of suitable candidates; but his theory was that *any* candidate who could be trusted for implicit obedience to orders was preferable to the (personally) most

estimable of men who could not. Pure luck, or perhaps I should say the policy of desperate daring, made Mr. Parnell in a few weeks 'The Organizer of Victory.'"

The new Ministry, under Mr. Gladstone, was constituted in May, 1880. Never were the hopes of the people of Ireland so bright or full of promise under any administration. Gladstone, who had disendowed the Established Church, who had passed the Land Bill of 1870, who was so generous in his views on Irish subjects, was now at the head of the Government.

His advent to office was hailed with warm sympathies and bright hopes which were soon to be sadly dissipated.

The state of Ireland was now desperate, poverty and actual want and hunger overspread the land.

The doctrine that the people should not starve though the landlords went without their rent, was preached broadcast, and was acted upon. The farmers bound themselves into leagues not to pay any more rack-rents, and only such as they could afford after supporting themselves. This right of the people to live was declared communistic by the landlords and the Government, and they resolved to crush it out by wholesale evictions. But they did not calculate on the opposition they were to encounter or the compact power of the organization raised up against them.

When a landlord evicted a tenant, he found that no one would take the farm, no one would work or till it, so that it became a perfect waste on his hands.

Worse than this, the other tenants on the estate refused to pay any rent until the evicted tenant or tenants were restored to their holding.

Some landlords wisely made concessions, and got in return a fair rent, while others, who felt bound to support the laws and Constitution that protected Irish landlordism in its heartless extortions and exterminations, evicted their tenants wholesale. To do this, police and soldiers with cavalry patrols were called into requisition, and soon Ireland was converted into one vast garrison. The mischief was, though, that as soon as the invading army was withdrawn from one estate to carry out evictions on others, the evicted tenants quietly retook possession of their holdings, and the unfortunate landlord was driven to beggary and desperation. Some notorious oppressors, such as Lord Leitrim and Lord Mountmorris, fared even worse, for they were mercilessly shot down by their infuriated victims.

About this time the Boycotting system was adopted. It took its name from a Captain Boycott, who was a cruel and exacting agent of Lord Erne, County Mayo. He defied the people, showing much pluck and determination; but, then, he was always accompanied by a strong guard of police. His servants left him, no one would work for him, no one would associate with him or his family, and the shopkeepers of the neighboring towns or villages would not sell him anything.

Here was a trial of strength between the landlords and the people. A hundred Orangemen from the North volunteered to go to Mayo to cut and harvest

Captain Boycott's crops. They came escorted by squadrons of infantry, artillery and cavalry. They passed through the county like an invading army.

The people of Mayo contented themselves with hooting, but would not sell them a morsel of food of any kind, so that supplies had to be forwarded from Dublin, and the soldiers had to encamp out as if in actual war. At length Boycott's crops were harvested, but at an expense of about four times their value, so that both the Government and the landlords had to abandon this mode of saving the harvest and of collecting the rents, as it was too costly, and only tended to expose them to ridicule. After this, when any one was ostracised, it was said he was "Boycotted," an application given to the name by Father O'Malley and Mr. James Redpath, the latter a gentleman sent over by the *New York Tribune* to write up the state of Ireland, and who freely used his scathing pen in excoriating the landlords and the tyrannical oppression of the British Government in Ireland.

The Land League had spread over all Ireland. Branches were established in almost every town and village, and a regular agrarian war was inaugurated.

In the United States the organization spread rapidly after Mr. Parnell's visit to that country. In 1881 a convention of delegates met in Chicago, and pledged themselves to support by every means in their power the Land League in Ireland and their platform as laid down at the Dublin Convention. The officers elected at the convention were: P. A. Collins, Boston, President; Rev. Lawrence Walsh, Waterbury, Conn., Treasurer; and Thomas Flattery,

Boston, Secretary. The organization soon spread over the United States, and money was remitted in tens of thousands of dollars. Between the holding of the Chicago Convention in 1881 to that of the Washington Convention, April 12th, 1882, fully one-half million of dollars was remitted to the Land League at home from the United States alone.

This money was employed in forwarding the interests of the organization, and in relieving distress, particularly among those who had been evicted from their farms.

