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MEMOIRS  
OF THE DIFFERENT  
REBELLIONS IN IRELAND.  
FROM THE  
ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH:  
WITH A  
PARTICULAR DETAIL OF THAT WHICH BROKE OUT THE XXIII D OF MAY,  
MDCCXCVIII;  
THE  
HISTORY OR THE CONSPIRACY WHICH PRECEDED IT  
AND THE  
CHARACTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN IT.  
COMPILED FROM  
ORIGINAL AFFIDAVITS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS;  
AND  
ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND PLATES.

By Sir RICHARD MUSGRAVE, Bart.  
MEMBER IN THE LATE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

The danger of the day's but newly gone,  
Whose memory is written on the earth  
With yet-appearing blood! *Shakespeare.*

Hoc illud eû precipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento, intæri, inde tibi, tuæque republicæ, quod imitere capias; inde foedum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites. —Livy.

DUBLIN  
FOR JOHN MILLIKEN, 32, GRAFTON-STREET,  
AND  
JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY, LONDON.  
1801  
IRELAND.

[frontispiece: port of General Lake; facing t.p.]

[Dedication:]

TO HIS EXCELLENCY  
CHARLES, MARQUIS CORNWALLIS,  
LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL, AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND.

MY LORD,

From a sense of duty, and zeal for the publick welfare, I undertook to write the following pages, which I have the honour, with your Excellency's permission, of dedicating to you.

History, which is a mirror of past times, is the best guide to the statesman; and Livy tells us, that he wrote his, that the republick might learn lessons of wisdom and prudence from it, by avoiding such measures as had proved fatal, and by embracing such as had been found salutary for its interest.

It is much to be lamented that Ireland has been disgraced, and that her improvement in morals and industry has been retarded for near three centuries by civil dissensions; and from their frequent recurrence, and as they have been uniformly directed to one object, "a separation from England," we may fairly conclude, that the predisposing causes to them must be inveterate, and that the seeds of combustion must be deeply and extensively laid.

As Ireland is now become an integral part of the empire, it is to be hoped that the Imperial Government will apply more effectual remedies than have been hitherto adopted, to

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remove the causes of her rebellions, her crimes and disgraces; but it would be as imprudent to undertake that task, without having a perfect knowledge of them, as for a physician to administer medicine to a patient, without having investigated the symptoms and diagnostics of his disease. I consider it then as an important, nay as a sacred duty, to lay before the people of England the origin and progress of the late conspiracy and rebellion; for I have good reason for saying, that the majority of them are as ignorant of the real state of Ireland, as they are of Kamkatka or Madagafcar; which has arisen from the following causes: An angry opposition in parliament has constantly imputed the disturbances and insurrections in Ireland to a wrong source, and have feverely and unjustly arraigned the wisest measures of government for their suppression. Thus truth has been perverted through the medium of faction, as the rays of light refracted through the prism, present various false lights and colours: Englishmen, who visited Ireland for a few days or weeks, have imbibed the prejudices of factious and defigning men, with whom they fortuitously associated, as we are told the complexion assimilates to the colour of whatever body he approaches; and such men have taken upon them to write on the religious, moral and political state of Ireland:\* The Jacobins both in England and Ireland, in order to feed the flame of rebellion, have insinuated both orally and through the press, that the rebellion arose from the oppression of the Roman catholics; an assertion as false as it is iniquitous!

\* Mr. George Cooper stands conspicuous among these; for he has written a book printed by J. Davis, in Chancery-lane, London, in which he has shewn a radical ignorance of the affairs of Ireland, and gives a gross and flagrant misrepresentation of them and another Jacobin pamphlet, "On the state of affairs in the year 1799" abounds with gross falsehoods and misstatements on the same subject

DEDICATION. vii

They enjoy as much civil liberty as any other portion of his majesty's subjects, and their lives, liberties and properties are protected by the same laws; and as a proof of it, behold, of the popish persuasion, the number of wealthy merchants, manufacturers and mechanics in Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Limerick, the farmers in the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Tipperary, Limerick, and in many other parts of the kingdom, who have made large fortunes within a few years I see not the Roman catholic labourer as much protected by the law as the protestant; and does not the former experience as much humanity and kindness from his employer as the latter? Nay, I will venture to assert, that the lower classes of Roman catholics would prefer protestant landlords and masters to persons of their own persuasion, from their well-known mildness and

beneficence.\* While the penal laws existed, they were not enforced by the protestants, but remained a dead letter in the statute-book.

Such causes of misconception and error have operated so strongly and so generally in England, that many of the English nobility and gentry, in their speeches on the Union, displayed a total ignorance of the real causes of the present state of Ireland; an ignorance which has long proved fatal to its peace and prosperity. If I am anxious also, that our gracious Sovereign, whose first object is the happiness of his subjects, should know the real state of it.

Every person who peruses these Memoirs must perceive, that by uniting the two kingdoms, your Excellency has laid a solid foundation for the future prosperity of Ireland, by extinguishing the seeds of dissension, and by silencing the voice of faction.

\* See James Beaghan's confession in the Appendix, page 100.

† This was very much occasioned by the mistaken zeal and the unabated exertions of Mr. Edmund Burke.

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By your nice sense of honour and justice, and those exalted virtues which you so eminently possess, you restored British honour and good faith in the East, where they had been long tarnished; and by your valour and military skill, you subdued Tippu Saib, as terrific to England, as Mithridates was to Rome; and it is universally allowed, that he could not have been overthrown, but for the brilliant victories which you obtained over him; by which you circumscribed his dominions, and diminished his resources. It is certain then, that your Excellency is fully entitled to the greatest share of the laurels which were obtained by his final downfall.

Thus the splendid and important victories of Quintus Flaminius, the Roman consul, rendered Macedon an easy conquest for Paulus Æmilius; and the trophies won at Zama by the renowned Scipio Africanus, facilitated the destruction of Carthage for Scipio Æmilianus. But however great the advantages which you have procured for the empire by your conquests in the East, they are far inferior to those which will arise to it from the union of the two kingdoms; an union that will stifle the fermentation of avarice and ambition, which operated so strongly in parliament, that it appeared like a volcano, whose annual eruptions kindled a flame in every part of the kingdom, destructive of peace, of morals, and of industry. Every factious incendiary lighted his flambeau of discord at it, and scattered combustion through the land.

Her parliament was an engine, by which factious zeal united with fanaticism, hoped to obtain a political ascendancy, for the purpose of subverting the constitution, and of erecting a republic on its ruins. The venal orator of the day, assuming the mask of patriotism, and the garb of philanthropy, deluded and agitated the giddy multitude, though his eloquence might be

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as little regarded as that of a mountebank, who, when he promises the people health and longevity, disseminates poison amongst them.

What these political empirics so long contended for, your Excellency has virtually given them, by an Union; "a reform of parliament," in an assimilation of the Irish constitution to that of England, and an "equal participation of her commercial advantages." *Volvenda dies en! attulit ultro.*" And this great and important event has been accomplished without any disturbance or commotion; though many ominous predictions were made, that even an attempt to bring it about would produce a civil war, and occasion much bloodshed.

For this we are indebted to your Excellency's mildness, humanity, and benevolence, by which you subdued and pacified the Irish nation (in a state of civil war when you arrived amongst

them) more than by your sword. By your goodness and clemency, you saved thousands of deluded wretches, who would have fallen a prey to the vengeance of the law; and it is to be hoped that you have awakened contrition, and a sense of duty in them, and have reclaimed them from their errors.

How much more laudable in the eyes of God and man, than to draw the sword of extermination, and to fend them, "with all their imperfections on their head," before that awful tribunal, where the best of men, from the frailty of their nature, must ultimately hope for mercy! Like Caesar, you shewed them, that humanity is inseparable from true valour.

We are told in holy writ, that God made man after his own image; and in no quality can he so nearly approach the divine nature, as in the exercise of mercy.

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"No ceremony that to the great belongs,  
Not the king's crown, nor the deputed sword,  
The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,  
Become them with one half so good a grace,  
As mercy does." —Shakspeare.

The Irish nation are indebted to your Excellency for another most important service; that of having put the kingdom in a better state of defence than it has been since its connection with England: And it never should be forgotten by them, that when the French landed, in the year 1798, your Excellency, despising the board of luxury, and the down of indolence, took the field at the head of the army, and resolved to endure the fatigues of the campaign in their defence; though, from your length of service, and a long life dedicated to your country, you had been entitled to repose.

That your Excellency may long continue to enjoy the favour of your Sovereign, the esteem of all good men, and the gratitude of the Irish nation, is the sincere wish of him who has the honour to be, with the most profound respect.

Dublin, March 1, 1801.

Your Excellency's  
Most obedient humble servant,  
RICHARD MUSGRAVE.

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Notice to the reader and bookbinder, relative to the plates, maps, and appendixes.

Plate I. A map of Ireland in the beginning of the work.

— II. A map of the north part of the county of Wexford is to face page 319.

— III. A map of the fouth part of Wexford to face page 321.

— IV. Ground plan of Ennifcorthy and Vinegar-hill, ferving to illuftrate the attack on the former, the twenty-eighth of May, and the retaking of it the twenty-firft of June, 1798, to face page 347.

— V. Elevation of it to face page 477.

— VI. Ground plan of Wexford to face page 381.

— VII. A ground plan of Rofs, and a map of the adjacent country, is to face page 407.

— VIII. Plan of the town and battle of Arklow is to face page 437.

— IX. Ground plan of the town of Antrim, to illuftrate the action that took place there, to face page 546.

— X. A map to fhew the movements of the army of the marquis Cornwallis, and general Lake, to face page 559.

There is annexed to every map, a lateral index, at each fide of it, divided into inches, and indicated by numbers from the top to the bottom of the page, which will facilitate the finding any particular place, by fhewing its latitude Thus, Wexford will be found in Plate III. No. 6. but when a place lies between two numbers, it will be fo ftated. Thus Gorey is in Plate II. 4, 5.

The general number of the appendixes is expreffed by Roman characters, with, fubordinate ones marked by figures.

A Map of Ireland to Elucidate the Irish Rebellion of 1798  
[box "List of Counties"; all facing p.1]

MEMOIRS  
OF THE

## DIFFERENT REBELLIONS IN IRELAND, &c.

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### INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

The antiquaries of the last century contended, that the Christian religion was introduced into Ireland by Roman missionaries, in the beginning of the fifth century; but a learned writer clearly proves, that it was established there at a much earlier period, and by missionaries of the Greek church.

It is most certain, that the Irish clergy had no connection with, and did not submit to, the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, till the year 1152, when pope Eugenius sent, by cardinal Paparon, four palli to the archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, when the Roman ritual was substituted in the place of the Greek, which was previously used in the Irish church; an undoubted proof that it was perfectly independent of the pope till that period.

\* Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, page 358, et seq.

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Our excellent primate Usher proves this in a most unquestionable manner, in a learned treatise on the religion of the ancient Irish, well worth the perusal of the natives of Ireland. Archbishop\* Anfelm, in his letters to Muriardach an Irish king, complained that bishops were consecrated by bishops alone, and often by one bishop only, contrary to a canon of the Nicene council, which required two bishops, at least, to attend the consecration of one; but the Irish clergy were totally ignorant of the councils of the church, and derived their knowledge of Christianity, for near eight hundred years, from no other source but the bible, the grand charter of Christians. Athanasius allowed the consecration of Siderius, bishop of Palœstina; and the church of Alexandria that of Evagrius, though performed but by one. As to celibacy, we know, from Ware, that the four archbishops of Armagh who preceded Celfus, and Celfus himself, who died 1129, were married; and, not until popery was established at Cashel in 1172, was marriage interdicted.

In the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, a season of midnight ignorance in Europe, the Roman pontiff, who was regarded with superstitious reverence, claimed and gradually acquired a superiority, not only of spiritual, but of temporal power, over all the potentates of Europe, who considered his sanction as necessary to expiate the guilt of any crime, how heinous soever, or to promote the success of any adventure.

For this reason, Henry II. solicited pope Adrian for a bull to give him the investiture of Ireland; and, in consideration of it, agreed to grant him a tax of one penny on each house in it, called Peter Pence.

When Phocas murdered his liege sovereign Mauritius, emperor of Constantinople, in the year 602, he obtained the pope's benediction, and by this varnished over the turpitude of that foul action; and Pepin, having deposed king Chilperic, and seized the throne of France in the year 751, prevailed on pope Zachary to absolve the French from

\* Anfelm. Epist. 1. 3. ep. 141, 147. Usher, Epist. Hib. p.95. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, complained of this practice above twenty years before. Usher, sup. p.73.

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their allegiance to their lawful prince, whom he had, and confined in a monastery, "Tantum religio potuit fuadere malorum."

In like manner, when Ethelred, king of the Northumbrians, was affaffinated in the year 796, Eardulph, who ufurped his throne, was anointed, and went through fome pompous ceremonies at his coronation, to hallow his ufurpation with the odour of sanctity.

Rebellion, ufurpation, and murder, are crimes that require extraordinary meafures to palliate them in the eyes of the people, and to procure fome veneration for the perfons who have been guilty of them.

Adrian, in his bull, empowered Henry II. “to\* propagate in Ireland the righteous plantation of faith, and the branch moft acceptable to God;” which meant no more, than that he fhould fubject that kingdom to the dominion of the pope, which it is remarkable was the laft country in Europe that fubmitted to the ambitious and rapacious defigns of his holinefs.

At this day the Roman Catholicks deprecate the grant of Ireland to a foreign and not a native prince. McGeoghegan, in his hiftory of Ireland, tom. i. p.440, exclaims thus againft it “A decree pronounced againft Ireland, by which the rights of nations, and the moft facred laws are violated, under the fpacious pretext of religion, and the reformation of manners! Could one fufpect the vicar of Chrifft of fuch grofs injuftice? Could one believe him capable of iffuing a bull, by which an entire nation was overturned?”† If the aboriginal Irifh lament the fettlement of the Englifh in Ireland, all its loyal inhabitants have to deplore, that they introduced popery into it, as it has been a conftant fource of difaffection, and has produced unutterable calamities in it.

\* Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem, & germen gratum Deo inferimus. Ufher, fup. p.109.

† *‘Un arret prononcé centre l’Irlande, par lequel le droit des gens, & les loix les plus facrées font violées, fous le fpécieux pretexte de religion & de reformation des mœurs. Peut on foupçonner le vicaire de Jefus Chrifft d’une injuftice fi criante? Peut on le croire coupable d’avoir dicté une bulle qui a bouleverfé toute une nation?’* McGeoghegan was a Roman Catholick.

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It is not the object nor the wifh of the writer of the following pages to difparage Ireland, or its inhabitants; the former, in point of foil and climate, the latter, in their intelledual and corporeal powers, being defervedly efteemed among the fineft works of the creation; but to evince the truth of the maxim, that an imperium in imperio, or two feparate fovereign powers, civil and ecclefiaftical, cannot co-exift in the fame ftate, without perpetual collifion, producing difcord and rebellion; and that the only remedy for the calamities attendant on fuch a ftate is, either the extinfion of one power, or the milder procedure of incorporating it with the other. The latter mode has been adopted in Ireland: abftract reafoning muft approve, and experience will demonftrate, the meafure to be founded in the trueft wifdom.

Few of the writers on the Union of Ireland with England have calmly difcuffed the subject on the grounds here ftated; if they had, thofe who oppofed it would have received conviction, and thofe who fupported it, would have found invincible arguments in its favour, from the inftances now adduced.

As this great political question is finally fettled, why, it may be adced, bring it again before the publick? The anfwer is, that the publick mind is far as yet from being reconciled to it; that a plain llatement of facts, in an authenticated hiftorical detail of the various rebellions, and particularly of the occurrences of the laft which affticted this kingdom, and defolated a confiderable portion of it, muft bring conviction to the moft uninformed, of the inftability of their fafety or happincfs, while both are fubjectl to the workings of bigotry, or the flagitious dfcfigns of the rebel and the plunderer. A mariner, who has been fhipwrecked on a funken rock, does not accurately defcribe its longitude and latitude for others to run on it, but carefully to avoid it; fo the writer, in recounting the former and the late rebellion, does not wifh to revive

party distinctions and animosities, which he ardently hopes will be for ever buried in oblivion, but to point out the necessity of adopting radical remedies to prevent their recurrence, which have been neglected by former governments.

In speaking of the Roman catholic religion, the writer hopes he will not be misinterpreted, when he declares, that, as far as it is agreeable

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to the Gospel, he most highly respects it; but the superinduced doctrines, as the Pope's infallibility and supremacy, his dispensing power, exclusive salvation, and other points, he knows, and the reader will perceive, are subversive of society; and if its pliability be such as Doctor Troy and Doctor Hufsey assert in their pastoral letters, that it can accommodate itself to a monarchic, aristocratic, or democratic form of government, it may be a dangerous engine in the hands of designing men. After this explanation, I shall proceed to sketch the state of Ireland, on the arrival of the English, in the year 1169.

The country was divided among clans or septa, professing subjection to a higher power; but, at the same time, exercising every independent right. Their numbers then, according to Sir William Petty, did not exceed three hundred thousand souls, dispersed over more than twelve millions of acres. The country, as described by Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, an eye-witness of it, was overrun with forests, or cankered with bogs, and in all the arts of civil life, the inhabitants were little superior to the Indians of North America. Their Brehon laws were calculated to make them savage, and to keep them so; as they rendered the enjoyment of life and property insecure. Their kings or princes did not succeed each other by hereditary descent, or any fixed principles of succession, but by force and arms. It was a peculiar favour from heaven to send a civilized people among them, nor did the wiser part seem insensible to it; for Matt. Paris tells us, that, at a council at Lismore, they gratefully received the laws of England (*gratanter receptæ*) and swore to obey them, (*juratoria cautione præsrita*) which included their allegiance to the crown of England. As soon as Henry II returned, they rejected the laws, violated their allegiance, and ran into rebellion: which excluded them from the benefit of them.

A few septa, who adhered to their oaths, were considered as English subjects, and were protected by law. Attached to their barbarous manner of living, and indulged by their own municipal laws in licentiousness of every kind, they found the wholesome restraint of English regimen, so irksome and galling, that, by perpetual insurrections, they

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endeavoured to shake it off; and in the reign of Henry III. 1230, they collected such a force, that they flattered their party with the hope of being able totally to expel the English (*omne genus Anglorum ab Hiberniæ finibus exturbare.*) says Matt. Paris. This has been the declared purpose of the native Irish for above six hundred years. What alone they were unable to accomplish, they endeavoured to effect by calling in the aid of the pope, and the king of Spain, as we shall see in the sequel. The kings of England tried various means to civilize the Irish; but they were so blinded by disaffection, and attached to their own barbarous customs, as to oppose every measure for that purpose. The statute of Kilkenny, 1367, is a decisive proof of this, for by it the Brehon law was abolished; and again by the tenth, Henry VII. and lastly by a judgment of the court of King's Bench, fifth James I.

Speaking a different language, and obedient to different laws, it is not to be wondered at, that the English and Irish did not cordially unite, and coalesce into one people. Nothing was attempted which could materially conduce to effect this; for the operations of government were confined for centuries to pitiful expedients. The introduction of the reformed religion, by increasing the antipathy of the native Irish to the English, was a new source of calamities; for, as

the Irish ecclesiasticks, to whom the ignorant and bigoted people were blindly devoted, received their education in foreign seminaries, particularly in those of France and Spain, they returned to their native country, bound solemnly to the pope, in an unlimited submission, without any bond of allegiance to the king, and full fraught with those absurd and pestilent doctrines, which the moderate of their own communion, at least, professed to abominate; of the universal dominion of the pope, as well spiritual as temporal; of his authority to excommunicate and depose princes; to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to dispense with every law of God and man; to sanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and essential difference of vice and virtue. With such impious tenets, fabricated by their schools and councils, they filled their superstitious votaries,

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contrary, says Walsh the Irish franciscan, to the letter, the sense, and design of the Gospel, the writings of the apostles, and the commentaries of their successors, to the belief of the Christian church for ten ages, and to the clearest dictates of nature.

I hope the reader will excuse the digression which I shall now make, to shew him the origin of the Papal power, which became, in process of time, from very slender beginnings, formidable to sovereign princes, and fatal to the peace of Europe; as he will be able to discover in it, the real source of the various rebellions which have disgraced and desolated the kingdom of Ireland; so that I may say with the Roman poet,

Hoc fonte derivata clades.  
In patriam populumque fluxit.

Long after the death of the apostles, the popes continued to be elected by the people and the clergy, and, when elected, they were consecrated by some other prelates, which, as \*Eusebius tells us, happened in the case of St. Fabian, bishop of Rome, in the year 236. But the bishop, after being elected, could not be consecrated, or confirmed in the See, without the consent of the emperor, which was as essential to the ratification of it, as that of our king to the election of a bishop, by a dean and chapter. For this reason, when pope Gregory I. was elected, about the year 600, he, not wishing to fill the pontifical chair, wrote to the emperor Mauritius, not to consent to his election; but he refused, and ratified it. The emperors thus continued to watch the elections and the conduct of the popes with a vigilant and jealous eye, till the year 896, when Charles the bald resigned to the pope all power and authority over the Roman See; and, on the extinction of the race of Charlemagne, Adrian III. made a decree, that in future the popes should be elected without the emperor's consent.

Previous to this period, the emperors maintained and exercised supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs: † they appointed judges for religious causes, presided at councils, and often, in ecclesiastical courts,

they

\* He was bishop of Nicomedia, and died in the fourth century,

† Spanheim's Ecclesiastical History, p.1102.

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they deposed bishops that were laps'd into heresy, and determined disputes and schisms in the church. It is remarkable, that, till this era, the councils were denominated from the emperors, and not from the popes; because their canons and ordinances were invalid, till confirmed by the former. Eusebius tells us therefore, that Constantine the great was called the general bishop, from his universal supremacy over all prelates.

He also tells us, in his life of this emperor, (lib. 3. cap. 18.) that the fathers of the council of Nice obtained the confirmation of their decrees from Constantine the great; and the fathers of the council of Constantinople from Theodosius the great, in the year 381, as we are told by Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History.

The emperors foresaw how necessary it was, that the civil and ecclesiastical powers should be united in the supreme executive magistracy, to promote and secure the peace and prosperity of the state; and the discord, the strife, the bloodshed, and the various calamities which their separation afterwards occasioned, in every kingdom of Europe, proved the foresight, the prudence, and the policy of the imperial sovereigns. And yet the Irish innovators, whose ignorance can be equalled by nothing but their disaffection and audacity, have treated the union of the spiritual and temporal power as absurd and ridiculous.

So little idea had the Roman pontiff of supremacy in the fifth century, that, when there was a rivalry between him and the patriarch of Constantinople for precedence, it was resolved by the twenty-eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon,\* 451, that the same rights and honours which had been conferred on the bishop of Rome, were due to the bishop of Constantinople, on account of the equal dignity and lustre of the two cities, in which they exercised their authority. On the close of the sixth century, Gregory I. was possessed of immense territories, and was in such estimation for his piety, that he stands high as a saint in the Roman calendar; and yet he had so little idea of being supreme head of the church, that, when the bishop of Constantinople

\* This was a general council.

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assumed that title, he declared in a letter to the emperor Mauritius, “that it was a blasphemous title, and that none of the Roman pontiffs had ever assumed so singular a one.”\* And in a letter to the same patriarch, he says, “what wilt thou say to Christ, the head of the universal church, in the day of judgment, who thus endeavoured to subject his members to thyself, by this title of universal? Who, I ask thee, dost thou imitate in this, but the devil?”† And in a letter to the empress Constantia, he says, his pride, in assuming this title, shewed the days of Antichrist were at hand.‡ The same pope said, “I acknowledge that a prince, having his power from God, is supreme over, not only the military, but the sacerdotal power.”§

Rome continued the capital of the western empire, till the reign of Valentinian II who, about the year 390, transferred it to Ravenna, for the purpose of being near the Alps, to oppose the incursions of the northern barbarians; and afterwards, Theodorick, king of the Goths, did the like for the same reason.

As the dignity and authority of the bishop of Ravenna were augmented by the splendor of the court, and the august presence of the emperor, he disputed the primacy of Italy with the bishop of Rome. ||

When this salutary restraint of the emperors over the Roman pontiffs was removed, their eagle-winged ambition soared above the power of sovereign princes, and often was the means of their dethronement.

That arrogant pontiff, Gregory VII. raised to the papedom in the year 1073, claimed and exercised a right of excommunicating and deposing sovereigns, by invoking their subjects to rise in rebellion

\* Gregory’s Epistles, lib. 4. Ind. 13, p.137. ‡ Gregory’s epist. 34.

† Ibid, epist. 38. § Lib. 2, epist. 94.

|| This rivalry reminds me of the following anecdote: An itinerant friar was preaching on a stage in the street of Florence, with a crucifix in his hand, to a numerous audience. A

mountebank erected his stage within a few yards of him, and, by his pleafantry and fallies of wit, attracted to him all the followers of the friar, who was soon deserted. A mountebank in Italy goes by the appellation of punchinello. The friar, having in vain exhausted all the force of his eloquence to induce his auditory to return, cried out in a rage, pointing to the crucifix, Ecco, il vero punchinello! Behold, the true punchipello!

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against them. His ambitious efforts to gain an ascendancy over the emperors, on the close of the eleventh century, occasioned the faction of the Guelphs and Gibellines in Germany and Italy, which produced numberless affinations, tumults, and convulsions, and no less than sixty pitched battles in the reign of Henry IV. and eighteen in that of his successor Henry V. when the claims of the Roman pontiff finally prevailed.

The emperor, Henry IV. with the empress, and his children, waited three days and three nights, barefooted, at the gates of the pope's palace, for absolution; and after all, his holiness deprived him of his dominions, and gave them to Rodolphus, in the most\* insulting manner.

The following emperors experienced the effects of this scourge from the popes, whose names are annexed; and some of them lost their thrones and their lives by it.

Gregory VII.	excommunicated Henry III.	1076
Calixtus II.	— Henry IV.	1120
Adrian IV.	— Frederick	1160
Calixtus III.	— Henry V.	1195
Innocent III.	— Otho IV.	about 1209
Gregory IX.	— Frederick II.	1228
Again,	— Frederick II.	1239
Innocent IV.	— Frederick II. and deposed him,	1245

Besides the above, a great many foreign princes lost their lives and their dominions by this dreadful engine of superstition.

The popes, well knowing that they could not maintain the immense power, the great wealth, and the extensive territories which they had acquired when Reason re-assumed her empire, resolved to erect, in the bosom of every state, a system of terror, by a device, the ingenuity of which could be equalled by nothing but its monstrous iniquity. Pope Innocent III. in the year 1215, procured the following

\* He sent a crown to Rodolph with this Leonine verse: "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho."

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ordinances to be passed by the fourth council of Lateran; and the decree of a legitimate general council, such as this, has been always deemed infallible and irrevocable in the Romish church: "Heretics of every kind against the true orthodox faith shall be condemned; and if they shall not prove their innocence by a proper purgation, they shall be excommunicated, and their effects shall be confiscated. All secular powers shall be compelled, by ecclesiastical censures, to take an oath to extirpate\* within their respective territories, such of their subjects as shall be condemned as heretics by the church. But if any temporal prince shall refuse to purge his territories of heretical pravity, when required to do so by the metropolitan and his suffragan bishops, let him be excommunicated: and if he shall not make full satisfaction in one year, let it be notified to the foreign pontiff, that he may absolve his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and transfer his territories to any other catholics, who may enjoy them without contradiction, provided they exterminate all heretics in them, and preserve the purity of the catholic faith."

“All catholicks, who fhall take up arms for the purpofe of extirpating fuch hereticks, fhall enjoy the fame indulgence, and the like holy privilege, with thofe who vifited the holy land.” This means eternal falvation; and the reader will find, in the courfe of the late rebellion, that the fanguinary fanaticks who embarked in it were fure of enjoying happinefs in a future ftate, for having rifen in arms againft an heretical king; and that they regarded the extirpation of hereticks, as a facred duty which recommended them to the divine favour.

In confequence of the commentaries made on this council, the following doctrines have been inculcated: cardinal Tolet affirmed, “that the fubjects of an excommunicated prince are not abfolved from their oaths of allegiance, before denunciation; but, when he is denounced, they are completely fo, and are bound not to obey him, unlefs the fear of death, or the lofs of goods, excufe them”, which was the cafe with

\* Bona fide pro viribus exterminare ftudebunt.

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the Englifh catholicks in the reign of Henry VIII; and father Bridgewater, an Englifh prieft, commended this faying of the cardinal.

Father Crefwell, an Englifh prieft, faid, “it is the fentence of all catholicks, that fubjects are bound to expel heretical princes, by the commandment of God, the moft ftrict tie of confcience, and the extreme danger of their fouls.”

Suarez, a moft learned divine, fays, “an excommunicated king may with impunity be depofed or killed by any one.” After the diabolical confpiracy of the gunpowder plot was difcovered and defeated, it became indifpenfably neceffary to provide as far as could be againft fuch horrible machinations, and therefore the oath of allegiance, fupremacy and abjuration was enacted in the year 1605. Burke, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, page 613, obferves, that the Romifh divines and laymen were divided into two factions; one thought the oath reafonable and proper, the other rejected it. To fettle this matter, pope Paul V. iffued two bulls, in which, under pain of damnation, he orders the oath not to be taken. King James, in a very learned treatife, fupported the oath; and Suarez, in a very long and laboured work, in vain endeavoured to fubvert the arguments of the king.

Cardinal Bellarmine fays, “though it may be a fin to depofe or kill an excommunicated prince, it is no fin if the pope commands you to do fo; for if the pope fhould err, by commanding fin, or forbidding virtues, yet the church were bound to believe that the vices were good, and the virtues evil.”

Azorius, highly eminent in the Romifh church, fays, “a catholick wife is not tied to pay her duty to an heretical hufband. The fons of an heretical father are made *fui juris*, that is, free from their father’s power; and fervants are not bound to do fervice to fuch mafters.”

According to the decree of this council, and that of Conftance alfo, it has been held, and the doctrine has been confantly carried into practice, that no faith is to be kept with hereticks; in confequence of which, no contrafts, leagues, promifes, vows, or oaths, are fufficient fecurity to a proteftant that deals with one of the church of Rome,

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if he fhall make ufe of the liberty, which may, and is often granted to him that folicits it. But it is certain, that many good and confcientious Roman catholicks fpurn at this infamous privilege offered by the pope, and adhere to the laws of God,

Becanus says, there are two different tribunals, and the ecclesiastical is the superior; and therefore, if a secular prince gives his subjects a safe conduct, he cannot extend it to the superior tribunal.

In a council held at Vienna, Clement V. avowed and maintained, that the power of all kings depended on him: *omne jus regum a se pendere.*

Pursuant to this doctrine, the whole council of bishops at Constance determined, 1415, that John Huss should be burnt, though he had been summoned by the emperor Sigismund to appear and defend the reformed religion, and had obtained a safe conduct from him; but the council determined that his power was subordinate to theirs, and, as their concurrence had not been previously obtained, his grant of a safe conduct was null and void.

It was strongly contended at Worms, by all the bishops who attended there, that Luther should be burnt; but the emperor, who had given him a safe conduct, would not allow his good faith to be violated. It is very remarkable, that the council of Lateran, which I have quoted, made transubstantiation an article of faith, and at the same time, treason and rebellion to be the duty of subjects.

A council held at Toledo, contains provisions against heretics exactly similar to those of Lateran, "that if a temporal prince shall neglect to purge his territories of heretical pravity, notice must be given to the pope, that he may thenceforth pronounce his subjects discharged of their oaths of allegiance, and give his dominions to catholics."

The diffimulation and cruelty of queen Mary were the result of these councils; for she gave her subjects the strongest assurance, by a declaration in council, that she would permit them to pursue any such religion as their conscience should dictate; but, when firmly established

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on her throne, she promoted the burning of her protestant subjects, merely on account of their religion.

Human ingenuity could not form a better device, to impose the shackles of superstition on the human mind, and that universal domination over sovereign princes, to which the pope aspired, than this council; but his holiness, knowing that he could not enforce the execution of this dreadful engine, unless he had a number of persons attached to him in every state, and that the battering ram, so ingeniously contrived by him, could not be worked without artificers of his own appointment, struggled hard to obtain the investiture of bishops; and having succeeded, he laid them all under a necessity, at their inauguration, of taking an oath of allegiance to him, of which I give some paragraphs.

"The rights, privileges, and authority, of the holy Roman church, and of our Lord the pope, and his successors, I will be careful to preserve, defend, enlarge, and promote."

"All heretics, schismatics, and rebels against our said Lord, and his successors, I will, to the utmost of my power, persecute and impugn."

From this time the bishops became the spies and sentinels of the Roman pontiff; and, in order to inflame their affections, to detach them from the state to which they belonged, and to engage them in the interest of the Holy See, he enjoined celibacy to the Popish clergy.

The words in the bishops' oath of allegiance are, *pro viribus persequar et impugnabo.* Some Romish ecclesiastics have contended, that the word *persequar* signifies to persecute by argument; but the futility of that construction will appear very obvious. "When Paschal II. excommunicated the emperor Henry IV. he used exactly similar words, in a bull directed to Robert count of Flanders: *Henricum caput hæreticorum, et ejus fautores, pro viribus*

*persequaris et impugnes. Hoc tibi et militibus tuis precipimus.* “We command you, and your foldiers, to perfecute and impugn Henry, the head of the hereticks.”

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It is not to be fuppofed that he would call upon foldiers to difpel and proftrate herefy by ratiocination. The logick of a foldier lies in his arms; befides, *impugno* fignifies to attack by argument, and is put in contradiftinction to perfecute.

The only herefy of which he could accufe this innocent prince was, that he oppofed the pope’s claim to the inveftiture of bifhopricks in his dominions.

We may conceive how obedient councils muft have been to the pope, when he procured this fentence to be firft voted and ratified by a council held 1102.

Cicero, in his fourth oration againft Catiline, ufes the word *persequar* in the fenfe which I contend for. “Atque illo tempore, hujus avus Lentuli, clariffimus vir, armatus, Gracchum eft perfecutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit. *Persequor* and *persecutio* are words appropriated by ecclefiaftical writers to exprefs the bloody cruelties exercifed on chriftians by heathen princes. After enumerating thirty-four under the Roman emperors, they reckon ten under Antichrift, to which they might have added hundreds under the popes.

Raymond, count of Thouloufe, was the firft fovereign prince againft whom this dreadful engine was levelled. Part of his fubjects called the Albigenfes and Waldenfes, happened to obtain, about the clofe of the twelfth century, a tranflation of fome parts of the New Teftament; and becaufe they endeavoured to conform their tenets and practices to the light of the Gofpel, which was obvioufly repugnant to popery, they were excommunicated by the pope; and becaufe Raymond refufed to perfecute them, he was deprived of his dominions by the orders of his holinefs, who invoked his fubjects to rife in rebellion againft him, by a promife of eternal falvation; and Simon de Mountfort, whom he nominated general of the crufade, was invefted with the dominions of Raymond, by Innocent III. at the council of Lateran. It is univerfally allowed, that nearly one million of thefe innocent people were extirpated by the fword and the gibbet, in conformity to the decree of that council.

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It was on that occafion that the bloody court of inquisition was eftablifhed, and the fuprintendance of it was committed to the dominican friars, by Gregory IX. in the year 1233.

In confequence of the oath which bifhops were obliged to take at their infallation, obvioufly repugnant to the fidelity which they owed their refpective fovereigns, William Rufus told archbifhop Anfelm, that he could not preferve his allegiance to the pope, and his temporal fovereign, at the fame time;\* and cardinal De Retz tells us, in his Memoires, that the Parifians, for the fame reafon, objected to the miniftry of cardinal Mazarine.

In that favage fcene of butchery, the maffacre of St. Bartholomew, planned with all the coolnefs of deliberation, five hundred gentlemen, and ten thoufand perfons of inferior rank, were maffacred in one night at Paris alone, and great numbers in the provinces, becaufe they were proteftants.† The Roman pontiff, on hearing it, expreffed great joy announced that the cardinals fhould return thanks to the Almighty for fo fignal an advantage obtained for the Holy See, and that a jubilee fhould be obferved all over Chriftendom.‡ Sixtus V. excommunicated Henry III. of France, as a heretick, becaufe he, contrary to his Holinefs’s orders, fpared the blood of his proteftant fubjects; and he granted nine years indulgence to fuch of his fubjects, as would bear arms againft him; upon which Jacque Clement, a friar, affaffinated him with fingular treachery.

In a publick confiftory held at Rome, the pope, in a long premeditated fpeech, applauded the virtue and the firmnefs of the holy friar; declaring, that his fervent zeal towards God, furpaffed

even that of Judith and Eleazer; and that this affaffination was brought about by divine providence. §

Henry III. left his kingdom by will to Henry IV. to whom also it devolved by hereditary right; but the Parisians, having consulted the doctors of the Sorbonne on his claim, they declared that his title was inadmissible.

\* Speed, 441, 442. † Thuanus, lib. 63, fee. 14. ‡ Ibid. §Ibid, vol. 4. page 767, 768.

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inadmissible, because he had been excommunicated, and excluded from succeeding to it by the Holy See. They pronounced that those who should assist him would be damned, and they promised eternal happiness to those who should oppose him, even to the shedding of blood, “ufque ad effusionem sanguinis.”\*

The bull fulminated against this amiable prince by Sixtus V. 1585, begins thus: “The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the eternal King, excels all the powers of earthly kings: it passes uncontrolable sentence upon them all.”

Henry, though endued with the most shining virtues, was, after two attempts to murder him, affaffinated at Paris by Ravallac. He was twice deposed by Gregory XIV. and once by Clement VIII. as a favourer of heretics.†

In the year 1538, pope Paul III. issued a bull of excommunication and deposition against Henry VIII. because he declared himself, and not the pope, to be head of the church of England: — A right which both the Saxon and Norman monarchs had always asserted, and which had been indisputably established by various acts of parliament, from the time of Edward the Confessor, to the reign of Henry VIII. for the laws of the latter do not contain stronger provisions against papal encroachments, than those of Edward I. and Richard II.

The bull of excommunication and deposition which Pius V. denounced against queen Elizabeth begins thus:

“He that reigneth on high, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth, hath committed the one holy catholic and apostolick church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, successor of St. Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power. This one he hath constituted prince over all nations, and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, overturn, plant, and build.” For the many conspiracies to murder queen Elizabeth, as a heretic, and some of them by the express orders of the pope, I shall refer the reader to Speed, Rapin, and Hume. I shall mention but one.

\* Thuanus, lib. 93, see. 19. † Spond. tom. a. p.868.

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Two priests of the name of Parsons and Campion, who conspired to murder that prince, obtained for themselves, and all the papists in England, a dispensation from the rigorous observation of the bull fulminated by pope Pius V. against her. They were allowed by it to appear obedient and respectful to her, until their party was strong enough to rise against her. It ends thus: “The highest pontiff” granted the foregoing graces to fathers Robert Parsons and Edward Campion, who are now to take their way to England, the fourteenth of April, 1586;\* but these holy fathers, very fortunately for England, could not succeed in their pious design, for they were detected, arrested, and hanged.

The popes, well knowing that riches are the means of power, adopted the following expedient to fill their treasury, by a constant and neverfailing revenue. Having first established the doctrine

of purgatory, and the pains and torments attending it, the deluded sectaries of the Roman pontiff had recourse to him to be relieved from their terrors.

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, an eminent Romish divine, says, that indulgences were not necessary in the first ages of the church; and that they were not devised till the people were frightened with the torments of purgatory.

Most of the schoolmen confess, that the use of indulgences began in the time of pope Alexander III. towards the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century; and from that period, till the folly and iniquity of them occasioned the reformation, the sale of them was a fruitful source of wealth to the popes.

They also inflicted penalties on the commission of sin, such as rigorous fasts, bodily pains and mortifications, long and frequent prayers, and pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and martyrs; and as these penalties could be commuted or dispensed with for money, those who chose to lead voluptuous lives, and to continue in a course of licentious pleasure, embraced this new mode of expiation,†

At length the remission of sins became so systematick, and such a constant and regular source of revenue to the Holy See, that they were reduced to a schedule, in a book of rates, with the sums corresponding

\* Speed, 871. † Muratori, de redemptione peccatorum in antiqui. Italiae medii seculi.

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for which they were to be remitted. Of this work, entitled, “The taxes of the Romish Chancery,” different editions were published for the use of Roman catholick states: one at Rome by Marcellus Silber in 1514: one at Cologne in 1515: three at Paris in 1520, 1545, 1625: one at Venice, in the sixth volume of the Oceanus Juris in 1523. The protestant princes published one among their reasons for rejecting the council of Trent.\*

The reader may judge of this extraordinary work by the following short extracts:

“A nun having committed fornication several times, shall be absolved, and enabled to hold the dignities of her order, even that of abbess, on paying 39 livres tournois, and 9 ducats.”

“The absolution of him who has deflowered a virgin, gr. 6.”

“The absolution of a clerk for all acts of fornication with a nun, within or without the limits of the nunnery, or with his relations in affinity or consanguinity, or with any woman whatsoever, 36 livres.”†

The Roman pontiff very wisely gave great latitude to the clergy, as they were prohibited from marrying.

When celibacy (a doctrine justly reprobated in the scriptures, and refuted by the practice of the apostles, all of whom were married men, except Paul and John; a doctrine peculiarly unfit for the church of Rome to teach, their founder, as they term him, and prince of the apostles, as they ridiculously call him, having exploded it by his example, ‡) was first enforced in England, the bishops constantly granted licenses to the parochial clergy to keep concubines, lest they might run into licentiousness with the wives and daughters of their parishioners.

Exclusive salvation, a doctrine invented by the artful policy of the Roman pontiff, for the purpose of encouraging profelytes to his church, and for securing those who were already within its pale, has been a fruitful source of discord and rebellion in many countries in Europe.

\* Heideggeri myfter. Babyloniae, tom. i. p.350.

† Every crime that human depravity can commit, is inserted in this book.

‡ Peter's *wife's* mother was sick of a fever. Matt. viii. 14. And Simon's *wife's* mother was sick of a fever. Mark i. 30. And Simon's *wife's* mother, &c. Luke iv. 38. — See also, on this subject, St. Paul's epistle to Timothy iii. 2. and 8, 11, and Hebrews xiii. 4.

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It is not only contrary to the doctrine of the scriptures, but repugnant to the moral and physical perfections of the Deity, subversive of his attributes of wisdom, justice, and mercy, which are the main pillars of the divine administration; and it is likely to end in atheism, and has already produced all its baneful effects; for any person who can be brought to debase and disparage the Almighty so much, as to assert that he is so unwise, so unjust, and so unmerciful, as to ordain, that a very small portion of his creatures shall enjoy eternal happiness, and that the remainder shall be doomed to eternal punishment, because they differ from them in a few trifling ceremonies and tenets, will soon probably become atheists.

This doctrine, which narrows the channels of infinite mercy, sets bounds to omnipotence, and teaches that there is but one road that leads to the heavenly city, engenders in the lower classes of people, an uncharitable aversion, a cruel and unrelenting spirit of persecution, against protestants, which manifested itself in a most flagrant manner during the late rebellion. In short, nothing but fanaticism, kindled by this doctrine, could have enabled the leaders of rebellion, and the Irish priests, to invoke the popish multitude to rise against their sovereign and their protestant fellow subjects, which they did with as much zeal as the Crusaders shewed against the Saracens. We shall find the pope's supremacy, and exclusive salvation, with all the ramifications of new-fangled doctrines which have branched out from them, eminently conspicuous in the late rebellion.

Boniface VIII. in the year 1294, boldly asserts the latter. "We declare, say, define, and pronounce it to be necessary to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."\*

Human vanity has been such in all ages, that statesmen, warriors, poets, historians, and divines, have thought their own works and achievements the best. Cicero in his epistles to Atticus makes the following observation on this, [Greek phrase], *nemo unquam, neque poeta neque orator fuit, qui quenquam meliorem quam se arbitraretur.* Epist. 14, 20. *Adhuc neminem cognovi poetam, et mihi fuit cum Aquinio*

\* In extrava, v, com. lib. i. tit. 38.

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(id est) *deterrimo amicitia, qui tibi non optimo videretur.* Tufcul. 5. 22.

Juvenal, the latin poet, mentions two towns in Arabia, near the Isthmus of Suez, Ombos and Tentyra, between the inhabitants of which this ridiculous doctrine maintained mutual and implacable hatred.

"*Dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit sevo,  
Inter finitimas, vetus atque antiqua simultas,  
Immortale odium et nunquam sanabile vulnus,  
Ardet huc Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrinque,*

*Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum,  
Odit uterque locus; cum folos credat habendos,  
Effe deos, quos ipse colit."*

Eternal hate, unmitigated rage,  
And bigot fury, burn from age to age;

Each fcorns his neighbour's god, afferts his own.  
And thinks falvation works for him alone.

Mahomet inculcates the fame doftrine in the Koran, and it produces the moft intolerant and fanguinary principles between his votaries, and other religionifts.

Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, cenfures the poets for being guilty of the fame abfurdity; "for though, at times, they afcribe to the gods that degree of happinefs and ferenity which is agreeable to their divine and immortal nature, yet, on other occafions, they affert that they are fubject to anger, enmity, and other paffions, which are unworthy even of men, who have any underftanding."\*

When thefe doctrines occafioned the dethronement, and the murder of fo many princes, the maffacre of the Albigenfes and Waldenfes in the thirteenth century, that of the proteftants at Paris in the fixteenth, the extermination of many thoufands of them in the Low Countries, the expulfion of the Moors from Spain, the perfecution of the Vaudois in the king of Sardinia's dominions, we cannot be furprifed that they

\* God's partial, changeful, paffionate, unjuft,  
Whofe attributes were rage, revenge, or luft. Pope.

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fhould have produced fo many rebellions in Ireland, as her inhabitants have been plunged in the moft abjecl ignorance, and have been blindly devoted to their priefts.

Accordingly we find that kingdom involved in one fcene of inteftine diforder during a period of forty-one years, from the year 1567, to the year 1603, occafioned by the interference of the Roman pontiff', and the fermentation of popery. The rebellions of that period may be divided as follows:

1ft. In 1567, Shane O'Neil raifed a notable one in Ulfter, merely in hatred to the Englifh; and he erected a caftle on Loughneagh, which he named Feogenall, which fignifies, in Irifh, the hatred of the Englifh. His forces were routed and difperfed by Sir Henry Sidney.

2d. In 1569, the Fitz-Geralds of Munfter raifed one, in which the Byrnes, Tooles and Cavenaghs joined; but they were fubdued by Sir William Drury, and were all attainted the twenty-feventh and twenty-eighth of Elizabeth.

James Fitz-Gerald publifhed a manifefto in juftification of this rebellion, in which, he faid, it was for the glory of God, and of Chrift, whofe facraments the hereticks deny; for the glory of the catholick church, which the hereticks falfeiy aflert was not known for many ages.

3d. In 1595, Hugh O'Neil raifed a rebellion, which lafted till the end of Elizabeth's reign.

It was called Tyrone's rebellion, and branched out into three different civil wars, according to Borlafe.

4th. On the acceffion of James I. the citizens of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny, and Wexford, denied his title, and attacked fo furiously the perfons who went to proclaim him, that they narrowly efcaped with their lives. They openly avowed, that they oppofed his acceffion for no other reafon, than that he was not a catholick; but they were foon brought to obedience by lord Mountjoy.

5th. Within four years after, Tyrone and O'Donnell confpired with Maguire, Cormack O' Neil, lord Delvin, O'Cahan, and others, to raife a rebellion, but were prevented by the lord deplity Chichefter, in 1607, and an act of attainder paffed againft them.

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6th. In 1608, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's civil war, raised principally by the priests, lasted no longer than five months; but it was bloody and destrudlive while it continued, and was accompanied with shocking instances of cruelty and treachery on his part.

Previous to the reign of queen Elizabeth, the aboriginal Irish bore a most unrelenting hatred against those of English blood; but on the Reformation, popery became a firm bond of union amongst them, and inspired them with inextinguishable rancour against protestants in general; and it is remarkable, that the natives of English blood became more stubborn and inveterate rebels after that period, than the primitive Irish.

Francis I. desirous to embarrass Henry VIII. resolved to raise some commotions in Ireland; and for that purpose he, in the year 1523, opened a negotiation with the earl of Desmond, whom he found ready to co-operate with him against his liege sovereign.

In 1539, the popish clergy engaged O'Neil as their champion, and to this he was encouraged by pope Paul. This rebellion was subdued by lord Grey. In 1545, O'Neil, O'Donnell, and the other Irish chiefs, offered Ireland to the French king, provided the pope consented to it; and the proposal was so flattering, that the king sent over John de Montluc, bishop of Valence, to enquire more minutely into the business. In 1568, the confederate rebels of Munster implored the aid of the pope and the king of Spain, through their ambassadors, the titular bishops of Cahel and Emlly; in 1570, they prevailed on pope Paul V. to issue a bull, declaring queen Elizabeth deprived of her crown, and absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance; which bull was confirmed by the popes Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.

But the sovereign pontiffs contributed something more substantial than bulls to separate Ireland from England; for in 1579, the two jesuits, Allen and Saunders, disappointed in their application to the king of France, obtained large sums of money from the pope and the king of Spain, with which they excited a rebellion in Munster. In 1595, O'Neil, otherwise Tyrone, made an offer of Ireland to the

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king of Spain, if he assisted him with men and money, and began an alarming rebellion. The lords justices wrote to queen Elizabeth, that an universal Irish rebellion was intended, to shake off all English government." To the same purpose the earl of Essex, in his letter to the queen declares, that, "in their rebellion they have no other end but to shake off the yoke of obedience to her majesty, and to root out all remembrance of the English nation in this kingdom: I say this, adds he, of the people in general."

In her reign, a declaration of the divines of Salamanca and Valladolid was dispersed through Ireland by O'Sullivan, a Spanish priest; in which they maintained the pope's supremacy, both in temporals and spirituals; and that no oath could bind the faithful to heretics. They approved of the former rebellions which were raised in Ireland, and they encouraged the Irish to oppose the title of an heretical prince; and yet the Roman catholics of England in the year 1789, obtained, and published the opinions of those universities, and those of Paris, Doway, Louvain, and Alcalá, that they did not admit such to be doctrines of the Roman catholic church.\*

This was done with a design of clearing themselves from the odium of maintaining such infamous tenets; and it is most certain, that they deserved the admiration and the applause of every British subject, for the bold and unequivocal manner in which they renounced them, and vindicated the purity of their principles, notwithstanding the inhibitions and menaces of their bishops. In the reign of Charles I. 1626, pope Urban VIII. exhorted the Irish, by a bull, to lose their lives, sooner than submit to the wicked and pestilent oath of supremacy, by which the sceptre of the Catholic church was wrested from the vicar of God Almighty; and yet such blasphemy had the desired effect on the ignorant and superstitious multitude!

In the distracted reign of Charles I. the popish lords, prelates, and clergy, and popish deputies, chosen by several counties and towns in the different provinces, assembled at Kilkenny, regulated all their proceedings with the forms and solemnity of parliament, and bound themselves

\* The Irish Roman catholics published the opinions of these universities in Dublin in 1791.

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by oath, "that they would obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made, or to be made, by the supreme council of the confederate catholics of the kingdom; that they would not seek directly or indirectly any pardon or protection for any act to be done touching the general cause; and that they would not accept or submit unto any peace, made or to be made, with the said confederate catholics, without the consent thereof and by the preamble to said oath it appears, that if must have been administered universally.

"Whereas it is requisite, that there should be an unanimous consent, and real union, between all the catholics of this realm."\*

Their prelates enjoined all the priests to administer an oath of abjuration to their parishioners, and to raise subscriptions amongst them.

The chief object which they professed, was, to maintain inviolable the rights and immunities of the Roman catholic faith; and they so far succeeded in restoring popery, on the ruins of the protestant church, that the confederates wrote to the pope in 1644, "that their religion was publicly practiced according to the Roman ritual; that most of the bishops were in possession of the cathedrals, the priests of the parishes; and that many of the convents were restored to the monks."†

After various negotiations they made peace with the duke of Ormond, but not until they had obtained the free exercise of their religion, and many other important privileges.

Rinuncini, the pope's nuncio, a turbulent fanatic, who was then in Ireland, exclaimed loudly against the peace, and denounced the terrors of excommunication against such persons as should adhere to it, unless it was framed and approved of by the pope, and unless they obtained an immediate, a complete and splendid establishment of the Roman worship and hierarchy.

But finding them determined not to comply with his very unreasonable wishes, and that they were resolved to accept of the indulgent and conciliating offers of the duke, he, in a speech to the confederates

\* Their combination cemented by an oath resembled that of the united Irishmen.

†Burke *Hibernica Dominicana*, appendix, page 876.

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at Kilkenny, recommended fidelity, first to God and their religion,\* and next to the king, by which they meant the pope and their own clergy; and they were always taught, that their attachment to them should supersede and predominate over their allegiance to a protestant state.

He sent a copy of his speech to Rome, and in return was severely reprimanded by cardinal Pamfillo; and the following reasons were assigned for it: "That the Holy See never would, by any positive act, approve the civil allegiance which catholics pay to an heretical prince; and the displeasure of the court of Rome was the greater, as he had deposited a copy of his speech with the council of Kilkenny, which, if published, would furnish heretics with arguments against the papal authority over heretical princes, when the pope's own minister should exhort catholics to be faithful to such a king.

Rinuncini, after he had separated from, and excommunicated the confederates, put himself at the head of a body called the general assembly, consisting of some of their bishops, peers and commoners, and a number of the common herd of papists, who were entirely at the devotion of this furious fanatic; and such was the religious rancour which he infused into them, that they offered to treat with the members of Cromwell's government, sooner than submit to the royal authority. Nicholas French, the titular bishop of Ferns, a zealous partizan of the nuncio, and a virulent enemy of a protestant government, was earnest for this treaty, which had been entered upon with some of Ireton's agents. How exactly do the circumstances of the present times resemble those of that period, when the Irish Roman catholics shewed in earnest desire to renounce their allegiance to, and overturn the government of their present amiable sovereign, through whose intercession almost the whole of the penal laws have been repealed, and a college has been erected for the education of their clergy; and this with

\* By this doctrine the priesthood have made the temporal power subservient to the sacerdotal, and we find it strongly inculcated in the pastoral letters of doctors Troy and Huffey. According to this, John Hufs was burnt in 1415, contrary to the emperor's wishes; and James II. was induced to violate his coronation oath, in attempting to overturn the protestant religion.

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a design of connecting themselves with a set of blood-Rained monsters, who murdered their king, and would wish to dethrone their God!

At last, such was their enthusiastic virulence against the government of a protestant king, that they sent Nicholas French to the duke of Lorraine, to invite him to accept of the sovereignty of the kingdom, and they signed a treaty with him, by which he was, in effect, completely invested with it, as far as their power could extend.

Carte, in his life of the duke of Ormond, p.155, mentions another conspiracy for a general rising in the year 1634. It was discovered by Emer MacMahon, afterwards titular bishop of Clogher, to Sir G. Radcliffe, on a general assurance of pardon; and he acknowledged, that the conspirators were to have received assistance from abroad, and that he had been employed many years in soliciting assistance from foreign courts to carry on the business for the good of religion.