Meantime great things were expected from Gladstone's administration; he had advocated a sweeping land reform in Ireland, and now that he was in power, great hopes were entertained. Even Parnell's warning voice was unheeded in the general jubilation.

Gladstone, as if in manifestation of his friendly disposition toward Ireland, introduced the "Disturbance Bill," which was simply a short measure of two clauses, to render eviction for non-payment of rent a disturbance of tenure within the meaning of the 1870 Act—that is to say, enabling the evicted tenant to sue for compensation for loss of tenure and for unexhausted improvements. It was to extend only to tenants within certain specified "Distressed Districts," and only such tenants as could show that they were unable to pay by reason of the prevalent distress.

It was whispered around that this was only the prelude of his great land reform measure.

But when the Lords rejected the "Disturbance Bill" the Irish members felt that there was no hope of forcing through either House any bill worth accepting. This was waging war on the Irish members and the Irish tenantry. They recognized this fact, and those who were heretofore the staunch advocates of land reform now went in for the total abolition of landlordism.

Mr. Parnell, who had been elected to represent three constituencies, but selected that of Cork, sounded the note of alarm, and Davitt, Dillon, T. P. O'Connor, Healy, Kelly, O'Donnell, Biggar, and the other prominent members of the League, sustained him.

It was evident that the Lords were influenced in their action by the landlords, whose power of eviction would be curtailed had the bill passed. The Land Leaguers knew this, and knew, further, that the same influence would prevent the passage of any land bill worth accepting, so they resolved on waging an agrarian war on the landlords and humbling them in the dust. There was but one opinion, there was but one decision, among the leaders of public opinion in Ireland. The people must be fully organized to resist the attempts, which were sure to follow, of the landlords to exterminate them. The League leaders felt reluctant to give such advice, yet submission would be the triumph of the landlords, the extermination of the people. To conduct a panic-stricken, excited and angered people successfully through a policy of passive resistance was a critical business. This, however,

was the only course open to the League, and on this policy they went to work with a will.

The landlords raised the usual howl against this invasion of the rights of property, and accused Gladstone of being in league with the Irish members.

Mr. Forster, who was Chief Secretary for Ireland, had been heretofore a reformer, an advocate of the rights of the people, but this landlord cry and Castle influence soon converted him into Ireland's most hated enemy.

Gladstone and Forster started out by a vain effort at placating English clamor and landlord greed, and Land League prosecution and coercion were resorted to.

In October, 1880, Ireland was startled by the announcement that the Government intended to institute a prosecution against Mr. Parnell and his colleagues. This rumor was soon confirmed, for at the opening of the Dublin Law Courts in November, informations were exhibited in the Queen's Bench against Charles Stewart Parnell, M.P. ; John Dillon, M.P. ; T. D. Sullivan, M.P. ; Thomas Sexton, M.P. ; Joseph G. Biggar, M.P.—members of the Land League Executive—Patrick Egan, Honorary Treasurer ; Thomas Brennan, Honorary Secretary ; and M. P. Boyton, Mathew Harris, P. J. Sheridan, John W. Walsh and M. M. O'Sullivan, "organizers" ; together with Mr. P. J. Gordon and John W. Nally, holding no official position in the organization. This was the first act of war on the part of the Cabinet against the Irish Land movement. From November

to January the state trials formed the one all-engrossing topic; the anti-landlordism agitation being, nevertheless, pressed as fiercely as ever. The trial was held "at Bar," before the Lords-Justices Fitzgerald and Barry, and opened on the 28th of December, 1880. The charge against the traversers was seditious conspiracy; a conspiracy to "impoverish landlords" and to induce tenants not to pay debts they had contracted to pay, namely, rent.

After a trial lasting nineteen days, ten jurors were for acquittal and two only for conviction.

While this trial was pending, the battle was transferred from Dublin to Westminster. Parliament opened on the 6th of January, 1881.

It was to be an Irish session, and the programme was Coercion first and Land Reform to follow. The good old times when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in a day were to be rivaled. An Algerine Code was to be swept through the House, and the Land League broken up at a blow.