The earl of Strafford, viceroy at that time, a great and wise minister, without alarming the nation, or driving the party concerned in it by their fears into open rebellion, engaged the English ministers abroad to watch the practices of the Irish in foreign courts, and to baffle their schemes.

Carte imputes the rebellions in Ireland to the Irish priests on the score of religion, and to the hopes of the old proprietors to recover the forfeited estates;\* and it must be allowed, that while the latter have this in contemplation, and the mass of the natives retain their hatred to England, *no parallel can be drawn between the Roman catholics of Ireland, and those of any other state.*

When James II. arrived in Ireland, the popish parliament which he assembled, proposed, by an act, to make it independent of England; but having a strong hope of remounting the English throne, he hesitated to give his assent to it, on which they resolved to renounce him and his cause; for they sent to him, Nagle, a rigid papist, whom he had made attorney general, to inform him, that they could do without him.

\* Life of the duke of Ormond, b. 3.

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In short, such was their inextinguishable hatred to a connexion with England, that, though he attempted a complete extirpation of protestantism, by attainting every protestant landholder in Ireland, and by restoring their property to the old proprietors, and promised that the popish

religion should predominate there, they would not be satisfied, without a total separation from England. Mr. Macpherson very properly observes, "that James soon found, that he was not master of his own kingdom."

Some persons have endeavoured to palliate the horrors and atrocities committed during the rebellion of 1641, by imputing it to various causes of provocation, without considering that the pope's interference was the chief cause of inciting it. For, besides the bull issued by pope Urban in 1628, the same pontiff during the existence of that dreadful civil war, the better to inflame his votaries, fulminated another, containing the following paragraphs: "In imitation of their godly and worthy ancestors, to endeavour, by force, to deliver their thrall'd nation from the oppressions and grievous injuries of the hereticks, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted and heavily burthened; and gallantly do in them what lieth, to extirpate, and totally root out those workers of iniquity, who, in this kingdom of Ireland, had infected, and were always striving to infect, the mass of catholic purity, with the peftiferous leaven of heretical contagion."

Mr. Edmund Burke feriously intended to have written a history of that rebellion, for no other purpose but to vindicate the Roman catholics from the odium which they brought on themselves by it.

Lord chief justice Lowther, in his speech at the opening of the court, on the trial of Sir Phelim O'Neil, one of the leaders of rebellion in 1641, stated that the following privileges were enjoyed by the Roman catholics previous to its eruption. "That besides the licentious freedom of their Romish superstition, they had their titular archbishops for every province, their titular bishop, with his dean and chapter, for every diocese, and their secular priests for every parish in the land; besides their abbots, priors, monks, nuns, jesuits, friars, monasteries, nunneries, and other religious houses, and convents in the principal

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cities and towns of the land, even in the city of Dublin, the residence of the state; so that father Harris, a secular priest of their own, published in print, that it was as hard to find what number of friars were in Dublin, as to count how many frogs there were in the second plague of Egypt."

"Besides the exercise of their superstitious rites and ceremonies, they had also papal jurisdiction, as by law they had vicars general, and kept their provincial courts and consistories, and excommunicated the people, delivering them unto Satan. Their lawyers, sheriffs, and justices of the peace were not required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which were not dispensed with as to protestants; and all these popish lawyers, priests, jesuits, and friars, were the principal incendiaries and fire-brands in the rebellion; and the public burthens and charges of the commonwealth were more borne by the protestants than by them, in proportion to their numbers, and the quality of possessors of inheritance."

"And of the subsidy granted in the tenth Charles I. whereof the Roman catholics raised so great a clamour, both in England and Ireland, the protestants paid above one-third part of the whole, besides the clergy; though neither the quantity or quality of lands of inheritance, then holden of them in the land, did amount to more than a fifth part; and besides all this, the protestants had contributed to the charge of their committees, towards the obtaining grace, in bounties, in sending commissioners for them. They were made earls, viscounts, lords, baronets, and knights; enjoying all this and much more, without any provocation to rise up suddenly to this height of cruelty, and to murder many thousand protestants, that lived peaceably and friendly with them, before they could take up arms for their defence, made the sins of murder, violence, and cruelty, unmeasurably sinful and detestable."

Borlase adds, "that they were elected knights, citizens, and burgeses, in parliament they enjoyed their religion without control, while protestants, dissenting from the church of England, were often summoned before the bishop's court justice was equally administered to the

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British and Irish; duties and taxes were levied without distinction; all private animosities were suppressed; all ancient grudges were removed; and, in all outward appearance, they lived so affectionately intermixed together, that they could not be esteemed two nations in one kingdom."

But we cannot be at a loss for the real source of the rebellion, when Walsh, the Franciscan friar, tells us at large, of a printed book, written by MacMahon an Irish Jesuit, inculcating the lawfulness of killing, not only all the protestants, but even such of the Roman Catholic Irish, as should stand for the crown of England, and the rights of the king to Ireland.

There have been various opinions as to the number of protestants massacred in the rebellion of 1641. Mr. Carte, an able and judicious historian, after examining them with the utmost candour, coincides with Sir William Petty, who makes them amount to thirty-seven thousand, in his Political Anatomy; and as he was well skilled in calculation, and had surveyed the whole kingdom, soon after that dreadful event happened, it is probable that his account was accurate.

In the year 1729, the papal bishops of Ireland applied for, and obtained, a bull from the pope, to raise money by the sale of indulgences, to be speedily applied to restore James III. to his right, and to put his majesty George II. and all the royal family to the sword. The whole of this plot is to be found in the sixth volume of the journals of the house of commons, page 342.

It appears that a number of papal prelates and other ecclesiastics, being assembled at the house of Teigue McCarthy, alias Rabagh, titular bishop of Cork, Conner Keefe, bishop of Limerick, presented a letter to the said McCarthy, from doctor Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, informing him, that his holiness the pope, had at last complied with the request of the Irish archbishops and bishops, in granting them an indulgence for the above purpose.

The purport of the bull was this: "That every communicant duly confessing, and receiving the sacrament on the patron days of every respective parish, and every Sunday, from the first day of May to September, having repeated the Lord's prayer five times, and once the

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apostles creed, and upon paying two pence each time, was to have a plenary indulgence for his sins; and all approved confessors had full power to absolve in all cases, with intent that God would speedily place James III. on the throne of England. Every parish priest was to pay £5 towards this fund, and was to account upon oath for the collection of it; and the pretender had an agent in each province to collect it."

Some of the papers of these traitors were discovered, and seized, by which the conspiracy was detected.\*

\* See the journals before cited.

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#### ORIGIN OF THE WHITE BOYS.

In the year 1759, and under the administration of the duke of Bedford, an alarming spirit of insubordination appeared in the South of Ireland, which manifested itself by the numerous and frequent risings of the lower classes of Roman Catholics, dressed in white uniforms, whence they were denominated white boys; but they were encouraged, and often headed, by persons of their own persuasion of some consideration. They were armed with guns, swords, and pistols, of

which they plundered proteftants, and they marched through the country, in military array, preceded by the mufick of bag-pipes, or the founding of horns. In their nocturnal perambulations, they enlifted, or preffed into their fervice every perfon of their own religion, who was capable of ferving them, and bound them by oaths of fecrecy, of fidelity and obedience to their officers; and thofe officers were bound by oaths of allegiance to the French king, and prince Charles the pretender to the crown of England, which appeared by the confeffion and the informations of feveral of the infurgents, fome of whom were convicted of high treafon, and various other crimes. The pretext they made ufe of for rifing and affembling was, to redrefs the following grievances: the illegal enclofure of commons, the extortion of tythe proftors, and the exorbitant fees exafted by their own clergy, though it appeared that they were deeply concerned in encouraging and fomenting them, in the commiffion of outrages.

They committed dreadful barbarities on fuch perfons as hefitated to obey their mandates, or refused to join in their confederacy; they cut out their tongues, amputated their nofes or ears; they made them ride many miles in the night on horfeback, naked, or bare-backed; they buried them naked, in graves lined with furze, up to their chins; they plundered and often burned houfes; they houghed and maimed cattle; they feized arms, and horfes, which they rode about the country, and levied money, at times even in the day. I fhall refer the reader

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to Appendix, No. I. for their defigns and praftices. They refembled the modern defenders in every refpect, except in the title which they affumed; and their object was exactly the fame, that of fubverting the conftitution, and feparating Ireland from England, with the affiftance of France.

Thefe mifcreants became fo formidable in many parts of the provinces of Leinfter and Munfter, that many laws, which I fhall explain in the fequel, were enacted for their fuppreffion.

In the year 1762, the marquis of Drogheda was fent to command a large diftrict in the province of Munfter, and made Clogheen in the county of Tipperary his head-quarters, at that time much difturbed by the white boys, who ufed to affemble in bodies of from five hundred to two thoufand.

On the night of the day on which he arrived at Clegheen, a number of white boys, well armed and headed by father Nicholas Sheehy, affembled clofe to that town, and were on the point of attacking ir, which induced his lordfhip to double the guard. From this, the inhabitants of it, having a fufpicion that he was going to march out againft the infurgents, father Doyle, parifh prieft of Ardfinnan, (alluded to in the information of David Landregin, Appendix, No. 1. 2.) after having expoftulated with them on the danger of affaulting the town, went to lord Drogheda, pale and trembling with fear, allured his lordfhip that his garrifon was in no danger, and befought him not to march out againft the infurgents. I received this information from the marquis himfelf, and it correffonds exactly with the depofition of Landregin.

His lordfhip's regiment killed great numbers of them in that and the adjacent country; and he affured me, that French money was found in the pockets of fome of them.

His lordfhip, during his refidence there, took the famous father Nicholas Sheehy, who was afterwards hanged at Clonniel. He had been a noted leader of the white boys, and incited them to commit jnurder, and various outrages; and yet his memory is held in fuch veneration by the popifh multitude, and the clay of his tomb is fuppofed to be endued with fuch fupernatural powers, that various miraculous

\* There is a grofs misrepreffion of these infurgents in the Encyclopedia Britannic, under the title of Ireland, printed by James Moore in Colledge-green, in the year 1794.

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cures are imputed to it; in consequence of which, it is in such request among the popish rabble, that the sexton of the church, where his body is interred, is obliged very often to renew it.

The marquis of Drogheda took, in the castle of Cahir, the domestick chaplain of the then lord Cahir, who constantly resided with his lordship, on serious charges against him for high treason.

It is most certain, that the white boy system was at first formed to co-operate with the French, who meditated an invasion of Ireland under Conflans; but when that was defeated, and even during a time of profound peace, the barbarous rabble, free from all moral restraint, elate with the hope of plunder, and fraught with disaffection to a protestant fate, continued to commit the most horrid enormities in many parts of Leinster and Munster, for above twenty-five years after.

John Twohy states in his information, that they began to enlist men for the French so early as the year 1756. See Appendix, No. I. 7.

At first they were headed, marshalled, and disciplined, by officers who had served in the Irish brigades, in the French service; but when peace was concluded, their leaders consisted of popish farmers and persons in a mean situation.

Mr. Conway, an Irish Roman catholic gentleman resident at Paris, used to remit money to them, on the part and by orders of the French government; and some popish merchants of the province of Munster, who received and distributed it among the insurgents, were afterwards members of the Catholic committee in 1792.

In the year 1762, they committed such dreadful excesses in the South of Ireland, that Sir Richard Afton, lord chief justice of the common pleas, was sent down with a special commission to try them; and the mistaken lenity which he shewed them in the course of his circuit was such, that it encouraged them to persevere in the commission of enormities for some years after.

The late earl of Carrick and the reverend Mr. Hewetson in the county of Kilkenny, Sir Thomas Maude, baronet, afterwards lord De Montalt, William Bagwell and John Bagenall, esquires, of the county of Tipperary, took a very active part in suppressing the white boys, for which they were as much traduced and vilified, as the orangemen,

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yeomen, and all loyal subjects who endeavoured to put down the defenders.

The grand jury of the county of Dublin were so much incensed at this, that they voted an address of thanks. Appendix I. 6. to the earl of Carrick and those gentlemen, for their spirited and laudable exertions. It appears by the examination of David Landregin, (Appendix, No. I. 2.) that a party of white boys took a solemn oath, in the town of Clonmel, to assassinate the earl of Carrick and the other gentlemen.

As Mr. Edmund Burke, who always shewed a decided attachment to popery, manifested it for the first time on this occasion, I shall, in touching on it, relate a few of the early circumstances of his life.

In doing so, I must premise, that I do not mean to disparage him. I had the honour of being acquainted with him; and I was so sensible of his exalted moral and intellectual excellence, that I gave the following character of him in a pamphlet published by J. Stockdale in 1794, which was noticed in the Monthly Review of April, 1795:

“His book on French affairs contains more political wisdom, and more profound knowledge of practical government, than any that ever appeared; and in future ages will tend to endear the British constitution to its subjects.

“The bright effulgence of his genius, like the sun, raised up some buzzing insects, who cavilled at the doctrines which he advanced; but the fate of France proves the futility of their assertions, and that he spoke prophetic truth.

“His long and luminous life, devoted to the cause of wisdom and virtue, was more bright in its setting, than the meridian blaze of most other geniuses.”

He was the son of a popish solicitor in Dublin, at the university of which he received his education; but I have been assured by his contemporaries, that he did not, in the course of it, display any symptoms of those shining abilities, which afterwards made the progress of his life so brilliant.

Soon after he went to the Temple to study the law, he married a daughter of doctor Nugent, who had been bred at Doway in Flanders, and was a most bigoted Romanist. A year after he had gone to the

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Temple, a person, who was at that time serving his apprenticeship to Mr. Burke's father, informed me, that his master sent him to London, relative to some law business, and that Mr. Edmund Burke detained him many days longer than he had permission to remain there: that during his stay, he seemed much agitated in his mind, and that, when they were alone, he frequently introduced religion as a topic of conversation, and said, that he had strong reasons for thinking more favourably of the Romish persuasion than he formerly did. For these reasons, this gentleman assured me, he verily believed, that he was become a convert to popery.

Soon after this gentleman's return, Mr. Burke, senior, having heard a report that his son had really changed his religion, was much concerned at it; because he had entertained the most sanguine hopes that he would acquire great wealth and fame at the Irish bar, from practising at which Romanists were excluded by law.

He therefore employed Mr. Bowen, his brother-in-law, who, as a linen merchant, had a very extensive correspondence in London, to make strict enquiry about the conversion of his son.

Some days after, Mr. Bowen entered his office, and in the presence of the gentleman who gave me this information, threw him a letter, saying. There, your son is most certainly become a Roman catholic. On reading the letter, Mr. Burke became furious, lamenting that the rising hope of his family was blasted, and that the expence he had been at in his son's education was now thrown away.

As some of the greatest men, even at an advanced period of life, have become slaves to the passion of love, it is very possible that Mr. Burke, in the spring of life, when its influence is irresistible, and endued with a lively imagination, and all the tendernefs of sensibility, might have conformed to the exterior ceremonies of popery, to obtain miss Nugent, of whom he was very much enamoured; but it is not to be supposed, that a person of so vigorous and highly cultivated an understanding, could have continued under the shackles of that absurd superstition.

At last, when he had served a sufficient number of terms to be called to the bar, he refused to return to his native country, declaring, that

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the climate of it disagreed with him; and that he expected to get some employment in the line of his profession in America, through one of the Grenville family. He therefore remained in London, where he subsisted chiefly by his pen; and he soon acquired a considerable degree of celebrity, as a writer, and a man of genius, by the publication of his Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful, and by his Vindication of Natural Society, in imitation of lord Bolingbroke, which introduced him to the notice and acquaintance of Mr. Hamilton. When that gentleman came to

Ireland, as secretary to the earl of Halifax, he, wishing to avail himself of Mr. Burke's talents, solicited him to attend him, but in no official capacity; and he accordingly complied.

He accompanied him a second time to Dublin, when Mr. Hamilton was secretary to the earl of Northumberland, and was rewarded with a pension of £300 a year.

When they returned to England, Mr. Hamilton intended to have spoken a speech on the peace in the year 1763, which he had prevailed on Mr. Burke to compose.

It unfortunately happened, that as he was about to rise, Mr. Charles Townshend entered the house; and as his wit and eloquence had been always terrific to him, his appearance pallied his exertions and struck him dumb. Mr. Burke, enraged at this, (as they had united their talents in a kind of partnership) said, with some warmth. What signifies my making speeches for you, when you cannot speak them?

A warm altercation ensued, in the course of which Mr. Hamilton informed Mr. Burke, that he had been overpaid; on which Mr. Burke, with becoming spirit, resigned his pension, which was afterwards given to a gentleman who enjoys it at this time. Mr. McCormick in his life of Mr. Burke is mistaken in this circumstance. Their quarrel became a matter of curiosity and debate in the superior circles of society, in which the partisans on each side were very warm.

The discussion of this affair introduced Mr. Burke to the notice of lord Rockingham, who having formed a friendship for him, made him an under-secretary in the treasury; but having lost that employment in six months, the period of his lordship's administration, he brought him into parliament, where the eloquence and the great intellectual powers

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displayed in his speeches, will remain a striking and an eternal monument of his genius.

When the enormities committed by the white boys were about to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and some time before Mr. Richard Afton proceeded on his commission to try them, Mr. Edmund Burke sent his brother Richard, who died recorder of Bristol, and Mr. Nagle, a relation, on a mission to Munster, to levy money on the papist body, for the use of the white boys, who were exclusively papists.

Some Roman catholics complained bitterly of the sums of money which they extorted from them.\* The despotism which the Romish prelates have over their own body is such, that they can at any time levy large sums of money on them, to promote the interest of their church, which is a most dangerous engine in a well-governed state. The open and general exercise of it in the years 1792 and 1793, and again in 1794 and 1795, was sufficient to create an alarm in the government. At those periods some of the lower classes of people in Munster complained loudly of the exactions practised on them; and on being asked, for what purpose they were? they answered, that they had made that enquiry, and were informed, at one time, that it was to obtain for them the elective franchise; at another, to procure the privilege of sitting in parliament for persons of their own persuasion. It is well known that Mr. William Todd Jones was their warm partisan while in the house of commons;† and, from the intemperate zeal which some members of that body shewed in promoting their designs, it was universally believed that they were actuated by sinister motives.

It was strongly suspected, that a person in an elevated situation in England, from his singular pertinacity in adhering to their cause, when in actual and open rebellion, had received some of their contributions;

\* I have no other proof that these gentlemen were employed by Mr. Burke, than that they declared so without reserve to the persons from whom they obtained money. In doing so, he might have been actuated by motives of charity and humanity, as numbers of the white boys

were to be tried in different counties, and they had no other means than eleemofynary contributions to prepare for their defence.

† It is well known that Mr. Jones afterwards accused, in the public prints, the Catholick committee, of not giving him the whole of the money which they had promised to pay him.

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and the debates which took place in the Romish convention in the year 1792, and which the reader will see in the sequel, and the sudden, successful, and unexpected turn which their affairs took in the year 1793, left very little room to doubt, but that some extraordinary secret influence was exerted in England.\*

In the year 1757, there appeared a very singular and unquestionable proof that those doctrines of the Romish church, which had disturbed the peace of all protestant countries ever since the Reformation took place, existed in full force in Ireland.

In that year, a bill was introduced into the house of lords, to secure the protestant succession, in which there was an oath of allegiance.

Thomas Burke, titular bishop of Offory, and publick historiographer to the dominican order in Ireland, made the following observations on that oath. After animadverting on the feverity of setting aside the different foreign branches of the Stuart family, he says, “would it not exceed the greatest imaginable absurdity, that a Catholick priest, who instructs his Catholick people in the will of God, from scripture and tradition, by his discourse and actions, and nourisheth them with the sacrament of the church, should swear fidelity to king George, as long as he professeth a heterodox religion, or has a wife of that religion? that then, and in that case, the same Catholick priest ought instantly to abjure the very king to whom he had before sworn allegiance.” Impiety most horrible†

Thomas Burke was made titular bishop of Oflbry in 1759, and died at Kilkenny in September, 1776. He was, as he frequently tells us, a favourite of pope Benedict XIV. was a man of respectable learning, and perfectly well acquainted with the doctrines of the Romish church, the bulls and epistles of the popes, and the sentiments of the Irish Roman catholicks; and yet some of the heads of the Irish clergy have had the effrontery and duplicity to vilify the talents and information of this writer, and to represent him as a dotard, haunted with dreams of pontifical omnipotence; but such perversion of truth, and such varnishing of odious doctrines are only calculated to deceive, and can

\* It cannot be supposed that I allude to any of his Majesty's ministers, whose honour and integrity are far above my praise.

†Hibernia Dominicana, page 723.

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impose on no rational man; for all the tenets contained in his book were carried into practice during the late rebellion.

Burke, after reciting part of pope Paul V.'s bull, encouraging the Irish in their rebellion, exclaims, *Quid celebrius? Quid infignius?\**

On the flight of king James II. he says, that he feasonably left the British nation, whom he brands as perjurers and traitors, who conspired against his life, subject to the slavery of this new Cromwell (meaning king William,) *viliffimi novi hujus Cromwelli fervitute.*

The first part of his *Hibernia Dominicana* was printed at Kilkenny in the year 1762, the second in 1772, both by Edmund Finn; but it was stated to have been published at Cologne, *Colonæ: Agrippinæ.*

In speaking of the gun powder plot, he says, it was an invention, and that the gun powder was secretly put under the parliament house, by the order of William Cecil, to afford a specious pretext for extirpating all the catholics of England.

Again, in the year 1768, when an oath of allegiance, to be taken by the Roman catholics of Ireland, was in the contemplation of parliament, Thomas Maria Ghillini, the pope's legate at Bruffels, who had a complete control and superintendance over all the northern churches, and spoke ex cathedra, made the following animadversions on that oath, in four letters to the titular archbishops of Ireland; and these letters are styled by Thomas Burke, who published them in his *Hibernia Dominicana, literæ vere aureæ, cedroque dignæ*.

The legate treats the clauses in the proposed oath, containing a declaration of abhorrence and detestation of the doctrines, "that faith is not to be kept with hereticks; and that princes, deprived by the pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, as absolutely intolerable; because, he says, those doctrines are defended, and contended for by most Catholick nations, and the Holy See has frequently followed them in practice. On the whole he decides, that, as the oath is in its whole extent unlawful, so in its nature it is invalid, null, and of no effect, inasmuch that it can by no means bind or oblige consciences."†

It is well known, that similar decisions have been uniformly made by the Roman pontiffs, on the validity of oaths any way detrimental

\* What can be more famous? What more illustrious?

† Page 925 This was in the supplement of that work published in the year 1771.

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to the Holy See. In the late rebellion, the popish multitude, and many of the Romish clergy and gentlemen, paid no regard whatever to an oath of allegiance.

When the emperor and the Roman catholick princes of Germany concluded a peace called the treaty of Westphalia, in the year 1648, with the protestant princes, they mutually bound each other by a solemn oath, to the observance of it; on which the pope published a flaming bull, in which he pronounced the oath to be null and void, as no oath could bind them to hereticks. This bull was exposed by Hornbeck, a famous German divine, in a work entitled, "*Examen bullæ papalis, qua Innocentius X. abrogare nititur pacem Germaniæ.*"

The conduct of the parliament of Ireland, from the beginning of his present majesty's reign till the end of the year 1793, presents the reader with an uninterrupted series of blunders in politics.

All our disgraces and misfortunes are to be found in the history of our penal laws, and in the feeble execution of them, beginning with the third of Geo. III. cap. 19. for indemnifying all such persons as have been, or shall be aiding in the dispersing of riots, and apprehending the rioters, which was enacted for the suppression of the white boys. As the boldness and temerity of these insurgents continued to increase, the fifth of Geo. III. cap. 8. passed, and was entitled, "An act to prevent the future tumultuous risings of persons within this kingdom." The want of enforcing the salutary provisions of these laws tended to encourage the white boys in the commission of atrocities for above twenty years after. About the year 1773, that system of conciliation and concession, which laid the foundation of the late rebellion began; for, while this popish banditti, encouraged by their clergy, were committing the most dreadful enormities, the thirteenth and fourteenth of Geo. III. cap. 35, to enable Roman catholics to testify their allegiance to his majesty by oath, was enacted; but the folly and absurdity of that law were fully proved by the necessity of passing, soon after, the thirteenth and fourteenth of Geo. III. cap. 45. to prevent malicious cutting and wounding, and to punish offenders, called chalkers; for the affair in the

morning testified his allegiance to his king, and at night, with his chalking knife, renounced his allegiance to

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his God, by mangling and maiming his fellow creature, and houghing his cattle.

As the barbarous excesses committed by the white boys continued to increase, the fifteenth and sixteenth of Geo. III. cap. 21. was enacted against them. It recites that the fifth of Geo. III. cap. 8. was insufficient for suppressing them; and it states, "That they assembled riotously, injured persons and property, compelled persons to quit their abode, imposed oaths and declarations by menaces, sent threatening and incendiary letters, obstructed the export of corn, and destroyed the fame." This is an exact description of the defenders.

As their turbulence and ferocity continued to increase, and as they made a constant practice of houghing soldiers in a wanton and unprovoked manner, the chalking act was extended, and amended by the seventeenth and eighteenth of Geo. III. cap. 49.

Concession and conciliation holding pace with an increase of the enormities committed by those savages, a law passed soon after the seventeenth and eighteenth of Geo. III. cap. 49. to enable Roman Catholics to take leases for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or five lives, at any rent; and by it, all lands of which a Roman Catholic was at that time seized, were made defendible, devisable, and transferable, as fully as if the same were in the feign of any other person.

The preamble of this act recites, "That for their uniform peaceable behaviour, for a long series of years, it appears reasonable and expedient to relax several of their incapacities and disabilities." The falsity and inconsistency of this assertion will be an eternal stain on the parliament of Ireland.

There is not a doubt, but that the Romanists had some hired agents in that assembly at this period. A strong argument in favour of an Union!

As a mark of gratitude for these indulgences, this infamous banditti proceeded to commit greater enormities than they had practised before, in consequence of which the legislature were obliged to pass the eighteenth and nineteenth of Geo. III. cap. 37. and the title of it will shew how necessary it was: "An act to prevent the detestable practice of houghing cattle, burning houses, barns, haggards, and corn; and for other purposes."

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Though they continued to commit their usual excesses, the legislature, actuated by what was called liberality of sentiment, put the Roman Catholics on the same footing with Protestants, as to property, in the year 1782; and almost the whole of the restrictive laws were repealed. The volunteers checked, in some degree, the barbarous outrages committed by the white boys from the year 1780 to the year 1784, when the institution began to languish, and then we find them as furious as ever in the province of Leinster. This proves how necessary a numerous and well-armed police, consisting of Protestants, is to the prosperity of Ireland.

In December, 1784, a body of white boys broke into the house of John Mason a Protestant, in the county of Kilkenny, in the night, placed him naked on horseback, and having carried him in this manner five or six miles from his house, they cut off his ears, and in that state buried him up to his chin; they also robbed him of his fire arms.\*

This year they were so outrageous in the province of Leinster, particularly in the county of Kilkenny, that a denunciation was read against them in all the parish chapels in the diocese of Offory, on the seventeenth of November, 1784.

This was a strong proof of the returning loyalty and obedience to the laws of the popish clergy of that diocese; or, if they were insincere and secretly encouraged the white boys as much as formerly, of their extreme duplicity.

As doctor Butler, brother of Mr. Butler of Ballyragget, and of the noble house of Ormond, was at that time titular archbishop of Cashel, a gentleman who was sincerely loyal, it is very likely that he prevailed on his clergy to adopt this procedure. He should not be confounded with doctor Butler who was in that See when the white boys began their excesses.

All these privileges were granted with a good grace by parliament, and they met with no opposition from the constituent body, who were at that time exclusively protestants.

Notwithstanding such liberality on the part of the protestant state, the white boys still continued to commit nocturnal depredations in different parts of Leinster and Munster; but in the latter they were

\* See Appendix, No. I. 8. for a few specimens of white boy atrocity.

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succeeded by a set of insurgents called right boys in 1786, who resembled them in every respect, except in the title which they assumed. Their proceedings, chiefly directed against the protestant clergy, were not the wild and extravagant efforts of rash and ignorant peasants, but a dark and deep-laid scheme, planned by men skilled in the law and the artifices by which it may be evaded. Such men suggested to the farmers, to enter into a combination under the sanction of an oath, not to take their tithes, or to assist any clergyman in drawing them.

Some of the protestant gentlemen, hoping to exonerate their estates of tithes, by the machinations and enormities of these traitors, secretly encouraged them; and others connived at their excesses, till they began to oppose the payment of rent, and the recovery of money by legal process, and then they came forward in support of the law.

A form of a summons to the clergy to draw their tithe, penned with legal accuracy, was printed at Cork, and circulated with great diligence through many parts of Munster. In order to make the combination universal, some of the most active and intelligent members of it administered oaths to all the lower classes of people, at the Roman chapels and market towns.

To varnish over the knavery and turpitude of their designs, they published a tything table, according to which they pretended that they would pay the clergy, but to which they did not adhere, and, if they had done so, it would not have afforded them a subsistence; besides, by swearing not to hire horses to them, and by a great number of them combining to fever the tithe, and draw their corn, on the same day, they completely robbed them of their property; and the protestant clergy would actually have starved, but that an act of parliament passed in the year 1787, to enable them to recover the tithes of which they had been defrauded in this manner.

At last, the protestant clergy in the county of Cork were so much intimidated by the menaces and insults which they received from them, that many were obliged to fly to the city of Cork for protection. They soon proceeded from one act of violence to another, and established such a system of terror, that landlords were afraid to distrain for rent, or to sue by civil process for money due by note. They took arms from protestants, and levied money to buy ammunition.

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They broke open gaols, set fire to hay and corn, and even to houses, especially to those occupied by the army. At last they had the audacity to threaten the cities of Limerick and Cork, and the town of Ennis, the capital of Clare, with famine; and took measures to prevent farmers and fishermen from conveying supplies of provisions to them. They proceeded by such a regular

fyftem, that they eftablifhed a kind of poft-office, for communication, by which they conveyed their notices with celerity for the purpofe of forming their meetings, which were frequent and numerous.

This fpirit of riot and infurrection occafioned the paffing of a law in the year 1787, drawn by the prefent lord Clare, entitled, “An act to prevent tumultuous rifings and affemblies, and for the more effectual punifhment of perfons guilty of outrage, riot, and illegal combination, and of adminiftering and taking unlawful oaths and in the formation of that law, he fhewed the fame political wifdom, and firmnefs of mind, which he evinced on all fubfequent occafions. By that law government were empowered to raife an armed police in any county they chofe, and the introduction of it into the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Cork, and Kerry, occafioned fuch a revolution in the morals and manners of their inhabitants, and was fo efficient in preferving focial order, that fome of the principal landholders in them declared openly in parliament, that their eftates were encreafed two years purchafe in value by that falutary inftitution.

An ingenious foreigner obferved to me, that he never faw a country in which fo many proclamations were iffued againft malefactors, and the commiffion of crimes, as in Ireland; a fure proof of the feeble execution of the laws!

At laft, doctor Woodward, bifhop of Cloyne, fhocked and alarmed at feeing his clergy driven from their houfes to the city of Cork, whither they went for an asylum, and that a confpiracy was formed for the deftruction of the proteftant church, wrote a very able pamphlet, ftating the origin and progrefs of the infurrections in Munfter, hoping thereby to roufe government to take meafures for its defence.

Nothing marked fo ftrongly the depravity of the times, as the malignant attacks, attended with fcurrility and abufe, which were made

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on this amiable prelate, for this feafonable and fpirited difcharge of his paftoral duty. I had the honour of being well acquainted with him, and I never knew a perfon more profoundly and elegantly learned, or fo well verfed, not only in every thing that concerned the ecclefiastical department, but in the various duties of every line of focial life. Having vifited every part of the Continent, he fpoke the modern languages with great fluency and purity, and had uncommon eafe and affability of manner.

He had the moft exalted piety, and was not only very charitable himfelf, but an active promoter of publick charities. His eloquence in the pulpit was irrefiftible, as his ftyle was nervous and elegant; his voice was loud and harmonious, and he had great dignity of manner.

With all thefe exalted qualities and endowments, he poffeffed the moft brilliant wit, and fuch a happy vein of humour, as enlivened fociety wherever he happened to be.

This neceffary and important duty, the neglect of which would have been criminal, drew on him a hoft of foes, confifting of popifh bifhops, priefts, friars, and prefbyterian minifters, who abufed and vilified him with fingular malignity; and even fome members of parliament had the hardened audacity to arraign him with much feverity.

This amiable prelate made a moft eloquent fpeech in fupport of the privileges granted to the Roman catholicks in the year 1782.

This fpirit of infurrection fpread over moft parts of Munfter. The confpirators bound each other by oath to refift the laws of the land, and to obey none but thofe of captain Right; and fo ftrictly did they adhere to them, that the high fheriff of the county of Waterford,\* could not procure a perfon to execute the fentence of the law on one of thefe mifcreants who was condemned to be

whipped at Carrick-on-Suir, though he offered a large sum of money for that purpose. He was therefore under the necessity of performing that duty himself, in the face of an enraged mob.

\* The writer of these pages was high sheriff at that time.

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#### ORIGIN OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

In the year 1779, when England was involved in a war with the French, Spaniards, and Americans; when the combined naval armaments of the enemy were superior in point of number to the channel fleet; when constant and well-grounded apprehensions were entertained that Ireland would be invaded, the loyalty of her parliament, trembling for the fate of the empire, left the kingdom almost destitute of any military force for its defence. At the same time what little commerce she then enjoyed, was completely stagnated by privateers, which constantly hovered on her coast. In this critical juncture, some maritime towns, dreading that they might be plundered by the latter, applied to government for a military force for their defence; but received in answer, that they must arm and defend themselves.

This gave rise to the volunteers, of which numerous bodies were immediately raised, who supplied themselves with arms; and government, wishing to encourage the laudable spirit which the Irish nation shewed, distributed immense quantities among them.

It is most certain, that these military associations deterred the French from attempting an invasion of the kingdom, which they meditated at that time; and they completely preserved the police of the country.

To their immortal honour be it spoken, that, though self-embodied, armed, and disciplined, they not only shewed the greatest respect for the laws, but the utmost zeal in enforcing the execution of them.

Without attempting to detract from the institution, or questioning the important advantages derived from it, every person acquainted with the science of civil polity must acknowledge, that no power should be allowed to exist within a state, capable of overawing or of overturning it.

Government were soon so much intimidated by the volunteers, that they shewed a degree of obedience and deference for their officers, bordering upon pusillanimity; and popularity among that order became a certain step to preferment.

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It was a common practice to obtain adulatory addresses from the Volunteers, of which great numbers constantly appeared in the public prints; and he who could procure the greatest number of them, was sure to succeed in his ambitious designs. It was to be lamented, that they soon began to deviate from the end of their institution, and to form provincial meetings, for the purpose of new modelling the state; of which a notable instance occurred on the fifteenth of February, 1782; when delegates from one hundred and forty-three corps of the province of Ulster assembled at Dungannon, and entered into resolutions of that tendency, which were soon adopted by all the volunteer corps and grand juries of the kingdom.

It is far from my intention to censure that assembly, who were actuated by the generous design of improving the constitution, and of diffusing the blessings of civil liberty as extensively as possible; but every moderate and rational person must allow, that it was incompatible with the principles of sound policy, that an armed body should take upon them to dictate to the government. It is to be lamented that such assemblies and their discussions taught the mass of the people to speculate upon politics, and as they cannot distinguish sophistry from truth, prepared their minds for the reception of those deleterious doctrines which produced the rebellion.

On the ninth of October, 1783, delegates from all the corps of the province of Leinster assembled at the Royal Exchange of Dublin, when reform of parliament, and the admission of Roman Catholics to the elective franchise were propounded.

On Monday the tenth of November, 1783, the grand national convention of volunteers, consisting of delegates from every county in the kingdom, met at the Royal Exchange in Dublin, marched in regular procession to the Rotunda, where they opened their session, and entered into deliberation, on new modelling the constitution. Some men, distinguished in parliament for wisdom, virtue, and eloquence, were so much heated with the frenzy of innovation which then prevailed, that they took the lead in that singular assembly, which was said in most of the public prints to consist of the real representatives of the people.

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On the twelfth of that month, father O'Leary, an Irish friar, and chaplain to the Irish brigade, a papist corps of volunteers, entered the convention; and such was the folly of the times, that the volunteer guard at the gate received him with a full salute of fixed arms; and many members of the convention paid him the most flattering compliments.

On the twenty-fifth of November, the committee of the convention reported their plan of reforming the constitution; and one of its members, the right honourable Henry Flood, attempted, on the twenty-ninth, to introduce it into the house of commons, in the shape of a bill; but it was scouted with a degree of indignation which did honour to that assembly.

On the first institution of the volunteers, some low persons, who turned out notorious traitors in the late rebellion, assumed the rank of officers; and many gentlemen of rank and fortune, who headed them at first, having retired, were succeeded by men destitute of both, and well known to be disaffected.

Of this description were Napper Tandy, Bacon the tailor, Matthew Dowling, and many others concerned in the late rebellion, whom the lenity of government has saved from the vengeance of the law.

Such men having acquired popularity and influence among the volunteers, some of the first of our nobility and gentry, who offered themselves candidates for a superior command among them, courted these miscreants for their interest, with all the means of fervility; for they elected their own officers.

There is not a doubt, but that numbers of unprincipled men, enrolled among the volunteers, formed schemes for subverting the constitution; and their invitation to the Roman Catholics to take up arms, and their earnest desire that they should be admitted to a participation of the elective franchise, were made with the hope of procuring their co-operation for that purpose.

That amiable nobleman the earl of Charlemont, who had very great influence among the volunteers, well knowing that such propositions flowed from sinister designs, successfully opposed them in the year 1784.

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There is not a doubt, but that the flirtation between John and Peter was formed during the existence of the volunteer institution.\*

Mr. Edmund Burke alluded to this heterogeneous coalition between Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, in the following passage of his letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe in the year 1792, on the claims of the former to the elective franchise: "As to the low, thoughtless, wild and profligate, who have joined themselves with those of other professions, (meaning the Presbyterians) but of the same character; you are not to imagine, that, for a moment, I can suppose them to be met with any thing else than the manly and enlightened energy of a firm

government, supported by the united efforts of all virtuous men; if ever their proceedings should become so considerable as to demand its notice, I really think that such associations should be crushed in their very commencement.”

Mr. Burke did not know that the mass of the Roman Catholics were infected with revolutionary designs at so early a period, not only in Dublin but in many other parts of the kingdom, as we shall find in the sequel. A corps called the Irish brigade was raised in the city of Dublin, of which nineteen out of twenty were Roman Catholics, and they appointed father O’Leary, an obscure itinerant friar, their chaplain. I have been assured, that they exceeded in number all the other volunteer corps in the city. From the principles which some of its members displayed during the late rebellion, we may infer that they harboured treasonable designs even at that early period.

On the fifteenth of May, 1784, the Belfast first volunteer company resolved and agreed to intrust, in the use of arms, persons of all ranks and religious persuasions, who should present themselves for that purpose; and they offered them the use of their own arms.

On the sixteenth of May, 1784, the builders corps in Dublin resolved, that their drill should attend at Marlborough-green, three days in the week, to teach persons of all ranks and religious persuasions the use of arms.

They resolved also, to have annual parliaments, and to impart the elective franchise equally to persons of every mode of religious worship.

\* This alludes to St. Peter and John Calvin.

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On the twentieth of May, 1784, delegates from all the volunteer corps in the city and county of Dublin resolved unanimously, that the training to the use of arms every honest and industrious Irishman, however moderate his property, or depressed his situation, was a measure of the utmost utility to this kingdom, and would produce a valuable acquisition to the volunteer arms and interest. Similar resolutions were entered into in different parts of the kingdom.

In the summer of the year 1783, the Irish brigade, and the Dublin independent volunteers, commanded by James Napper Tandy, Matthew Dowling, and Bacon the tailor, formed an encampment between Roebuck and Dublin, under the pretext of studying tactics, and learning camp duty; though it was well known, that they were hatching revolutionary projects. It is to be observed, that the war, the only pretext for their arming, was now at an end; and yet many corps in different parts of the kingdom resolved not to lay down their arms, but with their lives.

The volunteer institution occasioned much idleness and dissipation among the industrious part of the community, and destroyed subordination, so essential to the existence of social order; for persons of low rank, associating with their superiors, lost that respect which they had entertained for them, and were inspired with levelling principles.

The immense quantity of arms, which government distributed among the volunteers, fell into the hands of traitors in the late rebellion, and made it more terrific.

It is stated in the report of the secret committee, and it is strictly true, that the national guards, who, in the year 1792, meditated the subversion of the constitution, sprung from the volunteers.

The principal argument used against the Union by the gentlemen who opposed it was, that the constitution, as settled in the year 1782, was perfect and therefore conclusive: how came it then, that a representative body of the whole nation in arms, and many of them consisting of the very first of our nobility and gentry, assembled for the express purpose of remedying the defects of that very constitution, the year after it was established? and it is very remarkable, that many

members of both houses of parliament, who were constituent members of that mock parliament, were the most sanguine opposers of the Union.

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In short, it will appear, that, from the year 1782, when our constitution was supposed to arrive at the summit of perfection, that an immoderate and alarming spirit of innovation, which ultimately produced the rebellion, never ceased to break forth in and out of parliament; and that Mr. Grattan and his adherents, who piqued themselves on being the chief authors of the constitution of 1782, were the principal promoters of that very spirit of innovation, which shook the pillars of the throne in 1798, desolated some of the most fertile portions of Ireland, and aimed at its separation from England.

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#### ORIGIN OF THE DEFENDERS.

AS a great conflagration is often kindled by a small spark, so the feuds and altercations between the peep-of-day boys and defenders, the former presbyterians, the latter Romanists, which occasioned much strife and bloodshed, has been ascribed to a trifling dispute between two individuals.

On the fourth of July, 1784, two men of the former persuasion had a quarrel and fought near Market-hill, a small town in the county of Armagh, when one of the combatants became victorious by the advice and assistance of a Roman catholic peasant and his brother, who happened to be present, for which the vanquished hero vowed vengeance against the latter.

A second challenge took place, but the two Romanists would not attend the combat, having been informed, that the presbyterians, who had been defeated, resolved to be revenged of him and his party.

At last the vanquished presbyterian published, that a horse-race would take place on a certain day at Hamilton's-bawn, where the combatants met and fought a second time; when the conqueror became victorious by the assistance of some Romanists who fought on his side. Both parties began to raise recruits, and to collect arms; but presbyterians and papists mixed indiscriminately, and were marked for some time by the district; to which they belonged, and not by any religious distinction. Each body assumed the singular appellation of fleet, and was denominated from the parish or town-land where the persons who composed it resided.

The Nappack fleet was at first headed by a Roman catholic; and the people in the neighbourhood of Bunker's-hill, (in the road from Newry to Armagh,) entered into an association to defend themselves against the Nappack fleet, chose a dissenting minister for their leader, assumed, for the first time, the title of defenders, and were joined soon after by the Bawn fleet, in order to protect themselves against the Nappack fleet. On Whitfunmonday, in the year 1785, the two parties met, and were to have had a desperate engagement.

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The Nappack fleet, 700 in number, were all armed with guns, swords, and pistols. The Bunker's-hill defenders, and the Bawn fleet, though much more numerous, were not so well armed. When they were on the point of engaging, Mr. Richardson, of Richhill, member for the county of Armagh, and two more gentlemen, interposed, and induced them to separate, which prevented a great effusion of blood.

From the inveterate hatred which has ever existed between the two sects, they soon began to separate, and to enlist under the banners of religion; and as the Roman Catholics shewed uncommon eagerness to collect arms, the Presbyterians began to disarm them.

The former assumed the appellation of defenders, the latter that of peep-of-day boys, because they visited the houses of their antagonists at a very early hour in the morning, to search for arms; and it is most certain, that in doing so, they often committed the most wanton outrages, insulting their persons, and breaking their furniture.

The passions of both parties being very much inflamed, they never missed an opportunity of exercising hostilities against each other, which frequently terminated in the commission of murder.

A detail of their battles would be as uninteresting as that of the kites and crows.

To exasperate the defenders, and to induce them to embody themselves from motives of fear, prophecies were frequently made, that the Scotch (meaning the Presbyterians) would rise on a certain night, and massacre the Romanists, who, being credulous and timorous, posted watches all night to give the alarm. As such reports were constantly made, some time previous to, and during the rebellion, as devices to inflame the Popish multitude against the Protestants, we may reasonably conclude, that the authors of them, at this early period, had the same sinister designs.

By a reasonable exertion of government, this spirit of combination and outrage might have been easily extinguished; but I have been assured, that it was fomented by the improper interference of country gentlemen, who espoused one party or the other, for electioneering purposes; and it happened, that one person, who had Popish tenants, was partial to the defenders, and another, whose estate was chiefly occupied by Presbyterians, protected the peep-of-day boys.

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In the year 1785, some Presbyterians, professed by one Keegan, a Papist, whom they had beaten in a most cruel manner, were sentenced to be imprisoned for a certain time; but they were immediately liberated at the instance of a gentleman of influence. In the same manner, one McQuone, a defender, who was sentenced to die at Armagh, in the year 1787, for the murder of one Donaldson, a Presbyterian, obtained his pardon by the interference of an individual of considerable weight.

In the year 1787, the disturbances rose to such an alarming pitch, in the county of Armagh, that two troops of dragoons were sent to the city of Armagh to quell them, as infantry were found inadequate for that purpose.

At last it became a downright religious war, and the fanatics of one sect exercised the most barbarous revenge on the innocent members of the other, for the crimes of the guilty.

On the trials of some of the insurgents, at the summer assizes of 1786, it was proved by some respectable witnesses, that, in a riot at Tandragee, the defenders, who were then arraigned, had offered 5*l.* for the head of a Protestant.

In the year 1788, the defenders combined among themselves, not to purchase any goods from a Protestant, which turned many persons of the established church against them<sup>^</sup> who had formerly been rather friendly to them, and induced them to retaliate.

The people of Lurgan, and its vicinity, were remarkably quiet during the heat and frenzy of the insurgents, because it abounds with Protestants of the established church; the only sect uniformly attached to the constitution.

In the year 1788, some volunteer corps were raised, for the purpose of checking the spirit of turbulence and outrage that prevailed, by strengthening the arm of the civil magistrate.\* They

completely put an end to the perambulations, and the domiciliary visits of the peep-of-day boys, and very wisely entered into resolutions, that they would not show favour or affection to any description of men who should disturb the public tranquillity; and yet the defenders shewed the most decided aversion

\* In the same manner associations of armed men were necessary to put down the white boys.

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to this institution, began to collect arms with more zeal than ever, and even to learn the manual exercise.

These volunteer corps were very useful in preventing tumultuous meetings, riots, and disturbances. In consequence of a challenge given by the defenders and peep-of-day boys, there was a numerous meeting within two miles of Lisnadill, in the county of Armagh, in the year 1788; and the consequences might have been very fatal, had not eighteen of the first volunteer Armagh company repaired there, and declared that they would fire on the first person who would resist the lawful commands of the magistrate, and they took some arms from both parties.

In the same year, the defenders, emboldened by their numbers and the arms they had procured, sent some challenges to the volunteers, of which a notable instance occurred at Granemore in the same county, when they sent a challenge to a party of the latter, after they had fired their last cartridge in their evolutions, preparatory to a general review. The volunteers, thus circumstanced, being unable to defend themselves, were obliged to retire to a place of safety, till they procured a reinforcement for their protection; and then they proceeded to their respective homes.

The Benburb corps of volunteers, in the county of Tyrone, having proceeded, without arms, to hear divine service at the church of Armagh on a Sunday, headed by Mr. Young, one of their officers, passed by a Roman chapel, the congregation of which abused, and threw stones at them. The volunteers, having procured some fire arms at Armagh, the altercation was renewed at their return, and ended in a conflict, in which two of the papist congregation were killed, and some persons were wounded on both sides. It was conjectured that the former were prepared for the combat, as they had five muskets.

The volunteers were very much censured for having returned by the same road, when they might have taken another.

The open hostility which the defenders displayed against the volunteers, raised for no other purpose but to maintain social order, and their intemperate zeal to furnish themselves with fire arms, alarmed all loyal and peaceable subjects; in consequence of which the earl of Charlemont, governor of the county, and the grand jury, published a manifesto in the

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year 1788, against all papists who should assemble in arms, and against any persons who should attempt to disarm them without legal authority.

It appears then, that the fears of the presbyterians were not groundless; and as they were prevented from dispossessing them of arms, which they were collecting in great numbers, they fought for legal redress, and indicted some of the defenders in the year 1788; but baron Hamilton quashed the indictments, and dismissed both parties, with a warm and impressive exhortation to live in peace and brotherly love.

The following discovery, made in the year 1789, clearly proved that the defenders were systematically organized, and that their uncommon eagerness to procure arms and ammunition, arose not from defensive, but offensive designs. One of their plans or constitutions was found in

the year 1789, by a magistrate of the county of Armagh, on one of their leaders of the name of Sharky, and dated the 24th of April of that year, at Drumbanagher.\* It is very evident that their views must have been hostile, as one essential required in a member of the order was, to be possessed of a musket, and a bayonet. It prevailed also in the county of Louth, and they could not plead in excuse for introducing it there, that it was done for protection against the presbyterians, as none of that persuasion, and but few protestants of the established church, existed there. It must have taken up some time to bring this system to maturity, and they were probably numerous in the county of Armagh, as Sharky's lodge is number 18. There must have been an intercourse, and a communication between the lodges of different counties; for, in this plan, there appears a certificate, that Michael Moore was a brother defender, and he is recommended to the committee of Carrickarnan, number 1, in the county of Louth. Sobriety, secrecy, the accumulation of arms, and the giving assistance to each other on all occasions, seem to have been leading objects with them. They were exclusively of the Roman catholic religion. They knew each other by secret signs: they had a grand master in each county, who was elected at a general annual meeting, and they had also monthly meetings.

For the following reasons, it unquestionably appears, that they had treasonable designs:

\* See Appendix, No. it.

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The defenders oath found in every other part of the kingdom, corresponds in general with this;\* and it has one peculiarity which is worth observation. They are required to take an oath of allegiance, which ends thus, *While we live under the same government.*

Weldon, a noted defender, who was tried in the year 1795, in Dublin, and afterwards hanged, for various treasonable practices, but particularly for having administered this oath, observed, on the last paragraph of it, "If the king's head were off to-morrow, you would not be under the same government."! Weldon dated the origin of the order in 1790, but I suppose he alluded to the introduction of it into Dublin. It appeared afterwards, on the trials of all the noted defenders, particularly on those of Weldon, Hunt, and Brady, in Dublin, that the extirpation of protestants was one of the chief objects of the institution. Some intelligent magistrates in the county of Armagh have assured me, that they were organized at an early period, with such a degree of art and ingenuity, as the low people of which they were composed, could not have possessed; and the same observation is made in the report of the secret committee of the house of lords of 1793.

We cannot be surpris'd at this, when it is very well known, that the famous father Quigley| was very active among the defenders. As he interested himself very much in their concerns, it is not improbable that their organization was on the French plan, as it has been discovered, that he made a practice of going often to France.

They had parochial and baronial committees, and a superior one to which they appealed; and from a connexion which appeared afterwards to have subsisted between them and the Catholic committee in Dublin, we may infer that they were much influenced by it.

The disturbances excited by them in the counties of Armagh, Antrim, Down, Louth, and Monaghan, were such, in the year 1789, that general Euflace received orders to repair to these counties, and to take the command of a body of troops for suppressing them.

At Rathfriland, in the county of Down, and its vicinity, he found that the papists and presbyterians harboured such mutual enmity and suspicion,

\* But after the war broke out, they were universally bound to join and assist the French.

† I give this man's trial in the year 1795.

| He was afterwards hanged at Maidstone, in Kent, in 1798.

that a body of each under arms, constantly kept watch and ward. On being asked their reasons for so doing, each said they were afraid of being murdered by the other.

At Loughbrickland, their animosity was so great, that the general recommended to a Mr. White to quit it, as it would be unsafe for a protestant to reside there; and he followed his advice.

Many gentlemen of the North have assured me, that the origin of the defenders, and the excesses which they committed, may properly be imputed to the savage and sanguinary spirit of the lower classes of Romanists in the county of Armagh, where they are peculiarly barbarous.

The following transaction will fully prove this, and that fanaticism was one of the principal sources of defenderism:

Richard Jackson, of Forkin, in the county of Armagh, esquire, who died on the 11th of January, 1787, devised an estate of about £4,000 a year to the following charitable purposes: That his demesne, consisting of 3,000 acres, should be colonized by protestants;\* and that four schoolmasters should be established on it, to instruct, gratis, children of every religious persuasion.

In the year 1789, the trustees obtained an act of parliament, to carry the provisions of the will into execution; and they appointed the reverend Edward Hudson, rector of Forkill, who was also one of the trustees, agent to transact the business of the charity. The papists, who lived in the neighbouring country, a savage race, the descendants of the rapparees, declared, without reserve, that they would not suffer the establishment to take place; and they soon put their menaces into execution. They fired twice at Mr. Hudson. On one occasion, an assassin was sent from a popish chapel, when the congregation was assembled, to the road side, where Mr. Hudson was passing by, and he deliberately fired at him with a musket, from behind a bush, and killed his horse. The new colonists were hunted like wild beasts, and treated with savage cruelty: their houses were demolished, and their property was destroyed.

The treatment of Alexander Barclay, one of the school-masters, in February, 1791, will show the reader the ferocious disposition of these savages; and he must shudder with horror at hearing, that they openly exulted in the perpetration of these enormities, many of which they

\* It had no tenants on it, as it was his demesne.

committed by torch light. They burned the manor mill, and would have murdered the miller, but that he made his escape, naked, across a river, in the night.

A REPORT of some of the TRUSTEES of the charity at Forkill, devised by RICHARD JACKSON, esquire, of the massacre of the Barclay family, to the bishop of DROMORE.

My lord,

Forkill Lodge, 1st Feb. 1791.

“We whose names are hereunto subscribed, having assembled at Forkill, pursuant to act of parliament, to superintend the execution of the charities of the late Mr. Jackson, are much concerned to acquaint your lordship, that a most horrid outrage was committed on Friday last, on the person of one Barclay, one of the school-masters appointed by us, in this parish, (the particulars of which we enclose to your lordship,) in consequence of which, we think it absolutely necessary to suspend all operations of the charity, until the opinion of a general board can be had, which we request your lordship will summon with all convenient speed, and take such further steps as the circumstances may require. We beg leave to remind your lordship, that at the last general board, it was unanimously resolved, that the establishment of a barrack\* at

Forkill, for a company of foot, would be of general utility, and that your lordship agreed to recommend it to the lord lieutenant. The late event shews the expediency of such an establishment; and we greatly fear, that if some means are not immediately used to restore the peace of the country, the objects of the charity can never be fulfilled.

PERCY JOCELYN.  
RICHARD ALLOTT.  
E. HUDSON.

“On Friday evening at seven o’clock, a number of villains assembled at the house of Alexander Barclay, one of the school-masters in the parish of Forkill, near Dundalk, appointed by the trustees of the late Richard Jackson’s charities, to instruct indiscriminately the children of the poor of said parish. They rapped at the door, he enquired who was there,

\* From the time of the last rebellion in Ireland, in 1689, there had been a small barrack there, in which troops were cantoned, till within 30 or 40 years before this period, to repress the ferocious spirit of the rapparees.