This was stunning news. Any such sudden destruction of the open organization could have but one result—the Ribbonite and other secret organizations, with whom even as things stood the League had had a troublesome and ticklish time of it, would have possession of the field.

This Coercion Bill was a deplorable mistake, and led to consequences such as had never been witnessed in the British Parliament before. Here was Gladstone with the scorpion of Coercion in one hand and a makeshift Land Bill in the other. It was the refinement of arrogance and despotism.

The Land League members fought coercion inch by inch, and obstructed the passage of the measure until the Speaker even violated law to repress opposition, and ordered members under arrest. Had it been the lives and liberties of the English people that were at stake, the Speaker's acts would mean revolution; as it was, it only meant the suppression of Irish sedition.

The Coercion Bill was passed, and on the 7th of April, 1881, Mr. Gladstone introduced his celebrated Land Bill with an oratorical flourish of trumpets.

This bill, which was a great inroad on vested rights and landlord ascendancy, in many respects, fell far short of all that was expected; however, it might have received a warm approval from the Irish people had they not been embittered by the Coercion Bill, and their hearts filled with exasperation and hate.

The Irish members gave the bill a bitter opposition, and fought it clause by clause. Seen in the light of subsequent events, their opposition was wise and well-timed. Mr. Gladstone was deaf to all argument, to all entreaty. Twelve months of civil commotion, of social war, of strife, outrage, tumult and bloodshed, were required to bring him, in May, 1882, to the view which the Irish members offered to his acceptance in May, 1881.

On the 29th of July, 1881, the Irish Land Bill passed the Commons, and was sent before the Lords, who considerably mutilated it. It was thus returned to the Commons, where it was again restored to its original shape, and returned to the Lords, who

yielding to the popular wrath and the cry raised against class legislation, finally passed it.

The landlords in desperation took measures to clear off all the tenants who had been served with eviction notices before the bill became law, and a scene of heartless cruelty on their part and bloody retaliation on that of the people, that baffles description, followed.

Angered at the still unsettled state of the country, and the opposition given to the Land Bill by the leaders of the Land League, Mr. Forster resolved on a stern course, so as to break down the spirit of the Irish people. He even induced Gladstone to support his repression policy. He soon filled the prisons with suspects by virtue of his Coercion law.

Even Parnell, Dillon, Father Sheehy, Davitt, and several others of their colleagues, did not escape his brutal suppression policy, for they and other suspects, to the number of six hundred, soon found themselves inmates of Kilmainham and other prisons.

Forster found Ireland alarmed and disturbed. He left it a volcano of human anger and passion on the one side, a Government Bastile on the other. The "village ruffians" and midnight assassins went by untouched, while innocent men, whose only crime was to openly discuss and agitate the grievances of the country, soon found themselves inmates of dungeons. Legitimate political agitation was crushed out, the voice of the people was silenced by prison-walls, and riots, outrages, and bloodshed over-spread the land with a network of crime.

Gladstone at length began to open his eyes to the terrible mistake he had made. He found that Coercion was a failure and a disaster. Mr. Forster was recalled; the prison-doors were unbarred; Parnell, Dillon, Davitt, and others, were released, and a shout of joy went up from relieved Ireland. A new policy was to be inaugurated; the Land Act was to be made complete; an Arrears Bill was to be introduced, and a peasant proprietorship to be established. Indeed, it was hinted at, and with much semblance of truth, that the measures recommended by Parnell and his colleagues were to be adopted. This fancied happiness was soon to be dissipated by the murderous hands of assassins.

Lord Frederick Cavendish, a liberal and popular young nobleman, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, in place of Mr. Forster.

On the evening of the 6th of May, 1882, he was walking through the Phoenix Park, Dublin, in company with Mr. T. H. Burke, the Under Secretary, when they were set upon by four men, who drove up to them on a jaunting-car, and cruelly butchered them with knives and daggers. The murder took place in view of the Vice-Regal Lodge, and the assassins made good their escape.