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and one man of the name of Terence Byrne, his near neighbour, (whose voice he well knew, and had before at different times admitted upon knowing his voice,) told him it was he was there; he opened the door, and a number of men rushed in, threw him on his face, and three of them flood on him, and flabbed him repeatedly. They then put a cord round his neck, which they tightened so, as to force out his tongue; part of which, as far as they could reach, they cut off. They then cut off the four fingers and thumb of his right hand, and left him on the floor, and proceeded to use his wife in the same manner. To add to their barbarity, they cut out her tongue, and cut off her four fingers and thumb, with a blunt weapon, which operation took them up above ten minutes, one or two of them holding up her arm, while they committed this inhuman action. They then battered, and beat her in a dreadful manner. Her brother, a boy of 13 years of age, had come from Armagh that morning to see her. They cut out his tongue, and cut off the calf of his leg, and left them all three in that situation.

“No reason can be assigned for this most inhuman transaction. The man was a protestant, a peaceable decent man; he taught above 30 of their children gratis, being allowed a salary by the trustees for 40 more. He asked them, whether he had ever offended them? They said not; but that was the beginning of what he and those like him\* should suffer.

“Shocking as this account is to human nature, it is publicly exulted at in the parish; and no person seems to think, that any punishment will follow the commission of this most atrocious wickedness. So far were they from wishing to conceal it, that they proceeded on the road with torches, publicly, and in defiance of every body.

“There is every reason to dread the most alarming consequences from the effects of this transaction. The protestants are every where in the greatest terror; and unless government affords them assistance, must leave the country; as this recent influence of inhumanity, and the threatenings thrown out against them, leave no doubt upon their minds of what the intentions must be against them.

“The man and the boy can speak a little, the woman cannot, and

\* Meaning protestants.

† She was a handsome young woman; they cut off one of her breasts, and she soon after died.

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fortunately they are all likely to die; as, if they live, they are incapable of earning their subsistence. Terence Byrne is since fled.”

One Devitt, who was privy to it, turned approver, and charged a man of the name of Murphy, with being concerned in it. The watch of Alexander Barclay was found in his house; and all the family having identified him, he was convicted at Armagh, and hanged at Forkill. In his way thither, he shewed strong signs of despondency, sobbing, sighing, and bewailing his fate. But when near Forkill, he met a priest, who whispered a short time in his ear, after which his countenance brightened up, he advanced to the place of execution with firmness, and was launched into eternity with singular resignation. The barbarous treatment of this colony by the Romanists, and their savage cruelty towards the Barclays, convinced the presbyterians that the extirpation of protestants of every denomination was the main design of the defenders.

As their zeal to collect arms still increased, and as a large quantity of them was imported into Newry for their use, which occasioned a general alarm, the grand jury and high sheriff of the county of Armagh entered into the following resolution, at the spring assizes of 1791:

Resolved, "That a rage among the Roman catholics, for illegally arming themselves, has of late taken place, and is truly alarming: In order then to put a stop to such proceedings, and to restore tranquillity, we do pledge ourselves to each other, as magistrates and individuals; and do hereby offer a reward of five guineas, for the conviction of each of the first twenty persons, illegally armed and assembled as aforesaid."

Though the origin of the defenders has been imputed to a particular quarrel, and dated from a certain period, we may fairly conclude, that they had treasonable and revolutionary schemes, which were inspired by missionaries from France; probably some of their own clergy; and what corroborates this opinion is, that the fermentation among them increased, and kept pace with the disturbances of that kingdom.

When Spain was the most potent state in Europe, the Irish maintained a connection with her, and fought her assistance to make war against their liege sovereign, and to separate their native country from England; for which purpose they brought two Spanish armies into Ireland, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, which produced two dreadful civil wars.

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When France rose to unrivalled wealth and power, on the declension of the Spanish monarchy, under the auspices of Richlieu and Mazarine his eleve, the Irish began, and have never ceased, to attach themselves to her, hoping, through her aid, to accomplish their treasonable designs; and the popish clergy, many of whom have been bred in France, never fail to inspire their flock with admiration of the Gallic nation, and with the most inveterate hatred towards the English, whom they brand with the odious appellation of hereticks. For this reason, we find father Quigley, an active agitator among the defenders, and afterwards among the united Irishmen.

In the years 1792 and 1793, they broke out into open rebellion, and attacked, with destructive rage, protestants of every denomination, in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, Roscommon, Westmeath, Donegal, Leitrim, Down, Mayo, Sligo and Derry, Limerick, Wexford, and even in the county of Kerry. In short, we may venture to assert, that before the end of the year 1793, they had spread the seeds of combustion over most parts of Ireland. Not to interrupt the course of the narrative, I have annexed, in an Appendix, some of the principal outrages committed by them.

In the year 1792, they plundered one hundred and eighty protestant houses in the county of Louth, though the protestants in it are not numerous; and they never experienced any enmity or opposition from them, till they were roused to come forward in defence of their lives and properties. The depriving protestants of their arms and ammunition seemed to have been one of their principal designs.

In some places, landlords were obliged to reduce their rents, and the clergy to relinquish their tithes, to calm the storm of licentious turbulence, but without effect. Many protestant families abandoned their houses, and fled to the capital for protection.

In the autumn and winter of 1792, so many barbarous outrages were committed by them, in the county of Louth, that at the spring assizes following, held at Dundalk, twenty-one defenders were sentenced to die, twenty-five to be transported, twelve to be imprisoned a certain time, for having conspired to murder different persons, thirteen indicted for murder put off their trials, and bench warrants issued against eighty persons who absconded.\*

\* In the reign of queen Elizabeth, before England had completely experienced the blessings of the Reformation, we find frequently as many, nay more delinquents, at an assizes.

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They would have completely defoliated the county of Louth in the year 1792, but that the right honourable John Foster, speaker of the house of commons, whose activity as a useful country gentleman, can be equalled by nothing, but the zeal and wisdom which he has displayed in parliament for the prosperity of his country, gave them a complete overthrow, by the most vigorous and unabated exertions, in the course of which his life was often endangered.

In the county of Louth, they marched in great numbers, and in regular array, to their mass houses, to fairs and patrons, and were at times heard to declare, that they would not suffer any protestant to live in the country.

In the year 1788, Mr. Camac employed a number of mafons to build an inn between Dundalk and Drogheda. Some carriers, who were conveying linen from Dromore to Dublin, were stopped by the mafons, who required them to cross themselves, and say their Ave Maria. Such of them as were papists, of course complied; and one presbyterian, who living much with Romanists, knew all their tricks and manoeuvres, was permitted to pass unmolested; but a protestant, who unfortunately happened to be ignorant of them, was most grievously beaten by them.

Some people have been led into the following error, as to the origin and the title of the defenders:

That they often, and particularly in the year 1786, indicted some of the peep-of-day boys, who were acquitted, though their guilt was evident. That finding no redress from the laws of their country, they united, collected arms for their defence, and assumed the name of defenders.

Some persons of both parties were frequently convicted and punished. Two peep-of-day boys at the spring assizes of 1788, at Armagh, were sentenced to be fined and imprisoned for ill treating a Roman catholic. Baron Power, in the year 1795, hanged three defenders, and two peep-of-day boys. In the year 1797, government sent the attorney general to Armagh, to dispense justice equally to both parties. He tried alternately two of each party, and some of both were found guilty, and punished.

As the defenders were committing the most dreadful outrages in the county of Louth, in the year 1792, and the Roman catholic gentlemen did not shew any inclination to assist in suppressing them, the following query appeared in the Dublin Journal of the third of January, 1793:

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Have the Roman catholic gentlemen and landholders of the county of Louth, stepped fairly forward, in conjunction with the protestant gentry and landholders, in repressing the outrages of the banditti, called defenders? Or do they keep back, silent and inactive, pretending to disapprove, yet really acquiescing in their conduct? This query demands an answer.

On the third of January, 1793, few persons, who called themselves the Roman catholic inhabitants of the county of Louth, assembled at Greenmount, near Castle Bellingham, entered into strong resolutions against the defenders, and exhorted all persons of their persuasion, to abstain from their combinations, and their unwarrantable practices; and they published them in the Dublin Journal. It was signed by sixty laymen, most of them in very low situations, and by eighteen popish priests, and doctor Reilly, the titular primate of Ireland.

The following persons were among the laymen who signed it One Coleman, of Dundalk, with whom Sweetman, secretary of the Catholic committee, corresponded in the month of August, 1792, relative to protesting the defenders then in prison, and for whom he employed counsel in their defence, as stated in the report of the secret committee of the house of lords:\*

Another man of the same name, convicted of lying in wait, and conspiring with others, to murder Parker M'Neil, esquire, a magistrate, because he had taken an active part against the defenders:

Patrick Byrne, of Castletown, esquire, a man of fortune but very feditious, who was fined £1,000 and imprisoned two years, for having published an inflammatory pamphlet, and who has since absconded, having been deeply engaged with the defenders:

John Hoey and Anthony Marmion, convicted of treasonable practices, as defenders, and hanged at Dundalk, in the summer of 1798:

Thomas Marky, condemned to die, but his sentence was mitigated to transportation: Bartholomew McGawley, transported for defenderism:

One McAllister, deeply concerned with the defenders: John Conlon, a noted defender, who afterwards became an approver; and it is most certain, that the majority of those who signed that paper were defenders,

\*This is given at large in the origin of the Catholic committee.

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On the seventh of November, 1792, Mr. McNeil was fired at in the night, when at a window in his house, on account of the active part which he had taken against the defenders.

In the year 1793, the grand jury and high sheriff of the county of Cavan, entered into strong resolutions against them, at the spring assizes.

The magistrates, gentlemen, and landholders of the county of Meath, viscount Headfort in the chair, did the like.

The landholders in the Queen's County, duly assembled by the sheriff on the twenty-ninth of June, 1793, alarmed at the outrages committed by them, resolved to unite and exert themselves for their suppression.

The inhabitants of the barony of Demifore, in the county of Westmeath, adopted similar resolutions on the twenty-seventh of January, 1793.

At last, they became so furious and alarming, that the lord lieutenant and council issued a proclamation, on the thirteenth of February, 1793, offering a reward of £100 to any person, who would prosecute them, in the counties of Louth, Meath, Monaghan, Cavan, Dublin, and the county of the town of Drogheda, where they assembled in large bodies, with arms and other offensive weapons, administered illegal oaths, sent threatening letters, plundered houses of arms and other things, and burned both houses and offices.

It has been said, in their excuse, that they acted in their own defence, in the counties of Armagh and Down, having been attacked by the presbyterians; but in the other counties, which I have

mentioned, their aggression on the protestants was wanton, spontaneous, and offensive; as there were but few, if any, presbyterians in them, and they met with no provocation whatsoever. Some gentlemen, in the North, of great sagacity and solid judgment, have ascribed the origin of the defenders to the following cause:

During the American war, when volunteering was in its meridian, some presbyterians, who had revolutionary projects, invited the Roman Catholics to join them in arms, from the use of which they were prohibited by law.

They meant to avail themselves of their assistance to subvert the constitution, knowing that they, on all occasions, had evinced a decided hostility to the protestant state.

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When the restoration of peace had defeated the hopes of the presbyterians, they resolved to disarm the Roman Catholics, who, animated by the possession of arms and a knowledge of discipline, not only refused to surrender them, but proceeded to collect large quantities of them, and even boasted that they would not lay them down, until they obtained a further extension of their privileges, in addition to those which were recently conceded. Such boasting alarmed the fears, and roused the indignation of the presbyterians, who proceeded in large bodies to disarm them, which produced mutual hostility.

From the envenomed hatred with which the popish multitude are inspired from their earliest age by their clergy to a protestant state, their protestant fellow-subjects, and to a connection with England, and which has appeared in various shapes, such as levellers, white boys, right boys, united Irishmen, and defenders, we cannot be at a loss to account for the origin of the latter; they are but a link of the same chain; they, like the white boys, cement their union by oaths, plunder or burn houses, put out the tongues, and cut off the ears of their fellow creatures, mangle, maim, or murder them, and hough cattle; — a barbarous practice, which is peculiar to the favages of Ireland!

In the year 1795, the Romanists, who assumed the name of mafons, used frequently to assemble in the neighbourhood of Loughgall, Charlemont, Richhill, Portadown, Lurgan, the Ban foot and Black-water foot, and robbed protestants of their arms.

In the month of September of that year, they assembled in arms, in;the day time, marched into the parish of Tentraghan, in the county of Armagh, and fired into the houses of protestants.

Next day the latter assembled in arms for their defence, and a constant discharge of musketry was kept up at each other from distant hills, but no lives were lost.

On the eighteenth of September, some magistrates of the neighbouring country, prevailed on the leaders of the protestants and the defenders, to repair to the house of one Winter, near Portadown, where articles of amnesty and mutual reconciliation were drawn up, and signed by both parties; who also entered into recognizances of £50 on each side, to keep the peace, which were also signed by two popish priests on the part of the defenders.

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Mr. Atkinson was one of the gentlemen who signed the articles on the part of the protestants; yet the defenders way-laid and fired at him, as he was returning to his house, at Crowhill, on the same day.

The defenders, in violation of these articles, assembled next day, in arms, and attacked the protestants, who again proposed peace and mutual forgiveness, but in vain.

The defenders, elate with their numbers, having sent for reinforcements to the mountains of Pomeroy and Ballygawly, in the county of Tyrone, made an attack on the protestants, near a

village called the Diamond; and were heard to declare, that they would not suffer a person of their persuasion to remain in the country.

The shouts and the firing of the defenders alarmed the protestants, who assembled from all quarters; and an engagement having ensued, forty-eight of the defenders were killed, and a great number were wounded, on the twenty-first of September, 1795.

It was universally allowed, that the defenders were, at least, ten to one in this conflict, ever since known by the name of the battle of the Diamond.

During the three days that the defenders continued under arms, provisions were sent to them in abundance, on carts, from remote parts; so strong was the spirit of their party!

As the passions of both parties were now so much inflamed, that they seemed mutually to think of nothing less than extermination; as the defenders were in the proportion of six to one to the protestants; and as the former had been supplied clandestinely with large quantities of arms and ammunition from Dublin, and various other quarters; the former proceeded, immediately after the victory, to search their houses for them, and wherever they found them concealed, they demolished both them and the furniture; in consequence of which their inmates emigrated to the province of Connaught, particularly to the counties of Mayo and Sligo, where they were well received and protected; but it will appear in the sequel, that their protectors had reason to repent of the reception which they gave them.

The reader may form some idea of the animosity of both parties in the county of Armagh, from the following circumstance: A respectable

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gentleman of that county assured me, that the protestant inhabitants of the parish of Segoe, were so much afraid of being murdered by the Romanists in the year 1795, that they would not venture to go to Lurgan or Portadown, market towns in the neighbourhood, unless they were well armed, and in considerable numbers.

All the emigrants to Connaught did not go from Armagh, or in consequence of feuds or quarrels. Some gentlemen of the county of Tyrone assured me, that many popish families emigrated from it to Connaught, in consequence of prophecies frequently uttered, that civil wars would soon take place on the east side of the Shannon; that the rivers would be crimsoned with blood, and that there would be a destructive plague, occasioned by the number of putrid carcases unburied. The protestants in the county of Armagh, finding that it was necessary they should unite for their defence, instituted Orange clubs, of which I shall now proceed to give an account.

But I think it necessary to observe, that the spirit by which the defenders were actuated, appeared in a most desperate and outrageous manner in four of the most remote counties of the kingdom, in the year 1793, in Kerry and Donegal, in Wexford and Limerick, and in many of the intermediate ones, which clearly proves that their plans were not defensive.

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#### ORIGIN OF THE ORANGEMEN.

As the defenders not only became terrific to individuals, in most parts of the kingdom, by the constant perpetration of nocturnal robbery and assassination; as they formed a systematic combination, and supplied themselves with arms, for the obvious purpose of subverting the constitution in church and state; and as they were encouraged and directed by the Catholic committee, and the united Irishmen, the protestants of the established church, to defeat their malignant designs, found it necessary to excite and cherish a spirit of loyalty, which began to

languish and decline, in a very alarming degree, and to rally round the altar and the throne, which were in imminent danger.

The battle of the Diamond, in the county of Armagh, in the month of September, 1795, and the duplicity and treachery of the Romanists, on that occasion, convinced the protestants, that they would become an easy prey to their enemies, from the paucity of their numbers, unless they associated for their defence; particularly, as the fanatical vengeance, which they displayed on that and other occasions, convinced the members of the established church, that they meditated nothing less than their total extirpation.

In commemoration of that victory, the first Orange lodge was formed in the county of Armagh, on the twenty-first of September, 1795, though the name of orangeman existed some time before.

They were merely a society of loyal protestants, associated and bound together, solely for the purpose of maintaining and defending the constitution in church and state, as established by the prince of Orange, at the glorious Revolution, which they regarded as a solemn and sacred duty. It confers distinguished credit on its early members, that they united and stood forward for this truly patriotic purpose, unsupported and unprotected by the great and the powerful, to whom their motives were misrepresented by traitors, who knew that the institution would form a firm barrier against their nefarious machinations.

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I have universally observed, that the disaffected, who arraigned with the utmost feverity the Orange societies, never uttered any censure on the committees of association, to which so many loyal men fell a sacrifice.

Plutarch, in his life of Solon, tells us, that he procured a law to be passed at Athens, by which any person should be branded as infamous, that remained neuter when any disturbance or commotion took place, which endangered the existence of the state. Should not, on the same principle, those who did not assist in opposing the rebellious designs of the defenders and the united Irishmen, be deemed disloyal, or even traitors?

The lower class of protestants of the established church, actuated by an invincible attachment to their king and country, stood forward at this perilous crisis, in the spirited defence of both, and avowed their unalterable determination to stand or fall with them.

As they increased, a spirit of loyalty increased with them, and strength and confidence succeeded to the place of supineness and dependence, in the breasts of loyal men. Supported by a consciousness of the goodness of their cause, and by the protection of Providence, they persevered through every difficulty in their generous resolution; rapidly increased in numbers, and became an irresistible obstacle, wherever the institution got a footing, to the progress of the seditious societies. Left its members, roused by wanton and unprovoked outrages, might have been stimulated to retaliate, and from retaliation to commit any excesses, gentlemen, highly respectable, not only by birth and fortune but by moral excellence, put themselves at its head, to regulate its motions; whose characters were alone sufficient to refute the many falsehoods and calumnies uttered against the institution. As a further refutation of them, they published a declaration of their principles in the newspapers, which will convince the reader of the purity of their intentions.\*

The members of the Orange institution, being thus instrumental in uniformly resisting the progress, and contributing to defeat the revolutionary designs of confederated traitors, became of course objects of their most pointed and vindictive resentment. Every means were used to traduce and vilify them. The nature of their association was misrepresented,

\* See Appendix, No. V.

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and oaths which they abhorred, were fabricated and imposed upon the publick as the obligations of orangemen.

With equal virulence, and from the same motives, the establishment of the militia, and the formation of the yeomanry were opposed by them.

The following circumstance unquestionably proves, that the institution was perfectly defensive: It never was introduced into any county or district, till it had been some years disturbed or defolated by the defenders or united Irishmen.

It was not established in the metropolis, though many years threatened with open rebellion, till the month of January, 1798; and many gentlemen of high character and considerable talents placed themselves at its head, to give the institution a proper direction, and to silence the calumnious clamours of traitors against it.

It is well known, that the Revolution in England could not have been effected, if combinations of persons, attached to the constitution, had not been made for its accomplishment; and it is universally acknowledged, that it could not have been maintained against the many conspiracies formed for the restoration of king James, but by the same means.

As the Jacobites vilified and maligned those associations, from the same motives that the disaffected did the orangemen, the house of commons of England resolved in the year 1695, "That whoever should affirm, an association was illegal, should be deemed a promoter of the designs of king James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the kingdom."

From the year 1792, to the year 1797, the county of Monaghan had, been disturbed by the defenders, who at that time became terrified by the aid and co-operation of the united Irishmen.

In the beginning of that year, the loyal subjects, alarmed for their safety, began to form Orange clubs, against the combination of traitors, who were constantly committing nocturnal robbery and assassination; but some of the leading gentlemen of the county opposed the institution.

In consequence of this, the disaffected diffused their doctrines so rapidly, and with so much success, that many loyal subjects were obliged to compromise with them from motives of fear, to take their oaths, and to enter into their system.

At last, those very gentlemen, who at first opposed the Orange institution, perceiving that their opposition must soon terminate in a total

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subversion of social order, and the destruction of their lives and properties, encouraged with infinitely more zeal, than they had before resisted, its establishment; in consequence of which, the loyal subjects, animated by their united strength, struck the combined traitors with terror and dismay, and restored energy to the execution of the laws. The same thing occurred in the counties of Fermanagh, Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, and Armagh, where it was observed it had a peculiar good effect in detaching the presbyterians from the union.

I have been assured by a very respectable gentleman of the county of Tyrone, that its inhabitants were so much intimidated by anonymous threatening letters, and by the assassinations committed there, that in the lordship of Caledon, containing ten thousand people, the whole of them, except about six or eight persons, were sworn; but the loyal subjects having entered into the Orange societies, and having gained courage and confidence by their united strength, renounced with indignation this traitorous combination\*, invigorated the arm of the civil magistrate, and completely checked the progress of treason. The honourable general Knox, a

gentleman whose sagacity is not inferior to his courage and military skill, which he has displayed in Europe, Asia, and America, commanded at Dungannon, in the summer of 1798; and he assured government, that the institution of Orange lodges was of infinite use, and that he would rest the safety of the North on the fidelity of the orangemen who were enrolled in the yeomanry corps.

I think it right to mention, that the Orange association should not be confounded, as it has often invidiously been, with the mutual and disgraceful outrages which prevailed in the county of Armagh many years preceding, between the lowest classes of presbyterians, under the denomination of peep-of-day boys, and the Roman catholics, as defenders; for it was not instituted till the defenders manifested their hostile designs against protestants of every description, in most parts of the kingdom.

Borlase tells us, that, in the year 1641, the lords justices invited the lords and gentlemen of the pale to come to Dublin, and assist them in preventing strife or sedition; but they refused, under a pretext that every person of their order was to be massacred, which was done merely to alarm the lower classes of Roman catholics, and inspire them with vengeance against protestants; and for the same reason the disaffected asserted,

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in the years 1797 and 1798, that all persons of that order were to be murdered by orangemen.

James Beaghan, executed on Vinegar-hill the twenty-fourth of June, 1799, for various murders, which, he said, he was instigated by popish priests to commit, confessed, that "every man that was a protestant was called an orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the poorest man in the country. They thought it no more sin to kill a protestant than a dog." See his confession at large in the sequel.

However useful the Orange institution may be in a country where the members of the established church are numerous, it must be allowed, that it must have been injurious where there are but few, because it only tended to excite the vengeance of the Romanists against them; and they could not unite with celerity, and in sufficient numbers for their defence. It should not be admitted in our regular army, or militia, consisting of both, and therefore would be likely to create party zeal and discord.

As soon as the massacres perpetrated at Vinegar-hill and Scullabogue were known in the North, numbers of presbyterians, of whom some had been disaffected, and others lukewarm, in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal, trembling for their safety, became Orangemen; and general Knox, depending on their zeal and sincerity, embodied them, and procured arms for them from government.

In the year 1792, when the dissemination of treason and the formation of seditious clubs, in London, threatened the immediate destruction of the constitution, Mr. Reeves, by seasonably encouraging loyal societies, checked the progress and the baneful effects of their doctrines. The institution of orangemen did not differ from them in the smallest degree.

I give the following extract from Harris's Life of king William, to show that the Irish Roman catholics in the year 1689, propagated reports of the malevolent designs of the protestants towards their order, similar to those which were set on foot of the orangemen, and for the same purpose:

"In the mean time, the Irish papists throughout the kingdom, proceeded in impeaching the protestants of traitorous designs; but their plots were so ridiculously contrived, and made up of such palpable contradictions

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and incongruities, that they served only to demonstrate the innocence of the accused, and inveteracy of the informers. These impeachments failing of the intent, they applied themselves to other courses, many turned Tories and highwaymen, housebreakers, and stealers of cattle, and were guilty of so many enormities to the English, that thousands were forced to desert the kingdom, and pass into England, under as great fears and jealousies as if there had been an open rebellion, and five hundred together transported themselves to the English foreign plantations.”\*

“The Irish pretended, that the Protestants assembled in great numbers in the night time; and, to gain the more credit, the vulgar Irish were instructed to forsake their houses, and to hide every night in the bogs, pretending a fear, that the English would, in that dead season, cut their throats; a practice, as notorious among them, as unheard-of among Protestants, and for which there neither was, nor could be, the least foundation; for their infinitely superior numbers to the English, in some parts an hundred families to one, shewed how ridiculous the invention was; and they were convinced, both by the practice of the Protestants and the principles of their religion, that they were not men of blood. Whoever considers the genius of the Reformed and Romish churches in this particular, must needs acknowledge a strange opposition between them. However, with what malice and injustice forever the English were represented as nightwalkers, with design of murdering the Irish, yet examinations of these charges were taken by justices of the peace, calculated for the purpose, and transmitted to the lords justices and council; upon which, by the king’s directions, a proclamation was issued, forbidding all night meetings, though the lords justices well knew there was no such practice.”†

\* Harris’s life of K. William III. edit, of 1749, Dub. folio 107. † lb. p.105.

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#### ORIGIN OF THE CATHOLICK COMMITTEE.

The Abbé O’Connor says, in the life of his grandfather Charles O’Connor, the Irish antiquary, page 330, “that he, doctor Curry, and Mr. Wyfe of Waterford, first thought of establishing a Roman catholick committee in the city of Dublin, in the year 1757.”

“The first meeting was held at the Globe coffee-house, in Effex-street, and only seven gentlemen attended; Mr. O’Connor, Mr. Wyfe of Waterford, doctor Curry, doctor Jennings, Anthony McDermott, Mr. James Reynolds of Ash-street, and another gentleman, whose name I could not find among the original letters now in my possession.”

Their numbers soon increased, and they assembled and determined with the greatest secrecy on the best and most likely means of procuring a restoration of those privileges which they had been formerly deprived of.

They, at some period which I cannot ascertain, affiliated to the confederate catholicks, assembled at Kilkenny in the year 1641; for members, duly elected and returned by towns and districts, in almost every part of the kingdom, sat in it; gentlemen of landed estate had a right to a seat there; and they soon began to regulate their proceedings according to the form and solemnity of parliament.

These particulars are fully proved by the following resolution, which they entered into the fifteenth day of November, 1783: “Sir Patrick Bellew, in the chair.

“Resolved, That we feel ourselves particularly called upon to declare, that this committee consists of every Roman catholick nobleman and gentleman of landed property, and of other gentlemen, chosen by their fellow-subjects of that persuasion in Dublin, and other principal parts of the kingdom.”

“Resolved, That thus constituted, we have, for several years past, been the medium through which the voice of the Roman catholicks of Ireland has been conveyed, and the only one competent thereto.”

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“At a session held by them on the tenth of February, 1791, styled a meeting of the general committee of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, they resolved. That the several papers now read, containing resolutions and instructions from this city, and from the principal cities and towns of Ireland, be referred to a committee of eight, who shall report thereon to this committee, on Friday the eighteenth instant.”

They assembled again on the eighteenth of February, the earl of Fingal in the chair, when the report was received, and the committee of eight produced a petition, which was to have been presented to parliament, praying a repeal of some of the restrictive laws; but after different interviews with Mr. Hobart, the lord lieutenant’s secretary, it was resolved not to present it that session.

In a report, made the eighteenth of April, 1791, by the committee of eight, after stating the interviews and discussions which they had held with the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and Mr. Hobart, they cast severe censures on those noble lords, as if they had, by their conduct, thrown obstacles in the way of presenting the petition, which, however, lord Kenmare presented to the lord lieutenant, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1791, as the address of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, and which contained strong expressions of loyalty, and of attachment to the constitution.

They resolve in it, to apply to parliament in the next session, for a further repeal of the restrictive laws; and they say, that they do not presume to point out the measure or extent to which such repeal should be carried, but leave it to the wisdom and discretion of parliament, confiding in their liberality and benevolence.

It breathed that spirit of mildness and moderation which appeared in all their proceedings, while they were regulated by the nobility and gentry of the Roman catholic persuasion.

It was signed by the lords Fingal, Gormanstown, Kenmare, doctor Troy, titular archbishop of Dublin, and by most of the landholders and respectable gentlemen of their persuasion in the kingdom.

On the sixth of January, 1792, the general committee of the Roman catholicks in Dublin, published resolutions condemning the address presented by lord Kenmare on the twenty-seventh of December, 1791, as surreptitiously obtained; and not containing the real sense of the Catholic body, and they resolved to address the lord lieutenant, to signify to his

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majesty their reasons for withdrawing their signatures from said address. They resolved, that lord Kenmare had entirely forfeited their confidence, by his late conduct in procuring, by his own exertions, and those of his emissaries, certain fervent and insidious addresses, calculated to divide the catholicks of Ireland, and eventually to defeat their just applications for relief from the grievous oppressions under which they laboured. They also struck out his name from the list of the committee of eight.

The turbulent leaders of that assembly were very much enraged against his lordship, because he had presented a loyal address in the name of the Roman catholicks of the county of Kerry, containing expressions of concern, that certain inflammatory writings had appeared, and that associations had been attempted to be formed, which might possibly sow the seeds of discontent among the lower classes of their persuasion.\*

Parochial meetings were held in different parts of the kingdom, in which addressers were voted to the general committee, reflecting on the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and recommending their expulsion.

The Catholic society, composed of some discontented members of the Catholic committee, seceded from them in the year 1791, and continued to act as a separate body.

They announced that their object was, to obtain a repeal of the popery laws; they invited their fellow-sufferers throughout the kingdom to unite with them for that purpose; and they asserted, that it is the interest of every man in the kingdom, that the entire should be abolished.

The lords Fingal and Kenmare, and Sir Patrick Bellew, were at the head of the committee, till the beginning of the year 1792, when they, and above sixty respectable Roman Catholic gentlemen, disgusted and alarmed at their intemperate proceedings, seceded.

Some of its demagogues, who had revolutionary designs, fearing that the moderation and loyalty of these noblemen and gentlemen would check them in their furious career, made the committee so unpleasant to them, that they prudently resolved on retiring from it. Lord Fingal was voted out of the chair, in rather a tumultuous manner, and Thomas Braughall

\* Such seditious publications frequently appeared at that time in the public prints, and associations were formed in many parts of the kingdom, in order to agitate the popish multitude.

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was voted into it; on which his lordship said, "Sir, I wish you luck with it."

I have been assured, that lord Fingal declared, soon after this event, that he should be very sorry to see the members of his church put on an equal footing with those of the established religion.

A writer of their own persuasion, doctor McKenna, made the following strictures on their intemperate conduct at that time, in which he depicted the committee as it then stood: "If ever there should arise among us a ridiculous cabal of men, ambitious of rule, without abilities to regulate, who, actuated by vanity and jealousy, will endeavour to estrange from our cause the men of rank, and disgust its natural leaders, and discountenance men of letters, its natural auxiliaries; such persons may mean well, but their good intentions will only retard, not avert, what they well deserve, the execration of the body, whose opinions they caricature, and whose interest they injure."

"I am obliged reluctantly to express, (what the entire nation must perceive,) that the few gentlemen of the metropolis, the sub-committee of Catholics, who have hitherto assumed the direction of business, stand in need of coadjutors. I question their prudence, not their zeal, not their intentions; but their reflection, foresight, and political sagacity. It is time the cause of a great people should assume the appearance of system. For the last ten months it has fluctuated before the public in the hands of unskillful managers, without even the dignity of leadership, advancing and retreating, asserting and retrading, with the giddiness of school boys, and the randomness of a game of nine pins."

The proceedings of the committee were then governed by Edward Byrne, John Keogh, Randal McDonnell, Thomas Braughall, John Sweetman, and Richard McCormick. They had three secretaries, the two latter and Theobald Wolfe Tone, who turned out to be notorious traitors, and whose characters I shall describe in the sequel.

The claims of the committee were moderate as yet, compared to those which they made a few months after; for at a meeting held the fourth of February, 1792, Edward Byrne in the chair, they declared that they expected no more than,

1st, Admittion to the profeffion and practice of the law.  
2d, Capacity to ferve on county magiftracies.

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3d, A right to be fummoned and ferve on grand and petit juries.

4th, A right of voting in counties only, for proteftant members of parliament, in fuch a manner however as that a Roman catholick freeholder fhould not vote, unlefs he either rents or cultivates a farm of £20 per annum, in addition to his 40s. freehold, or that he fhall be in poffeffion of a freehold of £20 a year.

They faid, that they thus publifh their expectations, in vindication of themfelves; as their enemies, to injure them, affert that they expect more.

In the beginning of the year 1792, there was a correffpondence between Sinclare Kelburn, a prefbyterian minifter at Belfaft, as chairman of a town meeting of its republican inhabitants, held in a meeting-houfe, and Edward Byrne, as chairman of the Roman catholick committee, at that time fitting in Dublin.

The fudden union and fraternity of two fefts, who were formerly as hoftile to each other as they were to the ftate, muft have had a questionable appearance in the eyes of every perfon interefted in its prefervation.\*

Kelburn was an active demagogue at Belfaft, the mafs of whofe inhabitants are prefbyterians; and his conduct as an agitator was fo flagrant, that government found themfelves under an indifpenfable neceffity of having him committed on charges of a ferious nature, in the year 1797.

This man, as chairman of the town meeting at Belfaft, wrote to Edward Byrne, then at the head of the Catholick committee, to fend him a declaration of the religious tenets of Roman catholicks, that he might read and explain them to the members of the town meeting, ufually held in his meeting-houfe.

The leaders of the confpiracy for fubverting the conftitution, well knowing the antipathy which had always exifted between the prefbyterians and papifts, and that they could not indulge the moft diftant hope of effecting a revolution without the concurrence of the former, ufed their moft ftrenuous exertions to reconcile and unite the two orders, who were well inclined individually to fubvert the conftitution, and they began with the factious demagogues of Belfaft, the focus of republicanifm, as they had very great influence over the prefbyterians of the north.

\* This flirtation between John and Peter, began during the American war, as I before obferved.

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Edward Byrne having affembled the leading Roman catholicks of Dublin on the twenty-third of March, 1792, they framed a declaration of their tenets, which their chairman forwarded to Kelburn, and he read it in his meeting-houfe to his levelling fectaries, who expreffed their approbation of it by acclamation.

This declaration was figned by doctor Troy, titular archbifhop of Dublin, Edward Byrne, and Richard McCormick.\*

In the rebellion which broke out in the year 1798, the Romanifts violated every principle which they pretended to maintain in it, and followed and reduced to practice the old deleterious doctrines which they affetted to renounce.

The popifh inhabitants of Belfaft and its vicinity, in imitation of thofe in Dublin, affembled on the fixth of April, 1792, James Mooney in the chair, adopted their declaration, and fent it to

Edward Byrne, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Todd Jones. Tone, the secretary and agent of the Catholic committee, was detected in a conspiracy with the reverend Mr. Jackson, in the year 1794, for bringing the French into Ireland; but was permitted, through the mistaken lenity of government, to transport himself, and even obtained a sum of money for that purpose.

He was afterwards taken by Sir John B. Warren, in a French squadron, on the northern coast of Ireland, on the twelfth of October, 1798, being attached as an officer to a body of French troops, who were coming to invade Ireland. He was tried and convicted of high treason; but put a period to his existence before the sentence of the court could be executed.

Mr. Jones, a member of parliament, was a sanguine advocate for the Romanists in the house of commons, so early as the year 1792; he accused them afterwards in the Belfast News-letter, of having withheld a considerable portion of the money which they had stipulated to pay him.†

\* Transported for being a traitor.

† It is not improbable that they had many hired agents in a great assembly, from the intemperate zeal which some gentlemen shewed in their cause. It is well known, that the Romanists often levied money on every individual of their order; and when some poor people in the province of Munster complained to me of the sums which were extorted from them. Talked them, to what purpose it was to be applied? and many of them informed me, they were told that it was to bribe the parliament.

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When the Roman Catholic committee assembled on the twenty-third of March, 1792, to frame a declaration of their tenets, a debate took place, which shewed the designs and the rashness of that body.

A Mr. O'Sullivan said, "That they did not lament the absence of the landholders, nor did they wish for their presence, till they had repented of their political sins. If they were present, the assembly would be contaminated by a set of self-interested hypocrites, who preferred their private advantage to the good of the community to which they belonged; hypocrites, who had not courage to act right, and who were afraid to speak the truth."

Many gross untruths were uttered there, to impose on the publick, and to inflame the popular multitude.

John Keogh, who had chief sway in the committee, and guided all their movements, said, that a gentleman of high rank told him a few days before, that he was obliged, with great regret, to transport whole villages,\* to prevent his losing his election: Now I will take upon me to say, that no influence can be proved of a papist being deprived of his farm, for the purpose of substituting a protestant.

Mr. McLaughlin said, "By this declaration, sanctioned by our most respectable prelate, will our protestant brethren be rescued from *fears and superstitious prejudices*, which, however ill-founded, must have made too deep an impression on their minds, as having imbibed them from their earliest education."

In the month of February, 1792, a petition was presented to the house of commons, on behalf of the Roman Catholics, stating, that they expected no other extension of their privileges, than what was announced by their committee on the fourth of February. It was conceived in such disrespectful and indecorous terms, that the gentleman who presented it requested permission to withdraw it.

The committee were so much ashamed of it, that they attempted to substitute another petition, more decent and temperate, in its place, which they had printed in many newspapers and

magazines; but the original was published in the Northern Star of the twenty-eighth of April, 1792.

Another petition, presented soon after, was rejected. The numbers for its rejection were 202, for receiving it 25.

\* Meaning of Roman catholics.

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The honourable Denis Browne, who gave it the warmest support, expatiated largely on the loyalty and the peaceable deportment of the Roman catholics, whom he and his family vindicated and panegyrized on all occasions; but in the rebellion which broke out in the year 1798, they experienced an extraordinary degree of ingratitude from them.

On the third of March, 1792, at a post assembly held in Dublin, consisting of the lord mayor, the sheriffs, commons, and citizens, they voted their thanks to the 202 members of the house of commons, who rejected the petition of the Roman catholics, for obtaining the elective franchise.

On the twelfth of the same month, the Catholic society, Theobald McKenna in the chair, Thomas Braughall, secretary, condemned, in rather severe language, the resolutions of the post assembly; and thanked the minority in parliament, who supported their claims. Not only the grand juries at the subsequent assizes, but the Protestant and Roman catholic inhabitants of many counties and towns assembled, and followed their example; the former, thanking the majority in parliament, and declaring their determination to maintain the constitution as it then stood; the latter, the minority, and resolving that they will persevere in asserting their claims; by which the passions of both parties were very much inflamed.

About the same time, parochial meetings were held in different parts of the kingdom, where the lowest orders of Roman catholics assembled, debated on their rights, censured the conduct of the grand juries, and applauded that of their delegates in the Catholic committee, which engendered universal discontent and dissatisfaction among the popish multitude.

The reader may form an opinion of the spirit of commotion which their leaders endeavoured to excite among the popish multitude, so early as the month of January, 1792, when their warm and uniform advocate, Sir Hercules Langrish, said, in the house of commons, "That, notwithstanding my prepossessions in favour of the Roman catholics, I was checked for some time in my ardour to serve them, by reading of late a multitude of publications and paragraphs in the newspapers, and other public prints, circulated gratis with the utmost industry, purporting to convey the sentiments of the catholics. — What was their import? — 'they were exhortations to the people never to be satisfied at any concession,

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till the state itself was conceded: they were precautions against public tranquillity; they were invitations to disorder, and covenants of discontent; they were ostentations of strength, rather than solicitations for favours; rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the state; they involved the relief of the catholic, with the revolution of the government; and were dissertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration."

At this time the Irish Roman catholics had more civil liberty than the most favoured subjects of any state in Europe, except England, and much more than the protestant subjects of any Roman catholic state.

A Calvinist teacher, if detected and convicted in certain provinces in France, was punished with death; and those who gave him a supper or a bed, were sent to the galleys for life.

On the fourteenth of April, 1792, the general committee, Edward Byrne in the chair, Richard McCormick, secretary, voted an address of thanks to Mr. John Keogh,\* which was to be presented by a committee of five. They assert in it, "that his conduct, resolute without rashness, and firm without obstinacy, has restored the general committee to the sense and practice of their duties; and the Catholic community to the knowledge and assertion of their rights."

In the session of parliament in 1792, the following privileges were granted to the Roman Catholics:

That, after the twenty-fourth of June, 1792, they may practise as barristers and attorneys; that Protestants and Papists may intermarry; that Popish school-masters need not obtain licenses from the ordinary to keep school; and all restrictions as to foreign education were removed.

These favours, which parliament granted with a good grace, were certainly obtained through the mediation of Lord Kenmare; but they loaded him with opprobrium, spurned at them, and resolved to succeed by a system of terror in the whole of their ambitious designs.

At a post assembly, consisting of the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held the eleventh day of September, 1792, they condemned the object of Edward Byrne's circular letter; and

\* He has considerable abilities, and was the most ambitious and enterprising member of the committee; And, it is believed, advised the expulsion of the nobility and gentry from it.

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resolved, in spirited resolutions, to maintain the constitution in church and state. See them in Appendix, No. III.

The Protestants were encouraged to adopt this procedure, by the spirited and determined manner with which the government rejected the demands of the Papists; and the assurances which they received from its leading members, that the Romanists never should obtain any share of political power, induced them to speak out, and with firmness, by which the two sects were committed. Soon after, government having swerved from their opinion, and conceded the whole of what they had peremptorily refused, encouraged the Roman Catholics to rise in their demands, particularly because they were thought to have been influenced by terror, as the defenders were at that time desolating many parts of the kingdom, and were terrific in the environs of the capital. To this system of terror, succeeded by concession, we may in a great measure impute the rebellion.

The general committee having got rid of the nobility and gentry of their persuasion, resolved, by every means, however unwarrantable, to obtain a total repeal of the popery laws; and thinking that they might intimidate the government, by putting the masses of the people in motion, Edward Byrne, by their order, issued writs to every county, and to many towns and districts, desiring certain persons therein to hold elections, and to choose representatives, who were to be returned forthwith to Dublin, for the purpose of forming a convention; and he says, in his circular letter, that their chairman had actually left Dublin, with an intention of going through a great part of Ireland to promote this design.

The elections were to be held (according to the plan adopted by the republicans in France,) in the Roman Catholic chapels in every district.

He says, in his circular letter, that frequent consultations were held, for the laudable purpose of reuniting to the committee Lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn from it; and yet he says, that the plan enclosed was sanctioned by Lord Fingal, and those very gentlemen who had left the committee in the month of January preceding, by which he was guilty of a gross inconsistency.

We may conceive, how much the femibarbarous popifh rabble, tumultuoufly affembled in their refpective chapels, muft have been agitated by fuch a procedure.

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The writs were obeyed, the elections were made with the utmoft celerity, the convention affembled, and began its feffion on the third of December, 1792, and was ridiculoufly called the Back-lane parliament; becaufe it fat in Tailors-hall in that ftreet.

As the Roman catholick committee refolved on the fifteenth of January, 1753, that the Roman catholicks of Ireland were fully and completely repreftented in that affembly, we fhould be inclined to think, that this new plan of election would have been unneceffary, and that it was brought about merely to put the popifh multitude into a ftate of commotion, to alarm and overawe the government.

A member of the Back-lane parliament, who quitted it on account of its rafh and intemperate proceedings, affured me, that on their firft meeting they refolved, not to petition parliament as Roman catholicks, but as Irifhmen. This was done with a view of inducing the prefbyterians to unite with them; by infinuating, that they had no particular object on the ground of religion, but were actuated by a pure and difinterefted love of liberty.

The proteftants were fo much alarmed at this bold and extraordinary procedure of Edward Byrne, in iffuing writs for electing a popifh convention, that the grand juries, at the fummer affizes of 1792, entered into ftrong refolutions, condemning it in fevere terms; and declaring, that they would maintain the conftitution, as it then flood, againft all hoftile attacks, particularly againft the dangerous effects of democratic principles; and fome of them vindicated the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and the refpectable Roman catholick gentlemen who had feceded from the committee, from the aperfions which had been caft on them in the publick prints.

The latter end of the year 1792, and the beginning of the year 1793, the popifh houfekeepers in many parifhes affembled, and voted addreffes to the general committee, in which they vilified thefe noblemen and gentlemen, and ftrongly recommended the expulfion of lord Kenmare.

The Roman catholicks affembled in feveral counties, diftricts, and towns, defended Edward Byrne's plan of election, and retorted with much acrimony on the refolutions of the proteftants. On the feventeenth of September, they fubmitted a cafe to two barrifters for their opinion, to know, whether the plan adopted by Edward Byrne, for fummoning a

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popifh convention, was loyal and conftitutional? and they anfwered in the affirmative. Thefe opinions and anfwers were publifhed in the publick prints, in order to give confidence and courage to the demagogues of the party, at that time very active in many parts of the kingdom in agitating the people.

The Back-lane parliament continued to fit and debate for fome time, with the doors of the room in which they affembled, clofed; and they framed an addrefs to the king, containing an exaggerated ftatement of their grievances, which they forwarded by five delegates, Sir Thomas French, Chriftopher Bellew, James E. Devereux, Edward Byrne, and John Keogh, efquires.

Having gone round by Scotland, attended by their fecretary Tone, a noted traitor, they met with a very kind and warm reception from the republican levellers of Belfaft, who regarded the object of their miffion as conducive to promote their wifhes of overturning the conftitution.

The following account of their arrival appeared in the Northern Star, a noted vehicle of treafon: Belfaft, December 12th, 1792.

“At nine o’clock this morning, the delegates from the catholicks of Ireland, who were elected to present their petition to the king, arrived at the Donegal arms in this town, on their way (by Portpatrick) to London, Immediately on their arrival being known, a number of respectable inhabitants waited on, and breakfasted with them. They remained here about two hours; and, on their departure, the populace, who had assembled in the interim, took the horses from their coach, and having fastened ropes to it, dragged them throughout the town, quite over the long bridge on the road to Donaghadee; and then permitted the horses to be put to, amidst the loudest huzzas of “success attend you,” “union,” “equal laws,” and “down with the ascendancy.” The delegates politely returned thanks for this strong mark of affection; declared their determination to maintain that union which formed the strength of Ireland: and proceeded on their way, accompanied with three cheers.”

His majesty was pleased, in consequence of the address of the Roman catholicks, to recommend to parliament in his speech, in January, 1793, to take into serious consideration the situation of the Roman catholicks; and, in compliance with his majesty’s benevolent intentions, they repealed the whole of the restrictive laws, except those which excluded them from

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fitting in parliament, and from about thirty great offices of state, which are immediately concerned in the confidential departments of the executive government.

We shall find, in the sequel, that these very liberal concessions by no means satisfied the Roman catholicks.

The debate which took place in the house of commons, on the bill for granting these concessions to the Roman catholicks, will remain a lasting monument of the depravity and frailty of human nature; for, though the defenders, a popish banditti, encouraged by the Catholic committee, were committing murder and robbery at that very time in many parts of the kingdom, some members praised them for their steady loyalty, their peaceable deportment, and respect for the laws.\*

The resolutions of a numerous body of dissenters, assembled at Crofarule, in the county of Cavan, on the third of February, 1793, throw an oblique censure on the inconsistency of these gentlemen in parliament. They state and complain of “the enormities committed by the defenders, in plundering the houses of protestants of arms, and other property, as if they meant to compel the legislature, by intimidation, to grant a relaxation of the popery laws, which they were on the point of conceding from motives of liberality.”

In most parts of the country, the presbyterians held the defenders in such abhorrence, and were so unwilling to commit any outrages, that they often joined and assisted the king’s troops, who, at different times, were wantonly attacked, when on their march, by this banditti. But the republicans of Belfast laboured with unceasing fidelity, and at last, with success, in corrupting great numbers of them.

On the twenty-fifth of April, 1793, the general committee of Roman catholicks assembled at Tailors-hall, and agreed to an address of thanks to his majesty for the benefits they had received, to the lord lieutenant, and to both houses of parliament; and, after transacting some business, they resolved, that with pleasure and gratitude they observed, that the house of commons had unanimously taken into consideration parliamentary reform; and they most earnestly exhorted the catholicks of Ireland, to cooperate

\* Though there issued a proclamation on the thirteenth of February, against the defenders who were defolating many counties, it is stated in the preamble of the act of parliament for their relief, “that from their peaceable and loyal demeanour, it is fit that the restraints and disabilities should be discontinued.”

operate with their protestant brethren to carry into effect a measure so essential to the freedom, happiness and prosperity of Ireland. After which, they dissolved themselves.

They alluded to the debate which took place in the month of January, on a motion for an address to his majesty, when the heads and representatives of the principal families of the kingdom declared in the house of commons, in the most unequivocal manner, their willingness to sacrifice their parliamentary interest and influence, in conforming to the wishes of the people, for reforming the house of commons. Their weakness and pusillanimity on that occasion afforded peculiar pleasure to that intriguing body, the Catholic committee, as they hoped that it would lead to their favourite object, the establishment of a republic.

The extraordinary inconsistency of the Irish parliament, in rejecting with indignant contempt the claims of the Roman catholics in the year 1792, and the tameness with which they now conceded, much more than they had at that time demanded, joined to their fears and imbecility in expressing their wishes to renounce their power and pre-eminence to gratify a democratic faction, must convince every Irishman of spirit and common sense, that such an assembly, constantly oscillating between one extreme and another, and convulsed by party zeal, was incapable of promoting the peace and prosperity of his native country; and that he must depend for its accomplishment on nothing but the firmness, the wisdom, and disinterestedness of an Imperial parliament.

As exclusive salvation, of all the doctrines of the Romish church, is the most fatal to the peace and security of society, doctor Duigenan, a gentleman of great sagacity, extensive erudition and of distinguished firmness and integrity of mind, proposed that a clause of the following tenor should be inserted in an oath of allegiance, prescribed by the law which was then passing through the house of commons, for relief of the Roman catholics: Nor do we believe, that any other set of christians are, of course, to be doomed to eternal damnation hereafter, and that they may not enter into a state of salvation, because they happen to differ from us in religious tenets. But all their ecclesiasticks, and the leading members of the laity declared, that the fundamental principles of their religion rendered such an oath inadmissible.

The reader may judge of the sincerity of the Roman catholic committee, from the following transaction:

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It appears by a report of the secret committee of the house of lords, published in 1793, instituted for the purpose of investigating the origin and cause of the spirit of treason and disaffection, which the defenders manifested in many parts of the kingdom, that salutary measures might be adopted to prevent the progress of it; that John Sweetman, secretary of the Roman catholic committee in Dublin, wrote letters to a person in Dundalk, of the name of Coleman, of considerable opulence, and of the Roman catholic persuasion, relative to the defenders, numbers of whom were then imprisoned in that town; and in one of them, dated the ninth of August, 1792,\* he, in the name of the Roman catholic committee, directed enquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the culprits were accused. By this report it appears, that the Roman catholic committee were warmly interested about the defenders; and that the person to whom the letter was addressed, did employ, at a considerable expence, an agent and counsel, to act for several persons, who were then in prison under an accusation of being defenders.

They were well able to do so; for in the years 1792 and 1793 they levied an immense sum of money on the members of their religion, in every part of the kingdom, which appears by a circular letter, dated the fifth of February, 1793, published in said report of the house of lords, in which they say, that the object is, the raising a fund to defray the heavy and growing expences of

the committee, in conducting the affairs of the catholicks of Ireland. See these letters. Appendix, No. IV.

It is observable, that in the letter of the ninth of August, 1792, the name of one Nugent, a defender then in prison, is mentioned.

The Roman catholicks of the city of Dublin, assembled in November, 1792, stated in their declaration, that they never will forego the hopes of emancipation; that they defy the malice of invention to produce any one instance of their having ever made any efforts in favour of a popish king, or French connections, since they consented to a Revolution in 1691; and that their inclinations are not to subvert any one establishment. They admit, "that from the moment the protestant began to make concessions, the Roman catholic began to extend his claims; and in their address presented at St. James's in January, 1793, they speak of their unvarying loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and submission to the laws, for one hundred years, and their determination to persevere in the same."

\* Report of secret committee, Appendix, No. I. », 3. †Ibid.

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At this time they enjoyed more extensive privileges than the Roman catholic subjects of any protestant state in Europe, and by far more than protestants living under any popish government.

Why they rose in their claims, so moderate at first, may be accounted for in the following manner:

Knowing that Mr. Edmund Burke, a warm favourer of popery, had in a high degree conciliated the esteem of our gracious sovereign, and the government of England, by his ingenious and energetic writings against the extravagant theories and frantic proceedings of the French republicans; they resolved to employ his son, an over-weening, petulant young man, to be their agent, in forwarding their pretensions; hoping thereby, to ensure the weight and consideration of his father for that purpose. They then sent one of their body to London, in September, 1791, to Mr. Richard Burke, who, through his father, rendered them the most important services;\* and soon after having gone to Ireland, he made a most extensive circuit there, and in the course of it, visited many of the nobility and gentry, and endeavoured to conciliate them to support the claims of the Roman catholicks. As he was their hired agent, we are not to impute his conduct to disinterested and generous motives; though we may infer that he had a predilection for popery, from the strong attachment which his father had to it, and because his mother was a most rigid papist. Though he did not attain the object of his mission, he awakened the ambition of the Roman catholicks, and gave them the strongest assurances, that a steady perseverance in their claims would finally produce a total repeal of the popery laws.

The success of the French on the continent, to whom the Irish Roman catholicks were, on former occasions, very much attached, and the invitation of the former, to the subjects of every nation in Europe, to rise against their respective governments, elevated their hopes, and filled them with expectations, that the parliament would be impelled by motives of fear, to grant what their policy and prudence might have refused. To these causes we may impute the sudden rise in their demands, and their condemnation and renunciation on the sixteenth of January, 1792, of the address presented by lord Kenmare, to the viceroy, on the twenty-seventh of December preceding.

\* This was stated by Mr. John Keogh in his speech.

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It appears by the speech of Mr. John Keogh, in the debate of the Roman catholicks, assembled on the twenty-third of March, 1792, in Dublin, that there was an interior cabinet in the Catholic

committee, with the secrets of which the nobility and gentry had been unacquainted; for he calls them, who signed the loyal address presented by lord Kenmare, “sixty-eight dupes, many of whom were totally ignorant of the negotiation going on at the foot of the throne.”

Mr. Keogh said, “That, from the negotiation in London, there was every reason to expect, that though a great and vast catalogue of restrictions would be retained, yet sufficient would be removed, to afford protection to all the classes of our people.”

“I now come to what is more pleasing; that is, to state my opinion, that the time is not remote, when we shall meet to join with heart and voice, in the sincere gratitude to parliament and to government. When that day arrives, and it will soon arrive, you will then prove your just and unfeigned gratitude to your deliverers, to government, to the legislature, to the illustrious men who espoused your cause in parliament, to the virtuous, patriotic, and enlightened citizens of Belfast, the first (let it never be forgotten) who came forward as a body to apply to parliament for our relief.”

From the confidence with which Mr. Keogh expressed himself, we may infer, that he knew that their ambassador in London had received secret assurances from high authority that they would succeed in their expectations; but it is to be lamented, that their attainment did not satisfy them, and prevent their body from proceeding afterwards to desperate excesses.

As a very large sum of money had been levied on the Roman catholics, it is not improbable that their ambassador, who repaired to London in the year 1791, applied, with the assistance of Mr. Burke, a large portion of it to very good purposes; for otherwise how can we account for the extraordinary and sudden change which took place in the opinion of the administration of England?

Mr. Keogh said in that debate, should we look to America, to France, to the Netherlands, to all Europe, and ask each other why it is that we, as faithful subjects as any king in Europe can boast of, are reduced to slavery.

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The invitation of the Roman catholics to the protestants to fraternize with them, and to extend civil and religious liberty equally to both orders, reminds us of James II.'s reign; for that monarch announced, on his arrival in Ireland, that his chief care was to satisfy the minds of his protestant subjects; and that the defence of their religion, their privileges and property, concerned equally his care with the recovery of his own rights; and the popish parliament, which he assembled in 1689, passed a law for a general liberty of conscience; though it is well known, and the act of attainder against all protestant landholders unquestionably proved, that they secretly aimed at nothing less than a total extirpation of protestants.

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#### ORIGIN OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

A PERSON who had been many years a member of the Catholic committee, gave me the following account of this institution. I shall not take upon me to vouch its authenticity; but shall leave the reader to judge of it from the views and designs which they afterwards displayed.

The Catholic committee very wisely enlisted in their service some protestant barristers of abilities, but desperate circumstances, and totally destitute of all religious principle. Though they were stipendiaries, and received pay, it was agreed that they should appear to have volunteered in their cause from generous and disinterested motives, for the purpose of lulling the suspicion of protestants in general, of decoying and attaching to the Catholic cause, by varnishing it over with the semblance of general and abstract liberty, such persons of that persuasion as had revolutionary designs, particularly the presbyterians.

The honourable Simon Butler, brother of the late lord Mountgarret, and Theobald Wolfe Tone, were the leaders of this band, and the first persons who engaged themselves in the service of the Catholic committee.

The laft, who was the fon of a mechanick, received a good education in the univerfity of Dublin, and was afterwards called to the bar; but having a wife and children, being unfuccefsful in his profefion, though he had diftinguifhed abilities, and being indigent in his circumftances, he hoped, by promoting that innovating fpirit which had fhaken the foundations of many European ftates, to fubvert our conftitution, and to rife, during a feafon of anarchy and confufion, from poverty and obfcurity to wealth and celebrity. Tone informed the Catholic committee, that they could not fucceed in their extenfive plan of emancipation, unlefs it had, at leaft, the femblance of being fanced and approved of by a confiderable number of proteftants; and knowing that the inhabitants of Belfaft, the mafs of whom are Calvinifts, had manifested during the American war, when volunteering flourifhed, an earneft defire of fubverting

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the conftitution, under the pretext of reforming it, propofed to fome republican friends in that town, to intitute the fociety of united Irifhmen, round whofe ftandard revolutionifts of every religious perfuafion were to rally.

Tone, their hired agent, knew, that if the repeal of the reftriictive laws were propofed by a numerous body of proteftants, it would have peculiar weight, as flowing apparently from a liberal and difinterefted love of liberty.

Subfequent experience has proved, that affurances were at the fame time given to the republicans of Belfaft, that the Catholic committee and fuch of their perfuafion as they could influence, fhould co-operate with them in fubverting the conftitution.

They embraced the propofal with alacrity, and the first fociety of united Irifhmen fat at Belfaft in the month of October, 1791; when Richard Simms was fecretary.

But before I proceed further, it will be neceffary to fhew the defigns of Tone and Jones, from their own publications. The former publifhed a pamphlet, entitled, “The Northern Whig,” in the year 1791, foon after he enlisted in the fervice of the Catholic committee. The whole of this publication, which he entitled, in the fecond edition, “An argument on behalf of the catholicks of Ireland,” is entirely taken up in recommending a total repeal of the penal laws againft them.

He endeavoured to put on the cloak of liberality, and the mafc of difintereftednefs, by making the following declaration, in the beginning of this pamphlet “Before I proceed to the object of this book, I think it neceffary to acquaint the reader, that I am a proteftant of the church of Ireland,\* as by law eftablifhed, and have again and again taken all the cuftomary oaths, by which we fecure and appropriate to ourfelves all degrees and profefions, fave one, to the utter exclufion of our Catholic brethren. I am, therefore, no further interefted in the event, than as a mere lover of juftice, and a fteady deteftor of tyranny, whether exercifed by one man or a million.”

This work was reprinted by the united Irifhmen of Belfaft in the year; 1792, and fix thoufand copies of it were foon circulated, which fhewed

\* He was a profeffed deift.

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that a clofe union, and an ardent defire of mutual co-operation exifted between them and the Catholic committee.

In it he censures and vilifies the constitution, represents it as a system of tyranny; and asserts, that nothing but a total repeal of the restrictive laws against Roman Catholics can restore it to its original purity.

This turbulent adventurer, the founder of the Society of United Irishmen, was one of the secretaries of the Catholic committee, and had the chief direction of both.

Mr. Todd Jones, having injured his fortune in electioneering, was led, by the hope of repairing it, to become their advocate, both in and out of parliament; and I have not a doubt, but that some other members of that assembly were attached to their cause from the same sordid and sinister motives; as they often panegyrized the Roman Catholics for their steady loyalty and unremitting respect for the laws, when they were in actual rebellion.

Mr. Jones wrote a pamphlet in the year 1792, entitled, "A letter to the Societies of United Irishmen of Belfast, on the restoration of the Catholic rights and he gives the following reasons for publishing it:

"In cherishing from my early years the august idea of the emancipation of the Catholics from a profligate, mistaken, passionate, and impolitic farrago of statutes of penalty and disqualification, I have frequently enquired into the motives of my own mind, why I should never experience apprehensions upon this subject, in common with many selfish and some innocent antagonists of such a glorious restoration to their country; and it may be pardonably objected against me, that possessing, from my family decline, inconsiderable property to hazard, I could not be liable to that delicate sense of danger which must come home to the feelings of the great Protestant proprietors; but granting I have but little, comparatively at stake, that little is my all."

He denies that the Popish parliament, which sat in Dublin in the year 1689, passed a bill of attainder against all the Protestant landholders of the kingdom, though James II acknowledged in his diary, found in the Scotch college at Paris, that he gave his assent to it with reluctance, and merely to gratify his Irish Roman Catholic subjects; and Harris, in his life of King William, declares, that he found it in the Rolls office; but all the acts passed by King James's parliament, were afterwards burnt by

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the hands of the common hangman; and therefore Mr. Jones denies that it ever passed, and asserts, that it was fabricated by Archbishop King, who gives a copy of it.\*

The first Society of United Irishmen at Belfast published their plan or prospectus in the Northern Star in October, 1791, though it had been fabricated in Dublin.

We need no other proof of this, than that a paper, containing the original design of that association was circulated in Dublin in June, 1791, which may be seen in page 50 of the report of the secret committee.

We may fairly conclude, that the heads of the Catholic committee in Dublin, and the turbulent leaders of the Presbyterians at Belfast, resolved to unite their respective orders, for the purpose of subverting the constitution.

One of the most intelligent and efficient members of the Catholic body, and whose writings served them materially, because he assumed, at least, the appearance of moderation on most occasions, made use of the following menace to the Protestant fate, in a pamphlet which he published in the year 1792: "Will the Presbyterian yeomanry of the North take up arms for the courtiers who enjoy pensions, for the parsons who exact tithes, and for the landlords who exact rack rents? They too are complainants; and if they unheath the sword against their brethren, (meaning the Protestants of the established church,) will they be likely to return it to the

fcabbard, until they have procured very ample redrefs, and removed the caufe of their complaints? Should that people ever be embodied, tithes, boroughs, and all the arts and practices of monopoly will inevitably fall before them.”

We may infer from this, that the Roman catholicks hoped for the co-operation of the preffayterians in their revolutionary defigns; but the prophecy was “not fulfilled; for the preffbyterian yeomen of the North continued loyal during the rebellion, though numbers of their perfuafion were feduced. This odious picture of the confitution in church and ftate, the hope with which this writer endeavours to infpire the members of his feft, that they would be joined by the prefbterians, and the lure

\* Though I condemn Mr. Jones for hiring out his talents to the Roman catholicks, yet I would not be underftood to include him in the frictures which I make on his coadjutors, as I know and efteem him, and believe him to be a gentleman of principle in other refpects.

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which he holds out to the latter, indicate the dangerous defigns which were at that time brooding.

The Roman catholicks fucceeded fo eafily at Belfaft, that at a town meeting held there the twenty-eighth of January, 1792, in a preffbyterian conventicle, the reverend Sinclare Kelburn, one of their minifters and a noted demagogue, in the chair, they refolved\* to petition parliament to repeal the whole of the popery laws; but two hundred and fifty-five of the moft respectable inhabitants of that town protected againft it.

In a fhort time after the commencement of the fociety at Belfaft, there were no lefs than four grand ones eftablifhed there, who refolved to fet on foot fimilar ones in every part of the kingdom.

On the ninth of November, 1791, the united Irifhmen of Dublin began their feffion, and publifhed their declaration, which was exactly fimilar to that at Belfaft; but with this difference, that a teft was annexed to it.† The honourable Simon Butler was in the chair, and James Napper Tandy was fecretary. I fhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. VII. for their confitution and their mode of election. Revolutionary defigns are very evident in their declaration.

On the thirtieth of December, 1791, they held a feffion and adopted a circular letter, and refolved to have it printed and difperfed through every part of the kingdom, to encourage the formation of fimilar focieties 1 and they annexed to it a declaration of their political principles, and the teft which they had taken, “as a focial and facred compact to bind them more clofely together.” See Appendix, No. VIII.

On the fourteenth of September, 1792, they addreffed the Irifh nation, and declared their indignation at the infidious means employed to ftife the catholick voice. The whole of this addrefs was on the grievances of the Roman catholicks; and it ftrongly recommends a total repeal of the reftriictive laws. They fay in it, “popery is no longer to be met with but in the ftatute book.”

It muft feem extraordinary, that a fet of men, who were deftitute of principle and property, fhould be fo anxious about the intereft of that feft from whom they differed in religion; but Tone and Butler, the leaders of the fociety, were their agents, and received pay from them.

\* About the fame time a revolutionary club at Belfaft, called a reading fociety, entered uito refolutions in favour of the Roman catholicks.

† See Appendix, No. VI.

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In their address of the fourteenth of September, 1792, to the Irish nation, they feverely condemned the county meetings and the grand juries, who thanked the majority of the house of commons for rejecting the petition of the Roman catholics, and for passing resolutions against granting the elective franchise to them, and for censuring Edward Byrne's circular letter for choosing delegates. They condemn also the address presented by lord Kenmare on the twenty-seventh of December, 1791, with as much acrimony as the demagogues in the Catholic committee did; and because it was humble and respectful, they called it an eleemosynary address. In short, the whole of it is taken up with the claims of the Romanists.

On the twenty-third of November, 1792, William Drennan, chairman, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, secretary, they addressed the delegates for promoting a reform in Scotland; and on December the fourteenth, the volunteers of Ireland, to whom their address is a direct invocation to rebellion. It directs that parochial meetings should be held, and that each should elect and return delegates to form a national convention; and they say in it, that the civil assembly should be attended by military associations.

October twenty-sixth, they addressed the friends of the people at London; November twenty-fifth, the delegates for reform in Scotland; and introduce catholic emancipation into it.

November thirtieth, they addressed a circular letter to all the societies of united Irishmen in the kingdom; and resolved to effect a better organization, and a more intimate union with the different societies, than had before subsisted; and to communicate all their publications to the confederated societies.

On the twenty-fifth of January, 1793, they addressed the Irish nation.

November twenty-fifth, they addressed the British convention who had affiliated with them, and proposed universal suffrage and annual parliaments, which the united Irishmen assented to, and resolved to adopt.

By a report made the fourteenth of August, 1797, by a provincial meeting of delegates of Ulster, it appears that there was a number of societies of united Irishmen in North America, whose professed object was to assist Ireland.\*

\* See report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. IV.

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All these addresses, which are very inflammatory, are to be found in the Appendix, No. V. of the last report of the secret committee of 1798.

It is observable, that the main purport of them is the repeal of the penal laws against the Roman catholics.

They had a committee of constitution, of finance, of correspondence, of accommodation, a treasurer, a secretary, and a seal of office.

Their law agent was Matthew Dowling, a fellow of a most infamous character, who has been transported to Scotland with a numerous gang of traitors, who probably would have been hanged, but that they obtained the royal mercy on condition of going into banishment.

A writer in America, who assumes the name of Peter Porcupine, describes the institution there, and gives an account of their declaration and constitution. It complains much of the tyranny of England over Ireland, and enforces the necessity of her emancipation, and the establishment of a republic there.

On the twenty-first of January, 1792, they made a report of the popery laws in force in the kingdom, by their chairman, the honourable Simon Butler. In fact, he was in the utmost indigence, and was paid by them for making it, though it was in the name of the society. It

contained many gross falsehoods and exaggerated misstatements, tending to inflame the popish multitude, and to deceive the government of England and Ireland.

In the debate of the Roman Catholics, assembled in Dublin on the twenty-third of March, 1792, Mr. Keogh said of it, "For a late publication, the digest of the popery laws, the united Irishmen, and their respectable chairman, the honourable Simon Butler, demand our warmest gratitude."

It is stated in the report of the secret committee of the house of lords, made in 1797, "That the leaders and directors of the united Irishmen are now, and have been for some time past, anxiously engaged in uniting with them a class of men who had formerly disturbed the peace of this country by acts of outrage, robbery and murder, under the appellation of defenders; and that the committee had reason to apprehend, that in a certain degree they had succeeded."

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The following observation is to be found in the report of the house of commons made in 1798, page 9; and, in the course of my enquiries, I have found it to be strictly true:

"That the counties in which defenderism had prevailed, easily became converts to the new doctrines; and, in the summer of 1797, the usual concomitants of the treason, namely, the plundering houses of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of those who did not join the party, began to appear in the midland counties."

William Paulet Carey, who was admitted a member of the society, became their printer. He published a newspaper, called the National Evening Star, which he called the organ, and himself the printer, of the people. It was very inflammatory.

He was prosecuted by the attorney-general for having printed in his paper some seditious publications, at the instance of the united Irishmen, who resolved, in the most solemn manner, to defend him at their own expence; but they afterwards abandoned him to the vengeance of the law, and he was ruined.

In revenge, he wrote a pamphlet, in which he abused and exposed them with some ability, and not without wit.

He bellows the following encomium on Mr. John Keogh. In speaking of one Matthew, a chandler, he says, "In the Catholic committee he appeared for nine years the colleague of Keogh, whose courage and talents first gave the impulse of freedom to three millions of Irishmen, and who originated the bold measure of overturning the aristocracy of the Catholic committee."\*

He speaks of Napper Tandy in the highest strain of panegyric, and of E. Crookshank Keane.

He is extravagant in his praise of Edward Byrne, and of William T. Jones, the first protestant senator, he says, who brought forward the question of Catholic emancipation.

Among the list of worthies whom he panegyricizes, we find Matthew Dowling.

Carey says, in his pamphlet, "That as the united Irishmen came forward in the presence of God, and pledged themselves to labour for a reform

\* This alludes to the secession of sixty-three members.

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of every species of corrupt influence, and had eloquently declaimed against the profusion of the publick money, he could not have expected that they would have abandoned the press and the printer, for the wine cask, the cook and the vintner."

They, in excuse, complained of the apathy of the people; that their funds were exhausted; that money came in flowly; and that they must discharge, in the first place, £200 which sum was yet due for wine drank in Newgate. This alludes to the imprisonment of Bond and Butler, which I shall explain hereafter.

Though they sacrificed this unfortunate man, they defended, at their own expence, Messrs. Drennan, Rowan, Tandy, Bond and Butler, who were prosecuted for seditious practices.

Carey makes the following just remark in his pamphlet "The history of political parties is but too often a picture of knaves betraying, and of knaves betrayed; of ambitious and indigent profligates, labouring to get into affluence and power; and of honest men contributing by their own degradation to lift them into affluence and power."

The idea of uniting the presbyterians and Roman catholics, to subvert the constitution, had existed for some years.

I mentioned before, that the bishop of Cloyne -wrote a pamphlet in the year 1787, on the persecution of his clergy; and that it drew on him the vengeance of some presbyterian ministers and popish priests, whose sectaries seemed to rejoice at this apparent junction of the two orders. On that occasion, Carey, who had been bred at the Dublin society as an engraver, published a print, representing doctor Campbell, a dissenting minister, and father O'Leary, a friar, shaking hands. They were the most virulent antagonists of the bishop.

In the beginning of the year 1793, the house of lords instituted a secret committee, to enquire into the nature and origin of the disturbances made in different counties by the defenders, and summoned some persons to give evidence concerning them.

The society of united Irishmen in Dublin, the honourable Simon Butler in the chair, Oliver Bond, secretary, published some severe animadversions on the powers which they assumed; and in doing so, they were guilty of a gross libel on that assembly, and a violation of its privileges;

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for which they were committed to Newgate by the house of lords, and fined £500 each.

While in prison, they were maintained in the following manner, by the members of the society: They made four hundred tickets, of which a certain number were blanks, the remainder were marked with the dates of the days that the prisoners were to remain in confinement; and any person who drew one of the latter, was obliged to provide a dinner, with twelve covers, on the day specified in his ticket. Four persons were invited by each of the prisoners, and three by the person who procured the ticket, who, with himself, made twelve.\*

There is not a doubt, but that there was a close connection between the Catholic committee and the society of united Irishmen, for some of the former were members of the latter; but it is very remarkable, that none of the Romanists ever took an open and active part in it, such as chairman or secretary; but remaining behind the curtain, they left the obnoxious and oftenfible proceedings to be conducted by a few men who were totally void of all religious principle, though they assumed the mask and the name of protestants.

The united Irishmen, who were bold and enterprising, assaulted the constitution as it were with a battering ram; the Catholic committee silently, and by saps, inciting the people to insurrection and outrage, while they made publick declarations of their unshaken loyalty and unremitting respect for the laws.

The latter had this advantage, that none but Romanists could be members of the committee; and persons of their persuasion were admitted into the society of united Irishmen, and were actually associated in it.

We find, that when persons were sent to different parts of the country from Dublin, to persuade the people to unite and fraternize, they often consisted of persons delegated from each body, which shewed their intimate connexion.

As the lower classes of presbyterians bore an inveterate hatred against the Roman catholics, and as they on all occasions successfully opposed the defenders, who were encouraged and protected by the Catholic committee,

\* The heavy expence attending this scheme contributed to damp the ardour of the society, and induced some members to secede from it.

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we find that the latter, and the united Irishmen, used the utmost exertions to unite the two orders, as their co-operation was necessary to promote their revolutionary designs.

In the month of July, 1792, Theobald Wolfe Tone, John Keogh, and Richard Mc Cormick were sent by the Catholic committee on a mission to the northern counties, which were disturbed by the peep-of-day boys and defenders, to effect a reconciliation between them.\* In their way they were joined by Samuel Neilson, an active and artful demagogue, who was professedly a presbyterian, but who, as well as Tone, a reputed protestant, was destitute of all religious principle. They pretended to be actuated by motives of the purest patriotism and benevolence; but as Tone, Neilson, and McCormick, appeared afterwards to be notorious traitors, we cannot be at a loss to know their real views.

At Rathfriland, in the county of Down, Tone mounted the rostrum, and haranguing the populace, recommended peace and unanimity to them, on the grounds of christian charity and brotherly love. He threw out many invectives against government, whom he represented as desirous of dividing the people, for the purpose of governing them corruptly and despotically; and he advised that all orders should unite to oppose their base and sinister designs. A magistrate, who happened to be present, silenced the orator, by reminding him that there were flocks in town; on which he and his associates precipitately left it, and proceeded on their mission.

Soon after, Mr. John Keogh, accompanied by one O'Hanlon, a grocer of Newry, and his son, both papists, made a second attempt to reconcile these two orders, at Rathfriland; but the dissenters shewed so strong an aversion to it, that the missionaries were forced out of town, and were refused accommodation at the principal inn.

It required some time and unabated exertion to overcome the strong antipathy which existed between the papists and the lower classes of presbyterians; and it probably could not have been accomplished, if the leaders of the conspiracy had not attached to their cause the clergy of both.

From the men who composed this mission, it is evident, that the Catholic committee, and the united Irishmen were closely connected,

\* Many missions of this kind were undertaken in 1792 and 1793.

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and labouring in the same vineyard: Tone was at the same time the secretary of the former, and the original framer and the chief leader of the latter in Dublin; Neilson in Belfast; Keogh and McCormick were the most active members of the former. At a general meeting of the Roman catholic committee in July, 1792, an address was voted to the defenders, and circulated in every parish, where they had made their appearance, exhorting them to a peaceable deportment, a respect for the laws, and to abstain from every measure that might give offence to their protestant brethren. For their laudable endeavours in this instance, as well as by their missionaries, to restore peace and social order, they received many flattering encomiums from their republican friends in Belfast, published in the Northern Star.

The following anecdote will show the reader what a strong antipathy there existed between the presbyterians and papists of the North:

On Monday, May sixth, 1792, the funeral of a Roman catholic, attended by great numbers decorated with ribands, carrying a flag and forming a kind of martial procession, proceeded from the village of Hilltown in the county of Down, through the town of Rathfriland to the grave-yard of the parish of Ballyroney. In passing through Rathfriland, they were hooted, insulted and pelted with dirt, by the presbyterians; but when they arrived at the grave-yard, and the priests began to chant the requiem of the deceased, they were attacked by the presbyterians with stones and clubs, and compelled to fly, leaving the corpse unburied. They were then hunted across the country, and pursued to a considerable distance by their assailants.

There appeared in the year 1792, in the Northern Star, a newspaper published at Belfast, which was a vehicle of treason and sedition, many exhortations to the Roman catholics and presbyterians to unite in the common cause; an address to them for that purpose, penned with peculiar energy, was published in that print on the seventeenth of January, 1792. It is certain that the presbyterians of Belfast were as warm in this courtship as the Roman catholics. In the year 1792, when the former paid the most fervent adulation to the latter, they built a chapel for them at Belfast; and Waddell Cunningham, a merchant of great wealth in that town, and a noted republican, attended the celebration of mass in a papist chapel there, at the head of a company of volunteers,

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who, as well as their leader, were presbyterians; and a similar scene was exhibited at Lifford by doctor Crawford, a physician and captain of a company of presbyterian volunteers. As religionists they hated each other; but both having one grand object, the subversion of the constitution, politics became the instrument of their union, like two fluids that are heterogeneous and immiscible, but which can be made to unite and amalgamate by what the chymists call an intermede or a tertium quid.

About that time, a priest of Belfast, who was sensible and loyal, happened to be invited by two principal merchants of that town to take share of a bottle of wine with them. Politics, and the sincere regard which the presbyterians of Belfast entertained for their catholic brethren, became the subject of conversation, when one of the merchants proposed that a marriage should take place between the two orders. The priest wittily replied, with all my heart, I can have no objection to it; though when a similar proposal was lately made to me by a member of the established church, I absolutely opposed it. Why so? said one of the presbyterians; that appears very extraordinary: Not at all, replied the priest; for I consider an union with the established church as a kind of incest, as we are too nearly related; but the presbyterians may marry with us whenever they choose, for we are not the least akin.

It is most certain, that the first leaders in the North, though regarded as presbyterians, were in fact infidels, who endeavoured to extinguish all religious principle by the dissemination of French doctrines, the circulation of Paine's Age of Reason, and publications of that stamp; and well knowing that even the religious part of their order were inimical to monarchy, and particularly to our hierarchy, they endeavoured to avail themselves of that propensity in them to overturn the government; knowing also, that the Roman catholics had dispositions strongly hostile to a protestant state, they endeavoured to form a union with them for the above purpose.

The presbyterians engaged in the conspiracy were chiefly confined to the counties of Down and Antrim; and even there none of the respectable members of that order were concerned in it. Some of the most profligate dissenting ministers\* in those counties, who became partizans

\* See in Appendix, No. XII. the presbyterian ministers of the Counties of Down and Antrim concerned in the rebellion, and the punishments which they suffered.

of the united Irishmen, prevailed on the rabble of their persuasion, and such of them as were devoid of principle and property, to join in the plot; but very few, if any, of the really religious presbyterians entered into it.

Some of the most intelligent persons of the North have assured me, that the infidel leaders thought they had gone rather\* too far, even before the rebellion broke out, in raising the hopes of a popish establishment in the mass of the Roman catholics; having discovered too late that religious bigotry formed the principal, if not the sole spring of action among them, which evidently appeared on the explosion of the conspiracy.

It is a positive fact, that John Sheares† promised a complete extinction of his religion in consideration of catholic co-operation, without reflecting that it was an act of spontaneity in them; by this he meant the subversion of the protestant hierarchy, for he was as destitute of religious principle as the few conspirators of that persuasion who confederated with him. The only bounds of separation between the presbyterians and papists was the established church, which suspended and suppressed their mutual enmity; and the subversion of it, like the removal of a peninsula between two raging seas, would have produced collision and discord. While some of the unprincipled presbyterian ministers of the counties of Down and Antrim were decrying religious bigotry, under the pretext of liberality, they almost prostituted religion itself, in order to prepare the minds of their flock for the reception of rebellious doctrines; but the popish priests, fearing that the light of the new philosophy would dispel the illusions of purgatory, holy oil, holy water, and absolution, which gave them a complete ascendancy over their superstitious sectaries, and which, like true alchemists, they could turn into gold, infused into them a more than ordinary degree of fanaticism, well knowing that it would augment the sacerdotal power over them, and increase their hatred to the protestant estate; for these reasons, the popish multitude appeared more sanguinary against the members of the established church, and more devoted to their clergy wherever the rebellion broke out, than they had been for many years before; though they universally pretended that their influence was entirely done away.

\* A Cork gentleman who was a most efficient member of the union, having studied the theory of insurrection at Paris.

Thus the dissenting ministers and popish priests endeavoured to attain the same end by different means. Joined to the malignant efforts of the united Irishmen, there is not a doubt, but that the active interference of some French democrats among the disaffected part of the Irish nation, their extravagant admiration of the French revolution, and their correspondence with some of the clubs in France, contributed materially to diffuse the intoxicating poison of republicanism.

In the years 1791 and 1792, Rabaud de St. Etienne, the bosom friend of Briffot, the famous leader of the Girondine party in the French national assembly, passed some time between Dublin and Belfast, fowing the seeds of future combustion.

The society of the friends of the constitution, assembled at Clermont in France in the month of October, 1791, resolved, that, on perusing the different publications addressed from various parts of Ireland to the national assembly and the people of France, an address, then agreed to, should be forwarded to the volunteers of Ireland, at Dublin, and which address was published in the public prints; and an answer to said address was agreed to by the volunteers of Dublin, and forwarded to France in January, 1792. It was signed by James Napper Tandy, Thomas Bacon a tailor, Edward Newenham, William T. Smith, A. H. Rowan, J. T. Aftienhurst; and contained the most extravagant encomiums on the French constitution, and condemned the Irish as imperfect, and as founded in tyranny.

In a society of united Irishmen assembled at Temple Patrick, in the county of Down, on the nineteenth of December, 1791, which was soon after the formation of the institution, and shews how rapidly it spread, they resolved to promote Catholic emancipation, and a reform of parliament; and assert, that whilst an extra-national government retains the power of the national purse; and whilst religious animosities, under the direction of insidious administrations, continue to divide Irishmen, it is vain to expect emancipation, or the blessings of a free constitution.

The celebration of the anniversary of the French revolution, which took place at Belfast on the fourteenth of July, 1792, opened a wide and extensive theatre for traitors and disaffected persons of every rank, character, and religious persuasion, to fraternize and spread the infection of their noxious principles.

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Some months before, it was announced in the public prints, and all the volunteers of the province of Ulster were invited to assist there. Mr. Tone, thinking that this would afford him a good opportunity of attaching to his system a great number of the Northern presbyterians, well trained to arms, sent to a republican friend at Belfast, the resolutions and declarations of the united Irishmen, and desired him to propound them to the volunteers, when they were intoxicated with the admiration of French liberty.

The main object of the resolutions is, "a complete internal union of all the people of Ireland, to resist the weight of English influence." He says in his letter, "with a reformed parliament every thing is easy; without it nothing can be done. The foregoing contain my true and sincere opinion of the state of this country, so far as in the present juncture it may be advisable to publish them. They certainly fall short of the truth; but truth itself must sometimes condescend to temporize. My unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Irish prosperity is in the influence of England.\* I believe that influence will be extended while the connexion between the two countries continues; nevertheless, as I know that that opinion is for the present too hardy, though a little time may establish it universally, I have not made it a part of the resolutions. I have not said one word that looks like a wish for separation; though I give it to you as my most decided opinion, that such an event would be regeneration to this country."

"I think the best time for publishing them will be on the fourteenth of July: I learn there is to be a commemoration of the French revolution; that morning star of liberty to Ireland!"

"The volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may adopt it, and I have worded it so as to leave them an opportunity. I have left, as you see, a blank for the name. As to the Roman Catholics, I have alluded to them, but so remotely, as I hope not to alarm the most cautious protestant. It is wicked nonsense to talk of a reform in Ireland, in which they shall not have their due share."

This shews how anxious he was about the Roman Catholics, whose hired agent and secretary he was at that time; and how artfully he

\* In the reign of James II the Irish Roman Catholics made a great outcry against English interest, as may be seen in Lord Clarendon's state letters.

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endeavours to allure the protestants to promote their luleren:, though their own destruction was involved in it.

The anniversary of this French revolution\* was celebrated with great pomp and splendour by a procession of many volunteer corps, in which some pageants and large emblematic figures, with mottos suitable to the occasion, were drawn by horses. On one of them, drawn by four horses, there was the following inscription: "The releasement of the prisoners from the Bastille." On the reverse, there was a figure of Hibernia, with one hand and foot in shackles, and a

volunteer presenting to her a figure of Liberty. The following motto was inscribed on another: "Our Gallic brethren were born July fourteenth, 1789: Alas! we are still in embryo." On the reverse, "Superstitious jealousy, the cause of the Irish Bastille: Let us unite and destroy it." Among them appeared the portrait of doctor Franklin, with this motto, "Where liberty is, there is my country."

I have been informed by many gentlemen well acquainted with the real sentiments of the presbyterians of the North, that they harbour a most inveterate hatred towards the Roman catholics; that they never sincerely wished that they should obtain the elective franchise; and that they endeavoured to raise their expectations very high, from a malignant hope, that a disappointment, arising from not having them fulfilled, would exasperate them against the state, and make them more sanguine in their desires to overturn it.

On the other hand, the Romanists were less sincere; for the late rebellion proves that they meant to make use of that sect of the protestants, merely as an engine to overturn the constitution, and to have extirpated the whole order of protestants when they had succeeded. As there are many good and loyal subjects among both these religionists, I think it right to apologize to them; and to assure them, that I allude only to the ignorant, the unprincipled, and uneducated ranks of both.

The Catholic committee, hoping that they might conciliate and gain over to their cause the volunteers of Ulster, assembled at Belfast, when the flame of liberty excited in their breasts the most tender emotions of fraternity and benevolence, and extinguished all mean and selfish affections, sent fourteen delegates there, of whom one was a priest, some days before the civic feast began.

\* It lasted some days.

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A Frenchman, who had been very busy intriguing in Dublin, attended there also.

When the procession was over, the volunteers and many of the inhabitants of the town assembled in the linen-hall, and entered on the discussion of politics. Parliamentary reform, and an universal restoration of all the privileges of the Roman catholics were resolved on.

They then voted an address to the national assembly of France, and another to the people of Ireland.

The leading orators, and the chief friends of the Romanists on this occasion, were Messrs. Sampson and Neilson, notorious rebels, presbyterians by profession, but decided deists; the reverend T. Birch, the reverend doctor Dickson, and the reverend S. Kelburne,\* presbyterian ministers, and doctor Caldwell, a noted republican.

These active citizens, and the delegates from the Roman catholic committee, whose hatred towards each other could be equalled by nothing but their zeal to overturn the constitution, which was their only bond of union, were like two bands of robbers in Arabia, whose competition for plunder was an unceasing source of enmity; but meeting with a rich caravan, so well guarded, that they despair singly of conquering it, they therefore unite for that purpose.

The Roman catholic delegates having completely succeeded in their negotiation for fraternizing with the presbyterians, and for attaching them to their cause, gave way to immoderate joy, and poured out many a libation to Bacchus, on the night of the day that the civic feast was held.

On the fourteenth of July, the volunteers of Dublin assembled and fired three volleys on the quay, in commemoration of the French revolution; and on that day, and on the fifteenth of July, many political clubs dined together, to celebrate that event.

On the twenty-third of May, 1792, the Polifh revolution was celebrated at Belfaft; that day being its anniverfary. A numerous company who dined at the Donegal arms, drank the following among other toads: The rights of man and Tom Paine: the fovereignty of the people: may philofophy enlighten all nations, and form the whole into one family: the revolution fociety of London: James Napper Tandy, and a fpeedy check to unconfitutional and undefined privileges.

\* Birch and Dickfon have been tranfported; Kelburn was imprifoned a confiderable time.

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May eighteenth, 1792, the Belfaft fecond fociety of united Irifhmen refolved on contributing their fhare of money to affift the people of France in the prefent war.

At this time there exifted a Northern whig club, which frequently publifhed refolutions of a revolutionary tendency.

On the twenty-eighth of October, 1792, they celebrated, with great pomp, at Belfaft, the retreat of the duke of Brunfwick's army from France. Lifburn, and many other towns of the North, followed their example.

December thirty-firft, 179?, the union fociety at Newry, confifting moftly of Romanifts, Patrick O'Hanlon,\* fecretary, refolved, "that their object was to remove religious prejudices, and to promote unanimity and brotherly love among Irifhmen of every feft and perfuafion."

The Roman catholicks of Dublin, duly convened by publick fummons the thirty-firft of October, 1792, Thomas Braughall in the chair, voted their thanks to the different volunteer corps reviewed in Ulfter; to the focieties of united Irifhmen of Dublin and Belfaft; to the proteftant freeholders of Cork;† and the gentlemen on grand juries, and at county meetings, and to all others among their proteftant brethren \ who manifefted a wifh for their emancipation.

Left the lower clafs of the Romanifts fhould not feel that enthufiafm in the caufe of emancipation which the Catholick committee did, numbers of the popifh multitude under the denomination of houfeholders of Dublin, were convened in their refpective parifhes, the latter end of the year 1792, when they entered into a difcuffion of their claims.

At an affembly of them the thirty-firft of October, one of the leading members of the Catholick committee, to animate them, faid, "Look to the proteftant part of Ireland, the North; look to Belfaft; look to the four focieties of united Irifhmen there; to the declaration of the volunteers in every part of Ireland, *riſing once more from their lethargy to raiſe their degraded country.*"

Two volunteer corps, affembled under arms at Belfaft on the feventh of September, 1792, expreffed their joy at feeing that the fpirit of

\* He attended John Keogh on his miſſion to Rathfriland.

† This was a mob confifting moftly of papifts, convened by a few difcontented gentlemen foured by difappointed ambition.

On the contrary, the real proteftants this very year were loud and vehement againft granting the Roman catholicks the elective franchife.

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volunteering was reyiving throughout the province of Ulfter, being confident, that the rights of the people are moft feure, when they are able to affert them; and that they are perfuaded the country owes whatever commerce and confitution it poffeffes to the fpirit and wifdom of the volunteers; and they re-adopt the refolutions of thofe affembled at Dungannon the fifteenth of February, 1782, and the eighth of September, 1783, in which a total repeal of the popery laws, and an union of perfons of every religious perfuafion, is recommended.

A revolutionary club, who called themselves the Irish Jacobins of Belfast, published a most seditious address to the publick on the fifteenth of December, 1792, in the Northern Star, in which they say there is no national government, and that there must be a complete representation of the people; and they inculcate the necessity of parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation.

Different revolutionary societies in the North, raised by subscription, in the year 1792, considerable sums of money for the republicans of France. At Coleraine they subscribed £600. The inhabitants of Drumacoe, in the parish of Newtownlimavady, and its vicinity, set one on foot the tenth of July, and invited persons of every religious persuasion to contribute to it.

In July, 1792, Monsieur Francois read a letter in the French convention, written by a society of friends to the French constitution in Ireland, who praised it very much, and offered eight hundred livres towards the expenses of the state.

In the year 1792, there existed the following political clubs in Dublin: The Whig club: The Whigs of the capital, who circulated twenty thousand copies of Tom Paine's Rights of Man, at 1d. each, but many of them *gratis*, to enlighten the people: The friends of the constitution, liberty and peace:\* The Catholic committee: The Catholic society: The united Irishmen; who were very numerous: The defenders, who multiplied to a very extraordinary degree, were much influenced by the united Irishmen, and with whom they began to affiliate in the year 1792: Many reading clubs: The Shamrock, Telegraphick, and Philanthropick societies,

\* Many men of principle and good fortune, who wished for nothing but a simple reform of parliament, were members of it, but did not know the latent designs of the rebels.

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which were ramifications of defenderism, and confided of the lower classes of the people, and furnished the united Irishmen with affidavits. The Philanthropick passed sentence of death on captain Giffard in the year 1794\* when high sheriff of the city; but the affidavit appointed to execute it, being touched with remorse, informed him of it, and put him on his guard.

On Monday the twenty-seventh of February, 1792, an event happened which filled all loyal subjects with alarming apprehensions, and with ominous conjectures, left the malignant designs of the traitors, who were numerous at that time in the metropolis, might terminate in its destruction. About the hour of four o'clock on that day, when the house of commons were in a committee, a member, conceiving that he perceived the smell of fire, sent some of the servants to the dome of the edifice, and they immediately announced that it was on fire. The members, having instantly retired to the opposite side of the street, saw the flames bursting from it in several places and in opposite directions, and the whole was instantly in a blaze. The utmost exertion, with all the buckets and engines of the city, were used to extinguish it, but in vain; for that magnificent edifice was entirely consumed.

It occasioned universal consternation; the guards at the castle, and the magazine in the park, were doubled; and the artillery approached the city.

A committee of the house, who sat to determine on the cause of it, reported, that it happened by accident; though the ablest members of that committee were convinced that it was done by design; but they feared that the admission of it would be injurious to the trade and credit of the nation. An idea was universally diffused, that one of the metal flues, constructed for the purpose of warming the house, had communicated fire to the dome; but for the following reasons that will appear to have been utterly impossible: They were made of cast iron; they were placed outside the house, so as to have no communication with the dome, which was sheathed with a thick coat of copper; and there was no timber employed in the construction of the flues.

Mr. Penrose, an able architect,\* and well versed in many other sciences, was decidedly of opinion, that it was not possible for the flames, or any

\* He was architect of the houses of parliament, and had been at that time daily inspecting the roof of the house of commons, as he was repairing it.

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accident, to have occasioned the fire; that it was done by deliberate design, and must have been effected by some chemical process.

The dome was formed of an immense body of solid timber, which, in the ordinary progress of fire, would require some hours to consume; and yet it soon formed a circular body of fixed inextinguishable flame, and was consumed in about an hour and a half.

As there were at that time in the city two desperate factions, who, we have learned by fatal experience, meditated the subversion of the constitution, and the destruction of the government, it is not unlikely that it was perpetrated by one or either of them, or by both in conjunction; as it will appear in the sequel that they often co-operated.

Napper Tandy had narrowly escaped the vengeance of the house of commons, for having offered a gross insult to one of its members; and a proclamation for his apprehension appeared at that time in the newspapers.

About the same time, all the efforts of Richard Burke, agent to the Catholic committee, were completely baffled; and he with difficulty escaped the resentment of the house of commons. He had prevailed on one of its members to present a petition on the part of his employers, and he had the folly and presumption to enter into the body of the house, to prompt the gentleman who had undertaken that talk, which excited the indignation of that assembly; and nothing but his precipitate retreat saved him from being arrested by the ferjeant at arms.

The overweening and insolent petition of that body had been recently “dismissed with indignant contempt; and the new popery bill, which though it gave them considerable privileges, blasted their future expectations, had just passed through the house of commons. The leading catholics of Dublin gave various proofs of the indignation which they felt at these disappointments, particularly in their debate on the twenty-third of March in Fishamble-street.

From the many traitors and incendiaries who appeared in these two bodies in the year 1798, we may fairly conclude, that they would not hesitate to form a scheme for destroying the house of commons, when they had meditated a plot for overturning the state, and the extirpation of numbers of the most valuable members of society.\*

\* Some of the wretches arrested on the explosion of the rebellion, acknowledged that they knew of, and were privy to, the burning of the house, previous to its perpetration; and one person swore an information of it.

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Supposing, therefore, that it was an accident, it must be acknowledged that it happened at a very critical moment.

It is observable, that a few days before the perpetration of this horrid crime, the following printed paper was distributed through the streets in the form of a hand bill, and posted on the city walls, and even on the house of commons, under the proclamation issued for apprehending Napper Tandy:

“The members of a certain great house, not far from the college, are hereby cautioned how they persecute to ruin a virtuous citizen, for defending his character, and asserting the liberties of Ireland; if they do not, let them beware of the awl of the cobbler of Melfina.”\*

Early in the year 1792, a military body who styled themselves national guards, because they endeavoured to affiliate to those at Paris, were arrayed and disciplined in Dublin. Subscriptions were set on foot to purchase uniforms, pikes and accoutrements for them, and of which they bestowed large quantities!

They wore green uniforms, with buttons, having a harp, and a cap of liberty instead of a crown.† Their leaders were A. H. Rowan and James Napper Tandy, who addressed each other, and the members of their rebellious corps, by the appellation of citizen, in imitation of the French.

The multitude in Dublin were so much affected at this time, that they used to wish success to these traitors, openly and without reserve, as they passed them by in the street, or saw them on parade.

The minds of the people were so much infected with treason, and so prone to rise the latter end of the year 1792, and the beginning of the year 1793, that a general insurrection was apprehended; and even particular nights were fixed for that purpose, of which government had certain

\* A gentleman, now living, informed a member of the privy council, that he was acquainted with circumstances which would lead to the discovery of the burning of the house of commons; but he afterwards informed him, that the council did not wish to enter into an investigation of it.

† This band of traitors sprung from the volunteers; as stated in the report of the secret committee.

‡ Carey, the printer of the united Irishmen, boasted in his pamphlet, "that he was Mr. Rowan's companion in arms, in the first national battalion; and that he opposed and finally procured the abolition of the mischievous button and cockade, which afforded a pretext to the enemies of our glorious volunteer institution to prevent its suspension."

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tain information. In short, the city was like a great hell, fraught with various combustibles, and ready to explode on the application of a match.

Five nights out of seven alderman Fleming, by the orders of government, patrolled the streets with a body of horse.

Lord Westmorland desired him to attend particularly to the customhouse, the post-office, and the gaol, as his excellency had undoubted information that they were the first places to be attacked; and that the signal for rising was to have been the pulling down of the statue of king William in College-green, with ropes.

One night lord Westmorland was so much afraid that the insurrection would take place, that, though he had given orders in the morning to the alderman to patrol that night, he sent an aide-camp in the evening to see that he was in readiness to do so.

It was discovered at that time, that there was a conspiracy to assassinate Mr. Beresford. One of the persons privy to it confessed it to alderman James.

The national guards, and all the volunteer corps of Dublin, were summoned by Matthew Dowling, to assemble on Sunday the ninth of December, 1792, to celebrate the victory of the French, and the triumph of universal liberty. The summons began with the appellation of "citizen soldier."

Government, having received undoubted information that a general insurrection was meditated, issued a proclamation on the eighth of December against their assembling, which struck such terror into them, that the national guards did not assemble; and the only persons who appeared on parade were A. H. Rowan, J. N. Tandy, and Carey the printer. For this measure of precaution, which saved the city from plunder and conflagration, and its most valuable inhabitants from assassination, we are indebted to the earl of Clare, the present lord chancellor,

whose wisdom, sagacity, and unabated fortitude, notwithstanding many plots which were formed to murder him, have preserved the kingdom of Ireland, on various occasions, from utter destruction. The exalted sphere to which he has been raised, and the honours conferred on him by our gracious sovereign, prove the superior excellence of a mixed government like ours, where the monarch selects men, like him, distinguished for wisdom, abilities, and virtue, to fill the principal departments of the state; but in a republick, where demagogues can turn the giddy multitude like a torrent,

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to overwhelm every thing that is great and good, a Tone, a Tandy, or a Sheares, would fill the department over which this noble lord so worthily presides.

On the thirty-first of January, 1793, an address of thanks to lord Westmorland was moved and carried in the house of commons, for having issued this proclamation. In the debate on it, lord Edward FitzGerald arose, and said aloud, in an angry tone, "I give my most hearty disapprobation to this; for I do think, that the lord lieutenant, and the majority of this house, are the worst men in the kingdom." The house had serious thoughts of expelling him; but, with singular pusillanimity, pardoned him on making a flight excuse.

There was as much treason in the city of Dublin in the year 1792 as in the year 1798; but with this difference, that it was not organized into system.

An ingenious writer, in a letter addressed to a friend in England, and published in the year 1792, makes the following observations on this period: "On your side the water, philosophy, I suppose, is defined after the good old manner; the love or study of wisdom, moral or natural. With us it is a word of a very different import; for in Ireland, no man is allowed to possess either wisdom or learning, who does not believe in the new American gospel; who is not in politics a republican; and in religion a presbyterian, a papist, or an infidel. Out of these, there is no saving wisdom: Such are the signs by which Irish philosophy is known. Sometimes, indeed, it displays itself in libels on the king and the revolution; and he who discharges the greatest portion of filth is the deepest philosopher."

The political horizon of Ireland was so much darkened at this time by black threatening clouds, that trade and publick credit were materially injured. Bank stock which had been so high as £171 fell to £158 and the other funds in proportion. Lottery tickets shared the same fate.

As the Roman catholics were chiefly instrumental in bringing the country into this alarming state, doctor McKenna, a member of that order, stepped forward with a reasonable and judicious address, in which he told them, "that they lived under a wise and fortunate organization of society that, violence in asserting what they call their rights, ought

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not to be employed; for few political benefits are of sufficient value to be purchased by commotion."

When the disaffected clubs found that they could not elude the vigilance of the magistrates, who often dispersed or arrested them, they used to assemble in the environs of the capital, particularly at Harold's-crofts, under a pretext of boxing or playing at foot-ball.

Notwithstanding the proclamation of the eighth of December, the goldsmiths' corps, commanded by major Bacon the tailor, and that noted traitor Dowling, paraded in Ship-street, on Sunday the twenty-seventh of January, but were dispersed by alderman Warren; however, before their dispersion, they entered into strong resolutions in favour of catholic emancipation\* and reform of parliament.

In defiance of the proclamation of the eighth of December, to prevent the affociation and aifembling of difaffected perfons in arms, under a pretence of obtaining a redrefs of grievances, the Dublin rangers paraded in Ship-ftreet, on Sunday the twenty-fourth of February, 1793. Alderman James, unattended by any civil or military force, defired them to difperfe; but, on their refufal, Mr. Oliver Carleton, an active and intelligent magiftrate, purfued and overtook them on Effex-bridge, where he attempted to feize the adjutant; telling him, at the fame time, that he was his prifoner; but he was refcued. Mr. Carleton received fome blows, and was pelted with ftones by the mob, who were warm partifans of thefe armed traitors. Alderman James purfued them to Drumcondra, with a party of the army, but they difperfed before he could approach them.

On the fixteenth of January, the inhabitants of Belfaft affembled, and voted an addrefs of thanks to his majefty, for having recommended the Roman catholicks to the confideration of parliament.

On the fourteenth of January, 1793, a motion was made in the houfe of commons for a parliamentary reform, which was the grand defideratum of the united Irifhmen, and one of the engines by which they hoped to overturn and proftrate the conftitution.†

\* Thefe words were adopted to make the people of England believe that the Irifh papifts were flaves, though they enjoyed more civil liberty than the moft favoured fubjects of any European ftate, except England.

† It is remarkable, that the oppofition in the parliaments of England and Ireland fed the hope and promoted the wifths of the difaffected by inflammatory fpeeches.

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Many attempts were made at Belfaft, fo early as the year 1792, to feduce the military. Jofeph Cuthbert, a mafter tailor, there was condemned to ftand in the pillory for that offence.

In the month of April, 1793, the difaffected people of that town would not fuffer the loyal inhabitants to illuminate their houfes, for the fuccefs of our allies on the continent. Some of the diifenting minifters of that town offered up prayers for the fuccefs of the French republicans againft the powers who oppofed them. It generally happens that the moral and political principles of men, in a great meafure, emanate from and are modified by their religion. As the prefbyterian church was formed in a republick, and as its ecclefiastical eftablifhment was affimilated to the civil policy of the ftate, its members in every country in Europe have fhewn a difhke to every form of government but a democrattick. For this reafon, the calviniftical minifters in France, juftified the rebellion againft Charles I. and prayed publickly for its fuccefs; and, left from their zeal they might have been confidered as entertaining views and wifhes hoftile to their own government, one of their ableft profeffors at Saumur publifhed the following abfurd apology for them: That the kings of France were abfolute by prefcription; but that thofe of England were fubordinate to the parliament. Nothing fhews fo much the excellence of our conftitution, as having the king at the head of the ecclefiastical ftate.

I before obferved, page 8, that while this policy was adhered to by the emperors of Rome and Conftantinople, peace and tranquillity reigned in their dominions; but when the bifhop of Rome affumed a right to regulate religious matters in them, it produced inceffant ftrife and difcord.

It was a ftanding law of an early date at Rome, that no one fhould feparately have new gods, or worship privately foreign gods, unlefs admitted by the commonwealth,\* and Ifocrates tells us, that the fame law exifted at Athens, †

Maecenas, in his advice to Auguftus, faid to him, “Perform divine worfhip, in all things, exactly according to the cuftom of your anceftors, and fuffer no innovations in religion; becaufe thofe who create fuch,

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are apt to make changes in civil affairs; hence conspiracies, feditions, and riots; things very dangerous to government.;" This obfervation apphes ftrongly to the ftate of Ireland at prefent, and that of England in the reign of Elizabeth and James I. before the bleffings of the reformation were fully experienced in it.

James Napper Tandy was indicted at the fpring affizes of 1793, held at Dundalk, in the county of Louth, for having diftributed feditious handbills the preceding fummer, to encourage the people of that country, much infected by the defenders, to rife; but having, through his attorney Matthew Dowling, difcovered that there were ftrong charges for high treafon againft him, he fled, forfeited his recognifances, and never fince appeared, till he was brought a prifoner from Hamburgh.

On the feventh of March, 1793, alderman James found and feized fome pikes in Suffolk-ftreet, and lodged them in the king's ftore;† fo early did the difaffected begin to procure thefe weapons.

In the month of January, 1793, the Roman catholick inhabitants of many parifhes in Dublin affembled, debated on their claims and pretentions, and voted addreffes to their delegates in the general committee; in which fome of them recommended the expulfion of lord Kenmare, and applauded the conduct of Meffrs. Braughall, Ryan, and Sutton.

The reader may eafily conceive for what purpofe the mafs of the papifts were thus affembled, and how much it muft have inflamed their paffions, and prepared their minds for the reception of fedition and treafon.

As the Roman catholicks of fome counties and diftricts had affembled with their proteftant fellow fubjects, to join in an addrefs to teftify their allegiance, the fub-committee of the Roman catholicks diffuaded them from doing fo, "fince," as they faid, "that end was answered in a more dignified, folemn, and authorized manner, by their delegates."

As large quantities of gun-powder and arms had been fent from the metropolis to the defenders, concealed in packages, and it was univerfally believed that much of both had been imported into the kingdom, the attorney general introduced a bill into the houfe of commons, to prevent any perfon from keeping, importing, or removing, any more than a certain quantity, without a licenfe, under a penalty of £500.

\* Dion Caffius, lib. iii. † They were the firft of thofe weapons difcovered in Dublin.

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This very falutary law, to which the falvation of the kingdom may in fome degree be imputed, was violently oppofed by the minority in parliament, and feverely condemned by the united Irifhmen, who feemed to concur in cenfuring every meafure of prevention and precaution, which government adopted to defeat the defigns of the confpirators.

In the year 1793, when republican principles were diffeminated by all the revolutionary focieties, in many publick prints, and various inflammatory publications, doctor Troy, titular archbifhop of Dublin, publihed a pamphlet, entitled a Paftoral Letter, in which, after departing from the main defign which he profefed, he faid, that the antient republicks of Florence, Sienna, and Pifa, were eftablifhed and governed by Roman catholicks, who ftill continue to fupport thofe of Poland, Venice, Genoa, Ragufa, Lucca and Marino; and he makes the fame

remark in respect to the popish cantons of the Helvetic union, and observes that the calvinistical ones prefer an aristocratical government.

As popery has been generally congenial to monarchy, and rather favourable to despotism, it was believed that the doctor did this to attach more firmly the presbyterians to their cause, by proving that the popish persuasion was well suited to a republick.

The reader may deduce from subsequent events, whether this conjecture was well founded.

It struck me, and many persons of sagacity observed, that the horrors which people in general felt at the cruelties and barbarities committed by the French republicans, began to abate in the minds of the Roman catholics in the beginning of the year 1793, and that they continued to wear away gradually, till the rebellion broke out.

Doctor Huffey, in a pastoral letter, published in the year 1797, endeavoured to prove how well suited popery was to a republican form of government.

We may form some opinion of the alarming state of the North, from the report of the secret committee of the lords, made in 1793; and from a proclamation which issued the eleventh of March, of that year, which alludes chiefly to Belfast. It states, "that certain seditious and ill-affected persons, in several parts of the North, particularly in the town of Belfast, have endeavoured to foment and encourage discontent, and to defame the government and the parliament, by seditious publications,

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circulated among the people; and that several bodies of men have been collected in armed associations, and have been levied, and arrayed in the said town of Belfast; and that arms and gun-powder to a very large amount have been sent thither; and that bodies of men have been drilled and exercised by day and night, under the pretext of obtaining a redress of grievances, though the obvious intention appears to be, to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both."

It then charges all persons, under their allegiance, to abstain from committing such offences respectively.

This salutary and vigorous measure gave a vital blow to volunteering; and the pressure of the times called for it, as the Belfast volunteer company, assembled the seventeenth of December, 1792, resolved on an address to the volunteers of Ireland; in which they encouraged them to assemble as usual, and severely condemned the proclamation which issued on the eighth of December.

When the proclamation of the eleventh of March issued, the lord lieutenant's secretary wrote to the governor of Belfast, desiring him to prevent all illegal meetings of persons in arms; and informing him, that he and the other magistrates would be aided by the military, should they meet with any opposition in dispersing them.

In the month of January, 1793, there was a meeting held at Ballynahinch, to which all the parishes in the county of Down sent delegates regularly chosen, and recommended to them to promote parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation; and at a town meeting held in February following at Carrickfergus, in the county of Antrim, besides discussing these subjects, the policy of holding a national convention was strongly enforced.