There was much conjecture as to the motives that inspired this foul murder. Some argued that it was the work of the landlords and their agents, in order to frustrate the conciliatory designs of Gladstone by exciting public indignation in England, whilst others maintained that Cavendish had been mistaken for Forster, for he had only landed in Ireland the day

previous, and was not personally known to the public. That Forster and Burke were unpopular enough to be assassinated was only too true, but why should there be such a feeling of revenge against Lord Cavendish? But all conjectures soon merged into certainty. It was discovered that the dreadful deed of that May evening had been the work of the "Invincibles," another of the evil products of which tyranny on one hand, and recklessness on the other, have been so prolific during Ireland's unhappy ages of English rule.

The "Invincibles" were soon apprehended. The evidence of one of themselves, and one, at that, who had been most active in compassing the bloody work, sufficed to convict them.

But a few days after the anniversary of this crime, the first of the "Invincibles," Joseph Brady, expiated it upon the scaffold. His execution was followed a few days later by that of Daniel Curley, and so it went on, until by the middle of June, Michael Fagan, Thomas Caffray and Timothy Kelly had perished under the hands of Marwood, and Joseph Mullet, Lawrence Hanlon, James Fitzharris, been sentenced to penal servitude for life. James Mullet and Edward McCaffray, Edward O'Brien, William Mooney and Daniel Delany, each received ten years; Thomas Doyle, five years.

Peter Doyle, who had been ill during the commission of the crime, was remanded, and his case has not since been heard of.

Of course Dublin could now be no longer a home for Carey, branded as he was, with the worst

epithet in the Irish vocabulary, Informer! The English Government fully realized this, and, accordingly, he was conveyed on board the Kinnfaun's Castle, bound for Cape Town, which was deemed a safe place for him on account of the fewness of its Irish settlers.

But all precautions were to prove abortive. The Kinnfaun's Castle was carrying out not only Carey, but Carey's slayer. The voyage was accomplished in safety. Carey had almost reached his destination, when he was shot by O'Donnell, and expired almost instantly.

O'Donnell, who claimed that the shooting had been done in self-defence, was at once brought back to England. On being told of the death of Marwood, the famous English executioner, which had taken place a few days before his landing, he is said to have smiled. His trial is now pending.

The Irish both at home and in America denounced any sympathy with the Phoenix Park murder, and mingled their sorrow and regret with those of England over the loss of one who had been sent to Ireland as an envoy of peace and reconciliation.

Despite the repudiation of any sympathy with the crime on the part of the Irish people, the old cry of vengeance ran through England, and again Gladstone showed his weakness by yielding to this bitter spirit of hatred, and introduced his "Repression Bill" for Ireland, which has been frankly declared to be the worst coercive measure of its class conceived in the most glaring and despotic history of that unfortunate country.

Mr. Parnell experienced a sad bereavement in the death of his sister, Miss Fanny Parnell, which took place at Bordentown, N. J., on the 20th of July, 1882.

She was a highly cultivated young lady, a beautiful writer, and possessed of much of the calm resolution of her brother.

When the Government aimed at the suppression of the Land League, by arresting the leaders, she and her sister Anna took up the torch from the altar and kept alive the sacred fire through the agency of the Ladies' Land League. Ireland lost about this time another of her gifted children and purest patriots, in the death of Charles J. Kickham.

The opening of the Dublin Exhibition and the unveiling of the O'Connell Monument, which took place on Lady Day, August 15th, were events that marked a new era in Irish patriotism and Irish industry.

Foley's great monument to O'Connell, which now graces Sackville Street, Dublin, is perhaps the finest and most artistic piece of sculpture in all Europe. The magnificent O'Connell Bridge, near which it stands, is but the old Carlisle Bridge, widened to the full breadth of Sackville Street, and rechristened by the patriotic corporation in honor of the great Liberator.

It was calculated that fully one hundred thousand persons had assembled to witness the ceremony of unveiling O'Connell's statue, and when the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. Charles Dawson, drew aside

the veil that concealed the figure, and exposed the lifelike status of the grand old man, a shout went up from a hundred thousand throats that seemed like the knell of English rule in Ireland.

The opening of the Industrial Exhibition on the same day was another great triumph for the people.

All aid towards its erection from the aristocratic *habitués* of the Castle, or even from the Viceroy himself, had been ignored, and the magnificent edifice raised, by the shillings of the people, and the contributions of merchants and farmers. The designers spurned aristocratic patronage and aid, and for once self-reliance triumphed in Ireland.