In the beginning of the year 1793, meetings of the people were held in different towns and districts in the counties of Down and Antrim; when they inculcated the necessity of parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation, condemned the establishment of the militia, as tending to enslave the nation, and recommended the volunteers to assemble as usual.

On the fifteenth of February, 1793, a provincial meeting was held at Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, to which most of the parishes in Ulster sent delegates.

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Their debates were highly inflammatory. Every thing that could tend to depreciate the constitution, and debase and vilify the members of the government in the opinion of the people, was said there. They inveighed strongly against the war, and entered into resolutions against it.

Doctor Dickson, a presbyterian minister, and a noted demagogue, was the leading orator there. He inveighed bitterly against the militia; he said that the militia were but substitutes for them, and that the object of both was to enslave and not to defend the nation. He said, that catholic emancipation was but a shadow, as the gunpowder act, which he severely condemned, deprived not only the Roman catholics, but the protestants, of the use of arms. He reprobated the proclamation issued the eleventh of March against the illegal association of men in arms, and strongly exhorted the volunteers to assemble as usual. He declared, that he had three sermons ready for the press, which were calculated to enlighten the people; and he recommended to the delegates to circulate them in their respective districts. The publication of them was to be announced in the Northern Star, and Samuel Neilson was one of the persons appointed to receive subscriptions. He said, that the militia establishment was merely to promote venality and patronage, for the infamous train who fatten on the spoils of the people. He condemned the war in severe terms.

At the request of the herd of republicans assembled at Dungannon, he preached a sermon, or rather a political discourse, fraught with phlogistic principles, in a meeting-house, and was attended by persons of every religious persuasion. His text was Joseph's advice to his brethren, "See that ye fall not out by the way."

He recommended in his sermon catholic emancipation, and reform of parliament, on the basis of christianity.

In the summer of 1797, he, after the manner of Thelwall, used to read political discourses, which he called evening lectures, to his congregation at Portaferry, for the purpose, as he said, of enlightening them.

At Dungannon, they framed fifteen resolutions, which reflected upon government, and were very inflammatory; and before their prorogation,

\* Four regiments of them were raised in the year 1782, on advantageous terms to the state; because the officers were not to receive half-pay on being disbanded. They were hateful to the factious demagogues of that day, who hoped, through the volunteers, to subvert the constitution, as there were but few troops in the kingdom.

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they appointed a standing committee, who were to concert measures for assembling a national convention.

Soon after, most of the volunteers and many town and district meetings of the people in Ulster, assembled, and expressed their approbation of these resolutions.

Nothing can afford a stronger argument in favour of an union with Great Britain, than such meetings of the people, assembled for the purpose of overawing the parliament; particularly as they were constantly encouraged and made use of as engines to distress government, by the discontented members of the house of commons, at the expence of publick morals, peace, and industry.

In defiance of the proclamation of the eleventh of March, the true blue and Cork union volunteers adopted the following resolution, the thirty-first of May, 1793: "We proclaim aloud,

that we will never part with our arms, but with our lives;" and many other volunteer corps entered into similar resolutions.

Though the Roman Catholics were recently put exactly on a footing with Protestants, except that they were precluded from sitting in parliament, and from about thirty offices in the executive department, the defenders began in the month of June to commit the most dreadful outrages in many parts of the kingdom, but particularly in the counties of Kerry, Cork, Wexford, Limerick, Queen's County, Meath, Westmeath, Dublin, Cavan, Monaghan, Louth, and in the liberties of Drogheda, Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, Armagh, Down, Donegal, and Derry.

Treason and disaffection were universally diffused at this time. The united Irishmen used to send emissaries to different parts of the kingdom, who made it a practice of dispersing seditious hand-bills, in every county through which they passed, from carriages.\*

As the united Irishmen of Dublin and the provincial meeting at Dungannon proposed the convoking a national assembly, which was to have assembled in the month of September following, the lord chancellor, whose sagacity and political wisdom could be equalled by nothing but his

\* Left it should be said, that what I have asserted as to the disturbed state of the kingdom this year is not founded, I give in Appendix, No. XII. a statement of some of the outrages committed in different parts of the kingdom.

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firmness, presented a bill, "To prevent the election or other appointment, of conventions, or other unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting publick petitions or other addresses to his majesty, or the parliament."

This salutary measure averted a storm, which would probably have produced general anarchy and desolation, as there were but few troops in the kingdom; and the volunteers, at that time numerous, well armed and appointed, were very much inflamed against government, by the speeches of factious demagogues.

Nothing can evince more strongly the policy and utility of this law, than that Samuel Neilson declared upon oath, before the house of lords, "That the convention bill was calculated to meet every part of the system of united Irishmen." When he read it, he said, "he supposed the framer of it had their constitution before him whilst he was framing it." Neilson was one of the most active and intelligent members of the Irish union, except Tone.

In the month of October, 1793, the reverend and amiable Mr. Butler, chaplain to the bishop of Meath, was murdered near his lordship's house at Ardbrackan. It appeared afterwards, that he had been previously tried and sentenced to die by a committee of assassination.

During the whole of the year 1794, the defenders became terrific, committing nocturnal robbery and assassination, in the counties of Cork, Dublin, Meath, Leitrim, Longford, Armagh, Louth, Cavan, and part of Down; in consequence of which, the Protestant inhabitants of most of them assembled, formed associations for their defence, and offered rewards for bringing the defenders to justice.

They were so daring and destructive in the county of Longford, that the nobility, clergy and freeholders united, resolved to levy money by subscription, for raising and maintaining a body of horse for their defence; and having addressed the viceroy for permission to do so, obtained it.

In the month of February, 1794, a numerous body of insurgents assembled between Dunmannon and Bandon, in the county of Cork, and swore several persons not to pay tithes, taxes, or hearth-money, and to obey no laws but those of captain Right; and even threatened to

attack the town of Bandon. They were incited to this by feditious hand-bills, fome of which were fent by poft from Dublin.

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They affembled again in the month of March, affumed the function of legiftators, and difperfed a body of police attended by a magiftrate. They had the boldnefs to attack a party of the Carlow nulitia, and wounded a magiftrate, while reading the riot act.

In that month they affembled often in different parts of that county.

The fheriffs of the city of Dublin, in the year 1794, and the other magiftrates there, affured me, that the defenders were confantly forming plots and confpiracies in it.

On the fourth of March, a bill was prefented to the houfe of Commons, for a reform of parliament.

In the month of March, 1794, the united Irifhmen difperfed feditious hand-bills in the univerfity of Dublin, in order to feduce the ftudents from their allegiance.

In the month of January of this year, Mr. Pentland, a revenue officer, was barbaroufly murdered at Drogheda in the night.

On the twenty-eighth of April, 1794, the reverend Mr. Jackfon, a proteftant clergyman, was committed to Newgate on a charge of high treafon.

He came to Ireland as a miffionary from the French government, to lay a plan for invading it; and was convicted of that crime in the year 1795 but died of poifon in the dock, before the fentence could be pronounced. This man was formerly the confidential friend and private fecretary of the famous duchefs of Kingfton, who was better known by the name of Mifs Chudleigh.\*

A. H. Rowan, who was concerned in the plot with him, made his efcape from Newgate, where he was under fentence of imprifonment, for having difperfed fome feditious papers.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, 1794, alderman Warren, fheriffs Giffard and Jenkin, attended by fome conftables, repaired to Tailors-hall in Back-lane and difperfed the united Irifhmen, whom they found fitting in confultation, and feized their papers; but they continued afterwards to fit, and to carry on their nefarious machinations with fecrefy, but with equal effect. It appeared afterwards, that many of the

\* There is not a doubt but that this man was invited by the Irifh republicans to undertake this miffion.

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leaders of the Catholick committee were members of the fociety of united Irifhmen, though they artfully concealed themfelves while that body openly avowed its exiftence, and publifhed its proceedings; having left the obnoxious and dangerous part to the proteftants, who, though few in number, ferved as fcape-goats to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and the deteftation of all good men and loyal fubjects.

I give the reader the names of fome of the proteftant leaders, with the fate which befel them.

Theobald Wolfe Tone convicted, but cut his throat.

Honourable Simon Butler, died in extreme poverty  
in Wales,

John Sheares.\*

James Napper Tandy. fled.

Jofeph Levins.†

Archibald H. Rowan.†	William Levingflon Webb.†
Oliver Bond. convicted of high treafon, but died in prifon.	Henry Jackfon.†
Beauchamp B. Harvey.*	Matthew Dowling.†
Thomas Ruffel.†	James Reynolds.†
Arthur O'Connor.†	Thomas A. Emmett.†
Roger O'Connor.†	John Burke.†
Samuel Neilfon.†	Hugh Wilfon.†
John Chambers.†	Robert Simms.† proprietor of the Northern Star,
Henry Sheares.*	Edward Hudfon.†

† Exiles. \* Were hanged

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#### CIVIL ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

I SHALL now endeavour to give the reader an idea of the organization of their clubs, which, to impofe on the people, were faid to be formed merely for civil purpofes; and the better to induce the populace to enter into them, it was falſely and wickedly fuggeſted, that it would produce an abolition of tythes, and an equal diftribution of property. The inferior ſocieties at their firſt inſtitution confiſted of thirty-fix members; they were afterwards, however, reduced to twelve. Whenever they exceeded that number, the excefs was difmiſſed, with orders to make profelytes for the foundation of a new ſociety. The twelve choſe a ſecretary and treafurer; and the ſecretaries of five ſocieties formed what was called a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate direction and fuperintendance of the five ſocieties, who thus contributed to its inſtitution.

From each lower baronial committee thus conſtituted, one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which in like manner affumed and exerciſed the fuperintendance and direction of all the lower baronial committees in the feveral counties. The next fuperior committees were, in populous towns, diftinguiſhed by the name of diftrict committees, and in counties by the name of county committees, and were compoſed of members delegated by the upper baronials. Each upper baronial committee delegated one of its members to the diftrict, or county committee, and theſe diftrict or county committees had the fuperintendance and direction of all the upper baronials, who contributed to their inſtitution.

Having thus organized the feveral counties and populous towns, a fubordinate directory was erected in each of the four provinces, compoſed of two or three members, according to the extent and population of the diftricts which they repreſented, who were delegated to a provincial committee, which had the immediate direction and fuperintendance of the feveral county and diftrict committees in each of the four provinces; and a general executive directlory, compoſed of five perfons, was eleſted

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by the provincial directories; but the election was fo managed, that none but the ſecretaries of the provincial knew on whom the election fell. It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors, the appointment being notified only to thoſe on whom the election devolved; and the executive directory, thus compoſed, affumed and exerciſed the fupreme and uncontrolled command of the whole body of the union.

The manner of communicating the orders issued by the executive directory was peculiarly calculated to baffle detection. One member alone of the executive communicated with the secretary of each provincial committee or directory; the order was transmitted by him to the secretary of each county or district committee in his province; the secretaries of the county and district committees communicated with the upper baronials in each county; they communicated with the secretaries of the lower baronial committees, who gave the order to the secretaries of each subordinate committee, by whom it was given to the several inferior members of the union.

In the month of March, 1794, many persons were convicted at Dundalk of appearing in arms in the night as defenders, and of administering unlawful oaths; thirteen of them were capitally convicted.

In the month of May, 1794, the defenders were guilty of insurrections and outrages, little short of open rebellion in the counties of Meath and Cavan. At Kilnaleek in the latter, and in the neighbouring\* country, they were three days under arms. They laid waste a large tract of the bishop of Meath's estate, having plundered and burned the houses of many of his protestant tenants. The royal Dublin militia, assisted by a number of presbyterians, pursued them to Ballynaugh, which town they took possession of, and fired on the king's troops from the windows. At last the militia were obliged to burn the town to dislodge them.

About the same time, at Drumfna in the county of Leitrim, nine police men fled into a house from a mob of insurgents, who set fire to the house, and murdered all the police men as they endeavoured to escape from the flames.

In the province of Connaught, particularly in the county of Roscommon, the defenders were terrific in the years 1794 and 1795. The masses of the people were furnished with pikes, and the houses of protestants were confidently plundered of arms. At last, many of the nobility and

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gentry assembled at Roscommon in the month of August, and resolved to lower rents, and to raise the wages of labourers, in hopes of allaying the dreadful spirit of outrage which actuated the people.

They adjourned their meeting for a week; but they soon discovered the folly of compromising with a mob in a state of insurrection, little short of open rebellion.

When they were approaching the town, on the day to which they adjourned, they saw numbers of people armed with pikes in all the adjacent fields, who pursued some of their philanthropic benefactors so closely, that they narrowly escaped into Roscommon.

While they were sitting in the town-hall, ashamed of their folly and pusillanimity, Mr. Mills of Fairmount, about six miles off, arrived with an account that a numerous body of pikemen had set fire to his house, after having plundered it.

The reverend Mr. Carey, a magistrate, having gone there with a party of dragoons, and found the house in flames, attacked a large body of the insurgents, who were armed with pikes, and killed about thirty of them.

In the year 1794, many houses were plundered of arms in the counties of Meath and Westmeath.

At the spring assizes for the county of Sligo, much disturbed by the defenders, many of them were convicted of robbing houses of arms, and administering unlawful oaths.

Early in the year 1795, one Cunny, a schoolmaster, was detected near Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal, in the act of administering the defenders oath. He acknowledged his crime, and convicted some of his accomplices. The purport of the oath was, to emancipate the Roman catholics; to assist the French, and to extirpate the protestants; and it inculcated sobriety,

fecrefy, and obedience to their committees in all things. It contained an oath of allegiance to the king, as long as he lives. Some such mental reservation appeared in all oaths administered by the defenders; which was construed thus (by Weldon, a defender, executed in the year 1796,) to such persons as he swore: "If the king's head were off to-morrow, there would be an end of your oath." This mental reservation was couched in the following words in the oaths administered in other places: "As long as I live subject to the same government;" which appeared in the oath found upon Sharky, at Drumbanagher,

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in the county of Armagh, in the year 1789; but they meant to get rid of their oath by renouncing and overturning the government, which appeared afterwards to have been the object of all the defenders.

At the foot of the oath found upon Cunny, there was a tree of liberty, and a cross marked thus, R.+C. meaning Roman catholic.

Defenderism was introduced into the county of Donegal from Connaught, by Leitrim and Roscommon; and the doctrines of the united Irishmen from Belfast, in the year 1796, by men who appeared in the guise of pedlars.\*

In 1795 the defenders became more furious and formidable than ever, in many parts of the kingdom, which arose from the following cause:

Lord Fitzwilliam, appointed to succeed lord Westmorland in the government of Ireland, landed at Dublin on the fourth day of January.

Some time before his arrival, the leading Romanists having received assurances that the whole of the popery laws would be repealed during his administration, the sub-committee prepared a petition to parliament, praying that a law might pass for that purpose; and they recommended to persons of their persuasion, in all counties, towns and boroughs, to prepare similar petitions. Their orders were obeyed, and the petitions were presented to parliament on its meeting.

It was universally said and believed, that Mr. Grattan, who came to Dublin sometime before earl Fitzwilliam left London, gave undoubted assurances to the leading Romanists there, that they were to be gratified in their wishes in the fullest manner.

It was said in the Northern Star, on the eighth of September, 1794, that there was good authority for saying, that lord Fitzwilliam was to be viceroy; and that the first measure of his administration was to be the emancipation of the Roman catholics.

On Monday the second of February, the petition of the town of Belfast, (the mass of whose inhabitants are presbyterians,) in favour of catholic emancipation, was presented to the house of commons by the members of the county of Antrim. About

\* This strongly marked the discriminating features of the conspiracy. Belfast was the centre of motion in the north, and its inhabitants, who were mostly presbyterians, meditated the establishment of a republic as their main object, and considered assassination merely as the means of promoting it; but the mass of the conspirators in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, being papists, aimed at the extirpation of protestants in the first instance, and as their primary object, of which the reader will be convinced in the sequel.

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About the same time, there appeared in the Northern Star some inflammatory addresses to the volunteers, invoking them to resume their arms and save their country.

On the twelfth of February, 1795, Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in a bill for further relief of the Roman catholics.

Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled suddenly from the government of Ireland, and returned to England on the twenty-fifth of March.

The reasons assigned for it were, that his lordship exceeded the powers granted to him by the administration of England, in attempting to repeal the whole of the popery laws, and to remove most of the old officers of the crown, who had served his majesty the greater part of their lives with the utmost fidelity; and this by the advice of his excellency's cabinet ministers in Ireland, of whom Mr. Grattan was the chief.

It is not to be doubted, but that the Romanists were buoyed up with the hope of being admitted to equal privileges with the protestants, though the English cabinet never empowered lord Fitzwilliam to make them such concessions; but on the contrary, desired him to prevent the catholic claims from being discussed. Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt publicly defied his lordship to prove that he had received such powers.

On the second of March, 1795, a debate took place on the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, in the course of which Sir Laurence Parsons said, that, if the Roman catholics were disappointed in the expectations with which they had been filled, every gentleman in Ireland would be under the necessity of keeping five or six dragoons in his house for his protection; and it turned out afterwards that he spoke prophetical truth.

It was universally believed, and the contrary has never been proved, that Mr. Grattan was the person who filled the Roman catholics with these false hopes, with a view of acquiring popularity, or from some other secret motive.

It was generally thought that he reasoned thus: If the Roman catholics of Ireland, the majority of its inhabitants, who have been ready on all occasions to join any foreign foe against the interest of the protestant empire of Great Britain, shall come forward in a body, and ask for an equal participation of civil liberty and political power with the protestants, in a style of sturdy and menacing solicitation, at a time that both Great Britain and Ireland are threatened by a barbarous enemy, the English ministry

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must grant, from intimidation, what their policy and prudence might withhold.

At the same time Mr. Grattan, and the partisans of the Romanists, assured earl Fitzwilliam, that a separation of Ireland from England would most certainly take place, should they be disappointed in their expectations; and the very disturbed state of the kingdom, agitated at that time by the defenders and the united Irishmen, gave some credit to their assertions.

His excellency, relying on their veracity and integrity, persisted in promoting the wishes of the Romanists, I believe, from the best motives, and was therefore recalled.

From the respectability and amiableness of his character, no person could doubt of the rectitude of his intentions, or that he had any other object at heart than the interest of the empire; but it is believed that his lordship was unacquainted with the real state of the kingdom.

Notwithstanding the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Grattan presented, on the twenty-fourth of April, a bill for further relief of the Roman catholics, which contained a total repeal of the popery laws. It was read a second time, debated, and rejected the fourth of May; the numbers having been 155 to 84.

It must be universally allowed, that Mr. Grattan was very imprudent in bringing this measure forward, because he could not entertain the most distant hope of its success; and he must have known that the discussion of it would excite much discontent among the masses of the Romanists, who had manifested a strong spirit of disaffection during the three preceding years.

The Roman catholicks of Dublin voted an address of thanks to Mr. Grattan for his exertions in their favour; and his answer to them was very intemperate and inflammatory.\*

The disappointment of the Romanists was such, as to fill them with the most implacable hatred against the government and their protestant fellow-subjects, which manifested itself in various ways, but particularly in the destructive rage of the defenders, who defoliated many parts of the kingdom; and particularly the counties of Dublin, Meath, Westmeath.

\*See Mr. Grattan's address, Appendix, No. X. X

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meath, Kildare, King's and Queen's-county, Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, Roscommon, Leitrim, Longford, Sligo, and part of the county of Down.

They plundered protestant houses of arms, often burned them, and killed such of their inmates as made any resistance: They houghed their cattle, wrote threatening letters to compel persons to comply with their unreasonable requisitions; and frequently massacred those who dared to prosecute them, or to assist the civil magistrate in enforcing the execution of the laws. The loyal subjects deserted their houses in the disturbed countries, and fled to their respective county towns, or to the metropolis for protection.

Lord Camden, who succeeded lord Westmorland as viceroy of Ireland, landed in Dublin on the second of April, 1795; a nobleman universally revered there, for his good sense and firmness, the mildness of his disposition, and the amiableness of his manners.

The chief officers of state, and many of the nobility and gentry repaired to the castle, to pay their respects to his excellency. The lord chancellor at his return was attacked by a gang of assassins, who, by repeated volleys of stones, broke the panels of his coach, gave his lordship a severe contusion in the forehead, and would have murdered him, but that the skill of his coachman, and the agility of his horses, enabled him to escape.

The primate was also attacked at his return from the castle, but received no other injury than that his coach was in some degree damaged.

The same party repaired immediately to the house of Mr. John Claudius Beresford, nephew of the marquis of Waterford, and assaulted it with many showers of stones; but one of them having been killed by a shot from it, the remainder fled.

It was afterwards proved, that this mob was entirely composed of defenders, who had been selected by their leaders, to raise an insurrection; and lord Clare and Mr. Beresford's family were particularly the object of their vengeance; because they had given the most decided opposition to Catholic emancipation, and reform of parliament^ the two engines by which the disaffected hoped to subvert the constitution.

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The Romanists in Dublin were so much incensed at lord Fitzwilliam's recall, that a combination was formed in Francis-street chapel, that no papists should hold any dealings or any friendly intercourse with protestants; and their example was followed in all the other chapels.

There was to have been a charity sermon in James's-street chapel, but it was suddenly put off, for the purpose of entering into this combination; by which many of the poorer classes of protestants in Thomas, Francis, and James's-streets, principally inhabited by papists, were ruined.

An eminent flour factor allured me, that all the papish bakers, who had dealt with him, suddenly left him; and that to make up for the loss which he sustained by it, he was under a necessity of

giving credit to persons whose folly was doubtful. Papists also withdrew their custom from protestant bakers.

Should the protestants pursue the same vindictive and uncharitable system, the Roman Catholics would be by far the greatest sufferers; as the former possess at least nineteen parts out of twenty of the property of the kingdom.

The mobs of the papish rabble were universally infected with defenderism in the metropolis and its environs, in which outrages were perpetrated every night, and committees were frequently detected and seized with their papers, in the act of forming treasonable plots. The police commissioners were in possession of a muster-roll of 4,000 persons associated in these clubs; but the papish multitude in the metropolis were at this time enrolled in them.

The united Irishmen and defenders were then very active, and in many instances successful in seducing the military from their allegiance, and in attaching them to their cause. They occasioned a mutiny in the 104th and 111th regiments quartered in Dublin, and endeavoured to procure their co-operation and assistance in an insurrection and massacre, which they meditated on the twenty-fourth of August, 1795. Many of the soldiers deserted from their regiments to join the rebels; and on that day a mob of traitors, who met the castle guard on Effexbridge, were so confident of being joined by them, that one of their leaders attempted to wrench the colours from the officer who bore them, as a signal for a general insurrection; and another of them mounted on the bridge, and began to exhort the populace to rise, in an inflammatory

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harangue; but he was soon silenced by a dragoon, who drew his sword, and gave him a desperate wound.

Another dragoon, who was sent with intelligence of this event to the lord lieutenant, who resided in the park, was seized by the rebels, cruelly beaten, and narrowly escaped assassination.

It was very fortunate that the intemperate zeal of the rebels got the better of their prudence; for, if they had postponed the execution of their plot till night, it is very probable that the city would have been in flames; but the arrival of a large body of troops from Lehaunstown camp completely put an end to the hopes of the disaffected. The joy of the ill-disposed to government, and to the constitution, on the arrival of the earl Fitzwilliam, could be equalled by nothing but the rage and discontent which they displayed at his departure; for they were led to hope, that the measures of his administration would have enabled them to succeed in their grand object of forming a republic.

A general mourning was observed at Belfast the twenty-fifth of March, the day of his departure; and the congregations of two meeting houses there resolved not to address lord Camden.

Some of the dissenting congregations in Dublin, following their example, resolved, on the sixth of April, that it is the unanimous opinion of the undersigned, that this congregation should not, as a religious society, wait on any lord lieutenant, on his arrival in this kingdom, with a congratulatory address."

On the twenty-fifth of March, 1795, the following paragraph appeared in the Northern Star, printed at Belfast: "It cannot but be matter of proud exultation to the societies of united Irishmen, that the whole people of Ireland, with exceptions scarcely worth mentioning, are now of those very opinions which they broached three years ago, and which were then considered by the wise, the constitutional, the moderate and the cautious, as symptoms not only of madness, but even of wickedness in the extreme;" so convinced were the republicans of Belfast, that the departure of lord Fitzwilliam had poisoned the minds of the people, and had infected them with the contagious doctrines of the united Irishmen.

The Romifh committee in Dublin, difappointed and incenfed at the lecal of lord Fitzwilliam, fent three delegates to St. James's, John Keogh,

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Edward Byrne, and Mr. Huffey, commonly called baron Huffey, with a petition, which they prefented to his Majefty at the levee, praying that his excellency might continue in the government of Ireland; but they received no other anfwer, than that the fecretary of ftate informed them, that the lord lieutenant of Ireland had received orders to communicate to them his Majefty's wifhes on the fubjeft of their application.

On the ninth of April, a meeting of the Roman catholick gentlemen and tradefmen of Dublin was convened by publick notice at Francisftreet chapel, to receive the report of their delegates, who had prefented their petition at St. James's.

Mr. John Keogh, ftated, "that the only anfwer they could get from, the duke of Portland was, that his Majefty had communicated his wifhes on this head to the lord lieutenant of Ireland."

He faid "he was not forry however that the effort had been made, though defeated; for it pointed out one fact at leaft, in which the feelings of every Irifhman were interefted, and by which the Irifh legiflature would be roused to a fenfe of its own dignity. It fhewed, that the internal regulations of Ireland, to which alone an Irifh parliament was competent, were to be previoufly adjufled by a Britifh cabinet.\* The prefent, he hoped, was the laft time the catholicks would affemble in a diftinct body, their caufe being no longer a diftind caufe, but adopted by their proteftant brethren." †

He ftated, "that revolutions had taken place in America, in France, Brabant, Holland, and Poland, which arofe from the apprehenfions of the people, and which roused them to refiftance: That in endeavouring to fubdue America, England had incurred a debt of one hundred millions, which fhe muft bear till the day of judgment, if her government lafts fo long." In fhort, he gave a broad hint, what was to be apprehended from the difcontent of his brethren in Ireland.

In the courfe of the debate, the orators feverely denounced the meafure of an union with England, which they abufed as vicious, venal, ambitious, and bankrupt.

\* This doftrine, which was univerfally entertained by the difaffected, led to a feparation, and evinced the riecefity of an union.

† This was by no means true; for the proteftants of the church of Ireland, with a very few exception were averfe to conceding their claims; and the corporation of Dublin petitioned the throne againft them.

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They anxiously endeavoured to imprefs the proteftants in the country parts of Ireland with a belief, that thofe of Dublin earneftly defired to promote the wifhes of the Romanills; which was by no means the cafe, as they frequently gave unequivocal proofs of the contrary in the years 1792 and 1795.

I fhall give the reader a concife account of the trial of James Weldon, a trooper, who was tried for high treafon in Dublin, on the twenty-fifth day of December, 1795; as it will give him a perfect idea of the malignant defigns of the mifcreants, called defenders, who were very numerous at that time in the metropolis.

Two men of the names of Kennedy and Brady having prevailed on one Lawler, a carver and gilder, to become a defender, conducted him to the lodgings of Weldon, near the barrack of Dublin, where he was quartered, and where he was fworn a member of that order.

At different meetings afterwards, it was said, that there would be a rising, to carry into effect the purposes of the defenders; and at one held in Plunket-street, where eighteen or nineteen persons were assembled, a proposition was made for buying gunpowder and arms, for the purpose of seizing the castle of Dublin; and it was also proposed to reduce the army.

They knew each other by certain signs, which Weldon communicated to Lawler, and the password was Eliphimatis, which has been variously explained.

Weldon administered the following oath to Lawler: "I William Lawler, of my good will and consent, do swear to be true to his majesty king George the third." This paragraph, which is not only unexceptionable but laudable, served as a lure to inveigle such persons as were loyal, and to varnish over the subsequent part of it, which is treasonable. The next paragraph is: "I will be true while under the same government" Obliquely importing, that they would be faithful no longer than during the existence of the government, which they meant to subvert. "I swear to be true, aiding and abetting, to every true brother;" which was a name for a defender known among themselves. "And in every form and article, from the first foundation in 1790, and every amendment hitherto; and I will be obedient to my committees, superior commanders, and officers, in all lawful proceedings." This meant their own

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bye-laws. It then imports, "that he will not quarrel with a brother, but live friendly and lovingly with him."

In a subsequent conversation, Weldon observed on the first paragraph of the oath, "That if the king's head were off to-morrow morning, we should be no longer under his government."\*

Hart, one of the conspirators, told a young man, whom he introduced to Weldon to be sworn, that the object was to get arms, and to assist the French when they should come.

Lawler said he passed for a Roman catholic among the defenders, because Brady desired him to do so; and Hart declared he would not fit with Dry and Coffey, two defenders, because they were protestants.

At last, Hart having informed Lawler, who was a protestant, that all persons of that religion were to be massacred, he, on the twenty-third of August, disclosed the whole of the plot to Mr. Gowen of Grafton-street, who employed him.

The substance of what he related to Mr. Cowen, was this: That Hart informed him on Sunday the twenty-third of August, that there was to have been a general insurrection, and a massacre of all the protestants, on Saturday the twenty-second; but it was postponed till the harvest was over, lest a famine might ensue, should it take place before. Mr. Cowen took him to Mr. Hamilton, the lord lieutenant's secretary; and while they were at the castle, the mutiny, which I already described, occurred on Effex-bridge. Another meeting took place next day, when Lawler informed them, that there was to be a numerous assembly of the defenders at the Coombe, in the Liberty, on that night; that they were to surprize the Coombe guard; to take their cloaths and their arms; to repair to the castle, where, having the guise of foldiers, they would be admitted; and then to distribute among their friends all the arms in the arsenal. As the two regiments in garrison at this time were disaffected, it is probable that they would not have been opposed. Mr. Hamilton sent for alderman James, and desired him to repair to the Coombe with a body of cavalry, which he accordingly did, attended by Mr. Cowen and Lawler; and they found there a mob of three or four thousand ruffians, who gave them

\* This appeared in the oath found upon Sharky in 1789. † Trial of Weldon, taken by counsellor Ridgeway, and published by alderman Exshaw.

three cheers on their arrival, but hissed them at their departure. Lawler, "who mixed with his brother defenders, recommended to alderman James not to suffer a shot to be fired, because, should a conflict ensue, it was to be feared that the Coombe guard would join them; however, on being threatened by alderman James to be fired on, they dispersed. Lawler swore, on the trial of Brady, Kennedy, and Hart, that, at a meeting of the defenders held at Stoneybatter, they spoke of attacking the chancellor in the course of the winter, as he returned from the house of lords, and of hanging him on a tree in Stephen's-green.

Every collateral circumstance in this business corroborated the testimony of Lawler. He swore, that Weldon always carried the oath in his fob; and when he was arrested it was found there. The same thing occurred on the apprehension of Kennedy.

Weldon, on whom the defenders oath was found when arrested, was convicted of high treason, and hanged on the second of March, 1796. Previous to his execution, he confessed to one of his officers, that Hanlon (a noted defender) told him, there was to be a general insurrection; that none but defenders would be safe, and that they were all Roman catholics.

It is very remarkable, that the defenders oath, administered in the most remote counties from the capital, was much of the same tenor with that which Weldon exhibited to Lawler; and that it contained the condition, "as long as I live under the same government," or, "as long as the king lives."

It appeared on the trials of Brady, Kennedy and Hart, for the same crime, on the twenty-second of February, 1796, that one Burke, who had been expelled from the university for having endeavoured to propagate treason and atheism among the students, informed Lawler, that the plan was this: That he was to find ten good men, each of whom was to procure ten more; that each of them was to find five, and that they, united, would be sufficient to take the castle.

One hundred of them were to get scarlet uniforms, to make the people believe that the soldiers had joined them.

Lawler made up his number in a fortnight. They met in a room in High-street, and were called the philanthropick society. Le Blanc, a

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Frenchman, who fled, was a member, and was mostly either chairman, or committee-man.

I give the reader a concise account of the trial of some assassins, who conspired to murder one Hanlon, a gunner in the artillery, as it will unquestionably evince the sanguinary and treasonable designs of the defenders.

Thomas Smith, a gunner in that corps, and a protestant of the established church, was sworn a defender in January, 1795, in the house of James Doyle, on George's-quay, and in the presence of said Doyle and Andrew Glennan, who were commanders of the regiment of defenders to which they belonged. It was then proposed to him, to form an intimacy with Hanlon, to conduct him to Doyle's house, with a promise of entertaining him there, that they might murder him, and throw his body into the river Liffey, as he was returning to his quarters at Chapelizod. Next morning Smith related the whole of what passed at Doyle's to Lane the serjeant-major, and said he would pretend to second their designs.

The next meeting was at the house of one Carmichael, in Thomas-street, on the twenty-fourth of January, 1795, when the assassination was planned in the presence of him, Glennan, and three men of the names of Kinshela, Sleaven, and Shanaghan. The reason for wishing to assassinate Hanlon was, that he, on behalf of the crown, was to prosecute some defenders who were then confined in the gaol of Naas.

Smith communicated every thing that passed to his serjeant-major and to Hanlon, who agreed to accompany him to Carmichael's house, on being assured that some magistrates and constables would be ready near at hand, and would arrest the affaffins; and accordingly aldermen Alexander and Tweedy, and some peace-officers did attend, and arrested the affaffins, in number thirteen, who were afterwards convicted and punished.

In the course of the trial it appeared, that Smith, soon after he became a defender, discovered, that all the order of defenders had the most inveterate hatred and sanguinary designs against protestants of every description; in consequence of which he, from motives of self-preservation, concealed his bible and prayer-book, and denied that he was of that religion; and at last, he and his wife agreed that he had better go into the artillery, for the sake of protection, and that he might have an opportunity

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of exercising his devotion. He therefore enlisted in that corps on the fifteenth of April, 1795.

In a conversation with a body of defenders, at the house of one Connor in Dublin, they said, "That they daily expected a rebellion, and a massacre; that no protestant was to be left alive; that the oath was to serve France and Ireland, and under James Cole, Sir Edward Bellew, Napper Tandy, and Hamilton Rowan; that they were to have no king; to recover their estates; sweep clean the protestants; to leave none alive; and to kill the lord lieutenant."

In the month of April, 1795, they entered into a resolution to shoot the lord lieutenant as he passed through the park; to seize the magazine there; and to kill all the nobility in Dublin.\*

I give the reader in Appendix, No. IX. a list of some of the outrages committed in the year 1795.

In consequence of the dreadful outrages committed by the defenders in some northern counties, which I have already described, the earl of Carhampton, by order of government, visited those of Westmeath, Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo and Sligo, in order to restore social order in them; as those miscreants had completely impeded the execution of the laws, by a system of terror, and had exercised despotick sway in them.

In most places his lordship found that a leader of banditti, under the feigned name of captain Stout, had intimidated the people of the neighbourhood so much, that such persons as had sustained any injury were afraid to prosecute, and the magistrates were deterred from enforcing justice.\*

Some informers had been murdered, and others, fearing the same fate, forfeited their recognizances sooner than give evidence against them. One said, that Larry, a farmer in his neighbourhood, another, that Thady would have his house burned, and himself murdered; for they had the hardened audacity to avow themselves in some places, where they had completely silenced the voice of justice.

A party of this banditti, in the county of Roscommon, after having plundered the house of a widow of various articles, and of her rent,

\* Trial reported by counsellor Ridgeway in 1796.

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which she had ready to pay her landlord, set fire to it, and threw her into the flames; in which she would have perished, but that her son, touched by filial piety, rescued her, and fought for her life at the risk of his own.

They were prevailed on to prosecute; but at the assizes they were so insulted and threatened, that, from motives of fear, they prevaricated in their evidence, and pretended not to know the prisoners, though they were their neighbours.

They were therefore indicted for perjury, and cast for transportation but in consideration of the age and infirmity of the woman, her sentence was mitigated at the instance of lord Carhampton.

A farmer near Castlereagh, in the county of Roscommon, being alarmed at a report which prevailed, that he entertained hostile designs against captain Stout, and had spoken disrespectfully of him, repaired to a magistrate, swore an affidavit that he never had, and never would, malign, injure, or prosecute captain Stout; and posted it up in the most publick part of the town; and he also asked pardon of captain Stout, if he had ever uttered any expressions tending to disparage him. Lord Carhampton found this affidavit posted up in the town of Castlereagh.

A respectable protestant clergyman of the county of Roscommon informed me, that a body of pikemen rushed into his house in the night, and offered to swear him to be loyal; and on affirming them that he would be loyal to the king, they asked him. What king? and on his saying king George, they cried out, No, no, a Roman king, meaning a popish sovereign; and they added, that they must have a king of their own.

An active and intelligent magistrate in the county of Sligo, who had the courage to do his duty in defiance of the menaces of these miscreants, informed me, that the priest of his parish advised him not to persevere in his exertions, but to remain a passive spectator of these outrages, for that otherwise he would be murdered. He also discovered, that the priests, at their respective chapels, collected money on Sundays and holidays, for the purpose, as they said, of defraying the expence of obtaining a right to sit in parliament for persons of their order; but he afterwards discovered that it was to purchase arms and ammunition.

A gentleman in the county of Roscommon informed me, that the defenders used frequently to send anonymous letters to persons, threatening

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them with destruction, unless they permitted them to cut trees and poles in their plantations, for the purpose of making pikes.

In the year 1795, so many protestant families fled to the town of Roscommon for protection, that they could scarce get accommodation there.

This year, the sum applied for to the grand jury by different persons who suffered in the county of Meath, from the enormities committed by the defenders, such as houghing cattle, and plundering and burning of houses, amounted to £1,700.

Lord Carhampton, finding that the laws were silent and inoperative in the counties which he visited, and that they did not afford protection to the loyal and peaceable subjects, who in most places were obliged to fly from their habitations, resolved to restore them to their usual energy, by the following salutary system of severity;

In each county he assembled the most respectable gentlemen and landholders in it, and having, in concert with them, examined the charges against the leaders of this banditti, who were in prison, but defied justice, he, with the concurrence of these gentlemen, sent the most nefarious of them on board a tender, stationed at Sligo, to serve in his majesty's navy.

By this bold measure, founded in obvious principles of political necessity, he completely restored peace in the disturbed counties.

The loyal inhabitants, and the grand juries in them, thanked lord Carhampton for his wise and salutary exertions; but the dissatisfied in every part of the kingdom, exasperated that he had checked the progress of their revolutionary schemes, raised a great clamour in consequence of it; and as they meditated many prosecutions and civil actions against him, a law was passed in the month of February, 1796, to indemnify such persons as had exceeded the limits of the law in

restoring peace and good order; which, as a matter of course, was violently opposed by the minority in the house of commons.

On the twenty-fifth of June, 1795, the reverend Mr. Birch, a presbyterian minister, preached a sermon to a numerous body of dissenters at Saintfield, in which he recommended the uniting persons of every religious persuasion in one family, or brotherhood, in the bonds of philanthropy. He denominated kings butchers and scourges of the human race, who revel on the spoils of thousands, whom they have made fatherless,

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widows, and orphans, until the judgment of the Almighty shall come down on those ministers, and cause them who use the sword to perish by the sword.

In the month of January, 1795, some soldiers of the Wexford regiment were poisoned at Cavan, while on guard at the gaol.

The defenders became so furious in the metropolis, and its environs, in the spring and summer of 1795, committing robbery and assassination, that the inhabitants of Charlemont-street, Charlemont-place and Charlemont-row, Cullen's-wood and Cullen's-wood avenue, Mount-pleasant, Ranelagh, and Dunnaville, combined for their mutual defence. The inhabitants of Baldoyle, and the adjacent country, followed their example.

A numerous association was also entered into in the district of the metropolis, on the eighth of October, for mutual defence, and the suppression and punishment of those miscreants; and it was signed by the lord mayor, many of the nobility and gentry, and a great number of respectable citizens.

As the earl of Carhampton was ever distinguished for his zeal and spirit in enforcing the execution of the laws, about three hundred loyal subjects, many of them gentlemen of landed property, assembled at his seat at Luttrell's-town, entered into resolutions, and subscribed a sum of money for the purpose of defending the lives and properties of all loyal subjects against these desperate bands of ruffians. After repeated meetings their numbers increased very much. They declared their wishes that persons of every religious persuasion should enrol themselves in the society; but no Roman catholic but one ever offered himself a candidate; and though he was strongly suspected of disaffection, they admitted him by ballot. This man was afterwards known to be very much disaffected, and it was believed that he joined the association for sinister purposes.

As a college was erected at Maynooth, in the county of Kildare, for the education of Romish priests in the year 1795, and, as it was amply endowed by government, I shall make a few observations on it. In the year 1794, and in the administration of lord Westmorland, doctor Troy made a representation to government, that, in consequence of the disturbances in France, four hundred Irish students, who were candidates for the priesthood, had been deprived of the means of education; and that there

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would be a difficulty of obtaining priests to perform the necessary duties of religion, without the establishment of a seminary.

Mr. Burke, whose intemperate zeal for the advancement of popery I before mentioned, used his utmost exertions for the accomplishment of that object, and when lord Fitzwilliam was coming to Ireland, he recommended to his lordship the reverend doctor Huffey, an Irish priest, who had been bred at Seville in Spain, as a person well qualified to superintend that institution.

After the departure of earl Fitzwilliam, and during the administration of lord Camden in the year 1795\* this institution was established by an act of parliament, by which certain trustees were

empowered to receive donations for establishing and endowing an academy for the education of persons professing the Roman catholic religion, and to acquire lands free from forfeiture by mortmain. Little short of £40,000 was granted for its establishment at first and in every subsequent session, a regular charge of £8,000 has been made to parliament for its annual support; but it is worthy of observation, that no donation has been made to it by the Roman catholic body, or by any individual of that order, except by lord Dunboyne, who died in the year 1800, and left an estate of £1,000 a year toward the endowment of that college; and yet the Roman catholics raised immense sums of money in the years 1794 and 1795, for purposes not the most friendly to that protestant state, which laid the foundation of, and richly endowed their seminary.

Lord Dunboyne had been papist bishop of Cork, and on getting the title and an estate, he became a convert to the established church; and with singular dissimulation he gave the strongest indications of sincere conversion for some years; but in his last moments he relapsed into popery; and, in consideration of having obtained absolution for the great crime of being a heretic, he left an estate worth £1,000 or £1,200 a year, to promote the institution before mentioned. A striking proof of the strong and indelible impression which the papist superstition makes on the human mind, where it has been early imbued with it!

Two hundred students were to be maintained and educated in this college. Sixteen or seventeen were expelled on account of being concerned in the rebellion: Some of them were slain in fighting against the king's troops, and others fled to escape the punishment which their guilt merited.

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I have been assured that between thirty and forty of them fought against the king's army.

It was observable that father Huffey frequently attended the camp at Lehaunstown, in the summer of 1795, saying mass and preaching to the soldiers; though there were many papist priests in its vicinity, who used to officiate to them. This busy interference of father Huffey among the soldiers, and some artful conduct which he displayed there, gave a very serious alarm to some of the Irish nobility and gentry who commanded regiments, or were field officers there.

Though a conspiracy for subverting the constitution had existed so early as the year 1792, the opposition in parliament, and all the disaffected persons in the kingdom, raised a great outcry against lord Camden, by falsely asserting, that the outrages and insurrections, so disgraceful to the kingdom, were occasioned by the rigorous and severe measures adopted by his excellency; yet every wise and good man condemned him for not having acted with more vigour and energy; but from the benevolence of his heart, and the mildness of his disposition, he was averse to severity, and hoped to gain the affections of the people by conciliation.\*

The attorney general introduced a bill into the house of commons in January, 1796, which passed into a law in March following; to its salutary coercion, we may justly impute the salvation of the kingdom.

It enacts, that the information of any prosecutors on behalf of the crown who may be afforced, shall be admitted as evidence against delinquents; any person having arms is required by it to register them, his name, and place of abode.

A magistrate may search for arms the house of any person who shall not do so.

If a magistrate, or peace officer, be murdered while on duty, or in consequence of his exertions to serve the publick, the grand jury may levy a sum of money on the county for his representative.

If any county, or any part thereof, be disturbed, the magistrates may notify it to the privy council, who are thereupon required to proclaim the disturbed part On which the magistrates are required to hold petty

\* Robbery and affaffination became fo frequent and univerfal from the year 1795 to the explofion of the rebellion, that it would exceed the compafs of my defign to enumerate the many inflances of them which occurred.

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feffions as often as neceffary, but never at a longer interval than fourteen days; and to punifh offenders in a fummary way.

All perfons are required to keep within their houfes between fun-fet and fun-rife; and are liable to be tranfported if found out of their houfes in the night.

In fuch parts of Ireland, as this falutary law was enforced, it completely put an end to the nocturnal ravages of the united traitors.

Every perfon, acquainted with the ferocious and fanguinary difpofition of the lower clafs of people in Ireland, will agree with me, that this wife law fhould never be repealed. It is inoperative, and cannot be enforced, till the emergency of the times calls for it; and of this the magiftrates of the county, and the privy council, are proper judges.

The removal of the Irifh parliament to England, in confequence of the union, makes it peculiarly neceffary, that this law fhould remain unrepealed; for, from the fpirit of infurgency and rapacity of the common people in Ireland, an entire province may be defolated, before proper laws could be enacted in the imperial parliament to check it.

The events which occurred in the late rebellion, demonftrate the truth of what I affert; for though martial law was proclaimed, and there was an army of one hundred thoufand men, including the yeomanry, in the kingdom, the principal part of the province of Leinfter was defolated by the deftructive fpirit of fanaticifm in the fpace of a week; and the county of Wexford continued in the poffeffion of the popifh multitude, headed by their lay and facerdotal leaders, for the fpace of three weeks; in which they deftroyed almoft every monument of human art and induftry, and maffacred fuch of its loyal and moft ufeful inhabitants as could not make their efcape. Thofe abftract principles of criminal law which have been laid down and generally affented to by the ableft writers upon this fubject, are by no means applicable to Ireland.

The feverity of the penal code fhould depend on the compound ratio of the facility with which the laws may be infringed, the temptation to violate them, the degree of moral reftraint impofed by religion on the paffions of the multitude, and the poffibility of eluding the execution of the laws.

The common Irifh are doftrinally taught that they are bound by their religion to refift the laws and ordinances of a proteftant ftate;

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and that an oath of allegiance is null and void; for which reafon they uniformly oppofe the adminiftration of juftice. A monfter, ftained with the blood of his father, muft be led to the gallows by a military guard; but in England, the mafs of the people unite in enforcing the execution of the laws, becaufe they know that the prefervation of their lives and property depend on it.

The late rebellion, as well as all the former ones evince, that the lower clafs of the Irifh do not confider it a crime to injure the perfon or property of a proteftant fellow fubject.

The judicious and humane marquis of Beccaria, in his ingenious essay on crimes and punishments, observes, "that the eloquence of the passions is greatly affected by the ignorance and uncertainty of punishments." This observation applies strongly to Ireland, where the feeble and imperfect execution of the laws, arising from the following causes, never fails to inspire the multitude with the hopes of impunity: The mistaken lenity of government,\* often occasioned by the indecent and improper interference of individuals in favour of delinquents; the disregard of the common people to oaths;† and the certainty of enjoying eternal happiness hereafter, through the intervention of their priests. The following circumstances which have often occurred in the province of Munster, will convince the reader of the truth of what I assert upon this subject

A few days before the assizes, a prosecutor for murder or robbery has said to a magistrate, "Sir, I am unable to defray the expence of my journey to the assizes town, and of remaining there till I am discharged; and in going thither I am afraid of being murdered by the relations of the delinquent." But suppose these difficulties surmounted: he is insulted and threatened with certain death at the assizes, if he prosecutes; and, as the last resource, they contrive to inveigle him into a dram shop, and intoxicate him. To my certain knowledge, burglars and felons have been frequently acquitted in consequence of the ebriety of a witness. In most cases the culprit has an attorney, and a bar of lawyers employed for him; but there is no fund appropriated, and no person to appear, for the prosecution. The

\* This remark cannot allude to any period since the breaking out of the rebellions; because extermination must have taken place, if lenity had not been very generally extended.

† In all the combinations of the white boys, right boys, and defenders, they have sworn an oath of allegiance; but considered their oath of confederacy as binding.

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The marquis of Beccaria ends his book thus: "I conclude with this reflection, that the severity of punishments ought to be in proportion to the fate of the nation. Among a people hardly yet emerged from barbarity, they should be more severe, as strong impressions are required." However, the certain and prompt operation of mild laws will answer better to preserve social order, than the feeble and uncertain execution of severe ones.

The following rule of preventive justice, formerly prescribed by our statute law, was founded in great wisdom: That if the property of a protestant be injured in the night, the amount of the damage which he sustained should be levied on the popish inhabitants of the parish, the barony, or the county.

I am convinced that the reader, on taking a retrospect of the former rebellions in Ireland, and after perusing these pages, will agree with me, that the revival of this law is absolutely necessary to maintain the protestant religion and establishment in it; and unless they are encouraged and preserved better than they have been for some years past, they must in process of time be separated from England. I am warranted in this assertion by the opinion of some of the wisest men in Ireland.

Nothing can more strongly prove the barbarous fate of the Irish, than that forcible entry and detainer of lands and houses have been constantly practised in Ireland, contrary to the solemn adjudication of the law, pronounced by the superior courts, and directed to the sheriff, who has been frequently opposed and repulsed.

Leaders of banditti, resembling the condottieri in Italy, in the middle ages, and noted for their prowess in resisting the laws of the land, were frequently kept in pay by persons who wished to do so.

The earl of Clare struck at the root of this mischief, by a very wise law,\* passed in the year 1787; and yet it has been frequently practised since that period.

\* Mentioned in page 45.

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PREDISPOSING CAUSES TO REBELLION IN THE NORTH, PARTICULARLY IN THE COUNTIES OF DOWN AND ANTRIM, AND MEANS WHICH WERE MADE USE OF TO FORWARD IT.

Constant communication with the American states, whose system of civil polity they very much admired, and the success of the first Dungannon meeting in the year 1782, taught the presbyterians of the North, already disposed to republicanism, that an assembly of delegates from the volunteers, an armed body who overawed the existing government, might at any time dictate to parliament; and this inspired them with an extraordinary degree of boldness, which produced the celebration of the anniversary of the French revolution, the retreat of the duke of Brunswick, and the second meeting at Dungannon in the year 1792.

Some loyal and moderate men, having seen many instances of large bodies of men, self-associated for political purposes, meet, debate, and disband, without any bad consequence, were induced to approve and join with them; and afterwards they were lukewarm in opposing them, even when they were rather turbulent and alarming.

The jealousy of the linen drapers, who made immense fortunes, towards the nobility and gentry, feigned of old hereditary estates, on account of their superior weight and respectability: The small division of farms in the North, where the business of farmer and manufacturer being united, makes the collection of tithes more vexatious and grievous than in the South, where they are distinct, and the farms are extensive: The virulence of opposition, in vilifying and degrading administration, and in asserting that the legislative power was more corrupt than the executive, made the people believe, that a reform of parliament was necessary, and gave the republicans a specious pretext for adopting it, as an engine to overturn the constitution; and the silly timidity of the members of administration, in complimenting their accusers, gave an incredible

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weight to their assertions in the public mind.\* Religious prejudices were asleep in the North, except in the county of Armagh; and the spark of fanaticism which existed there was soon blown into a flame by the Catholic committee, that intriguing body, which sat long brooding in grim repose, and unnoticed in Dublin; but came forward when the French revolution took place, and endeavoured to avail itself of the flock and fermentation of opinion, which, that event produced, to advance the interest of its own order.

Some linen-draperies, from motives of envy which I have already stated, encouraged their workmen in imbibing the new revolutionary doctrines; still others, though loyal, were obliged, from the nature of their business, through motives of fear, to take the united oath; because their rebellious bleachers might easily, and secretly, have ruined them.

As the success of the great linen merchants in some measure depended on the skill of their bleachers, they were often obliged to conform to their wishes and prejudices; to retain them in their service; and there was such an emulation between them, that they often used sinister artifices to decoy each others workmen, which rendered the masters subservient to them.

Many gentlemen of large property in the North, who courted the popular interest, were, by electioneering prejudices, and the servile obedience which they paid to the people, prevented from trying to check the growth of treason and sedition.

This was very conspicuous in the election for the county of Antrim in the year 1792, when the successful efforts of the people, assembled in almost every parish, in dilating to the candidates,

and their fervency and willingness to take tests, inspired the populace with a passion for political power.

The workmen in some bleach-greens joined in subscribing for the Northern Star; in others, their masters, who were disloyal, treated them with it; and in some instances, the employers, though well affected, were impelled by fear to give it to them *gratis*.

\* In this I must except lord Castlereagh, whose bold and manly eloquence, tempered with urbanity and good breeding, never failed to overturn the arguments of his adversaries, and to stake their scurrilous and envenomed attacks-recoil on themselves.

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The propagandists of the revolutionary doctrines in the North often began by corrupting the lowest servants, both male and female; and, creeping up through all the gradations of a family, the master found himself suddenly insulted, and was obliged, through terror, to fraternize, and take the united Irishman's oath.

The disaffected were so much enraged at earl Fitzwilliam's removal, that war and force were decided on: Songs, and various publications of an inflammatory tendency, were circulated: In some instances, jurors and witnesses were bribed, in others intimidated, from doing their duty: Committees of affination were formed:\* Civil magistrates, constables, and others were intimidated from executing the law, and in short, no person was permitted to remain neuter.

In the years 1794 and 1795, immense sums of money were levied on the Roman Catholics in every part of the kingdom.

The conductors in Dublin and Belfast endeavoured to infuse into the people an opinion, that the revolution would be incomplete, and would be succeeded by ruinous contests and struggles, unless all the loyalists were extirpated; and that they could expect certain and perpetuated tranquillity from nothing but a general massacre of them, and a confiscation of their property.

It appears by the report of the secret committee of the house of lords in 1797, that it was decided by the conspirators, "That all persons who, from their principles or situation, may be deemed inimical to the conspiracy, should be massacred; and the first proscribed list "was calculated by one of their leaders at thirty thousand persons."!

Some leading members of the union, both in the North and the South, have assured me, that nothing tended so much to gain credit for their cause, and to promote the rapid dissemination of their doctrines, as the following paragraph in Mr. Erskine's plausible but delusive pamphlet, which they procured to be printed and circulated universally: "That the spirit of reform is at present high in Ireland. The recent zeal of that brave and virtuous people has completely detected the false and pernicious calumnies

\* In a county committee at Belfast, it is laid down, "that if there is any united Irishmen on the jury that will convict any of the prisoners that are confined for being united Irishmen, they ought to lose their existence." Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. II. p.17.

† See Appendix, No. III. p.49.

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oft both countries. It has demonstrated, that a desire to reform abuses in government, is not at all connected with disloyalty to its establishment; and that the restoration of a free constitution, by the wisdom and spirit of a nation, has no alliance with, but on the contrary is abhorrent to, a submission to foreign force." This extravagant encomium on the rebels, by varnishing over the enormity of their crimes, and by giving a colour of moral and political rectitude to their cause, increased the number of their sectaries in a very extraordinary degree.

That very wise law, the convention bill, having prevented the clubs from assembling publicly, the leaders of the conspiracy had recourse to another, and fall as effectual, a mode of diffeminating their doctrines of liberty and equality, by instituting reading societies, which the lower classes of the people attended after the labour of their daily occupations was over. This institution was almost exclusively confined to the counties of Down and Antrim, where the mass of the people are presbyterians, can read and write, and are fond of speculating on religion and politics.

These meetings, formed after the model of the jacobin clubs in France, were usually held in barns and schoolhouses, and were liberally furnished, with inflammatory publications, composed by the literati of the united Irishmen, or extracted from larger treatises of a similar tendency in both kingdoms, and published in the form of pamphlets for more general circulation.

The pretext of reading for mutual information and improvement was considered as a plausible motive for the lower class of people to assemble. Subjects of a delicate nature and dangerous tendency were frequently discussed in them, such as, "Under what circumstances are the people justifiable in resisting and uniting against the existing government? From what source is all just government derived, and what is its proper object? Is the majesty of the king, or the people, most to be respected?" On these, and similar topics, the rustic orators declaimed, with much vociferation and zeal, to the great edification of admiring audiences. The most fluent speakers went usually from one society to another, to display their talents, and make proselytes to the new philosophy. Every opportunity was embraced to represent the christian religion as a system of superstition, calculated to enslave mankind, and obstruct the progress and improvement of reason. The doctrines of a future state, of rewards and punishments,

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were openly ridiculed and discredited; and public worship despised and discouraged, which materially promoted the designs of the conspirators, by extinguishing all moral principle.

Labourers, tradesmen, and even ragged apprentice boys, enlightened by attending the reading societies, were taught to decide dogmatically, concerning the fundamental principles of government and religion; to detect the supposed corruptions of the one, and the priestcraft of the other.; to think themselves amply qualified to dethrone kings, and regulate states and empires.

Belfast was the centre of motion to the whole Northern union; Dublin to the middle and Southern; orders, directions and publications issued from the former with great regularity; and returns were made, at stated periods, to proper persons appointed there to receive them, of the state, progress, and dispositions of the several subordinate societies throughout the country.

A large impression of Paine's age of reason was struck off in Belfast, and distributed *gratis* among the united societies. Bundles of them were thrown into meetinghouse yards on Sundays, before the congregations assembled; and small parcels were left on the sides of public roads, to contaminate the minds of those who found them.

The leaders of the union at Belfast succeeded so well in removing the obstacles which religion and conscience presented to their designs, that many assassinations were committed in that town, and its vicinity, in the year 1796, which established such a complete system of terror, that jurors were afraid to convict delinquents, though their guilt was substantiated by the most unequivocal evidence.

A friar, of the name of Philips, went from Dublin to Belfast, and was introduced to the disaffected societies there. Soon after, having fallen under a suspicion of being an informer, he was confined to the committee of assassination, who drowned him near the paper-mill; and to give a colour of suicide to that atrocious deed, they put a clock weight in his pocket.

It is worthy of notice, that one of the committee, concerned in the murder, was impanelled on the inequitable jury which sat on the body when

\* The papish priests carefully guarded their flocks from the contagion of them, for reasons which I have given in page 107.

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discovered, and the verdict was, of course, guilty. A soldier from Blaris camp was likewise drowned in a river near Holywood, by the same committee; and a man was shot in Peter's-hill, Belfast, at the early hour of seven o'clock in the evening. Many other persons were murdered in the same manner, on a bare suspicion of being informers.

It seems to have been a maxim with the united conspirators of Down and Antrim, adopted from the illuminati of Germany, and the philosophists of France, that the end justified the means; and that no motives, human or divine, should check them in the accomplishment of their main design. Hence the most unblushing calumnies were propagated against those who opposed them; and committees of affiliation were constantly fitting to condemn such persons as were suspected of doing so, or of giving information against them.

Nothing forwarded the progress of the union so much as that vehicle of sedition, immorality and irreligion, the Northern Star, established by Robert Simms, the secretary of the first society of united Irishmen, which sat at Belfast in 1791. He was a wealthy merchant of that town, and has been transported to Fort George in Scotland, with a number of his confederates.

The conductors of that infamous print, which goaded the people to madness, had the flagitiousness and audacity to recommend in it, in the year 1794, the perusal of Paine's age of reason.

It is worthy of observation, that Simms, in the name of his society, wrote letters in the years 1792 and 1793, to some of the most considerable members of the Roman catholic committee and Roman catholic society in Dublin, inviting them to be enrolled in his corps; and they, proud of the honour, embraced it with alacrity; and some of them published the letters of invitation, and their answers.

Some of the infidel leaders of the North were so successful in rousing the people to a state of frenzy, by copious infusions of their intoxicating doctrines, that partial insurrections, earlier than they wished or expected, were on the point of baffling their designs, and involving them in ruin; like a chymist, whose experiment is defeated, and whose person runs a risk of being injured by a premature and unexpected explosion of his retort, in consequence of having furnished it with gas. On some occasions,

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the conductors were under a necessity of endeavouring to check the intemperate ardour of their adherents.

An attempt was made near Rathfriland in September, 1796, to begin hostilities, but it was overruled. About a thousand united Irishmen assembled in that retired and mountainous part of the county of Down, to discuss the expediency of a general rising; and the question was agitated a considerable time. At length it was proposed to decide it by votes, and a division took place, when upwards of three hundred declared themselves averse to open hostility at that time. Though the majority were for it, the schism was so considerable, that it was thought prudent to postpone it to a more favourable opportunity.

A Mr. John Magennis, who had married a sister of the famous Bartholomew Teeling, took the principal lead in urging an immediate resistance. The decision of that important question was hastened by an account, that a party of the ancient Britons were approaching to disperse the

affembly; and they actually purfued Magennis ten miles, but were not fortunate enough to apprehend him.

It may be proper to obferve, that the majority, on that occafion, confifted chiefly of Roman catholicks; and the minority of prefbyterians, and a few proteftants of the eftablifhed church, who were not then fufficiently enlightened to countenance a general maffacre.

I think it right to obferve, that the exertions of the united Irifhmen, and Catholick committee of Dublin, to encourage union and fraternity among the prefbyterians and papifts of the North, were confined to thofe parts of Down and Antrim, where the former fhewed a decided hoftility againft the defenders, which was done merely to lull them into a ftate of indolent and fatal fecurity; as they knew that their fpirit, their knowledge of the ufe of arms, and their antipathy to the papifts, would form a material obftacle to the progrefs of the union; but the determination which the Roman catholicks fhewed, on the explofion of the rebellion, to extirpate proteftants of every denomination, proved that they were not fincere in their invitations to the prefbyterians to fraternize with them.

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#### ORIGIN OF THE YEOMANRY.

In the autumn of the year 1796, government having propofed to all loyal fubjects to embody themfelves as yeomen corps, fimilar to thofe in England, and fubject to the control of government, the propofal was embraced with alacrity in many parts of the kingdom.

On the feventh of October, the lord mayor, the fheriffs, and the churchwardens of the different parifhes in Dublin, affembled at the manfion houfe, and refolved that a regiment of infantry, and a troop of horfe, fhould be raifed in each of the four wards of the city.

This wife and falutary meafure, which proved the falvation of the kingdom, was oppofed by all the leading Romanifts of Dublin, and by all the active members of the Catholick committee; for when the churchwardens and magiftrates attended at the different veftry rooms, for the purpofe of carrying this excellent fyftem into execution, one or other of thefe leaders, attended by a mob of the popifh rabble, attempted to overpower them by vociferation and numbers.

When their malignant efforts to prevent this falutary intititution failed, they waited on Mr, Pelham, the lord lieutenant's fecretary, and afked leave to raife a corps of their own feft exclufively; but received for anfwer, that they might join their proteftant fellow fubjects, if they wifhed to ferve their king and country.

They then entered into refolutions againft it, and publifhed them in the jacobin prints, which teemed with invectives againft government for having intituted it.\*

On the fourteenth of October, the corporation of Dublin, duly affembled, entered into ftrong refolutions, and expreffed their abhorrence of the vile calumnies, and refolutions, publifhed by certain pretended parifh meetings againft the yeomen corps, and againft government, and the feditious means ufed to prevent the loyal fubjects from forming themfelves into fuch.

\* For the fame reafon the orange, clubs were maligned and calumniated.

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Notwithftanding the decided oppofition which the Romanifts gave to this very excellent intititution, which faved the kingdom from impending deftruction, the firft eftimate laid before parliament for twenty thoufand men was filled up immediately. In the courfe of fix months it rofe to thirty-feven thoufand; and, during the rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded fifty thoufand, and they were all to be depended on;\* for as very great difaffection appeared among

the popish yeomen, the different corps were quickly purged of such of them as were known to be disloyal.

In order to encourage the disaffected to persist in their treasonable practices, it was boasted at this time, in the Northern Star, that the populace, in and about Belfast, had saved the harvest of all such persons as had been committed to the gaols of Dublin or Carrickfergus, on charges of high treason; and that seven thousand persons often assembled for that purpose.

In the month of October, the reverend Philip Johnson was fired at and wounded, in the night, at Liffburn.

November the first, a party of traitors broke open the king's stores at Belfast, and stole thereout a large quantity of gunpowder.

The rebellious inhabitants of Belfast, who were presbyterians, opposed the establishment of the yeomanry, with as much vehemence as the Romanists in Dublin, and a few gentlemen in that town, who had courage to enter into it, were reviled and hissed, as they passed through the streets.

On the twenty-ninth of October, a ruffian fired a pistol in the town of Newtownards at the reverend Mr. Cleland.

About this time, the Hazard floop of war took, and searched, a vessel off the harbour of Belfast, and found in her a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

On the sixth of November a proclamation issued, stating, that, on the first, a number of armed men tumultuously entered Stewartstown, in the county of Tyrone, and cut and maimed several persons who had refused to join in their treasonable associations, and had enrolled themselves in the yeomanry. The system of terror became so great, and so general at this time, in the North; that numbers of loyal persons submitted to be sworn, and assumed at least the semblance of being sincerely attached to the

\* Report of the secret committee of 1798, page 5.

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the union, to save their lives and properties from the vengeance of the rebels; and outrages became so frequent in the county of Down, that some districts in it were proclaimed on the fourteenth of November, 1796, the first time that the insurrection law was put in execution.

The leaders of the conspiracy, having completed their revolutionary system in the province of Ulster so early as the tenth of May, 1795, and having made a considerable progress in introducing it into the province of Leinster in the autumn and winter of 1796, proceeded at that period to convert it into a military shape and form, for the undisguised project of rebellion, which was distinctly and unequivocally acknowledged by Arthur O'Connor, William James McNevin, Thomas Addis Emmett, and Oliver Bond, leading and active members of the conspiracy, in their evidence upon oath before the secret committee of the house of lords in the year 1798.

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#### THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

The military organization engrafted on the civil was constituted in the following manner: The secretary of each subordinate society composed of twelve, was appointed their petty or non-commissioned officer; The delegate of five societies to a lower baronial committee was commonly appointed captain of a company, consisting of the five societies who had delegated him, and who made the number of sixty privates; and then the delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or district committee was commonly appointed colonel of a battalion, which was thus

composed of six hundred: The colonels of battalions in each county sent in the names of three persons to the executive directory of the union, one of whom was appointed by them adjutant general of the county, whose duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the executive to the colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officer of the revolutionary staff. They were required to inform themselves of, and report, the state of the rebel regiments within their respective districts, of the number of mills, the roads, rivers, bridges, and fords, the military positions, the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops, to communicate to the executive every movement of the enemy (meaning the king's troops) to announce the first appearance of their allies (meaning the French) and immediately to collect their force. A military committee was also appointed by the executive directory, to prepare a regular plan for assisting a French army should it land, or to form a plan of an insurrection, should it be ordered, even without their assistance. A regular and well digested plan of insurrection was actually formed, and reduced to writing in April, 1797, which was given up only for the time, on the assurances of the executive directory of the union, that they would soon receive speedy and effectual assistance from France. The directory gave orders that every person, who had the means, should furnish himself with fire arms and ammunition, and that such persons as could not afford it, should supply themselves with pikes;

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which orders were obeyed very generally through the provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster. In the province of Connaught they proceeded no farther in this system of treason, than in administering oaths to the people, having been obstructed by the vigorous exertions of government, till the rebellion broke out in open acts of hostility.\*

In the month of December, 1796, a French fleet with fifteen thousand troops for the invasion of Ireland arrived in Bantry-bay; but having been dispersed by a storm, and having lost about one-fourth of their ships, their intention was defeated. It is generally believed, that this plan was first suggested to the French government by Mr. Tone, then residing in France, but at the instance of the Irish directory, who accepted the proposal of the French directory. This negotiation, which took place between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, was transacted by Edward John Lewins, the accredited agent and resident ambassador of the Irish rebellious union to the French republic, and who was sent to Paris as such in the summer of 1795.†

The plan of the invasion which the French attempted at Bantry was settled at an interview which took place in Switzerland, in the summer of 1796, between lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and general Hoche.

From the disaffection of the lower classes of people during the insurrection of the white boys and right boys in Munster, it was a matter of general astonishment, that they remained tranquil and apparently loyal, while the French hovered on the coast; but the acknowledgment of one of the Irish directory before the secret committee of the house of lords fully accounts for it.

He declared upon oath, that, in the month of October or November, 1796, the French republic announced, by a special messenger to the Irish union, that the hostile armament was in a state of preparation; but in a few days after the departure of the messenger from Paris with this intelligence, the Irish directory received a letter from France, which was considered by them as authentic, stating, that the projected descent

\* Report of the secret committee of the Lords in 1798. † Ibid. page 9.

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was postponed till spring, when England and Ireland would be invaded at the same time.

This threw the Irish directory off their guard; in consequence of which no measures were taken to prepare the people of Munster for the reception of the French. It is, however, to be feared, that the popish multitude would have risen in many parts of Munster, if the French had made the projected descent; for a strong spirit of disaffection appeared in different parts of the counties of Cork and Kerry, early in the years 1793 and 1794, particularly in the counties adjacent to Kinfale, Dunmanway, Bandon and Dingle, in which the people committed such shocking enormities, even in the day, that, on the eleventh of March, 1794, the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation against them, and offered rewards for the discovery and prosecution of them. In the county of Limerick also, alarming insurrections and dreadful outrages were committed in the year 1793; and great numbers of the lower classes of people used often to assemble there, to form combinations and administer illegal oaths.

It should be recollected, that the white boys continued to commit outrages till the year 1790, in the county of Cork; and as we know that the first object of their institution was to join the French, we cannot suppose that they would have remained loyal had they effected a descent. The popish multitude in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, took oaths of allegiance, and promised to be faithful and peaceable, a short time before the French landed; but they joined them the instant they did so.

On the second of January, 1796, the house of Mr. Harman, member for the county of Longford, at Bawn, in said county, was forcibly entered in the night by a party of ruffians, who barbarously murdered him.

In consequence of the military organization which took place in the autumn and winter of 1796, the province of Ulster became dreadfully disturbed by the eagerness of the disaffected to procure arms.

This will appear by a proclamation which issued the sixth of November, and which states, "That divers ill-affected persons had entered into illegal and treasonable associations, in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Londonderry and Armagh; and for effecting their treasonable designs, had assassinated divers loyal subjects, and have endeavoured, and threaten, to assassinate all others who should endeavour to detect their treason, or should enrol themselves under officers commissioned by his

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majesty, for the defence of the kingdom, and have also procured arms and ammunition: That some evil-minded persons broke open the king's stores at Belfast, and took thereout ten barrels of gunpowder; and that many large bodies of men have embodied and arrayed themselves under a pretence of fowling corn and digging potatoes."

In the month of November, 1796, the counties of Down and Armagh were proclaimed: In the month of February, 1797, parts of the counties of Donegal, Derry and Tyrone.

The disaffected inhabitants of Belfast, who opposed the establishment of the yeomanry with as much zeal as the Romanists did in Dublin, resolved in the month of January, 1797, not to take up arms till the French landed *on their coast* and then only to repel foreign and domestic enemies.

Thirty-seven gentlemen of that town and its vicinity, to their eternal honour, protected against that striking instance of disaffection.

On the fifth of February, 1797, Robert and William Simms, proprietors of the Northern Star, by whose inflammatory publications they never ceased to rouse the people to a state of rebellious frenzy, were arrested and committed to Newgate in Dublin; and the former has been since transported to Fort George in Scotland.

In the beginning of the year 1797, immense quantities of arms were seized in the province of Ulster by general Lake, and the general officers under his command; and in this he received material assistance from Sir George Hill, who shewed uncommon zeal, and used the most unabated exertions, often at the risk of his life, in suppressing treason and sedition.

It appears that the following number of arms was seized by the different general officers in that year, in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster only:

Guns	Bayonets	Pistols	Swords	Blunderbuffes	Musket barrels
48,109	1,756	4,463	4,183	248	119
Sword blades.	Ordnance	Pikes			
106	22	70,630.		Total:	129,583.

It appeared from the letters of the generals, that many arms were seized or surrendered, which are not included in this return; as in many places they remained in the possession of the yeomen.\*

\* Report of the secret committee. Appendix, No. XXXIX. p.298.

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On the thirteenth of March, 1797, general Lake issued a proclamation by the advice of government, stating the atrocities committed, and recommending to the people to come in, surrender their arms, and return to their allegiance; he assured such persons of protection.\* He promised the most inviolable secrecy to informers, and the amount of any arms which might be seized in consequence of their secret information.

On the twenty-seventh of February, 1797, Mr. John Cummin of Castlebeg, in the county of Antrim, was barbarously murdered, and his house was robbed of arms, on account of his loyalty; though general Lake's proclamation, and his spirited exertions, were allowed to have materially contributed towards checking the progress of the conspiracy, and to have struck terror into the rebels.

On the seventeenth of March, the loyal inhabitants of the county of Donegal assembled at Raphoe, entered into strong resolutions for their mutual defence, and for defeating the machinations of the united Irishmen, and offered large rewards for their apprehension and prosecution.

On Monday the thirteenth of March, lord Camden sent a message to both houses of parliament, stating, "That an organized system of robbery and murder existed in the province of Ulster, which bid defiance to the exertions of the civil power; and that, by the firm and temperate conduct of the general of the district, a considerable quantity of arms had been taken; and that he hoped, by a continuance of vigorous measures, the constitutional authority of the civil power would be restored."

In the debate which took place on this message in the house of commons, the opposition in general, but Mr. Grattan in particular, condemned with much acrimony the salutary system of coercion which government had adopted, and imputed the disturbances to the provocation which his majesty's loyal and peaceable subjects had received from wanton and unnecessary acts of severity; and yet it has been universally allowed, that the feebleness of the insurrection in the North, on the general rising, was owing to those seasonable and vigorous exertions, and to the spirit displayed on that occasion by the yeomanry and the loyal inhabitants of Ulster; which is fully stated in the report of the secret committee of the house of commons.

\* This shewed the benign and conciliating disposition of government, notwithstanding the vile calumnies uttered against them, by the disaffected both in and out of parliament.

† Page 8, of the year 1798.

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The partizans of the united Irishmen propagated, with unabated industry, the most impudent falsehoods and calumnies, representing the measures which the government and the parliament were compelled to resort to, for the suppression of midnight robbery and assassination, as a gross and unnecessary violation of the constitution, and as the real source of these complicated evils.

The main object of the system of terror which they endeavoured to establish by their midnight attacks, was, to drive country gentlemen from their houses, or to enforce their connivance or support; a course which was pursued with fatal success in France. Dreadful outrages still continued to be committed in all the Northern counties.

In the month of April, 1797, a number of armed men entered the village of Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan, plundered many houses of arms, and committed other enormities there.

About the same time, one McDonald, at Gifhall, near Dromore, was assassinated, because he said he could make discoveries of the united Irishmen.

In the month of March, the reverend Mr. Hamilton, late a fellow of the college, and who had retired on a living in the county of Donegal, was murdered at Sharon, the house of the reverend doctor Waller, in that county, with horrid circumstances of barbarity, by a party of armed ruffians, who fired wantonly into the windows, by which they shot Mrs. Waller; and afterwards having compelled the servants of doctor Waller to force Mr. Hamilton out of the house, they mangled his body with wounds.

† Report of the committee of the house of lords of 1798.

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#### FOREIGN NEGOTIATION OF THE CONSPIRATORS WITH THE FRENCH REPUBLIC FOR ASSISTANCE.

From the time of the failure of the French expedition to Bantry in December, 1796, the disaffected, to keep up the spirits of their party, circulated reports, that the enemy were soon to attempt another descent; and the executive directory of the Irish union thinking that they were rather dilatory in their preparations, sent Mr. Lewins, their confidential agent, to urge the necessity of being expeditious. In the summer of that year, fearing that a premature insurrection in the North, before the succours from France arrived, would defeat their prospects, they sent a second agent, doctor McNevin, in June, 1797, to press the French to hasten the armament; but meeting with some difficulty in going to Paris, he gave the minister of the republic, resident at Hamburgh, a memoir, to be forwarded to the French directory.\* This memoir shewed the desperate designs of the Irish conspirators, and their great anxiety left the vigorous measures pursued by government in the North would disconcert their projects. This agent was authorized to assure the French republic of being repaid all the expences attending any future armament she should send to Ireland, as well as of the loss which miscarried; and that the resources for that purpose were to be raised by the confiscation of the lands of the church, and of the property of all those who should oppose them. He was also empowered to raise, either in France or Spain, £500,000. or at least £300,000. A larger supply of arms was solicited by the agent than the first, on account, as he stated, of the increasing number of their adherents, and the disarming of the North, where above ten thousand stand of arms, and as many pikes, had been surrendered to the king's troops.

It appears also, that an attempt was made at the same time, to procure the assistance of such Irish officers as were then in foreign service as

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons of 1798, p.15. † This was done in the civil war of 1641. See Borlase and Temple.

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might be prevailed upon, by receiving high rank, to engage in the service of the union; but, from the over-caution of the agent, nothing was effected in that way.

A second memoir was presented by this confidential agent on his arrival at Paris, in which he endeavoured to shew the French directory the necessity of forwarding the invasion at that critical juncture, when the minds of the Irish were so favourably disposed to join the French, and to cooperate with them in separating the two kingdoms, and in establishing a republic in Ireland.

Though the Irish directory were desirous of obtaining assistance from France, they were unwilling to admit such a body of troops as would enable her to conquer and keep it in her own hands; but the French shewed a decided indication to send so great an army there as would enable them to subdue and retain it as a conquest.\*

The demands of the first agent were, for any number not more than ten thousand, nor less than five thousand, with forty thousand stand of arms, and a proportionate supply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, and experienced officers.†

Previous to this last mission from Ireland, a confidential person was sent over by the French directory to collect information respecting the state of Ireland; but having failed to obtain the necessary passports in London to enable him to go there, he wrote over to request that one of the party might meet him in London; and accordingly a person repaired to him immediately with every necessary intelligence; and the secret committee of the house of commons have given it as their opinion, from various sources of information, that this person was the late lord Edward Fitzgerald.‡

The directory gave the agent, sent to Paris, the strongest assurances of assistance; and accordingly preparations of a very extensive nature were made, both at Brest and in the Texel, for the invasion of Ireland; and in the autumn, the executive of the Irish union received advice that the troops were actually embarked in the Texel, and only waited for a fair wind.

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons of 1798, p.16, 17, 18. † Ibid. ‡Ibid. p.18.

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In consequence of this communication, great preparations were made by the Irish rebels, in the beginning of October, 1797, when it was announced to the different societies, that the fleet was on the point of sailing.\* The French troops had been actually on board, commanded by general Daendels, but were suddenly disembarked.

The Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own admiral, as is generally believed, was obliged to put to sea, at the instance of the French government; which led to the ever-memorable victory of the eleventh of October, 1797, obtained by lord Duncan.

Early in the year 1798, the Irish executive directory received advices from France, that succours would be sent to Ireland in the month of April; but notwithstanding the strong temptation presented by the rebellion, which broke out on the twenty-third of May following, the French government never fulfilled their promise,

I shall now return to the internal affairs of Ireland, and shew the reader the means which the conspirators pursued for forwarding the rebellion, having given him a brief account of their foreign negotiations.

On the eighth of April, 1797, a meeting was held in the Exchange of Dublin, supposed to consist of the freemen and freeholders of the city, convened by the sheriffs, pursuant to public notice, for the purpose of petitioning his majesty to remove his ministers for ever; but the majority of that gregarious herd consisted of traitors, who wished to create disturbance and combustion.

The question of adjournment was moved; but as a numerous rabble, who were not freemen or freeholders, suddenly rushed into the hall, the sheriffs refused to put the question.

The mob and their leaders nevertheless agreed to the petition, and it was presented by Messrs. Grattan and Curran to the viceroy; who said, that he would forward it, agreeable to their wishes, but accompanied with a statement of the circumstances which took place at the meeting.

The freemen and freeholders, on leaving the Exchange, protected against any proceedings which should be held there afterwards.

This meeting was brought about by the minority in the Irish house of commons, and the disaffected citizens of Dublin, at the instance of the

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons of 1798, p.18.

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opposition in the British parliament, for the purpose of promoting their own ambitious designs, at the expence of the peace and security of the kingdom.

On the twenty-second of April, Sinclair Kelburne, the noted demagogue, of Belfast, a presbyterian minister, was committed to Newgate in Dublin, with seventeen other persons, on charges of a very serious nature.

On the first of May, between six and seven thousand persons attending, a funeral, made a procession through a great part of the city. Having assembled in the earl of Meath's liberty, they went down Aungier-street and George's-lane, through Dame-street, and, passing by the castle, they proceeded to James's church, where the corpse was interred.

This device was made use of to inspire the lower classes of rebels with confidence and courage, by shewing them what numbers of their brethren could be collected in a short space of time.

In consequence of it, the lord mayor issued a proclamation, prohibiting unlawful assemblies, under a pretext of attending funerals.

As the Belfast News-letter, a paper printed there, was moderate and loyal, and in some degree qualified and counteracted the seditious doctrines diffused by the Northern Star, the disaffected frequently stopped the messengers who went about the country to circulate it, tied them hand and foot, and robbed them of such papers as they had.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the county of Kildare was dreadfully convulsed by the united Irishmen, who committed robbery and assassination on protestants almost every night.

In the month of March, a motion was made by a member of opposition for repealing the insurrection law, though the advantages derived from it in checking the progress of the conspiracy were universally acknowledged.

In the month of April, lord Caledon's house, in the county of Tyrone, was plundered of arms.

The county of Down was so much agitated, that the magistrates of it assembled at Hillborough, on the twenty-eighth of March, entered into strong resolutions against the nefarious proceedings of the united Irishmen, and made a large subscription for suppressing them.

Ever since the introduction of defenderism into the county of Cork, in the year 1793, its contagion continued gradually and silently to diffuse itself, and to poison the minds of the lower classes.

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On the thirteenth of April, 1797, lord Bantry conveyed to the gaol of Cork, four of these culprits, one of whom was the steward of Roger O'Connor, in whose pocket his lordship found the defenders oath; the tenor of which was to be true to one another; not to pay rent, tithes, or tithes; and to assist the French who were soon expected.

At the assizes of Omagh, in the county of Tyrone, held in the month of April, John Kinkaid, an active united Irishman, was convicted of making a constant practice of going to Romish chapels on Sundays, and of swearing the congregations, to stand by each other; to join the French when they should land; to cut down tithes and taxes; and to kill the Orangemen and yeomen. At the assizes of this year, both in Leitrim and Monaghan, great numbers were convicted of treasonable and seditious practices.

On the thirtieth of April, 1797, the reverend Mr. Knipe, a protestant clergyman, was murdered by a party of ruffians, who forcibly entered his house, near Clonard, in the county of Meath.

It had been the invariable policy of the leaders of the conspiracy to announce an effort as at hand, to keep up the spirits of the people, though it was not seriously intended: However, in spring 1797, a plan was seriously discussed by the leaders then assembled in Dublin, for commencing a general rising, without waiting for foreign assistance; but as this scheme did not meet with the approbation of the Dublin part of the committee, it was laid aside; and, in consequence of it, a coolness took place between the Ulster and Leitrim delegates, which materially retarded the progress of the conspiracy.\*

May the thirteenth, the report of the secret committee having been presented to the house of commons, a violent debate ensued, in which a gentleman of the bar, connected with the opposition, declared, that it was merely an apology for the violent coercive measures adopted by government.

The seduction of the army became very common at this time. No less than seventy of the Monaghan militia were corrupted at Belfast. At last, the practice became so common, so general, and so fatal to the military, that the following, among other regiments, offered rewards for discovering and prosecuting any persons concerned in it The 9th dragoons, the 1st fencible cavalry, the Angushire fencibles, the Kilkenny, Antrim, Longford, Tyrone, Wexford, and Waterford militia.

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons, p.19.

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The disaffected rested the success of their cause very much on the attachment of the king's troops to it. At a provincial meeting held at Ballynahinch the twenty-third of November, 1797, orders were issued to every county delegate, to procure an exact account of the number of military, whether regular regiments, militia, or yeomen, whom they might consider as their friends.

At a provincial meeting held at Armagh, the fourteenth of November, the number of the king's troops with their respective quarters, and on how many in each they might depend, was

presented. From the following returns, it appears that their hopes from the disaffection of the king's troops were very high: In the county of Antrim, four thousand, of which seven hundred were friends to the people: In Tyrone, two thousand seven hundred, and one thousand were attached to them: In Down, one thousand one hundred, of which one thousand were friends: In Armagh, four thousand two hundred, among whom they reckoned only two hundred friends: In Donegal, two thousand, and seven hundred of them were friends.

The different delegates were asked by the secretary, if they thought their counties could disarm the military within themselves? and they all said they could, except in Armagh.\*

At a provincial meeting held at Randalstown, the fourteenth of December, 1797, it appeared, that they expected an invasion by the French. Orders were issued to every county delegate to procure an exact account of the number of military, whether regular regiments, military, or yeomen, and the quarters where they lay, and to bring it to the next provincial meeting; as also how many of them they could reckon their friends. The county delegates were to procure this information from the baronial members, at the next county meeting.†

At a meeting of colonels held at Rathfriland, the twenty-eighth of March, 1798, they were asked individually, whether they were able to disarm the military within the bounds of their own regiment? and they all agreed that they were.;

At a provincial meeting held at Belfast the first of April, 1798, it was said that the national committee were determined to have a rising, though the French expedition should be frustrated. The Leinster delegate

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons, Appendix XIV. p.1<sup>3</sup> t Ibid. p.108.

† Ibid. p.120.

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had received a letter from Bartholomew Teeling, who was one of their delegates in France, and he recommended a rising at all events; as the citizens of Dublin, with the assistance of the army, could at any time seize the castle of Dublin.\*

At a provincial meeting held at Armagh, the county delegates were asked, whether they could disarm the military in their respective counties? and they said, they could in Derry, Donegal, and Louth; but not in Down, Antrim, and Armagh, and the upper half of the county of Tyrone.† The reason of this probably was, that in the three former the mass of the people are papists; but in the latter, the protestants and Orangemen were numerous.

A very intelligent gentleman of the North assured me, that such of the linen merchants of the North as were members of the union, and wished for a revolution, imagined that it would be effected quietly, and without violence, as the army was attached to their cause. Their property being personal, lying mostly in their bleach greens, they were averse to any measures that might end in rapine and plunder.

In the county of Tyrone there were five thousand yeomen, of which above four thousand were orangemen; and in that large body there were not more than two hundred Roman catholics, and four-fifths of the body were presbyterians.

There were regular returns made by the baronial members to the county delegates, by them to the provincial, and by the provincial to the executive, of the number of men organized and armed in their respective districts, and of the money collected, and in the hands of the treasurers of each.

Thus lord Edward Fitzgerald gave a paper in his own hand writing to Mr. Reynolds, which was a return to a national committee held the twenty-sixth of February, 1798. It stated the number of

armed men in Ulfter, Leinfte, and Munfte, to be two hundred and feventy-nine thoufand eight hundred and ninety-fix; the fum of money in the hands of the treafurers to be £1,485. 4s. 9d. ‡

It is not furprifing that the confpirators fhould be confident of fuccefs, when they were perfuaded that a great portion of the military were

\* Report of the feeret committee, of the houfe of commons, Appenilix XIV. page 121. † Ibid. p.124. ‡Ibid. p.141.

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warmly attached to their caufe; and that they could difarm thofe who continued loyal.

The above return, delivered to Mr. Reynolds by lord Edward, was confined merely to the men who were armed; for in the popifh counties, all the farmers, peafants, and mechanicks to a man, were fworn, organized, and warmly attached to the union.

It appeared that the county of Kerry regiment required one hundred conftitutions in the year 1796.\* This fhewed that they muft have been very much difaffected.

They did not begin to organize Munfte till the fpring of 1797;† and as popifh fanaticifm gave wings to treafon, it was reported to be in a good ftate of organization the fourteenth of September following. ‡

Neillfon fays, in his evidence before the committee of the lords, that the affiliated fyftem of organization began in 1792; and that Ulfter was completely organized the tenth of May, 1795.‡ It appears that there were four executives in November, 1797,§ one for each province.

To fhew how far popifh fanaticifm was concerned in the rebellion, what an impulfe it gave to the mind, and how much it extinguifhed all moral principle, I will relate a few circumftances of a confpiracy formed by James Dunn and Patrick Carty, with others, to affaffinate the earl of Carhampton, on the twenty-fifth of May, 1797; becaufe he had always evinced the moft unabated zeal and activity, both as a magiftrate and an officer, to maintain focial order in his neighbourhood, and in checking the progrefs of rebellion.

The former was a blackfmith and farrier, who lived on his lordfhip's demefne, and in his fervice for many years, and had conftantly experienced the moft friking inflances of kindnefs from him.

Notwithftanding thefe obligations, James Dunn repaired to the houfe of Maurice Dunn, a relation in Dublin, who kept a cabaret, on Sunday the feventh of May, and offered to a committee of fixteen united Irifhmen who were then fitting there, to *do out* his friend and benefactor, the earl of Carhampton. This was a common cant expreffion among the united Irifhmen, for murdering a perfon.

\* Report of the feeret committee, Appendix II. p.46; † Ibid. Appendix XXXI. p.272. ‡ Ibid. p.280. § Ibid. p.106.

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When he made the propofal, one perfon faid it was great news; another, glorious news; another, the beft news he had heard a long time.

Left a concourfe of fo many people fhould excite fufpicion, they appointed feven perfons as a committee of affaffination to concert meafures with Dunn.

As money would be neceffary to procure weapons and horfes, application was made to one Burke, the feecretary of finance, who was clerk to Myles Duigenan, a grocer in Grafton-ftreet; but he poftponed granting their requeft, till Mr. O'Callaghan, at the head of the finance, fhould recover, being confined with ficknefs. It was at laft agreed, that Dunn and Carthy, a labourer on

his lordship's demerit, and seven more persons, should assassinate him on the succeeding Sunday, the fourteenth of May.

Three of them on horseback, having loose coats with blunderbusses under them, and fix mounted as yeomen cavalry with pistols, were to fire into his lordship's carriage, as it passed through a narrow road near Lutterelstown; and at the same time to murder his servants, and any persons who might be with him. Ferris, who was at the head of the committee of fifteen, and the only protestant member of it, struck with horror at the atrocity of the plot, discovered it, and Dunn and Carthy were hanged.

While Dunn was in prison, lord Carhampton went to see him, and said, Considering the kindness I shewed you, I did not imagine you would have been concerned in an attempt on my life. To his lordship's utter astonishment, he replied, without hesitation, that he thought it a good act. On asking him, whether he himself had proposed to murder him? he answered, that he never had; but that he was sworn to execute it; and if he were out again, he would perpetrate it if he could. He said, though you might think it a good act to murder me, why should you shoot a poor innocent postillion? Why! said he; to do the thing completely, He afterwards gave much the same answers to the same questions, to lord Carhampton in the presence of the earl of Enniskillen.

On May the thirteenth, there was an engagement between the North Britains and defenders near Forkhill in the county of Armagh, where thirteen of the former were killed, and eighteen desperately wounded.

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On the seventeenth of May, a proclamation issued against the commission of atrocities and disturbances in general, and offering pardon to all persons who had been seduced, or entered into illegal associations; provided they, before the twenty-fourth of June, appeared before a magistrate, surrendered themselves, took oaths of allegiance, acknowledged their errors, and entered into a recognizance to keep the peace, and be of good behaviour.

On the twenty-second of June, the time for taking advantage of this proclamation was extended to the twenty-fourth of July.

This wise measure was attended with the most salutary effects; for it induced those who had become united Irishmen, from motives of terror, to renounce the connection; it confirmed in their allegiance those who were wavering; and it inspired the rebels with fear, left those who repented, and took the benefit of the proclamation, would betray them.

Notwithstanding this measure of mercy and warning to the disaffected, in the latter end of the same month a general insurrection in Ulster was decided on, and the plan of attack for each county was arranged.\* At the same time the inconstancy of the disaffected could be equalled by nothing but their effrontery and malignity, in accusing government of wanton and unnecessary severity, by which the people were stimulated to commit acts of outrage and licentiousness.

The practice of reducing the military still continued so much, that in the space of one month, the following foldiers were shot for treasonable plots: Four of the Monaghan, at Blaris camp; two of the Wexford regiment, at Cork; two of the Kildare, in the Phoenix park, near Dublin; and two of the Louth, near Limerick.

It was discovered, that houses of entertainment were kept open in Dublin, Cork and Athlone, at a considerable expence, for the seduction of the foldiers. They were regaled there gratis, with the most delicious fare; and even prostitutes were kept there to work on their affections.

In the month of May, several committees were surprized in the act of forming treasonable plots in Dublin; and it was discovered that the blacksmiths there were busily employed in making pikes.

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons, Appendix XIV. p.123.

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In the month of June, the pay of the military was increased, which at this critical time was a very political measure, as the united Irishmen were endeavouring to seduce them with unceasing fidelity.

One Murtagh McCanwell, sent from the North to the South for that purpose, was known to be an expert, and had done so much mischief in that way, that a general court-martial, sitting at Limerick, offered one hundred and twenty-five guineas for discovering and apprehending him. The defenders were so terrified at this time, in the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Kildare and Longford, that many of the protestants were obliged to fly to the metropolis for protection.

As the members of opposition in the house of commons could not succeed in their plans of parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation, and in defeating the salutary measures of coercion which the government had adopted for the preservation of the kingdom, they seceded from parliament in the month of May.

It was discovered, that there was to have been an insurrection of the defenders on the night of the twenty-fourth of May, in the counties of Meath, Cavan, Longford and Monaghan, for the purpose of murdering the army, the yeomanry, and all the loyal subjects in them. It appeared that one of their emissaries circulated four or five hundred letters, to apprize them of the precise time of rising.

On the seventh of June, Mr. Barber a presbyterian minister, of Rathfriland, noted for turbulent and seditious principles, was committed to the gaol of Belfast.

On the fourteenth of October, William Orr, a noted propagator of the doctrines of the united Irishmen, was hanged at Carrickfergus; and as he was one of the most active agents of the Irish union, great efforts were made to save his life; but when they failed, the judge who tried him was reviled, the jury and the witnesses were calumniated, and the government was universally vilified by the disaffected, for having, as they said, sacrificed the life of this honest and innocent man to the vengeance and acrimony of party.

His death was deplored from one end of the island to the other, as much as that of father Nicholas Sheehy, a noted rebel, who was hanged at Clonmell in the year 1762; and all the disaffected, in memory of him, wore some kind of emblem in rings, lockets, or bracelets.

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#### WHAT PROGRESS THE LEADERS OF THE CONSPIRACY MADE TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1797, IN UNITING THE PRESBYTERIANS AND PAPISTS.

It is observable, that the defenders existed as an organized and armed body, at least three years before the united Irishmen; for their plan, or prospectus, found on captain Sharky, in the county of Armagh, was dated the twenty-fourth of April, 1789; and as there were similar societies in the county of Louth, affiliated with them, we may presume that it required some time to bring them to a perfect state of organization; and reference is made in that prospectus to oaths which they had taken formerly.

It appeared also, that they existed at the same time in the counties of Antrim, Down and Monaghan; as general Eufpace was sent there to suppress them.

The united Irishmen held their first session at Belfast, in the month of October, 1791; in Dublin, in the month of December.

The former, who were exclusively papists, never appeared in any county except where popery predominated. They never existed in any part of the county of Down or Antrim, except in the barony of Iveagh in the former, and in Carey and Glenarm in the latter, in which Roman catholics are numerous. The only spring of action with them was a hatred to protestants. The main object of the united Irishmen was, to unite the presbyterians, and, if possible, the members of the established church with the Roman catholics, for the purpose of overturning the constitution. Their oaths were quite different. The Catholic committee showed much zeal in promoting this junction; but the exterminating spirit which their sectaries showed during the rebellion, in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Wicklow, Wexford, Mayo and Sligo, proved that they were not sincere, and that they meant to establish exclusively their own religion on the abolition of every other. We may fairly conclude then, that they meant merely to lull the fears and suspicions of the presbyterians, and not to unite with them.

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Samuel Neilson, the most active member of the union, declared, that the affiliated system began in spring 1792, and that it was not completed in Ulster till the tenth of May, 1795.\* The slow progress of the organization in that province arose from the very great difficulty of uniting the presbyterians and papists, between whom there existed so great an antipathy, that it is more than probable it never could have been accomplished, if the leading conspirators had not prevailed on the clergy of both to forward the interest of the union; and yet, we have very good reason for saying, that the amalgamation of the two sects was so imperfect, that the united Irishmen and defenders in the Northern counties continued as separate bodies, even so late as the end of the year 1797. For, at a meeting of the former, held at Belfast, it is stated, "that the provincial committee promised to give to the county committee, the number of defenders in the kingdom;"† and the zeal of the latter must have been very great, when it was said, "that a defender up the country promised to give four thousand guineas for the use of the united Irishmen; and all he asks is, three or four of the united Irishmen as security for that sum."‡

In the same provincial report, it is said, "the orangemen in the county of Tyrone are taking the arms from the defenders." This shows a laudable zeal in the orangemen in disarming this banditti, and the interest which the united Irishmen took in their concerns.

We find also, in a provincial report, at the same period, that it was considered as a matter of moment, "to make friends of catholics and orangemen, as it is doing a great deal of good in Armagh."§ This was the grand object of the united Irishmen and Catholic committee in the North. This meeting was held at Belfast the twenty-seventh of December, 1797.

In the same report it appears, that at a meeting of captains on the thirty-first of July, 1797, at Downpatrick, great fears were expressed, that the catholics and dissenters would become two separate parties." ||

In May, 1797, orders were issued by the executive directory, that all the captains in the different baronies should assemble to choose field officers,

\* Examination before the secret committee of the house of lords, Appendix, No. V. † Ibid. Appendix, No. II. p.27. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid, p.29. || Ibid. Appendix, No. XIV. p.103.

and that office was performed by Joseph Leftie, in the barony of Loughinsholen, in the county of Derry; but having summoned protestants only, the Roman catholics remonstrated warmly, and he was obliged to change the day for assembling, and to summon indiscriminately persons of both persuasions. Though the two orders co-operated, they never were cordially united. The massacres in the province of Leinster evinced the secret designs of the Romanists, and, by opening the eyes of the Northern presbyterians, completely divided them.

The inhabitants of Glenarm, in the county of Antrim, who were papists, were organized according to the defender system. During the rebellion, they were advancing in a body to join a party of united Irishmen on Belair-hill, who were headed by one Acheson, a presbyterian minister; but when the Glenarm rebels discovered them, they disbanded, and said, they never would submit to be commanded by a protestant.\* The same circumstance occurred in the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne, Vinegar-hill, and Gorey, in the county of Wexford, where the priests and the other papish leaders denounced protestants, and desired that they should not be admitted into their ranks; but we cannot have a stronger proof of the insincerity of the Romanists, and their determination to extirpate every order but their own, than the wanton and cold-blooded murders committed by them in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Wicklow, Carlow and Wexford; and the earnest intention which they shewed to do so in Mayo and Sligo, and which they would have effected, but for the humane interference of the French.

By the following resolution, seized by Mr. Fox in a committee of united Irishmen at Belfast, and dated the eleventh of April, 1797, it appears, that they did not consider the defenders as united with them:\* “Resolved, that the provincial (meaning committee) form a plan for the support of poor families, that they get us the number of defenders in the kingdom, who are not united Irishmen, and if they will act with united Irishmen.”†

Charles McFillin, a papist, declared upon oath, before Sir George Hill, baronet, that he attended as a delegate at a provincial meeting at

\* To this the salvation of that part of the county of Antrim was imputed. † Secret report of the house of commons» Appendix, No. II. p.31.

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Garvagh, in the county of Derry, in November, 1796; and that he was chosen a delegate, at four or five provincial meetings; and the reason he assigns for it is, to inspire the Roman catholics with confidence, as the system was to unite all religious persuasions, to overturn the constitution. McFillin was the only papist at these provincial meetings, and there was considerable jealousy between the two orders.\*

In almost every instance where the presbyterians considerably exceeded the papists in point of number, the latter were apparently loyal, or at least did not enter into the union; and they frequently, when thus circumstanced, were the only persons who gave information against the conspirators, but more from motives of fear, hatred, or envy, than a pure and genuine spirit of loyalty. McFillin's evidence is to be accounted for on no other principle.

In the same manner, where the Roman catholics very much predominated in point of numbers, the presbyterians were faithful. For this reason, small colonies of the latter in Meath, Cavan, Longford, Mayo and Sligo, were not only loyal, but very active against the defenders.

In such parts of the counties of Down and Armagh, where there were many of both orders blended together, the antipathy which always existed between them, produced strife and bloodshed, in the shape of defenderism and peep-of-day boys: But it is observable, that while the county of Armagh was dreadfully disturbed by them, the town of Lurgan and its vicinity were perfectly tranquil, because it abounds with protestants of the church of Ireland, the only sect who have been steadily and uniformly attached to the king and constitution.

Both the defenders and united Irifhmen in their turn attempted to organize the county of Fermanagh, and they made fome progrefs, and formed fome plots there; but perceiving the futility of their fchemes, they defifted, becaufe they knew that the proteftants of the eftablifhed church are fo numerous, fo loyal, and courageous, that they would have been cut to pieces, had they attempted to rife in rebellion, which was the ultimate object of their machinations.‡

\* Secret report of the houfe of commons, Appendix, No. VI. p.77. ‡They knew what achievements were performed in the year 1641, by the bravery and loyalty of the Ennifkilleners.

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In fome parifhes in the diocefe of Dromore, where the majority of the inhabitants are of the eftablifhed church, and in others where they form a large portion of them, the people are moral, fober, and induftrious; becaufe thofe who are inclined to be difaffected, knew that the proteftants would rifk their lives and fortunes in fupport of the confitution, and in the prefervation of peace and good order.

When the French were at Colooney, and fhewed an intention of marching towards the metropolis, the Roman catholicks in the vicinity of Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, fhewed a difpofition to rife, in order to join them; but as the proteftants of the eftablifhed church in that county are numerous, loyal, and well armed, and as they were moftly united in Orange lodges, they would have cut the infurgents to pieces, had they rifen there; they retired then to the Ballinamore mountains, about feven miles diftant, and affembled there. Though the county of Cavan was in general very much difturbed by the defenders, they, for the above reafon, never dared to appear in the neighbourhood of Belturbet.

I mentioned before, the zeal of the prefbyterian minifters and the popifh priefts, to unite both their orders in the confpiracy.

This appeared in a very ftriking manner in the year 1797, particularly in the difturbed parts of Armagh and Down, whofe inhabitants were fo hoftile to each other, as peep-of-day boys and defenders, and to reconcile whom the united Irifhmen and Catholick committee fhewed fo much earneftnefs.

In the fummer of 1797, an itinerant friar continued to preach in thefe counties, at Portaferry, in the barony of Lecale, and thence to Newtownards, to the populace of both perfuafions, both in popifh chapels, and in the fields; and to recommend to them union and fraternity, on grounds of chriftian benevolence.

His audience was always very numerous; but Mr. Savage of Portaferry, having been informed that he preached feditious doftrines, threatened to commit him to prifon, unlefs he quitted the country immediately.

I mentioned before that doctor Dickfon, a prefbyterian minifter, at Portaferry, gave evening lectures to his flock, in the year 1797, as he faid, to enlighten them; but they were in fact political difcourfes,

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fimilar to thofe delivered by Thelwal, and were calculated for no other purpofe, but to diffeminate republican principles. It turned out afterwards, that he was an adjutant-general in the rebel army, for which he has been tranfported.

Many Northern gentlemen of fagacity have affured me, that they confidered the prefbyterians as fincere in fraternizing with the Roman catholicks, for the purpofe of forming a republick; and for this reafon, that if the government were fubverted by their united ftrength, they could not

hope to subjugate, and make them subservient to any sinister designs which they might have entertained from the great superiority of their numbers.

When Dickey, a rebel leader, and a dissenting minister, was on the point of being hanged at Belfast, he declared, that the eyes of the Presbyterians had been opened too late; and that they were convinced by the massacres perpetrated by the Romanists in the province of Ulster, that they must have had to contend with them, if they had succeeded in overturning the constitution.

A gentleman of great sagacity and judgment, who took a very active part in checking the progress of the conspiracy in the North, gave me this as his decided opinion: "That the Catholic committee hoped to succeed in their ambitious schemes, by alarming the government through the defenders; but finding that the Presbyterians would oppose them with success, they endeavoured to gain them over to assist them in subverting the constitution, though in fact they only meant to lull them, till their object was accomplished, and then to have extirpated Protestants of every denomination."

The clerk of the crown informed me, that he asked the reverend doctor Porter, a Presbyterian minister, at Newtownards, a short time before he was put upon his trial, how a person of his education and connections came to be embarked in so dreadful a rebellion? and he candidly acknowledged, that republican liberty was his object; and that when he saw that the French were actuated by nothing but a desire of conquest and plunder, and not by the generous design of promoting universal liberty, which they evinced by their treatment of the American deputies, he resolved to renounce his connection with the conspirators; but he found it too late, as his life would have fallen a sacrifice to any attempt to do so.

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He at the same time attempted to defend his conduct, on the ground that every person had a right to form his own opinion on the eligibility of what kind of government he would wish to live under. This doctrine has been inculcated by Price and Priestley. This man was hanged in the rear of his conventicle at Gray Abbey.

I stated before, that the slow progress of the organization of the North arose from the great difficulty of uniting the Presbyterians and Papists. The following anecdote will illustrate it

A Romanist, who had been an active leader of the defenders, being in conversation, in the year 1794, with a Presbyterian, who was much addicted to French republican principles, in a mountainous parish of the county of Tyrone, informed him, that the Romanists had received orders from their committee, to consider the Presbyterians in future as brethren, and that they were both to fraternize. On which the latter, who had a gun in his hand, asked him to assist him in driving some cattle from the mountains: To which the Romanist replied, "What! trust myself alone - with a Presbyterian with a gun!" So rooted was the antipathy of the Romanists to the dissenters!

Samuel Neilson stated in his evidence before the secret committee of the House of Lords, that the military organization began in Ulster in the autumn of 1796, and that the object of it was to carry measures by force; and they must have collected arms with great celerity, for it appears, that before the close of that year, the conspirators had, in Belfast alone, five hundred and twenty-six guns, three hundred and ninety-nine bayonets, eighty-eight pistols, five hundred and sixty-seven pikes, twelve thousand one hundred and thirty ball-cartridges, fifteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-three balls, five hundred and sixty-six pounds of powder, six cannon and one mortar; and in the county of Antrim, twenty-three thousand and fifty-nine men, two thousand six hundred and fifty-nine guns, nine hundred and eighty-two bayonets, two hundred and four pistols, two thousand three hundred and forty-eight pikes, eighty-five swords, eighteen thousand

two hundred and fifty-three ball-cartridges, two thousand three hundred and fifty-eight balls, six hundred and twenty-eight pounds and an half of powder, eight cannon and one mortar.\*

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. II. p.23, 44.

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The reader may conceive, to what extent the people were armed, when, in the county of Kildare alone, fourteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-three pikes were surrendered in the year 1797, in consequence of the pardon offered by government to the repentant, and of the salutary rigour and coercion exercised against those who were obstinate in guilt; and it was not doubted but that a much greater proportion was retained.

In other counties it was not doubted, but that the preparation for arms was as extensive as the organization itself, from the number seized in different parts of the kingdom, which amounted to no less than one hundred and twenty-nine thousand.\*

The adoption of the military organization produced such an increase of robbery and affluence in the Northern counties, as to induce a necessity of enforcing the insurrection law in them; and accordingly Down and Armagh were proclaimed in November, 1796, Derry and Donegal in February, 1797

Regular returns were made by the baronial to the county, and by the county to the provincial committee, and by them to the executive, of the quantity of arms and ammunition in their possession; and of the sums of money in their treasurers' hands.

For this, and the manner of making the returns, I shall refer the reader to the report of the secret committee, beginning at Appendix, No. II. p.21.

They had a regular chain or gradation of officers, from a general down to a sergeant; and about the latter end of the year 1797, or beginning of 1798, they instituted the office of adjutant-general, whose duty may be seen in the report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XVII. p.142.

They used unremitting endeavours, and spared no expence in defending the conspirators who were to be tried; for which purpose, a sub-committee attended regularly at every assizes to superintend the appropriation of the money collected for that purpose.

John Hughes was sent by Mr. James McGuchin, an attorney, to Dublin, in order to get a license for counsellor Curran to be concerned for the prisoners, then in the several gaols, on the North-East circuit, in the Lent assizes of 1797, charged as united Irishmen; and he paid him £50 as a retaining fee, and £200 for different licenses to plead,

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XXXIX. || Ibid. Appendix, No. XV. p.116.

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The following report was made to a county of Down committee, of law expences on the trials of conspirators, June 8th, 1797:

Counsellors	Curran,	100 guineas.
	Sampson,	50 do.
	Ball,	40 do.
	Dobbs,	40 do.
Attornies,	Caddell,	100 do.

Glenny,	20 pounds.
Wallace,	100 guineas.
Frazer,	50 pounds.
Gaoler,	10 guineas.
Two assistants,	20 pounds each.
Sub-heriff,	20 guineas.
Witneffes	200 pounds.*

At a provincial meeting held at Randalstown, December the fourteenth, 1797, it appeared, that the executive committee “had advanced £137. 8s. for conveying thirteen prisoners from Belfast to Dublin, in the benefit of the habeas corpus act.” They had also advanced £185. 4s. for the prisoners’ trials in Armagh and Carrickfergus; and as they could not get money to defray the expence, they had thoughts of forming a lottery, the benefit of which was to be applied to said purposes;‡ but on the seventeenth of January, 1798, they rejected that plan, as it encouraged *immorality in the people*, and resolved to raise money by subscription. ||

I mentioned before that they endeavoured to baffle justice by striking terror into all loyal subjects, and procuring such of them as had taken an active and conspicuous part in executing the laws, to be murdered. To render this system more certain, they published, in the summer of 1797, a paper, entitled, The Union Star, which appeared at irregular periods; and of which the object was, to point out for affixation such persons as had been eminently useful in developing the secrets, or in checking the machinations of the conspirators. Each number began with the following paragraphs:

“As The Union Star is an official paper, the managers promise the publick, that no characters shall be hazarded, but such as are denounced

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No, XIV. p.100. || Ibid. p.101. ^ Ibid. p.109.