The Exhibition was well patronized; its stalls were amply supplied with all kinds of Irish manufactures, and its successful inauguration is, we trust, the harbinger of brighter days for Ireland, of a new era of prosperity and independence, when the voices of shuttle and wheel, and the busy hum of industry, shall be heard from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, from the Claddagh to Mullaghmast, and when every man shall enjoy in the fullest security the blessed fruits of his toil under the protecting rule and fostering care of a Home Government!

THE END.

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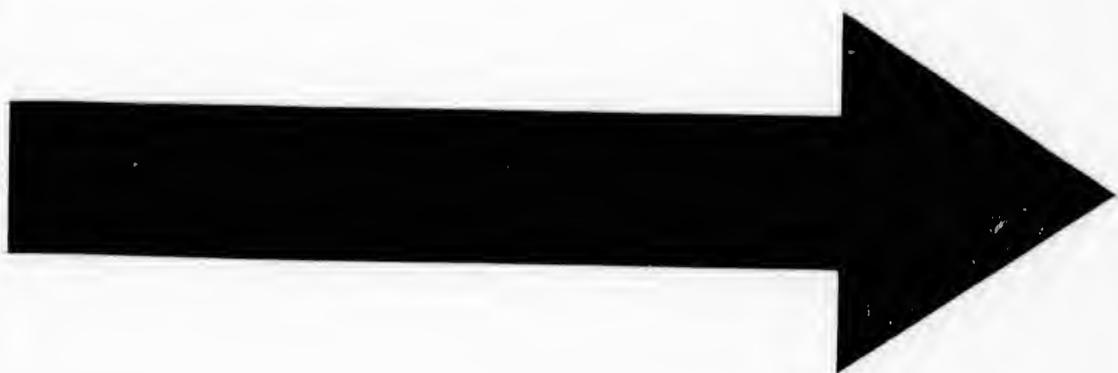
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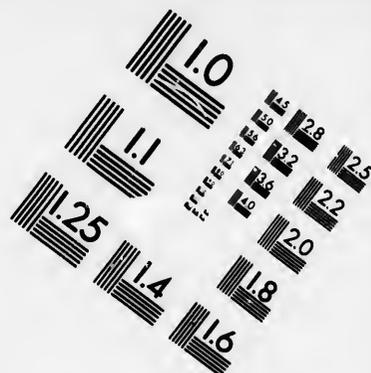
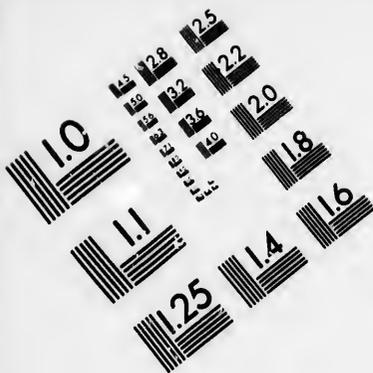
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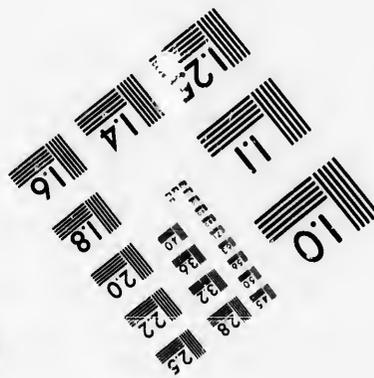
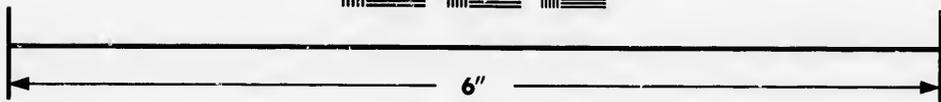
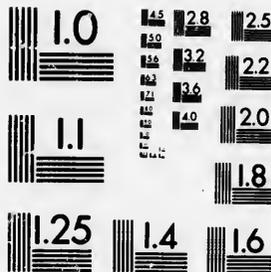
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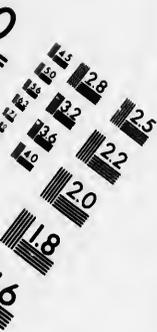


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