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by authority, as being the partners and creatures of Pitt, and his sanguinary journeyman Luttrell, (meaning the earl of Carhampton.) The Star offers to publick justice the following detestable traitors, as spies and perjured informers. Perhaps some are more lucky than the rest, may reach his heart, and free the world from bondage.”\*

This paper was secretly, and in the night, dispersed in the city of Dublin, and in different parts of the country, but without any printer’s name annexed to it; and it pointed the dagger of the affixer to the breast of many a loyal subject.\*

They also set on foot, in the winter of 1797, a newspaper, called The Prefs, for the purpose of vilifying the government, of reprobating its leading members, and of inciting persons to murder them; of condemning, as founded in tyranny, every salutary measure adopted for checking the progress of rebellion, and of traducing every loyal man who had courage enough to assist in doing so.

So fure were the leaders of the united Irishmen in Dublin that they had attained the grand object, that of uniting persons of different religious orders, that the following paragraph appeared in The Prefs of the twenty-sixth of December, 1797:

“The catholics and presbyterians. are united in indissoluble ties, like dying martyrs, in a common cause, priding themselves in mutual good offices, and for ever abjuring the barbarous fanaticism that made them hate each other. From the protestants of the establishment, every man of worth, of talent, or of honour, has ranged himself by their side; and nothing now remains,

againft Irifh union, but twenty-five thoufand, aa near as may be, of bigots, hirelings, and dependents; juft enough to furnifh the lord lieutenant with addreffes.”

One of the main defigns of thefe infamous prints was, to paint England in the blackeft colours; to vilify her conftitution, as founded in defpotifm; and to reprezent her people as knavifh, artful and tyrannical: An extraordinary return to that glorious nation, for having., given to the favages of Ireland their conftitution, || as far as a kingdom, in her fubordinate ftate, could participate of it for having attempted to reclaim her people from

\* Report of the fecret committee. Appendix, No. XXVTI, p.117.

|| The union has given it to them in the fulleft extent. Without it, they were flaves, depending on the breath of a minifter for the freedom they enjoyed.

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downright favagery, and for having introduced among them every art that can adorn or improve civil life! Thefe invectives againft England were uttered to encourage a feparation from her.

Much to the difgrace of government, this infamous paper, called The Prefs, was fuffered to diffeminate treafon and fedition, from the beginning of October, 1797, till the fixth of March, 1798; when, in confequence of information received that Mr. Arthur O’Connor, the fworn proprietor and owner of it, had been feized at Margate, in the actual attempt of taking his paffage for France, with Quigley the prieft of Dundalk, on whom treafonable papers were found, alderman Alexander, on Tuefday the fixth of March, feized the papers and printing materials of The Prefs.

Another feditious print intituted at Cork by the united Irifhmen, and called The Harp of Erin, did infinite mifchief in Munfter.

To injure public credit, they publifhed printed notices, not to ufe excifeable commodities; not to take bank notes; and not to purchafe quitrents, as government had propofed to fell them. In thefe they faid, “In our opinion the iffuer of thefe notes is a bankrupt, who in all likelihood muft fhortly fhut up and run away. When the government goes down, thefe fine notes of theirs, with ftamps of hundreds and thoufands upon them, will not fetch a penny a pound in a fnuff-fhop.”

I think it right to inform the reader, that there is a more equal intermixture of proteftants of the eftablifhed church, of prefbyterians and papifts, in the counties of Donegal, Derry, Tyrone and Armagh, than in any other part of the kingdom; for this reafon the difaffected fhewed more boldnefs of enterprize and vigour of exertion in them, than in moft other parts of the kingdom, during the progrefs of the confpiracy; for the prefbyterians engaged in it, were men of fome education and improved intellect, and directed the operations; and the perfons who executed them were of the lower clafs of Roman catholicks., who were defperate and fanguinary;\* but the rebellion, had it broken out in them, could not have been very deftructive or of long continuance, the yeomen and orangemen were numerous, and were vigilant and active in detecting and baffting the fchemes of the traitors; befides the maffacres in the province of Leinfter made fuch of the prefbyterians, as were difaffected, unite with the

◆ The reader will not be furprifed at this from the maffacres which took place in the province of Leinfter.

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A practice, which I before mentioned, of affembling the people to dig the potatoes, or reap the corn of their leaders, took place often in thofe counties. It answered two purpofes, that of trying the fincerity of the people, and of convincing them of their ftrength, by the facility with which a number of them could be colletted in a fhort time. No lefs than fix thoufand perfons affembled

to dig an acre and a half of potatoes, the property of one McClury, near Newtownlimavady in the county of Derry.

This body was regularly divided into companies, which were subdivided into ten, with officers appropriated to each division.

This McClury was tried for having, with a numerous gang of affaffins, murdered one McClufky, and burnt his house, in the county of Derry, because he would not join in a combination against the rector of the parish.

The jury, from motives of fear or corruption, acquitted him, though his guilt was evident; on which the lord chief baron recommended to the next of kin to bring an appeal of murder. It often occurred that the witnesses and jurors were afraid to do their duty.

The executive directory formed the highest expectations of success in the beginning of the year 1797, from the number and zeal of their partizans, who were well armed and organized.

Robert Moore, of the city of Derry, ironmonger, who had been deputed from the county of Derry to the provincial meeting of Ulster as their delegate, attended the next county meeting in November, 1796, at Garvagh, in order to impart to them the orders of the provincial. He informed them, that the French were expected immediately; that they must array themselves in companies of one hundred men each, with a captain, two lieutenants and five sergeants; that they must exercise constantly, and procure arms by every means in their power; and he particularly recommended pikes.

They immediately began their nocturnal depredations in the counties of Tyrone, Derry, Donegal and Armagh, so that no night passed without some dreadful enormities committed by them. To compel people to join them by terror, they demolished or burnt houses and haggards, destroyed cattle, dragged people from their beds, cropped off their ears, ducked, maimed, or murdered them.

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In December, 1796, they destroyed the property and cut off the ear of one Lanaghan, in the barony of Loughinsholin, and county of Derry; at the spring assizes of 1797, he prosecuted three of them, but the jury acquitted them, it is supposed, from motives of terror.

In the month of December, 1796, a man unguardedly informed his family, that he saw a number of them exercising in the night; which being reported to them, the most moderate of them insisted on his leaving the country; but in attempting to do so, he was murdered at Magilligan, in the county of Derry.

In January, 1797, Sir George Hill, with a party of the military, surprized a body of rebels in the night, after they had plundered many houses of arms near Derry, killed some of them, and took others prisoners. Of the latter, a young man of the name of Bordman became approver. At the assizes, Sir George introduced him into a room, where the crown lawyers were, that he might relate to them the substance of his evidence. Seeing his examinations in the hands of Sir George Hill, he rushed forward, snatched them from him, tore them in pieces, and afterwards denied every thing he had sworn. He knew that he and all his family, who were numerous and respectable, would have been affaffinated if he had prosecuted.

Whenever the military assembled in the night, at Derry, to patrol the country in detachments, signals were made by lights, through whatever district they passed. In the winter of 1796, and the beginning of 1797, before those counties were proclaimed, thousands were obliged to compromise with the rebels, to deliver up their arms, and to take the oath of secrecy, to save their lives; and gentlemen of good landed property were among those who did so. At last the well-difposed called out for protection, which the introduction of the insurrection law, and the

infatuation of Orange societies contributed materially to afford them. Anonymous letters were frequently written to loyal persons, threatening them with destruction, unless they became members of the union.

In the beginning of the year 1797, whole corps of yeomen were disbanded. At the spring assizes of that year, very few delinquents could be convicted, as the witnesses and jurors, some from terror, others from attachment to the cause, acquitted them. At Omagh, Lifford, and Derry,\*

\* The county towns of Tyrone, Donegal and Derry.

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the acquittals were celebrated by bonfires in the night, for thirty miles round the country.

The day before the assizes at Derry, on the thirteenth of April, 1797, the county delegates held a meeting, and paid in large subscriptions, which had been previously collected for the use and defence of the prisoners in gaol, and appointed a sub-committee to manage and appropriate it.

In the winter of 1797, they became so numerous and daring, that they used to patrol the country by night, in immense numbers, plunder houses of arms, and cut down great quantities of ash trees to make pike handles.

In a district called Fanet, in the county of Donegal, two thousand of them assembled, and laid a plan to murder the reverend Mr. Hamilton, of which he received information upon oath from one of the party. He could not get a messenger to convey a letter to Derry for a reinforcement of troops, and he had but a few soldiers in his house. He and a Mr. Smyth who commands a revenue cutter, disguised themselves in rags, as beggars, passed the picket guard of the rebels, which they kept constantly, with the utmost regularity, arrived safe at Derry, and obtained an additional guard of one hundred men, which saved himself and his house for that time; but he was murdered in a fortnight after, within eight miles of Derry, by forty farmers who have since gone to America.

In such counties where the persons possessed of property were protestants of the church of Ireland, and of course were loyal, and the lower classes of people were papists, the conspiracy was not so terrific; because the latter, who were engaged in it, wanted leaders of improved intellects.

Large sums of money were sent from Belfast to Derry, to corrupt the military, and their schemes were attended with very great success, particularly in the Tipperary regiment.

A plot of a very extensive and dangerous nature for taking that town was discovered, and that some of the privates and non-commissioned officers of that regiment were deeply engaged in it. Three or four publicans were to have intoxicated such of the soldiers as were not sworn. A chosen band were to have murdered the earl of Cavan, colonel Bagwell, and Sir George Hill, and to have seized the magazine.

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The conspiracy was to have been carried into execution on a market day, when ten thousand of the country people were to have entered the town under the pretext of business. Different persons, both soldiers and peasants, concurred exactly in their relation of this plot.

The great linen bleachers were almost universally obliged to countenance the conversion of their overseers and workmen to the united cause, that they might continue their business; but some did so from pure attachment to it. Such of them as were steadfast in their loyalty, were under a necessity of discontinuing their bleaching for the season.

As the reverend John Hill, brother of Sir George Hill, had distinguished himself by great activity and courage in checking the progress of rebellion in the county of Tyrone, all the loyalists in his

neighbourhood lodged their arms in his house, which was guarded by four of the Queen's county militia, and in which he had maintained his post for many months.

One night in the month of June, 1797, when he happened to be absent at Derry, five hundred rebels attacked his house, overpowered the guard, and carried off a large quantity of arms and ammunition, a considerable portion of which had belonged to the military and yeomen; but Mr. Hill, at his return, partly by menaces, and partly by severe and vigorous measures, against the rebellious inhabitants of the district, compelled them to restore the whole of what they had plundered.

In the barony of Enniflowen, in the county of Donegal, (noted for defenders in the year 1793) the rebels cut down, and carried off, forty full grown ash trees for pike handles, and soon after disbanded half a yeomanry corps and many small parties of soldiers, as they went to their out-quarters in the country; but the burning of three houses in that rebellious district struck such terror into its inhabitants, that they returned all the arms they had taken, and surrendered many pikes.

The proclamation which issued the seventeenth of May produced the best effects in these counties; as it induced thousands to repair to magistrates to renounce their error, and to seek for protection.

In the month of January, 1797, the Ulster provincial meeting was held at Stewartstown in the county of Tyrone, and they were very much offended because a member of the executive did not attend. The famous father Quigley, afterwards hanged at Maidstone, being a member

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of the provincial, said he knew where they sat at that time, and he conducted them to Dundalk, where they were then sitting. The provincial insisted on seeing them, which they refused, but sent one of their members to confer with them. One of the directory commonly attended each provincial meeting, to receive money, to issue out orders to the inferior societies, and to obtain reports from them; but the whole of them were never known to any of the inferior societies. Quigley must have been very deep in their confidence, when he was entrusted with the time and place of their assembling.

Bartholomew Teeling was at that time a member of the directory.

In the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry and Armagh, there were fourteen thousand yeomen, and most of them orangemen; and they were so loyal, and so well disciplined, that general Knox who commanded at Dungannon reported in the summer of 1798, that he would rest the safety of these counties on their fidelity and bravery; and, much to the honour of the presbyterians, three-fourths of them were of that order.

In Tyrone, there were about five thousand yeomen, the majority of whom were presbyterians; and there were about four thousand two hundred orangemen among them. In so large a body there were not more than from two hundred to three hundred papists.

Though the presbyterians lay under a general imputation of being disloyal, it appears that a great portion of them were steadily attached to the constitution, and were ready to draw their swords in its defence against foreign and domestic foes. After many minute enquiries, I could not discover an instance of a presbyterian yeoman having violated his oath of allegiance; but it will appear that many shameful instances of the kind occurred among the Roman yeomen in Leitrim, Connaught and Munster. Though many dissenting ministers of the counties of Down and Antrim were disaffected, great numbers of them are distinguished for exalted piety and unimpeached loyalty.

I have been assured by many gentlemen of sagacity and sound judgment, who are well acquainted with the North, that most of the presbyterians separated from the papists in the year 1797, some from principle, some because they doubted the sincerity of persons of that order; and others, foreseeing that the plot must fail and end in their destruction,

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took advantage of the proclamation of the seventeenth of May, and renounced their associates. Numbers withdrew, because they doubted of success without foreign assistance.

The presbyterians of the counties of Down and Antrim, where they are very numerous, and where they were warmly attached to the union from pure republican principles, thought they could succeed without the papists.

Many persons, desirous of palliating the treasonable designs of the union, have said, that the reason of their establishing a resident agent at Paris was, the rejection of a plan of reform which was proposed in the house of commons in 1797, which would have satisfied the people; but the palpable falshood of this assertion, is evident from the journals of the house of commons; for the leaders of the conspiracy have all agreed, that their agent was dispatched to Paris in April, 1797, with directions to negotiate a treaty with the directory of France; and the motion for parliamentary reform, to the rejection of which they ascribe the million of Lewins, was not made till the fifteenth of May.\* They have also attempted to palliate the treasonable designs of the conspirators, and the enormities committed by them, by ascribing them to the severity of the insurrection law; but it did not pass into a law till the twenty-fourth of March, 1796, and was not enforced till the fourteenth of November following; and it was enacted, in consequence of a system of midnight murder, robbery and outrage, begun in the year 1792, and brought to maturity in the year 1796, under the influence of the Irish union, the leaders of which began a correspondence with the French directory, between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796! which was long before either of the above events took place.

It should be recollected also, that some of the leading members of the union were deeply concerned in the conspiracy with the reverend Mr. Jackson, who came here from Paris in the year 1794, to lay a plan for invading the kingdom.

The leading principle of the conspirators in the provinces of Munster, Leinster and Connaught, was to join the French and extirpate protestants,

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of lords of 1798, p. 13 and 14. † Ibidem.

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which the events that occurred in the course of the rebellion will prove in the two last; and for a proof of this in the former, where the active and reasonable exertions of the magistrates and the military prevented it from exploding, I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XI. where he will find the fate of the counties of Clare, Tipperary, the county and city of Waterford, and the county and city of Cork.\*

In the year 1798, the most unqualified treason and sedition continued to be diffused in all the jacobin prints, and had a very great effect in inciting the people to commit crimes of very great enormity. In the metropolis, and in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare and Wicklow, and in many parts of Munster, assassination and the robbery of arms were constantly perpetrated, and the disaffected continued to form traitorous combinations.

The speech of the viceroy set forth the woeful and alarming fate of the kingdom; and both houses of parliament, in their addresses, assured his excellency of their attachment to the king and constitution, and their determination to risk their lives and fortunes in support of them, and in maintaining the connexion between the two kingdoms.

In the month of January, the King's county was so much disturbed, that the gentlemen and freeholders, assembled by the sheriff on the fifth of February, entered into strong resolutions, and subscribed large sums of money for suppressing insurrections and maintaining social order.

On the ninth of February, colonel St. George and a Mr. Jasper Uniacke were murdered by a popish banditti at Arraglyn, in the county of Cork, in the house of the latter.

This month, Mr. Doolin, a protestant, was barbarously murdered in his own house, in the King's county, while sitting in the evening with his family; and it was discovered that some of his own domesticks were concerned in the horrid deed.

As the minds of the people in Dublin was at this time infected with treason, and as popish fanaticism seemed to be chiefly instrumental in forwarding the progress of it, the protestants formed Orange lodges, and united for their preservation in the month of January, 1798; and as the disseminated propagated malicious reports, that they had secretly entered

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\* Doctor McNevin, a member of the directory and a Romanist, accounts for that in his evidence before the house of lords, by saying, that the Catholic priests were well if cited to the cause. Report of the secret committee of the house of lords of 1798, Appendix, No. III,

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into combinations hostile to the Romanists, both the orangemen of Dublin and those of the province of Ulster, to vindicate themselves from such aspersions, published a declaration of their principles in the publick prints.\*

In the month of January, a foldier of the Tyrone militia, while standing as a sentinel at Tralee, in the county of Kerry, was assassinated by a man disguised in woman's clothes.

On Thursday the twenty-fourth of January, a young man of the revenue corps of yeomanry was fired at near Blackrock, from behind a hedge, and was very badly wounded.

In the beginning of February, two ruffians of the names of Come and Carbery, were committed to MulHngar gaol for having conspired to murder George Clibborne, esquire, captain of the Moate cavalry; and four more to Philipstown gaol, for having combined to assassinate Richard Holmes, esquire, of Prospect; two gentlemen distinguished for their spirited exertions in enforcing the execution of the laws. These assassins were sent from Dublin by the united Irishmen, to commit these horrid crimes.

An attempt was made on the life of Mr. Darragh, of Eagle-hill, in the county of Kildare, an active magistrate, who was so obnoxious to the rebels on account of his zealous loyalty, and many plots were formed against his life; but in order to provoke the vengeance of the disseminated, a report was circulated that he had taken an oath not to desist in his exertions, till he had waded up to his ankles in the blood of Roman catholics. This report was propagated while he was absent in England. At his return he made publickly an affidavit, that he had never harboured such a sentiment. But this would not do; for he was condemned to die by a committee of assassination that sat in the neighbourhood.

When walking in his lawn, in the month of March, a man in the guise of a suppliant, presented him a paper, under a pretext of seeking for justice; and when he was engaged in perusing it, he drew a pistol, and having fired it at him, the ball entered his groin; and while in a disabled state, and writhing with pain, he drew another pistol, and fired it into his back, with the muzzle close, that both the ball and the wadding entered his body, and has never been extradited. Ever since this misfortune he has dragged on a miserable existence, having suffered a great

\* See it in Appendix, No. V.

diftortion of his limbs, and being subject to dreadful pafms, attended with excruciating pain.

At a provincial committee, held at Shanes-caftle, the firft of February, 1798, it was announced, “That three delegates had arrived from France; that the French expedition was going forward, and was soon expected; that three delegates had been fent from the united Britons to the national committee; and that from that moment they were to confider England, Scotland and Ireland, all as one people, acting for one common caufe; that there were legiflators now chofen from the three kingdoms to act as an executive for the whole; that they were now fure of obtaining liberty, though the French fhould never come; that the delegates fhould caufe the men to hold themfelves in readinefs, as the hour of action could not be far diftant; and that they fhould collect the names of all their enemies, and their places of residence.”\* This was done moft effectually; and the loyal perfons were pointed out for affaffination in The Prefs and The Union Star.

On Saturday the feventeenth of February, the following advertifement was found by a gentleman ftuck againft the wall of St. Mary’s church, in Dublin:

“Liberty!” “Erin go braugh!” § “You proteftant hereticks! Take notice, that mafs will commence in this church by the firft of May next; your blood fhall flow, and your fouls fhall be fent to the devil your grandfather.”

In the month of February, the earl of Moira came to Ireland, with a profefled defign of appeafing the difturbances which difgraced his native country, by recommending to government to difcontinue the fyftem of rigorous coercion which they had for fome time adopted, and to which he attributed thofe evils; and by advifing them to relax the penal laws recently enacted, and to ufe mild and conciliatory meafures, as the only means of reftoring peace and focial order; and on the nineteenth of February, after having expatiated on, and enforced thefe fubjects in the houfe of lords, and recommended catholick emancipation and parliamentary reform, which he reprefted as neceffary to allay the difcontents of the people, he moved, “That an humble addrefs be prefented to his

\* Report of the feeret committee. Appendix, No. XIV. p.iii. § This is Irifh, and fignifies, Ireland for ever!

excellency the lord lieutenant, to ftate, that, as parliament had confided to his excellency extraordinary powers, in order to fupport the laws, and defeat traitorous combinations in this country, we feel it our duty, as thefe powers have not produced the defired effect, to recommend the adoption of fuch conciliatory meafures as may allay apprehenfion and difcontent.” He was oppofed by the earl of Clare, who, in a moft eloquent fpeech\* refuted his lordfhip’s affertions, and traced the origin of the riots and infurrections of Ireland to their real fource. His lordfhip’s motion was negatived on a divifion of thirty-five to ten.

Experience has since evinced how much his lordffhip was miftaken; and the following incident proves how vain, how futile, and abfurd it is, for any perfon of high birth and large fortune to expect to gain the affections of the populace by ftrooping to flatter their prejudices. His lordfhip had courted popularity in the county of Down, where he had refided and his eftate lay; and nobody can doubt but that he really merited it, from his humane and beneficent difpofition: And yet, at a county meeting of united Irifhmen held at Saintfield on the fourth of February, 1798, the following paragraph appeared in the courfe of their proceedings on that day:

“Nothing particular was done, except that earl Moira’s character was difcuffed at full length, to know, whether he was a man that could be depended on, or not, by the people? It was agreed, that he was as great a tyrant as the lord lieutenant, and a deeper defigning one!” †

On the fifth of March, Sir Laurence Parsons, in a long speech in the house of commons, recommended an enquiry to be made into the causes of disturbance, and into the demands of the people, that they may conciliate them by conceding those demands, if they were reasonable, or by convincing them of the contrary, if they were inadmissible. He recommended parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation as the most likely means to allay the distractions which then existed; and he imputed them to the severe and unnecessary system of coercive rigour which the government of Ireland had exercised for many years past. He ended his speech with the following motion: "That this house do forthwith resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider whence the

\* It is so full of information, that I would recommend it to the perusal of every friend of Ireland, and of the empire. † Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p.1 14.

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discontents in this country arise, and what are the most effectual means of allaying the same." Lord Castlereagh, in a long, an able, and an animated speech, contradicted his assertions, and refuted his arguments, by taking a retrospect of the state of Ireland for many years preceding; and by deducing, from incontrovertible facts, that the only object of the traitorous combinations, unremittingly attended by nocturnal robbery and affination, was the subversion of the constitution, and the separation of the two kingdoms. On a division there appeared but nineteen members in support of the motion, and one hundred and fifty-six against it.

We cannot sufficiently applaud the wisdom and firmness of parliament, in refusing their assent to such wild and fatal concessions, propounded by the earl of Moira and Sir Laurence Parsons; and if any proof of this were necessary, it would be supplied by a resolution entered into by the rebel provincial committees of Ulster and Leinster on the same day, the nineteenth of February, 1798, and both in the same words, one at Armagh, the other at Dublin: "That we will give no attention whatever to any attempt made by either house of parliament, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view; as nothing short of complete emancipation of our country will satisfy us."

This dreadful conspiracy, which aimed at the destruction of Ireland, its separation from England, and consequently the subversion of the British empire, was discovered and defeated in the following manner by the wisdom and mercy of Providence:

Mr. Thomas Reynolds, of the county of Kildare, where he had numerous and respectable connexions, was bred to the business of a silk manufacturer, which he followed very extensively for many years in the city of Dublin; but having acquired a landed property at Kilkea castle, in his native county, he retired and resided there, some years previous to the rebellion, and had considerable influence among the Romanists.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, two leaders in the conspiracy, having, for these reasons, considered him a proper person to assist in forwarding their treasonable designs, practised every art of seduction to attach him to their cause; and having at last succeeded, he was sworn an united Irishman at the house of Oliver Bond in Dublin, in the beginning of the year 1797, was induced to accept the commission of colonel,

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the offices of treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare, and at last that of delegate for the province of Leinster.

Soon after he was raised to this elevated situation in the union, having discovered that the conspirators, instead of intending to reform the abuses of the state, and to abolish all religious distinctions, which was their professed object at first, meditated the subversion of the constitution, the massacre of the leading members of government, and of such persons as should

oppose their designs, he resolved to defeat them, by embracing the first opportunity of communicating them to some person in whom he could confide.

He had very great friendship and respect for Mr. Cope, an eminent merchant of the city of Dublin, who, having lamented to him in the course of conversation, the crimes and atrocities which were constantly committed, and which were undoubted symptoms of an approaching rebellion, Mr. Reynolds, upon whom his conversation made a very deep impression, said, that he knew a person connected with the united Irishmen, who, he believed, would defeat their nefarious projects, by communicating them to government, in order to make an atonement for the crime he had committed in joining them. Mr. Cope assured him, that such a person would obtain the highest honours and pecuniary rewards that the administration could confer; and that he would be admired and applauded by the most virtuous and valuable portion of society. But Mr. Reynolds said, that nothing could tempt him to come forward and avow himself. However, after the most earnest and pressing solicitations repeatedly made on the part of Mr. Cope, for whom he had filial reverence, he said, that his friend would appear in person, and disclose the particulars of the plot, on the following conditions: That he should not prosecute any united Irishmen; that the channel through which the information came should be kept a secret, at least for a time; that as his life would be in danger upon its being known, and he must leave the country and go to England till matters were settled, which would derange his affairs, and put him to considerable expence, he expected to receive some compensation. Mr. Cope then told him, that he might draw on him for any sum not exceeding five hundred guineas. On that, he told Mr. Cope, that the Leinster delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's, on the twelfth of March, to concert measures for an insurrection, which

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was shortly to take place; but did not at that time acknowledge that the information came directly from him; but insinuated that it was imparted by a third person.

In consequence of this, justice Swan, attended by twelve serjeants in coloured clothes, arrested the Leinster delegates, thirteen in number, while sitting in council in the house of Oliver Bond in Bridge-street, on the twelfth of March, 1798; and seized at the same time the papers in Appendix, No. XII.\* which led to the discovery of the plot, and the intended insurrection; and on the same day, Thomas A. Emmett, a barrister, William James McNevin, Messrs. Bond, Sweetman, Henry Jackson and Hugh Jackson: And warrants were granted against lord Edward Fitzgerald, Richard McCormick and counsellor Sampson, who were all leaders in the conspiracy; but the three last made their escape.

It is certain that the leaders of the conspiracy did not intend to bring forward an insurrection till the French came to their assistance; and they meant in the mean time to continue to increase their numbers, and to add to their stock of arms; but in the spring of 1798, the delusion of the people was so rapidly and so extensively yielding to the wise measures of government, who, while they treated with severity the obstinately guilty, in every instance held forth mercy to the repentant; that the chief conspirators both in Dublin and in the provinces began to perceive that their cause was losing ground, and that they had no alternative but to hazard a general rising, or to relinquish their hopes.

The arrest of the Leinster committee, and of many other leaders on the twelfth of March, tended so much to the disclosure of their fatal designs, and to break the links of their organization, that the conspirators found themselves under an absolute necessity of making a desperate effort. A plan was therefore digested by the military committee for a general rising, in which it was proposed to seize Dublin,† the camp at Laughlinstown, and Chaphzod, the station of the artillery, on the same night; and the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, were to co-

operate in this attack.‡ The infurrection being commenced in the metropolis and its vicinity, the signal for announcing it to the

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIX. † Ibid. Appendix, No. XIV. ‡Ibid.

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North and South, which would also rife, was to be the detention of the mail coaches.\*

During the months of February, March and April, robbery and affaffination continued to be perpetrated in different parts of the kingdom, and shocking outrages were committed in the metropolis, particularly in Francis, Thomas, and James's-street; where the centinels on guard were frequently fired at.†

On the twenty-eighth of February, Arthur O'Connor and father Quigley, and three more traitors, were arrested at Margate, when they were on the point of embarking for France, whither they were going to accelerate an invasion of Ireland, which the French republick at that time meditated, at the instance of the Irish executive directory.

On the seventh of March, Sir Henry Mannix, who had made himself obnoxious to the rebels by his activity as a magistrate, was fired at and wounded near the city of Cork; where the conspiracy was more extensive and terrific than in Dublin.

Major Allen was served in the same manner in the county of Kildare.

On the thirteenth of March, Mr. Buckley, a protestant, and noted for his loyalty, was murdered near Rathcoole, in the county of Kildare, and butchered with ferocious barbarity; and it has been discovered, that some of the popish yeomen of that place were concerned in the perpetration of this horrid act. One of their bayonets was found sticking in his body. About the same time Mr. Burchell of Kiltreele in the same county was affaffinated. This month a centinel was murdered on his post at Armagh.

It would exceed the extent of my design, and fill the reader with horror and disgust, if I were to enumerate the affaffinations which took place at this time.

Every night great quantities of pikes were discovered in the metropolis by the magistrates; and so eager were the leaders of the conspiracy to encourage the fabrication of them, that blacksmiths were detected in the act of making them even in the day.

So prone to infurrection were the lower classes of people in Dublin, that in the month of April, a numerous mob of rebels rose in the

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. † The reader may form some idea of the state of Dublin, from an affidavit in Appendix, No. XIII.

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liberty, and attempted to pull down the houses of some loyal persons there, but were prevented by the yeomen.

An active and intelligent magistrate of the city of Dublin informed me, that when he was granting licenses to some publicans in March, 1797, they boasted, with a stern and insolent air, that that was the last time they would apply for them; and that they made the same declaration in March, 1798. So sure was the mass of the people, that a complete subversion of the government would take place!

On the thirtieth of March, the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation, giving the most positive and direct orders to the officers commanding his Majesty's forces, to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision for suppressing the traitorous conspiracy, for the destruction of the

constitution, and the established government, which broke out into acts of open violence and rebellion.

On the sixth of May, Mr. Reynolds was arrested at Castledermot by a party of the military, and conveyed a prisoner to Dublin.

On the eighth of the same month, the united Irishmen, by some means or other, having discovered that he had revealed, and in a great measure defeated their machinations, formed many plots against his life. He therefore found it necessary to put himself under the protection of government, who provided him with apartments in the castle.

As the members of the union, during his residence there, circulated the most infamous calumnies against his character, he resolved, in its vindication, and to bring those miscreants to condign punishment, to disclose the whole of their plots, and to prosecute them.

Sometime in the month of April, 1798, Messrs. Bird, Stoyte, O'Neil, Bacon the tailor, and others, held a conference at Harold's Cross, about carrying off the children of lord Camden, or lord Clare, as hostages; but they preferred those of the latter. One of the parties made a full confession of this to alderman James.

About the same time, major Sirr received a positive information, which I drew, of a conspiracy to shoot the lord chancellor, as he went to the courts.\*

On the twenty-second of April, alderman Jenkin arrested thirteen united Irishmen sitting in deliberation in a wherry in the port of Dublin; for they found it unsafe to hold, their committee in the city, from the

\* It was planned by one of the traitors sent to Scotland.

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great vigilance and activity of the magistrates, who pursued and discovered them in their lurking holes, and most secret recesses.

As it was discovered through various channels of information, that lord Edward Fitzgerald was the principal leader of the conspiracy; and as it appeared by papers found in his writing desk, that his designs were of a most dangerous and malignant nature, a proclamation issued on the eleventh of May, offering a reward of £1,000 for apprehending him.

As great numbers of people, charged with felonious and treasonable practices, had fled from different parts of the kingdom to Dublin, for the purpose of secreting themselves, and eluding justice, the lord mayor, on the same day, issued a proclamation, requiring all housekeepers in the city or liberties thereof, to return a list of such strangers as should be lodged or entertained by them.

On Wednesday the ninth of May, sheriff Hone seized some pike heads in the house of Mr. Sweetman, who had been so long the secretary of the Catholic committee.

On the night of May the eleventh, justice Swan, major Sirr, and captain Ryan discovered and seized five pieces of cannon, two six-pounders, and three four-pounders, in a brewer's yard in North Kingstreet; and on Thursday preceding, major Sirr seized in Bridgefoot-street, five hundred pike handles, from nine to fourteen feet long.

It was observed that the conspirators kept the pike heads and the handles separate, at least in the metropolis, as they could mount them with the utmost celerity; and the loss of one did not involve that of the other.

On the twelfth of May, seven delegates were sent by the united Irishmen from the metropolis to Chapelizod, to reduce the corps of artillery, and attempted to swear them to spike the guns; but

much to their honour, they disclosed the infernal scheme of these traitors, who were arrested and committed. On the same day a large quantity of arms was seized in a house on the Custom-house quay by justice Swan, an active and intrepid magistrate, by whose zealous exertions the most essential service was rendered at this alarming and critical juncture.

On the night of that day, a man of the name of Lynch was found murdered in Watling-street.

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On the night of the thirteenth of May, Mr. Surr, the town major, and captain Ryan, two magistrates distinguished for their unabated zeal and undaunted courage, seized four pieces of cannon in a house in Townsend-street, and next day a swivel concealed at Ring's-end.

On the eighteenth of May, justice Drury seized a blacksmith in Thomas-street at noon day, in the act of forging pikes; and he led him through the streets to the Castle, with his head and shoulders garnished with a number of them, and thence with two of his assistants to prison.

As lord Edward Fitzgerald had absconded ever since the twelfth of March; as government had the strongest reasons for thinking that he was unremittingly attentive in forwarding the conspiracy in which he was so deeply engaged; and as he had always displayed great courage, and considerable abilities as an officer, they were under apprehensions that he was doing very great mischief wherever he happened to be.

On the eighteenth of May, major Surr having received positive information that he would pass through Watling-street that night; that he would be preceded by a chosen band of traitors, as an advanced guard: and that he would be accompanied by another, repaired thither, attended by captain Ryan, Mr. Emerson of the attorney's corps, and a few soldiers in coloured cloaths. They met the party which preceded him, and had a skirmish with them on the quay at the end of Watling-street, which some shots were exchanged; and they took prisoner, one of them who called himself at one time Jameson, at another time Bond.

The arrest of lord Edward Fitzgerald, which was effected next day, the nineteenth of May, in the following manner, tended very much to defeat the malignant designs of the conspirators, as he was the chief projector of the intended insurrection, and they entertained the highest opinion of his courage and military abilities:

Government, having received positive information that he had arrived in Dublin and was lodged at the house of one Murphy, a featherman in Thomas-street, sent major Surr to arrest him. He, attended by captain Swan of the Revenue corps, and captain Ryan of the Sepulchre's, and eight soldiers disguised, about five o'clock in the evening repaired in coaches to Murphy's house. While they were posting the soldiers in such a manner as to prevent the possibility of an escape, captain Swan, perceiving

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a woman run hastily up stairs, for the purpose, as he supposed, of alarming lord Edward, followed her with the utmost speed; and, on entering an apartment, found lord Edward lying on a bed, in his dressing jacket. He approached the bed, and informed his lordship that he had a warrant against him, and that resistance would be vain; and he assured him, at the same time, that he would treat him with the utmost respect.

On that, lord Edward sprang from the bed, and snatched a pistol, which missed fire, at captain Swan. He then closed with him, drew a dagger, gave him a wound in the hand, and different wounds in the body; one of them under the ribs was deep and dangerous, and bled most copiously.

At that moment captain Ryan entered, and missed fire at lord Edward with a pocket pistol; on which he made a lunge at him with a sword cane, which bent on his ribs; but affected him so

much, that he threw himself on the bed, and captain Ryan having thrown himself on him, a violent scuffle ensued, during which lord Edward drew a dagger, and plunged it into his side. They then fell on the ground, where captain Ryan received many desperate wounds; one of which in the lower part of his belly was so large, that his bowels fell out on the floor. Major Sirr, having entered the room, saw captain Swan bleeding very much, and lord Edward advancing towards the door, while captain Ryan on the floor, and in the woeful state which I described, was holding him by one leg, and captain Swan by the other, he therefore fired at lord Edward with a pistol, and wounded him in the shoulder, on which he cried out for mercy, and surrendered himself. His lordship was then conveyed to the castle, but was on the point of being rescued before he left Thomas-street; for Edward Ratigan, a major of the rebels, assembled a great number of them, and gave them a considerable quantity of carbines and pikes out of St. Catherine's watchhouse, of which he was a director, and called on them to rescue lord Edward; and which they would have effected, but that major Sirr received the assistance of the Rainsford-street guard, and the picket guard of the castle, consisting mostly of cavalry, for which he had seasonably sent a messenger.

Samuel Neilson confessed afterwards, that he was in another quarter with five hundred pikemen, and that he would have attempted a rescue, had not the guards arrived in due time.

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Edward Ratigan, and Patrick Gallagher a rebel colonel, seized Mr. Cusack, a loyal subject of the Revenue corps, that evening, kept him a prisoner some time, and threatened his life if he gave information of what he had seen of their conduct.

In consequence of this, major Sirr, who was sometime convinced of the disaffection of Ratigan, searched his house on the Monday following, and having found there many stand of arms, a large quantity of ammunition, and some thousand printed oaths of the united Irishmen, demolished his house, and burnt a large quantity of timber which he found in his yard.

Captain Ryan received no less than fourteen wounds, of which he died a few days after, universally and deservedly lamented; as he was a man of great probity and firmness of mind, and a zealous loyalist.

The arrest of lord Edward visibly occasioned a strong sensation among the mass of the people in Dublin, as their hopes of getting possession of the metropolis on the approaching insurrection which they meditated, rested much on his valour and skill as an officer. Numbers of them were seen going from one part of the town to the other, with a quick pace and a serious countenance. Others were perceived in small parties, conversing with that seriousness of countenance and energy of gesticulation, which strongly indicated the agitation of their minds. A rising to effect a rescue was expected that night; the yeomen therefore, and the garrison, which it was to be lamented was very thin, remained on their arms all night, and were so judiciously disposed as to prevent the possibility of an insurrection.

By the papers found in lord Edward's writing-box, and on his person, the extent of the plot, and the malignant designs of the persons engaged in it, were discoverable.\*

Major Sirr found in his lodgings at Murphy's a green uniform, turned up with black, and a curious cap of the same colour, which he was to have worn when he headed the insurrection; and at the same time the official seal of the Irish union.

The plan for taking a city, found among lord Edward's papers, alludes to Dublin, shews the bold designs of the rebels, and how terrific the

\* See them in Appendix, No. XIV.

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infurrection would have been, but that it was defeated by the vigilance of government.

Meffrs. Henry and Jahn Sheares, brothers, both barrifters, and natives of Cork, and Patrick Byrne, a bookfeller of Grafton-freet, were arrefted and committed on charges of high treafon, on Monday the twenty-firft of May. In the houfe of the former a magiftrate found a proclamation,\* which shewed the fanguinary defigns of the rebels. It was to have been publifhed and circulated the morning after the intended infurrection and maffacre had taken place.

On the morning of the twenty-firft of May, lord Caftlereagh, by the defire of the lord lieutenant, wrote to the lord mayor to acquaint him, “That his excellency had difcovered that the difaffected in the city and neighbourhood of Dublin, had formed a plan of poffeffing themfelves, “in the courfe of the prefent week, of the metropolis, and of feizing the “executive government, and thofe in authority within the city.”

The government and the loyal fubjects ftill continued in an awful ftate of fufpenfe, as the frequent difcovery of the fabrication of pikes, even at noon-day, and of treafonable committees forming plans of infurrection, unqueftionably evinced that the volcano was on the point of burfting.

On the twenty-fecond of May, 1798, lord Caftlereagh prefented a meffage to the houfe of commons, from his excellency the lord lieutenant, “That his excellency had received information that the difaffected had been daring enough to form a plan, for the purpofe of poffeffing themfelves, in the courfe of the prefent week, of the metropolis, of feizing the feat of government, and thofe in authority within the city; that, in confequence of that information, he had directed every military precaution to be taken, which feemed expedient; that he had made full communication to the magiftrates, for the direction of their efforts; and that he had not a doubt, by the meafures which would be purfued, the defigns of the rebellious would be effectually and entirely crufhed.”

To this meffage, the houfe of commons voted an addrefs, “To affure his excellency that the intelligence which it communicated, filled them

\* Appendix, Nu. XIII.

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with horror and indignation, whilft it raifed in them a fpirit of determined refolution and energy; that they relied on the vigilance and vigour of his excellency’s government which they trusted would continue unabated, until the confpiracy, which fo fatally exifted, would be utterly diffolved.”

The fpeaker and all the members immediately waited on his excellency with the addrefs; and to fhew their zeal, and to encrease the folemnity of the proceeding, they walked through the ftreets on foot, two and two, preceded by the fpeaker, the ferjeant at arms, and all the officers of the houfe.

The government and the loyal fubjects ftill continued in a woeful ftate of fufpenfe and tribulation, not knowing on what night the infurrection would take place; and it is probable that they would have been furprifed and murdered in their beds, but that it was fortuitoufly difcovered a few hours before the rebels were to have rifen.

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THE BREAKING-OUT OF THE REBELLION.

THE earl of Ely commanded a corps of yeomen cavalry at Rathfarnham, a village about three miles distant from Dublin, of which a ferjeant and twelve men mounted guard every night, and patrolled through the adjacent country.

Lord Camden, having received information that the rebels meant to attack and cut off that small party, on the night of the twenty-third of May, 1798, recommended to the commanding officer that the whole troop should mount guard, which, eventually, was very fortunate; for soon after they were assembled, a man, about nine o'clock, went to lieutenant Latouche, who commanded on that night, and offered to conduct him to a place where two hundred rebels were assembled; but on arriving there, there was no appearance of them. It proved afterwards, that the design of this traitor was to have led the patrol, consisting of a ferjeant and twelve men, into an ambush, by which they would have been cut off; but a numerous body of rebels, who meditated their destruction, intimidated by the unexpected arrival of the whole troop, concealed themselves in the adjacent hedges.

At their return to Rathfarnham, they were informed by a person, supposed to be connected with the rebels, that the village would be attacked, and that they would be defeated by a numerous body of them, who were assembling on the mountains. Lieutenant Latouche having urged the necessity of communicating this intelligence to the viceroy, Samuel Bennet, a private in the corps, and son of Samuel Bennet, a coachmaker in Aungier-street, with laudable ardour, offered his service on the occasion, and carried a letter to the viceroy; who returned for answer, that no troops could be sent to them, as an insurrection in the metropolis was apprehended and his excellency desired that express should be sent to him, if the rebels should appear to move towards the city.

The corps, having heard two shots fired, proceeded to Harold's-crofts, and were informed there, that the rebels, about five hundred in number,

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and variously armed, had passed through Rathfarnham in their absence, and had proceeded towards Crumlin, headed by David Keely, a deserter from their troop.

Mr. Bennet returned to Rathfarnham in the absence of his troop, and having heard a great shouting at a place called the Ponds, he repaired there, and saw a great concourse of rebels armed with muskets, pikes and pistols, and was on the point of being surrounded by them. They had two carts laden with pikes and ammunition, which they were to have distributed among such rebels as should join them in their progress. He therefore, with great fortitude, and with that zealous loyalty which would have procured wealth and fame for a person in a less humble situation, undertook the perilous service of communicating to the viceroy what he had seen; and it was really perilous, for the rebels in great numbers were rifled, and were in the road and in the adjacent fields as he went to Dublin. In the city, particularly in the suburbs, he saw a great number of rebels with pikes, in gate-ways, alleys and stable-lanes, waiting the beat of their drums, and the approach of rebel columns from the country, which they expected; and as he passed, they frequently cried out, animating each other, "Come, on boys! who's afraid?"

A lady, resident at Rathfarnham, informed me, that they passed close by her house, with two carts filled with pikes, which made a dreadful rumbling noise, and which, joined to their yells, filled her with horror. As they proceeded they cried out frequently, "Liberty, and no king!"

Besides the above Keely, they had as leaders two men of the names of Ledwich and Wade, Roman catholics, and deserters from lord Ely's corps, Edward Keogh and James Byrne, all of the same persuasion, and in very good circumstances. They proceeded to the Fox and Geefe common near Clondalkin, where a numerous body of rebels were to have assembled, and to

have proceeded thence to Dublin, for the purpose of co-operating with its disaffected inhabitants, in a general insurrection.

The corps of yeomanry, at their return to Rathfarnham, having discovered that the rebels had risen, immediately sent intelligence of it to the viceroy, who communicated it to the lord mayor, and to the principal civil and military officers in the metropolis, and ordered them to take the most decisive and vigorous measures to defeat the malignant designs of the insurgents.

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The yeomen, in number about three thousand five hundred, and the few military who were in garrison, repaired to their respective alarm-posts, with uncommon celerity; and as it was known, that a strong spirit of disaffection had existed among the troops quartered at Lehaunstown camp, seven miles from Dublin; and as it was suspected that they would come to the assistance of the insurgents in the metropolis, the lord mayor, alderman Thomas Fleming,\* posted the city of Cork regiment, noted for its loyalty, with their two battalion guns, at the North side of Stephen's-green, and remained all night at their head.

It very fortunately happened, that the two canals formed a complete fortification on the North and South sides of the city, being fifty feet broad, and twelve deep. The Royal canal, extending from the river Liffey to the Broad-stone on the North, and the Grand canal completely environed the South, from the river on the East side, to the Royal hospital. The bridges on it, which the troops occupied, were at such distances, that they could have flanked the intermediate space, and prevented an enemy from passing over the canal; and in a day or two after the rebellion broke out, palliades and gates were erected on the bridges; however it was afterwards discovered that many rebels had passed over the bridges before the troops took post on them. The bridges on the river which bisected the city, were also occupied, and disconcerted the rebels by cutting off all communication between them on either side.

It has been since discovered and proved, that the rebel drums were to have beaten to arms, an hour after ours; and it is well known, that if they had preceded us by ever so small a space of time, the fate of the city and its loyal inhabitants would have been decided; for the mobs of; he people, armed with pikes and other weapons, were lurking in lanes, alleys and bye-places, ready to start forth on the first beat of their drums, and would have occupied all the streets, and assassinated the yeomen before they could have reached their respective stations; and the safety of the metropolis depended chiefly on them, as there were but few regular troops in it.

\* I think it is a tribute due to this gentleman to say, that he displayed singular sagacity, coolness and firmness at this alarming period; and his attention and humanity to the suffering protestants, who fled to Dublin from the rage of the assassins, after the loss of their property, should never be forgotten.

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There were many alarming indications of the desperate designs of the rebels, even before the alarm was given by the viceroy. The doors of the loyal subjects, particularly the yeomen, were marked with chalk, to point the rebel vengeance against them; and knowing that darkness would be favourable to the accomplishment of their traitorous purposes, they prevailed on the lamp-lighters not to do their duty.

The lord mayor, being very much alarmed at perceiving that the lamps were not lighted, sent to the board that superintends that business, to know the reason of it; and they returned in answer, that the lamp-lighters were deeply concerned in the plot the yeomen therefore compelled these traitors, at the point of the bayonet, to light the lamps.

The gate-ways and lanes in Church-ftreet, and Mary's-lane, were crowded with pike-men. Numbers were feen in the way leading to the burial ground of St. Michan's, and pikes were found concealed there next morning.

As the rebels expected that the Rathfarnham corps of cavalry would come to the relief of the city, they planted a number of men with mufkets behind a wall in New-ftreet, to fire on them as they entered.

It was proved that two fmiths, employed in the ordnance, had been reduced and bribed to fpike all the cannon there.

In the watch-houfes of St. Luke, St. Catharine, and Vicar-ftreet, the carabines were left charged, that the rebels might feize them.

It is a pofitive fact, that near three thoufand men entered the city on the North fide of it, through one turnpike, on the evening and the night of the twenty-third of May, for the purpofe of joining the infurgents.

Samuel Neilfon meditated an attack upon Newgate, for the purpofe of refcuing lord Edward Fitzgerald, and other ftate prifoners who were confined there; and he was to have been affifted by a numerous band of rebels, to whom he had affigned their different ftations the preceding night,\*

Southwell McClune, a rebel colonel, who had furrendered himfelf to government, and obtained his pardon, declared upon oath, that Neilfon had affembled at a houfe in Church-lane, a noted rendezvous for rebels, fifteen colonels; and having produced a map of Dublin, affigned to each the poft which he and his regiment were to occupy that night.

\* John Sheares oppofed his defign. See his letter found in Neilfon's pocket, Appendix XIII.

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A numerous party of his followers were about Clontarf, and in the demefne of Sir William Newcomen; another party in the fields contiguous to Eccles-ftreet.

When Neilfon went to reconnoitre Newgate, about ten o'clock at night, he formed a line of pofts at certain intervals, in order to have them called fpeedily to his affiftance.

It appeared afterwards by information upon oath, that the officers of the rebel corps, pofted near Eccles-ftreet, were one Kearney of Abbey-ftreet, a member of the Merchants corps, who held the rank of colonel in it; one Byrne of the hotel in Earl-ftreet, was lieutenant colonel, and one Whelan was major, all Roman catholicks.

Captain Medlicote of the Rotunda corps of yeomanry feeing a large body of people affembled in Eccles-ftreet, defired them to difperfe, on which one of them fnapped a piftol at him.

A party of the Merchants corps of cavalry, who were ordered to patrol at Clontarf, hearing the drums beat to arms in Dublin, returned rapidly to it, thinking that the infurrection had begun. They fortunately went by the Strand road; for had they gone by the upper one, near Sir William Newcomen's, they would have been cut off by a numerous party of rebels, who were on each fide of the road.

Neilfon, in his attack upon Newgate, was to have been feconded by a large body of rebels, headed by one Seagrave, who was to have taken poffeffion of Mr. Halpin's diftillery, at the corner of Pettycoatlane, the windows of which flanked it, and were to have kept up a conftant fire on the front of the prilon; while another party fcaled its walls in a different quarter.

Mr. Gregg, the gaoler of Newgate, perceiving a perfon reconnoitring it between nine and ten o'clock, approached him; but jon doing fo, he turned away, and endeavoured to conceal his

face. Gregg, on clofing him, recognifed Neilfon; and having feized him, a fcuille enfvd, in the courfe of which he profrated him on the ground, and threw himfelf oh him. After ftruggling fome time, Neilfon drew a piftol from his bofom, and endeavoured to fire it; but Mr. Gregg was fo fortunate as to let the powder out of the pan.

While this conflict lafted, he expected to be perforated by the doggers of the affaffins, which probably would have been the care, but

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that two yeomen came up, drew their fwords, and defired Mr. Gregg to do his duty. At laft, with their affiftance, he overpowered and committed him. On this fortunate event, fome thoufand rebels, who were to have co-operated with him, and were on the tip-toe of infurrection, having loft their leader, difappeared.

The large body of rebels armed with pikes and mufkets, which had affembled in Eccles-ftreet and its environs, were fo terrifick to the inhabitants of that quarter, that a number of well-dreffed women fled in the greateft confternation about ten o'clock to Mr. John Claudius Berefford's riding fchool, and claimed the protection of his corps.

Major Sirr ftopped a man on Cork-hill, about ten o'clock at night, with fix pike heads, which he was going to get mounted. Sir John Macartney, in proceeding to Smithfield, the alarm-poft of the Attornies corps, which he commanded, and of the Lawyers and Barrack corps, having obtained intelligence that numbers of fufpicious perfons were affembled in Greek-ftreet, near Pill-lane, went thither with fix or feven of his corps, and perceiving a man paffing by, he feized him by the breaft, and hearing fomething rattle under his coat, about a dozen pike heads of excellent workmanfhip, tied up in a piece of cloth, fell to the ground; and captain Furlong of the fame corps who was of his party, caught as many more falling on his other fide. He faid his name was Murphy, and that he had received thofe pike heads from one Ryan a ftone-cutter. Keeping Murphy a prifoner, they proceeded to Greek-ftreet, where they heard fome rebels were affembled; but they being alarmed, went through a back paffage to Church-ftreet, and crossing the tops of fome houfes, they were fired at by another party of the Attornies corps, who foon after apprehended a man concealing himfelf in St. Michan's church-yard, with feveral pikes lying by him.

On examining this man at the guard-houfe, he faid that his name was Ryan, and that he was a ftone-curter; but declared that he was perfectly ignorant of Murphy: that he knew nothing of pikes, or pike heads; and that he fled into the church yard merely to avoid the firing: and Murphy, on being confronted with Ryan, pretended that be was unacquainted with him; but on receiving a few lafhes with a cat-and-nine tails, their recolleption being reftored, they acknowledged that Murphy was ferjeant in a company of united Irifhmen, of which Ryan

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was captain; and that they were waiting for the orders of Neilfon to rife in arms that night, in concert with fome thoufands of that body, to liberate the prifoners in Newgate and Kilmainham, and to furprife the caftle and the city.

In confequence of the intelligence received from Murphy and Ryan, they repaired to a yard in Dirty-lane near Thomas-ftreet, and found a great quantity of ready-made pikes, fome pike-heads and pike-handles, a paper of new nails, and a hammer clofe to it, for the purpofe of mounting thofe weapons; and feveral newly-finifhed pikes.

In the fame yard, they found a travelling forge, which, from its conftruction, appeared to have belonged to his Majefty's board of ordnance; but the motto written on it at that time, in chalk, was, God damn the king.

On the information of Ryan and Murphy, they apprehended many united Irishmen, and seized arms of various descriptions; one parcel of pikes in particular, in an obscure garden behind Eccles-street, buried about two feet and a half under ground, and cabbages planted over them. They were fifteen feet long and perfectly well finished.

Great numbers of men having pike-heads concealed were thus discovered in going from one part of the city to the other.

The castle was to have been attacked in front and in rear, by two desperate bands of ruffians, armed with pistols and cutlasses. A select band was to have ascended with long ladders into the bed-chambers of the principal members of government, and to have murdered them, or carried them off as hostages.

The city was to have been set on fire in different places; and the bastion, which supplied it with water, and the pipes through which it was conveyed were to have been destroyed.

As it was intended that the insurrection should be general all over the kingdom, and as soon as possible after it took place in Dublin, it was agreed that the rebels in remote parts should rise, if the mail-coaches which set out daily from the metropolis did not arrive at their respective destinations as usual.

The Belfast coach therefore was destroyed and burnt near Santry, the Cork mail coach at Naas, and that going towards Athlone at Lucan. The persons who performed that service at Santry, defied the inhabitants of

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the neighbouring cottages to rise and join them; having assured them that the castle and city of Dublin were at that time in possession of their friends.

Near the Curragh of Kildare, the rebels murdered the guard, and the coachman of the mail-coach going to Limerick.

Numerous bodies of rebels were advancing towards Dublin, from Kilcock, Maynooth, Leixlip and Chapelizod;\* another party from towards the Black Bull; but being informed by their spies and videts that the garrison was under arms, they retreated. Holt, a rebel leader, was to have descended from the Wicklow mountains, as soon as he had received intelligence that the rebels had risen in Dublin.

For some nights, previous to the twenty-third of May, fires were seen on the Wicklow mountains, whose luminous appearance by night, and whose smoke by day, served as signals to the disaffected in the metropolis, and in all the adjacent country. The same practice took place on all the mountains which extend from the Scalp in the county of Wicklow, to Mount Leinster in the county of Wexford.

From a house in an elevated situation in Dublin, I could discern them at a great distance with a telescope; and it is astonishing with what celerity they increased or diminished the number of them, by which they answered in some degree the purpose of a telegraph.

From the circumstances which appeared on the trials of Weldon, Brady, Hart, the conspirators against Hanlon, and those of Dunn and Carty, which I have already quoted, the reader must be convinced that the mass of the Roman Catholics in Dublin harboured the most sanguinary designs against their Protestant fellow-subjects, whom they meant ultimately to have extirpated, though they had inveigled a few of them.

The wanton barbarities indiscriminately committed by them on all persons of the established religion, in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow and Kildare, must remove every doubt in our minds on that subject.

We may well conceive then how far the licentious and deftructive rage of the popifh multitude in the metropolis would have extended, but that the feafonable difcovery of the intended infurrection, by the wifdom and

\* It appeared by the papers found on the perfon of lord Edward Fitzgerald, that he planned this before hand.

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mercy of Providence, enabled the yeomen to come forward with their united force, and to prevent it from taking place.

The fun never rofe on fuch a fcene of carnage and conflagration as the metropolis would have exhibited on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May; for it appears from various fources of information, prefented to the publick by the feeret committee of the houfe of commons, that the inhabitants of the counties of Dublin, Wicklow and Kildare, were to have rufhed into the city as foon as the infurgents had fucceeded in getting poffeffion of it, or as foon as the conflict had begun; and it was expected, that the North and South would have rifen in confequence of the detention of the mail-coaches, which was the fignal for that purpofe.

The proclamation found in the houfe of the Meffrs. Sheares,\* and which they intended to have circulated on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, will fhew the reader the malignant defigns of the leaders of the confpiracy; and we cannot entertain a doubt, but that the inferior rebels would have exceeded and prevented their wifhes and expectations.

All the loyalifts would have been affaffinated; their wives would have been violated by the ruthlefs pikemen, that murdered their huftands; the accumulations of induftry would have been pillaged; every monument of the elegant arts would have been defaced or deftroyed; and whatever might have efcaped the rapacious and deftructive rage of the rebel plunderer, would probably have fallen a prey to the flames.

The dangers which impended over the metropolis, were very much encreafed by the following circumftance:

It was difcovered that near nine-tenths of the Roman catholicks in the yeomanry corps were united Irifhmen, and had taken an oath to be true to the rebels, in direct contradicthion to their fworn allegiance;† and that many of them, after having taken the united oath, had, by deliberate and predetermined perjury, joined the yeomanry corps for the purpofe of getting arms in their hands, learning the ufe of them, and turning them againft the loyalifts, perhaps, in the very moment of danger.

The confequences might have been horrible, had they not been prevented by a timely difcovery; for if any of the projefted nightly infurrections had taken place, the loyal yeoman, roufed from his bed, might have treacheroufly fallen by the bayonets of thofe whom he haftened to join as friends and fellow-foldier.

\* Appendix XIII. See alfo lord Edward Fitzgerald's plan of attacking a city, Appendix XIV.

† See pages 39 and 40. This sanctioned by the Romifh church.

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It is remarkable, that in the city of Dublin, above two thoufand catholicks folicted admittance into the feveral yeomanry corps during the fix weeks immediately preceding the infurrection; and that moft of them were propofed by catholick yeomen, who afterwards either proved to be rebels, or were difarmed on ftrong fufpicion.

In one company of the Rotunda divifion infantry, there were, at the .breaking-out of the rebellion, twenty-two privates yeomen catholicks; and of thefe fourteen were proved to be

sworn united Irishmen, some of them deeply concerned in the plans of insurrection and massacre; six others were disarmed on suspicion of the strongest kind; so that two only remained faithful out of twenty-two. All these men had frequently and anxiously endeavoured to introduce several of their friends into the corps, inasmuch as to produce strong divisions in the company.

The popish yeomen of the St. Sepulchre's corps conspired to affiliate their protestant officers and fellow-soldiers, who were the minority of that corps, and they were therefore disarmed.

In the Coolock corps, there was so much dissatisfaction from the same cause, that they were disarmed; and its loyal members enrolled themselves in another body of yeomanry.\*

In the county of Wicklow it was discovered by an accident, which I shall more fully explain hereafter, that the Roman catholic yeomen did not consider an oath of allegiance prescribed by law to a protestant state, as obligatory, and that they would refuse to take a test oath framed by their officers. The captain of a corps in that county presented such a test to the members of it, and nineteen out of twenty of the Roman catholics refused to take it, and were therefore dismissed.

The same experiment having been made with many corps in Dublin, they refused to swear it, though they had taken the usual oath of allegiance; and therefore were disbanded, or voluntarily laid down their arms.

The dangers which hung over the city of Dublin were very much increased by the following circumstance: It was discovered that the popish servants, both male and female, with very few exceptions, had taken the united oath, and were to have assisted in the insurrection and massacre on the night of the twenty-third of May, by which domestic security was completely destroyed; for, while the loyalist trusted to the protection of his house, his domestics in the dead hour of the night would have

\* About one half of the Rathdown corps were in this predicament.

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admitted the assassins, who would have butchered him in his bed. A friend of mine, who had his servant arrested, assured me, that he acknowledged that he knew of twenty thousand servants, sworn and attached to the united cause, who were to have joined in the insurrection.

A protestant housekeeper of my acquaintance, who had a popish kitchenmaid, prone to ebriety, informed me, that she, when intoxicated, said to her, about a fortnight before the rebellion broke out, "Mistress, you had better go to mass; for the pikemen will soon come into the city, and pike all of you protestants."

The lord mayor was to have been murdered by his own servant, and a body of ruffians whom he was to have admitted into the mayoralty-house in the dead hour of the night; and as a reward for his treachery, he was to have succeeded his master. To prevent the lord mayor from defending himself, he drew the charge of the pistols which he kept by his bed-side.

Information of his treachery having been given to the honourable captain Cavendish and captain Beresford, they arrested him about midnight: The lord mayor arose, assured them that he had not a doubt of his fidelity; that there must be some mistake as to the charge against him, and he requested that they would treat him with tenderness; but the information which they received turned out to be well founded, and even the delinquent acknowledged the truth of it.

Though the first effort of the rebels to rise in the metropolis was defeated by the vigilance of government, and by the spirit and loyalty of the yeomen, as it was well known that they entertained the most sanguine hopes of succeeding in another attempt, general Lake, commander in chief, published the following notice on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May:

NOTICE.

“Lieutenant General Lake, commanding his Majesty’s forces in this kingdom, having received from his excellency the lord lieutenant full powers to put down the rebellion, and to punish rebels in the most summary manner, according to martial law, does hereby give notice to all his Majesty’s subjects, that he is determined to exert the powers entrusted to him in the most vigorous manner, for the immediate suppression of the same; and that all persons acting in the present rebellion, or in any

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wife aiding or assisting therein, will be treated by him as rebels, and punished accordingly.

“And lieutenant general Lake hereby requires all the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, (the great officers of state, members of the houses of parliament, privy counsellors, magistrates, and military persons in uniform excepted) to remain within their respective dwellings from nine o’clock at night till five in the morning, under pain of punishment.

By order of lieutenant general LAKE,  
Commanding his Majesty’s forces in this kingdom.  
G. HEWETT, adjutant-general.”

Dublin, adjutant-general’s office,  
24th May, 1798.

The better to secure the peace of the city, the lord mayor published the following proclamation:

By the right honourable the lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

A PROCLAMATION.

THOMAS FLEMING.

“Whereas the circumstances of the present crisis demand every possible precaution: These are therefore to desire all persons who have registered arms forthwith to give in, in writing, an exact list or inventory of such arms at the town clerk’s office, who will file and enter the same in a book to be kept for that purpose; and all persons who have not registered their arms are hereby required forthwith to deliver up to me, or some other of the magistrates of this city, all arms and ammunition of every kind in their possession: And if, after this proclamation, any person having registered their arms shall be found not to have given in a true list or inventory of such arms; or if any person who has not registered, shall be found to have in their power or possession any arms or ammunition whatever, such person or persons will, on such arms being discovered, be forthwith sent on board his Majesty’s navy, as by law directed.

“And I do hereby desire that all housekeepers do place upon the outside of their doors a list of all persons in their respective houses, distinguishing such as are strangers from those who actually make part of their family; but as there may happen to be persons who, from pecuniary embarrassments, are obliged to conceal themselves, I do not require such names to be placed on the outside of the door, provided their names are

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sent to me. And I hereby call upon all his Majesty’s subjects within the county of the city of Dublin immediately to comply with this regulation, as calculated for the public security; as those persons who shall wilfully neglect a regulation so easy and salutary, as well as persons giving false statements of the inmates of their houses, must, in the present crisis, abide the consequences of such neglect.

Given at the Manfion-houfe, the 24th day of May, 1798.

Signed by order,  
JOHN LAMBERT, fecretary.”

In confequence of the intelligence received by lord Camden, that the rebels had rifen at Rathfarnham, his excellency font lieutenant O'Reily, with a troop of the 5th dragoons, in purfuit of them, and he was joined by the earl of Roden and lieutenant-colonel Pulefton of the Ancient Britons, as volunteers; and having been informed at Rathfarnham, that they had gone towards Rathcool, they proceeded in queft of them; and in their way they met a corps of yeomen, who were retreating after having attacked the rebels, and been repulfed by them.

Lieutenant O'Reily having halted the troop for the purpofe of confulting what was moft advifable to be done, it was agreed that lord Roden with one half of the troop fhould take the road to the right, and that lieutenant O'Reily fhould proceed to the left, in order to furround the rebels.

Lord Roden's party came up with them at the firft turnpike gate on the Rathcool-road, and after a fhort flcirmifh drove them to the place where lieutenant O'Reily was pofted; and he having fallen in with them, killed two, and wounded a good many of them, after which the main body made their efcape; for the country was fo much enclosed, as to prevent the poffibility of a purfuit.

The bodies of James Byrne and James Keely, two of their leaders, whom they killed, were brought into the cattle-yard, and exhibited to publick view; and Edward Keogh, another of their leaders, was brought in there deperately wounded.

Ledwich and Wade, the two deferters from lord Ely's corps, were hanged on the Queen's-bridge in Dublin, on Saturday the twenty-fixth of May.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, lieutenant-colonel Finlay patrolled with a party of foldiers near Clondalkin, four miles from Dublin,

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where he met a body of rebels, proceeding to join thofe from Rathfarnham. After a flight fkirmifh, he killed three of them, whofe bodies were fufpended next morning in Barrack-ftreet, as an example to the difaffected inhabitants of that quarter of the city.

So fure were the rebel inhabitants of the country, adjacent to Dublin, that their fellow traitors would overpower the government and get poffeffion of it, that a number of them remained under arms till eleven o'clock in the morning near Artane, within two miles of the city, expecting a fummons to co-operate with them; and they threatened the lives of fome loyal fubjectls in the neighbourhood of that village.

On Saturday the fecond of June, Thomas Bacon, a tailor, of the proteftant religion, was hanged at Carlifle-bridge, purfuant to a fentence of a court martial.

Though deeply concerned in the confpiracy for fome years, he declared in his laft moments to major Sandys and other gentlemen, that he did not difcover, till the rebellion broke out and the maffacre of proteftants took place, that religious bigotry had a prevailing influence in it; and that he meant for that reafon to have withdrawn himfelf from it. He was bred a proteftant and died in that profeffion. He was reputed an honeft man, and in extenfive bufinefs, till volunteering made him an idler and a fpeculatift in politicks; and at laft, a rage for political innovation led him from a peaceful induftrious fphere into the vortex of rebellion.

In the country, for many miles round Dublin, the rebellion broke forth in various places, made a formidable appearance, and produced the moft fatal effects.

The right honourable David Latouche had between feventy and eighty labourers employed in his work, at Marlay, the twenty-third of May, and the whole, except about ten, attended the Rathfarnham rebels.

A party of rebels entered the houfe of Mr. Minchin at Grange, headed by Curran his gardener, and McDonagh his gate-keeper, about feven o'clock in the evening, when he and his family were in Dublin. They plundered it of various articles of houfehold furniture, which they carried off in two of his carts. Curran declared that all Ireland was rifen that night, and that he would return in a day or two, and take poffeffion of the houfe and demefne as his own.

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Major Sirr the elder, the father of Mrs. Minchin, who had paffed a very long life in the fervice of his Majefty, and a female fervant of the name of Middleton, were the only proteftants in the houfe at that time; and the latter overheard the wife of McDonough declare, that fhe would cut their throats, which fhe probably would have effected, but that fome other women, who affifted her in plundering the houfe, diffuaded her from it.

It was proved afterwards, and acknowledged by fome of the affociates of Curran and McDonough, that fome affaffins had been pofted that evening with mufkets in the avenue leading to the houfe, who were to have fhot Mr. Minchin as he approached it; but it fortunately happened that he remained in Dublin.

On the fame evening, a large party of rebels fhot at Tibbradden, about two miles beyond Rathfarnham, Mr. Philip Proffor, a proteftant, formerly an eminent filk-throwfter in Dublin, and who then refided there, becaufe he refufed to deliver up his fowling-piece.

All the farmers and peafants in that large tract of country, between Dublin and the Wicklow mountains, were in a ftate of infurrection, waiting the fignal which they expected, to enter the metropolis, and affift their fellow traitors there; and in the mean time, they continued to commit various acts of outrage. In every other part of the adjacent country the rebels were equally terrifick and deftructive.

A numerous body of them, varioufly armed, entered the town of Dunboyne, feven miles from Dublin, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, murdered its proteftant inhabitants, and rifled and plundered their houfes; but did not injure the perfon or property of any Roman catholick.

In the police-houfe there were fix conftables on guard, of whom they affaffinated three, who were of the eftablifhed religion; but did not moleft the remainder who were papifts.

They then proceeded to the houfe of the reverend Mr. Duncan, vicar of Dunboyne, the only remaining proteftant in that town; but he having made his efcape, they plundered it of various valuable articles to the amount of £500.

Mr. Wynne, of Clonfillagh, having been informed by two of the yeomanry corps, which he commanded, of the infurrection and of thefe

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atrocities, proceeded about fix o'clock in the morning, with four of them, and eleven highlanders, commanded by lieutenant George Armfrong of the artillery, to Ratoath,\* where the rebels were in force, and had in their cuftody captain Gorges, member for the county of Meath, Mr. Corbally the lieutenant of his corps, and fome of his privates, whom they furprifed, and were on the point of hanging.

Mr. Wynne, having been at this time feafonably reinforced by Mr. Frederick Falkiner, with eighteen of the fifth dragoons, they charged and difperfed the rebels, and killed thirty-five of them in the purfuit.

Soon after they fet out to return home; and the dragoons having left them, the rebels, perceiving the diminution of their numbers, purfued them as far as Clonee-bridge, where the highlanders under lieutenant Armftrong difplayed prodigies of valour; fix of them having been killed in attempting to ftop the progrefs of the rebels.

On the fame day, they murdered fix of the Anguffhire fencibles, who were guarding the baggage of that regiment, and were on their route to Dublin.

A large party of rebels, headed by one Gihhahan, a popifh farmer, entered the town of Dunfhaughlin,<sup>!</sup> in the county of Meath, and fearched for arms in a fmall barrack in which they had been depofited; but having been informed that they were removed to the oppofite houfe, in which the reverend Mr. Neilfon lived, they, after firing a volley at the windows, rufhed into it, killed Mr. Neilfon, his brother-in-law Mr. Pendleton, and a gardener, all of the proteftant religion. They then plundered the houfe of arms, and of every valuable article of furniture which they could carry off. They did not injure the perfon or property of any popifh inhabitant of that town; but did not fpare one of thofe of the proteftant religion.

A party of ruffians, headed by Thomas Connor, and Thomas Atkinfon, entered and plundered the houfe of Mr. John Braffington of Ballymacarney, in the county of Meath, of arms and other articles, and carried off four horfes.

On the trial of thefe men, by court martial, held the twelfth of July, 1798, at the barrack of Dublin, Meffrs. John and James Braffington proved upon oath, that Connor and Atkinfon declared, at their

\* See plate 1.6. † Ibid.

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houfe, that they were ordered to kill all hereticks,\* and to wade in their blood; and they boalted that they had killed the police-men at Dunboyne, and the Ray fencibles at Clonee-bridge.

On the fame morning, they entered and plundered Woodpark, the feaT of Mrs. Shell, near the Black-Bull, of various valuable articles; and robbed mifs Bradfhaw, her gueft, of a large fum of money. One of their leaders declared, that his orders were to put all proteftants to death.

Twenty of the Fermanagh regiment were quartered at Weftfieldtown, near Balbriggan, under the command of enfign Cleland. As he was returning to his quarters on the evening of the twenty-third of May, he was fired at from behind a bridge, by a ruffian with a blunderbufs; but though feverely wounded in different parts of his head and body, he was able to ride to Swords,<sup>†</sup> where his wounds, which appeared to be mortal, were dreffed.

On the fame evening, his detachment at Weftfieldtown, was furprifed by about two thoufand rebels, who difarmed and carried them off as prifoners, after having wounded fome of them.

As the inhabitants of Ballyboghil, noted for difaffection, were principally concerned in this outrage, a company of the Fermanagh regiment joined the Swords yeomanry, and burned the houfes of the difaffected in that village. While major King was engaged in doing fo, an officer arrived, and informed him of the difafter which had befallen the detachment at Weftfieldtown; he therefore purfued the rebels, who carried them off, for about fix miles, and found that they had plundered and deftroyed in their progrefs the houfe of every proteftant which had come in their way, and compelled great numbers of people to join them.

The major took prisoner a rebel leader, of the name of Carroll, a cotton manufacturer, in good circumstances, and of the Romish persuasion, whom they found in arms, and he was hanged the twenty-sixth of May, on one of the bridges in Dublin.

Mr. Sherwood, a revenue officer, seeing, on the night of the twenty-third of May, a number of rebels assembled near Dalkey, who were on the point of going to attack the camp at Lehaunstown, in which they

\* These expressions are to be seen in the bloody oath found upon the rebels in different parts of the province of Leinster. † Plate I. 6.

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expected the assistance of a number of soldiers attached to their cause; with laudable zeal, though at the risk of his life, harangued them for the purpose of dissuading them from so base and so dangerous an enterprise.

On the night of Friday the twenty-fifth of May, a party of rebels attacked and entered Mr. Blair's extensive iron works at Lucan, carried off a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and compelled some of his artificers to attend them to the hill of Tara. This party was headed by George Cummins, a popish yeoman, of the Clonfillagh corps, who became a traitor on the breaking-out of the rebellion, though he had taken the oath of allegiance; for which he was tried in Dublin the tenth of July, 1798, and hanged.

The following paragraph appeared in the Dublin Journal the twenty-fourth of May:

ROMAN CATHOLICKS. "An address to the lord lieutenant, intended to be immediately presented, and containing a declaration of political principles applicable to the circumstances of the present moment, lies, for signature, at Fitzpatrick's, bookseller, Ormond-quay; at the earl of Fingall's, Great George's-street, Rutland-square; lord viscount Kenmare's, Great George's-street; Malachy Donelan's, esquire, Mountjoy-square; and counsellor Bellew's, No. 6, Upper Gardiner's-street, Mountjoy-square. All signatures must be given in, on or before Saturday next. May 24th, 1798."

A yeoman officer, and a magistrate, who patrolled the country for four miles round Rathcoole, in the county of Dublin, assured me, that he did not find a single man but one in above a hundred cabins and farm houses, which he searched for arms, the night before the rebellion broke out; their inmates having assembled, in order to concert measures for the general insurrection.

Captain Charles Ormby, who commanded the Rathcoole infantry, consisting of forty-three privates and three officers, was ordered to maintain that post at all risks.

The rebels intended to attack Rathcoole on the night of the twenty-third of May, when all the garrisons in the county of Kildare were surprized; and captain Ormby's corps, who were all, with a few exceptions.

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tions, papists and traitors, intended to have murdered him, his brother who was his lieutenant, and one or two more protestants, who were privates in it, and to have joined the rebels on the first attack; but they were fortunately deterred from perpetrating their nefarious design by the following incidents:

Twenty of the Armagh regiment, brave, loyal, and well-disciplined, were stationed with him, and twenty of the same corps at Newcastle, at the distance of about one mile and a half. The Rathcoole cavalry commanded by captain Kennedy, of whom many were protestants, composed also part of his little garrison.

The rebels, whom they could discern, in great numbers, every evening exercising on the adjacent hills, had appointed many different nights to make the attack, in which captain Ormfby's traitorous yeomen, who kept up a constant correspondence with them, were to have joined; but they were intimidated by the few brave men of the Armagh who were posted there.

General Lake, considering the importance of the place, and the small force destined for its defence, sent there a reinforcement of eighty of the Angushire fencibles, commanded by colonel Hunter, an experienced officer, which completely put an end to the hopes of the rebels to surprize that post.

Captain Ormfby discovered the conspiracy of his corps in the following manner: The garrison being short of provisions, he went to a hill over Rathcoole with a party, to forage; and finding there a shepherd's boy, who was constantly watching his flock, he asked him, whether he had seen any people assembled on that or the adjacent hills? and he answered in the negative. On which he seized him by the shoulder, gave him three or four stripes with the scabbard of his sword, and said, that he had told him a falsehood. The boy immediately exclaimed, "Oh! sir, take me from this place, and I'll tell you the whole truth!"

Having led him to Rathcoole, he next day acknowledged that he had seen frequent meetings of the rebels on the hills, to the number of two or three thousand, and among them several men with cross belts; and he also pointed out John Shee and his brother, privates in the corps, to whose father he had been shepherd.

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Captain Ormfby having taken up John Shee, and having given him a few stripes, he disclosed the whole of the treasonable designs of the corps, whom he instantly ordered to parade, in presence of a party of the Cavan regiment under arms, and he disarmed them; and committed serjeant Walfh, corporal Dillon, corporal Byrne, John Shee and William Harvey, leaders among the rebels, and principals in the plot.

Walfh, soon after he was committed, confessed the whole of their treasonable schemes; and that he and serjeant Rourke had been sworn by Mr. Clinch, a Romanist, and the second lieutenant of the corps.

Felix Rourke, the permanent serjeant, had been early appointed a colonel of the rebels, and had deserted to them some days before the rebellion broke out. His brother had been a competitor with lieutenant Clinch for a captaincy in the rebel corps of Rathcoole; but the influence of Felix was such, as to obtain success for his brother; and the zeal of Clinch in the rebel cause was so great, that he continued to serve in it as a serjeant.

Lieutenant John Clinch was the son of a very wealthy man, had received some education, was naturally humane and benevolent, but was persuaded by the malignant influence of father Harold, his parish priest, to violate his oath of allegiance, and to become a traitor; for which he was tried and executed in Dublin the second of June.

He acknowledged the justice of his sentence, and died loading with curses father Harold, his parish priest; at whose instigation, he said, the inhabitants of Rathcoole, and all the adjacent country, had swerved from their allegiance, and became traitors. He declared also, that the organization of rebellion had taken place at his house, which was constantly the rendezvous of the rebel leaders; and yet, that very priest frequently exhorted his flock to loyalty from the altar, for three months before the rebellion broke out; and on Sunday preceding that event, he preached two sermons eminently loyal, at the chapels of Sagart\* and Newcastle, in the presence of captain Ormfby and lieutenant Christopher Clinch† of the Rathcoole cavalry.

It was proved also, that Harold encouraged his rebellious factories to surrender some bad pikes, and to keep their good ones, in order to deceive the magistracy.

\* Plate I. 7. †This is a protestant gentleman, conspicuous for his loyalty, and no way connected with Clinch the traitor.

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As soon as the conspiracy at Rathcoole was discovered, he and many of its popish inhabitants fled; but having been afterwards taken, government offered him his choice, either to be transported, or to stand his trial for his life; and conscious of his guilt, he preferred the former,

I mentioned before that Mr. Buckley, a respectable gentleman farmer, was murdered near Rathcoole, on the thirteenth day of March.

On the trial of the traitors of that town, the following circumstances were brought to light Being on his return from Dublin, through Rathcoole, he was prevailed upon by old Clinch, the father of the traitor, to continue drinking in his house till nine o'clock at night After which he was murdered, and his body mangled with savage barbarity, a little beyond that village, and near the house of Felix Rourke, in consequence of his noted loyalty.

Captain Ormby having discovered that a bayonet belonging to one of his corps was found sticking in Mr. Buckley's body, ordered there to parade, but did not find that any of them wanted a bayonet.

Felix Rourke, who absented himself, was believed to have been concerned in the murder.

Lieutenant Clinch, a short time before his execution, confessed to captain Ormby, that four of the corps had been concerned in the murder; and that he rose on the night of its perpetration, and gave a bayonet out of the store, which was under his care, to one of the assassins, to replace that which he had left sticking in Mr. Buckley's body.

The roads leading to the metropolis were so completely obstructed by bands of rebels, who roamed through and pillaged all the adjacent country, that no mail coach arrived there from the twenty-fourth of May to the thirty-first of the same month.

On the first of June, the lord mayor, attended by Mr. Dawson the high-constable, passed above two hours in searching the vaults and cellars under the parliament-house, lest gunpowder or any other combustibles should have been laid there by the rebels.

A minute recital of individual outrage committed in the neighbourhood of the metropolis would be tedious and disgusting to the reader: I shall therefore proceed to describe some of the achievements performed by the rebels in the county of Kildare, which gave stronger indications of their boldness and malignity.

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In the year 1795, defenderism had spread such destruction and dismay in it, by the constant commission of nocturnal robbery and assassination, that many of the loyal families were obliged to secure the lower windows of their houses with bricks and mortar; and such of them as had been active in checking its destructive progress, were obliged to introduce some of the military into them for their protection; and as defenderism had made the popish multitude peculiarly susceptible of the doctrines of the united Irishmen, which were introduced into the county of Kildare in the year 1796; and as they were diffused and sublimated by the residence and the active malignity of lord Edward Fitzgerald, the rebellion broke out with destructive rage in that county.

His lordship had laid a plan of surprizing all the military posts in it, which occasioned much carnage, though it fortunately did not succeed in the extent which he expected.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the rebels robbed the houses of protestants of arms from Athy to Monastereven, Kildare, Kilcullen, Dunlavin, Timolin, and Castledermot;\* and were successful, that none escaped, but those who fortified their habitations, and maintained a party of the military in them.†

An encampment of some regiments of cavalry on the Curragh of Kildare, in the summer of that year, furnished a plausible pretext to the disaffected of spreading a report that orangemen, aided by the military, were to murder all the Roman catholics; in consequence of which, numbers of the lower classes of people, intimidated by such tales, propagated for the worst of purposes, lay in the open fields, where they were sworn and organized.

The following symptoms of the approaching rebellion appeared in the county of Kildare, in the years 1797 and 1798: Constant nightly meetings which the utmost vigilance of the magistrates could not prevent. The abstinence of the lower classes of people from spirituous liquors, to a degree of sobriety too unusual and general not to be systematick: The infrequent application to magistrates in matters of dispute: The declining to pay rent or any debts whatsoever, by those who had means to do so, and who had been before very regular: The constant resort of the popish multitude to the confession boxes of their clergy: The refusal to take bank notes,

\* See plate I, 7 and 8, for these places. † This fulfilled the prophecy of Sir Laurence Parsons in the year 1795. See page 133.

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from an idea that the approaching convulsion by subverting the government, would put an end to their currency.

I shall now proceed to describe the operations of the rebels in that county.

#### THE ATTACK UPON NAAS.\*

In the month of May, the garrison of Naas consisted of one hundred and fifty of the Armagh militia, commanded by colonel lord Gosford, with two field pieces, thirty-five of the ancient Britons, commanded by major Wardell, twenty-four of the fourth horse, and sixteen of the North Naas cavalry, commanded by captain Neville.

On the evening of the twenty-third of that month, two anonymous letters were received, one in the morning by the honourable lieutenant colonel Acheson, the other in the evening, by lord Gosford; informing them that the town would be attacked that night by three thousand men.

In consequence of this information, the guards were doubled, and every measure necessary for their defence was adopted. As the garrison continued unmolested till two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, many of the officers went to bed, thinking the information they received was groundless; but about half past two o'clock, a dragoon from an out-post came in, and informed major Wardell, that a very large body of rebels were moving towards the town; on which the drums beat to arms, and the guards repaired to the different posts which they were destined to occupy.

Soon after, three thousand rebels, who had been posted at the quarries of Tipper, advanced rapidly and quietly to the town, and entered it at four different places, the greater part from the North, by the Johnstown road, and penetrated almost to the gaol, where they made a most desperate attack; but were repulsed by a party of the Armagh, with one piece of cannon, and a detachment of the ancient Britons.

Captain Davis having received some pike wounds in the beginning of the action, of which he died the next day, his men were so enraged, that they charged too soon, and prevented the cannon from playing on the enemy.

Large parties of the rebels, who stole unnoticed into the town, through the houses and narrow lanes, fought sometime in the streets,

\* Plate I. 7.

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and took three volleys from a party of the Armagh militia, posted opposite to the barrack, before they gave way; at last they fled precipitately in every direction, when the cavalry charged, and killed a great number of them in the pursuit. Thirty of the rebels were killed in the streets; and, from the numbers found dead in back houses and in the adjacent fields, a few days after, it is imagined that not less than three hundred could have fallen.

They dropped in their flight a great quantity of pikes, and other arms, of which a great number were found in pits near the town, where they also seized three men with green cockades, whom they instantly hanged in the publick streets. Another prisoner, whom they spared in consequence of very useful information which he gave, told them, that the rebel party was above one thousand strong, and that they were commanded by Michael Reynolds, who was well mounted, and dressed in yeoman uniform. He made his escape, but his horse fell into the hands of our troops.

One of the rebels concerned in the attack, who obtained the royal mercy by surrendering himself under the proclamation, informed me, that one of the gunners, who directed the cannon at the gaol, having been seduced by the rebels, elevated it so much as not to injure the assailants.

#### ATTACK ON THE TOWN OF PROSPEROUS.

The rebels were more successful in this enterprise than in that at Naas, having contrived it with more ingenuity.

On Sunday the twentieth of May, captain Swayne arrived there, with a detachment of the city of Cork regiment, and immediately repaired to the chapel, where he, the reverend Mr. Higgins, parish priest, and doctor Emond, a physician, successfully exhorted the people to return to their allegiance, and to surrender their arms; but as their exhortations produced no effect, he, agreeably to the order for exercising free quarter, distrained the cattle, and did some injuries to the property of persons well known to be disaffected, and to have concealed arms in their possession; but it produced no other effect than the surrender of two or three pikes and firelocks, on the morning of the twenty-third of May.

Father Higgins and doctor Emond informed captain Swayne, that the people were become repentant, would have brought in their arms, and have

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left them in the streets during the night, but that they were afraid of the sentinels. The captain therefore, at his desire, ordered the sentinels not to challenge them, which order proved fatal to the garrison.

Besides the city of Cork detachment in Prosperous, there was a party of the ancient Britons, consisting of a lieutenant, a quarter-master, and twenty privates. Twelve of them were lodged in a house opposite the barrack of the city of Cork company, and the remainder were at single billets, except a few who slept over the stable where their horses were.

About two o'clock on Thursday morning the twenty-fourth of May, the two sentinels were surprized, and killed; and both the barracks were assaulted, while the soldiers were fast asleep. The barrack of the Cork company consisted of a hall, an apartment on each side, the same in the next story, and under ground offices. A party of the rebels rushed into captain Swayne's apartment, which was on the ground floor, and murdered him. Some soldiers, who slept in the

opposite apartment, alarmed at the noise, came forth with their firelocks, and expelled those ruffians from the barrack, after having killed two or three of them.

The house was at that time surrounded with a great number of rebels variously armed. A fierce conflict ensued between the assailants and the besieged; but it was soon put an end to by the following malignant device of the former: There was a great quantity of straw in the underground office, to which the rebels set fire, and to increase the flame introduced some faggots into it. The soldiers were soon in a state of suffocation; and the heat being so great, that they could not endure it, they retreated to their comrades in the upper story; but the flame and the smoke soon reached them there, as the rebels continued to introduce lighted faggots into the apartments under them. Enveloped with thick smoke, and overcome with heat, some of them leaped out of the windows; but were immediately received on the pikes of the assailants, who gave a dreadful yell whenever that happened.

At last, the barrack being in a state of conflagration, the soldiers resolved to rush forward, and fight their way through their assailants; but they, who were very numerous, formed a half moon round the front of the barrack, and received them on their pikes, so that but few of them escaped.

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Previous to this, the rebels were so much galled by the constant and well-directed fire of the soldiers, that, despairing of success by force of arms, they sent two of their men into the hall, who cried out, "We will deal honourably by you; we will spare such of you as descend and deliver up your arms:" But those who yielded to their delusive promises, were instantly perforated with pikes.

Nicholas Eldon, the deputy barrack-master, his wife and children, and the families of some of the Cork soldiers, remained in one of the underground offices, during this scene of carnage; having retired there for safety. At last they, preceded by Mrs. Eldon, endeavoured to escape from the flames; when a ferocious ruffian, ready to dispatch them with his pike, exclaimed, "Let the heretic remain to be burnt." They returned and continued to pray, till the flames forced them out again.

She rushed out, and dropped on her knees, surrounded by three young children, having one of them in her arms. Her tears and entreaties, and her piteous situation, altogether suspended their fury for a moment. James McEvoy, a young man of humanity, though a rebel, arrived, and conducted them to the house of Hugh McEvoy, his father.

However, nothing could have saved them, if the following event had not taken place: A short time before, expresses arrived from Naas and Clane, which the rebels had attacked the preceding night, to inform the people of Prosperous, that their friends had been repulsed at both; and to desire that they would spare the lives of the protestants, and the soldiers wives and children, that they might be saved in their turn.

James McEvoy confessed, that they intended to have burnt all the protestants in the barrack, but for that fortuitous circumstance; and it was remarkable, that they had placed over their doors sentinels, who were withdrawn as soon as the expresses had announced the above intelligence.

Mr. Brewer, an Englishman, noted for his humanity and benevolence, had embarked very extensively in the cotton manufacture at Prosperous, where he maintained numbers of people, who had been steeped in poverty. Hugh McEvoy was his foreman, and his son was employed under him. They conducted Eldon and his family to the house of Mr. Brewer, who, seeing them almost naked, instantly supplied them with some of his own cloaths. He had remained alone at his house,

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vainly thinking that his active benevolence, and his charitable disposition would be his best shield among the inhabitants of Prosperous, whom he had fed and clothed, by employing them in useful industry. Hugh McEvoy informed Mr. Brewer and Eldon, that they had been both condemned, and that he feared he could not save them; but that he would do his utmost for that purpose. He also said, when he was leaving him, "Sir, if they ask you to swear, by no means refuse them;" and he promised to comply.

During McEvoy's absence, Mr. Brewer's house was surrounded by a large body of rebels, who broke in some of the windows, and were proceeding to break open the door, when Mr. Brewer ordered it to be opened, not suspecting that he could have an enemy in the country, and deriving great fortitude from religious faith. When the mob entered his house, James Tobin, an inhabitant of the town, and a tailor by trade, rushed into his apartment, and made a lunge at him with a pike, so vehemently, that he perforated his body, and turned the edge of the weapon against the wall, so much, that he had some difficulty in extracting it. Having then drawn a scymitar, he cleft his skull from his ear to his forehead; then aided by one Patrick Farrell, a native of the town, he carried the body to the front door, when Andrew Farrell,\* who was leader of the party, cried out aloud, "Behold the body of a heretick tyrant," which was repeated by the whole party, who gave three cheers.

Barnaby Dougall, a cotton weaver, employed by Mr. Brewer, attended there on the horse of captain Swayne, fully accoutred, and said, he was a much better man than the captain.

When Hugh McEvoy returned, he exclaimed, "Oh! you villains, have you murdered the good man who kept us all from starving? If I knew the man that did so, I would shoot him, though I were to lose my own life by it." McEvoy had great difficulty in saving the life of Eldon, as Andrew Farrell swore he would kill him, and made a stroke of a sabre at him.

At that instant an alarm was spread among the rebels of Prosperous, by an express from their friends at Clane, who called for a reinforcement, as they had been defeated there. They therefore marched towards

\* He was a defector from the Clane corps, and had assisted in attacking the town that morning with doctor Emond.

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Clane, and put Eldon, live of the ancient Britons who were their prisoners, and some other protestants in their front rank; but when they had advanced a short way, they found their friends retreating and dispersed.

The attack on Downings, the house of Mrs. Bonyng, about half a mile from Prosperous, was attended with circumstances of brutal ferocity. One Dunn, a defector from the Clane corps, galloped up to it in his uniform, at the head of a large party of rebels. This villain, a traitor to his king and country, called out for Mr. Johnston, who was hateful to them, on account of his noted loyalty and zeal in the public service. He was a member of the Clane corps, and was then defending that town from three attacks which the rebels made on it. Dunn was soon convinced of his absence, by signs made by the popish servants of the house, who were attached to the cause of the union.

As Mrs. Bonyng had fed some of the Cork soldiers the preceding night, Dunn, supposing them to be in her house, insisted on having them delivered up to him; but being disappointed in this, he vowed destruction against the house, unless Mr. Stammers was surrendered to him. He was proprietor of the principal part of Prosperous, and went there occasionally to receive his rents. Mrs. Bonyng, who preserved the most unshaken preference of mind, had previously insisted on his concealing himself in the back yard; and on her declaring that he was not there, they dismounted, and in a turbulent manner searched every part of the house. On being disappointed,

they were on the point of sending for an additional party to demolish the house and furniture, when Mr. Stammers generously came forth and surrendered himself, to save the house in which he had been so hospitably entertained. Falling on his knees, he implored the sanguinary wretches to shoot him there, as an act of mercy, rather than put him to a cruel death, which their menaces and their furious appearance gave him reason to dread; and he also besought them to spare the house, and its inhabitants; all of whom conjured them, in the most pathetic manner, to spare the life of that worthy and unoffending gentleman. They promised compliance, but insisted on conducting him among his towns-people. One fellow, who had captain Swayne's horse, required (as a matter of kindness) that he should ride him; but he submitting quietly to his fate, walked through the town, and was shot at the other end of it.

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I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XV.\* for a description of the horrors of Prosperous on that woeful morning. The rebels, on leaving Downings, vowed vengeance against captain Williams, a half-pay officer, and nephew to Mrs. Bonyng, for no other reason than that he was a loyal subject.

It is remarkable that lieutenant Power of the Cork regiment, and his wife, both of the popish persuasion, remained unmolested in Prosperous, during this dreadful scene of carnage.

The rebels murdered a man above seventy years old, who had served the greatest part of his life in the army as a serjeant, and had retired on a pension to Prosperous; and merely because he was a protestant.

Of the city of Cork detachment they killed one captain, two serjeants, one drummer, twenty-three privates, and wounded eight, of whom two died afterwards: The remainder of the company happened very fortunately to be sent on a party a day or two before, a few miles off.

The loss of the Ancient Britons was, nine killed, five taken prisoners, and the remaining eight leaped out of the windows, and made their escape over the bog of Allen.

A circumstance attended the attack on Prosperous which evinces the force of fanaticism even on persons of enlightened minds, and of its baneful influence in extinguishing all religious and moral rectitude. Doctor Emond, brother to Sir Thomas Emond, was of a very ancient popish family in the county of Wexford. He settled as a physician in the county of Kildare, where he had considerable practice, till he married a lady with so large a fortune, that he became indifferent about the emolument arising from his profession. Joined to a handsome countenance, and a very good figure, he had such urbanity of manner, and such attractive convivial qualities, that he was regarded as a very pleasing companion. In consequence of these mental and personal qualifications, Mrs. Emond became enamoured of him. In private life, he was considered as honourable and humane; but on this occasion, he yielded to the delusions of bigotry, which rendered him a traitor to his king, and inspired him with a malignant desire of subverting the best constitution in the universe, and of erecting, on its ruins, the pandemonium of France, with all its concomitant horrors. Assuming the semblance of loyalty, he applauded the exertions of captain Swayne, and even cooperated

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operated with him in extinguishing that spirit of disaffection, which prevailed among the inhabitants of Prosperous and its vicinity. He dined with him at an inn there on the twenty-third of May, and continued to enjoy the glow of social mirth with him, till a few hours before the perpetration of that bloody scene, which he had for sometime meditated.

“Talibus infidiis, perjurique arte Sinonis,” “Credita res.”

He was lieutenant of the Clane cavalry, commanded by captain Griffith, and he persuaded many privates of the corps to desert their colours, and to join him in the attack on Prosperous, which is about three miles from Clane.

#### ATTACK UPON CLANE BY THE REBELS.

The garrison there, consisted of a company of the Armagh militia, commanded by captain Jephson, and a few of the Clane yeomen cavalry. Early on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, the main body of the rebels stole into the town unperceived; but a drummer and the trumpeter having been alarmed, the former, after beating a few strokes of his drum, was driven into the guard house; however the trumpeter alarmed the garrison.

Captain Jephson, on looking out of his window, saw the streets crowded with rebels, armed with different weapons: The soldiers, who were at billets in the town, endeavoured to come forth; but as each house was beset by a body of pikemen, they were obliged singly to fight their way through them; and in attempting to do so, two of them were killed on the spot, and five were badly wounded. However, the remainder, notwithstanding the surprise, assembled, and gallantly repulsed the rebels. In the second attempt which they made, six rebels, dressed in the cloaths and mounted on the horses of the Ancient Britons, entered the town, with the view of imposing themselves as yeomen, an artifice which in some measure succeeded; for captain Jephson approached them, laid his hand on the neck of one of the horses, and asked the rider, whence he came? on which he damned him, drew his sabre, and made a cut at him; for which he was instantly shot by one of the soldiers, and the remainder were wounded in their retreat.

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About three o'clock captain Griffith received an express at Millicent, from a yeoman, that a large body of rebels had attacked the guard at Clane: The captain arrived there in fifteen minutes, and found that, by the steady conduct of part of his troop, who were armed with carbines, which they used with good effect, the insurgents had received such a check, as to afford time to about forty of the Armagh to turn out. The yeomen and militia had not fired more than three rounds, when the rebels dispersed; and the captain, on his arrival, found the troops pursuing them, and burning the houses on the common, in which they had taken refuge. They killed a good many of them, and took six prisoners of the popish persuasion, four of whom were captain Griffith's tenants. One of them was condemned and hanged at the drum-head in Clane; the other five were hanged the same day at Naas.

At his return to Clane, about five in the morning, he heard of the carnage at Prosperous. On mustering the guard, he found his second lieutenant, a sergeant and seventeen privates, one of whom was severely wounded; the other three had deserted with their own arms, and those belonging to other yeomen of his troop. He had hardly time to draw up the yeomen and militia in the street, when a party of rebels, mounted on the horses and furnished with the arms and accoutrements of the ancient Britons, made a charge into the town. By one volley they brought down six or seven of them; the remainder fled precipitately, and took shelter behind a strong party of rebel infantry, which were approaching from Prosperous, and which made a formidable appearance, not so much from their numbers, though considerable, as from the brightness of their arms, and the scarlet coats and helmets of which they had plundered the soldiers at Prosperous.

As they were not strong enough to attack so numerous a party, and thinking it dishonourable to retreat, the captain, in concurrence with the militia officers, resolved to take post on an elevated spot near the Commons, where they could not be surrounded or out-flanked; and there they waited for the enemy, who began a smart fire on them, but without effect, as the elevation was too great. Our troops, having returned the fire, killed and wounded a considerable number of

them, on which they fled in great dismay, and were charged by the captain and his fifteen yeomen, who cut down many of those whose heads were ornamented

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with the helmets of the ancient Britons, or the hats of the Cork regiment. In their flight, they dropped a great quantity of pikes, pitchforks, muskets and sabres.

He returned to Clane, refreshed his men, and set out for Naas, whither he had orders to march; but a short time before he left Clane, he was joined by one of his yeomen, of the name of Philip Mite, who secretly delivered him a letter, in which he communicated to him the conduct of Emond, who, he said, had commanded at the attack of Prosperous; and that he (Mite) had accompanied him to the entrance of that town, and then made his escape. He had scarce received this intelligence, when Emond appeared and joined the troop, with his hair dressed, his boots and breeches quite clean, and fully accoutred. The captain had fortunately sufficient command over himself, to repress his indignation on seeing him, and to hold his peace till he arrived at Naas, where, having drawn up his troop in front of the gaol, he committed Emond in five minutes after they halted.

When Mite was awakened, and was compelled to join the rebels, who were proceeding to Prosperous, he objected against attending them; on which Emond, who headed the party, desired him to banish his fears, as, he said, the mass of the people of Ireland would rise that night.

He was afterwards conveyed to Dublin, was tried by a court martial, and convicted of high treason, on the clearest evidence, and was hanged on Carlisle-bridge the fourteenth of June.

#### INSURRECTION NEAR DUNLAVIN.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, the rebels having broke open the gaol of Ballymore-eustace, one of the prisoners, who made his escape, arrived at Dunlavin, and informed captain Ryves, who commanded a corps of yeomen there, that the town would be attacked by a numerous body of rebels that night, or early in the morning.

At the dawn he perceived large columns of them moving round the adjacent country, and many protestant houses on fire; and knowing, from the cruel and sanguinary spirit which the rebels had displayed at Ballymore-eustace, that they meditated the total extermination of all protestants and loyalists, he was driven to the necessity of adopting a measure, which nothing but motives of self-preservation and the emergency

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of the occasion could justify. The only troops in Dunlavin were his corps of yeomen, and the light company of the Wicklow militia, commanded by captain Richardson; and the number of prisoners confined in the gaol there for treason far exceeded that of the garrison.

The captain marched out of the town with a party of yeomen cavalry to encounter the rebels; but they were so numerous and desperate, that he was obliged to return, after some of his men had been piked.

The officers, having conferred for some time, were of opinion, that some of the yeomen who had been disarmed, and were at that time in prison for being notorious traitors, should be shot. Nineteen therefore of the Saunders-grove corps, and nine of the Narromore, were immediately led out and suffered death.

It may be said, in excuse for this act of severe and summary justice, that they would have joined the numerous bodies of rebels who were moving round, and at that time threatened the town. At

the same time they discharged some of the above corps, in consideration of their former good characters.

#### ATTACK ON BALLYMORE-EUSTACE.

As the united Irishmen in the neighbourhood of Ballymore-eustace were known to have an immense quantity of arms, captain Beevor was sent there on the tenth of May with detachments of the ninth dragoons, the Tyrone, Antrim and Armagh militia, to compel a surrender of them, by living at free quarters. He had every reason to believe, that he had completely succeeded in the object of his mission, as he received three thousand stand of arms of different descriptions; and particularly, as, on the morning of the twenty-third of May, four companies of united Irishmen marched in their quota of men, eleven each, with their pikes on their shoulders, and received protections. As several committee-men had done the like on that and the preceding day, captain Beevor was so convinced, that the people were sincere in their professions of renouncing their rebellious designs, and of returning to their habits of peaceful industry, that he sent off one hundred and twenty men of his garrison, and kept but about forty, to lighten the distresses of the people, who were obliged to maintain them.

About the hour of one o'clock, he was awakened by the cry of a person, that the rebels would have his blood; and on rising, two men rushed

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into his bed-chamber, one armed with a pistol, the other with a pike.\* The former, who fired at him, very fortunately missed him; on which he seized a pistol, which lay at his bedside, and shot him through the body. The other made a lunge [sic] at him with his pike, which he strove to avoid, and received but a flight wound in the shoulder. The ruffian, seeing that he was reaching for the second pistol, seized him in his arms, and carried him some way towards the head of the stairs, where he saw a number of pikemen ready to receive him; but, being superior to him in strength, he got his arms loose, rescued himself, and dragged the rebel into a room, where a yeoman was standing with his sword drawn, and whom he solicited to run him through the body, but he never offered to stir. It appears that he was a papist, and was afterwards dismissed from his corps for noted disaffection.

At that moment, lieutenant Patrickson arrived, and ran him through the body. The pikemen, at the foot of the stairs, finding that their two comrades had been killed, were making off, but were met by some of the dragoons, who were rallying from all points round the captain's quarters, and who killed most of them. Twenty-eight dragoons joined the captain, and took post in his house, which was attacked for near two hours by a large body of rebels, whom they at length repulsed, after having killed a number of them.

In the mean time, the rebels set fire to several houses in which the soldiers were quartered; and assisted by the owners, who treacherously secreted their arms, murdered seven dragoons and four of the Tyrone militia, and desperately wounded three of the former, and two of the latter.

At length, captain Beevor sallied out with twelve dragoons, and routed them in every direction. Lieutenant McFarland, of the Tyrone militia, a most excellent officer, was shot through the body and died.

They entered the house of Mr. Henderfon, a revenue officer and a protestant, and shot him in his bed.

Next morning they took a rebel prisoner, who gave the following information, as to their number and their mode of attack: The soldiers were quartered in eight different houses, each of which was to be attacked at the same moment, by the signal of a gun fired in the churchyard. The number of the assailants was eight hundred. They left

three captains, and near one hundred men. Captain Beevor's fervant was fhot in his bed. He, lieutenant Patrickfon, cornet Maxwell, and all the privates of the dragoons and the militia, difplayed fingular fpirit and intrepidity againft fo great a fuperiority of numbers.

#### INSURRECTION AT KILDARE.\*

For fome days previous to the twenty-third of May, the inhabitants of Kildare and the adjacent country continued in great numbers to furrender arms, to take oaths of allegiance, and to obtain protections.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of that day, general Wilford ordered the troops under his command at Kildare to march to Kilcullen, for the purpofe of reinforcing general Dundas, who had had an engagement with the rebels.

John Conftable, a private of captain Neville's corps of yeomen cavalry, who conveyed the orders to him for that purpofe from general Dundas, was fhot outfide the town; yet he lived to deliver his difpatch, but dropped dead foon after.

On leaving the town, general Wilford ordered Mr. Cooper, innholder, to collect his baggage, and that of the Suffolk fencibles, and to lodge them in the guard-houfe. He alfo fent orders to captain Winter, commanding a detachment of the Suffolk, and a fmall party of the 9th dragoons at Monaftereven, to follow him.

When captain Winter arrived at Kildare, he received written orders from the general, to burn all the camp equipage lodged at Kildare; but Mr. O'Reilly, late major of the Kildare, having repreftented to him the danger of fetting fire to the town, and having informed him that its inhabitants would protect the baggage, which they treacheroufly promifed to do, he defifted from burning it.

In about an hour after the king's troops had left the town, the inhabitants rung the market bell, as a fignal for a general infurrection, which accordingly took place.

About two thoufand† rebels, headed by one Roger McGarry, marched into the town, and feized all the officers' baggage and the camp equipage, which had been lodged in the guard houfe, and a confiderable

\* Plate I. 7. † Their pikes had croffes painted on them.

quantity of pikes and fire arms, which they had furrendered a few days before, as a proof of their fincerity to renounce their treafonable defigns, which they promifed by oath to do. The proteftant inhabitants, fearing that they fhould be maffacred, immediately fled to Naas or Monaftereven, for protection, and on their departure, their houfes and their property were plundered and deftroyed. Mr. Cooper loft to the amount of £2,000 in Kildare and the Curragh.

The following horrid circumftances attended the murder of George Crawford, and his grandchild of the age of fourteen years. He had formerly ferved fo long in the fifth dragoons, as to be entitled to a penfion, and was at that time a permanent ferjeant in captain Taylor's corps of yeomen cavalry. He, his wife, and granddaughter, were stopped by a party of the rebels as they were endeavouring to make their efcape, and were reproached with the appellation of hereticks, becaufe they were of the proteftant religion. One of them ftruck his wife with a mufket, and another gave her a ftab of a pike in the back, with an intent of murdering her. Her hufband, having endeavoured to fave her, was knocked down, and received feveral blows of a firelock, which difabled him from making his efcape. While they were difputing whether they fhould kill them, she ftole behind a hedge, and concealed herfelf. They then maffacred her hufband with

pikes; and her granddaughter having thrown herself on his body to protect him, received many wounds in the breasts, the head, and thighs, that she soon after expired. These circumstances of atrocity have been verified by affidavit sworn by Crawford's widow the twentieth day of August, 1798, before alderman Jenkin. The fidelity of a large dog, belonging to this poor man, deserves to be recorded, as he attacked these sanguinary monsters, and fought bravely in defence of his master, till he fell by his side, perforated with pikes.

Mr. James Williams, a revenue officer, of the protestant religion, having made his escape, they plundered his house, and destroyed his property; and having hung up his favourite dog, they fired many shots at it, lamenting at the same time, that they had not an opportunity of treating his heretick master in the same manner.

About eleven o'clock that night, they stopped and plundered the Limerick mail coach, and massacred one of the passengers, lieutenant William

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William Giffard of the 82d regiment, and son to captain John Giffard of the royal Dublin regiment. The savages having shot one of the horses so as effectually to prevent the coach from effect without hesitation, that he was an officer, proceeding on his way to Chatham, in obedience to orders he had received. They demanded, whether he was a protestant? and being answered in the affirmative, they held a moment's consultation, and then told him, that they wanted officers; that if he would take an oath to be true to them, and join them in an attack to be made next morning on Monastereven, they would give him a command, but otherwise he must die. To this the gallant youth replied, that he had already sworn allegiance to his king; that he would never offend God Almighty by a breach of that oath; nor would he disgrace himself by turning deserter, and joining the king's enemies; that he could not suppose an army of men would be so cruel as to murder an individual who had never injured them, and who was merely passing through them to a country from whence possibly he never would return; but if they insisted on this proposal he must die, for he never could consent to it. This brave and yet pathetic answer, which would have kindled sentiments of generous humanity in any breasts but those of Irish rebels, had directly the contrary effect upon them: With the utmost fury they assaulted him; he had a case of pocket pistols, which his natural courage, and the love of life, though hopeless, prompted him to use with effect. Being uncommonly active, he burst from them, and vaulting over a six-foot wall, he made towards an house where he saw light, and heard people talking. Alas! it afforded no refuge! it was the house of poor Crawford, whom, with his granddaughter, as before mentioned, they had just piked for being protestants. A band of the barbarians, returning from this exploit, met lieutenant Giffard; there he fell, covered with wounds and with glory; and his mangled body was thrown into the same ditch with honest Crawford and his innocent grandchild. Thus expired, at the age of seventeen, a martyr to religion and honour, whose memory will ever be respected by the virtuous and the brave!

While these blood-hounds continued their sanguinary orgies in the sight, they constantly exclaimed against hereticks and orangemen.

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About one o'clock in the mornings they marched for Monastereven, from thirteen hundred to fifteen hundred in number, and commanded by captain McGarry.

As by far the greater part of the popish members of the yeomen corps in the county of Kildare joined the rebels, or were known to be disaffected, I think it right to mention that fourteen of that persuasion in the Monastereven corps, much to their honour, shewed on all occasions the utmost fidelity to their king and country.\*

In their march to Monastereven, they killed such protestants as they could lay their hands on, and plundered their houses. They gave many wounds with a pike to Thomas Birch, parish clerk of Kildangan, a man above eighty years old; and then drove him into his house, which they set fire to, with an intent to burn him; but he escaped out of the back door, and recovered afterwards.

They murdered dean Keatinge's parish clerk, a very old man; and they took a protestant boy of the name of Higginbotham to their camp at Knockallin, and shot him there. They piked one Miley, a carpenter, near Dunlavin, and major Ponsonby's servant, one of the fifth dragoon guards, as he was crossing the Curragh.

#### ATTACK UPON MONASTEREVEN.†

In this town there was a corps of yeomen cavalry, another of infantry. Having received intelligence on the twenty-fourth of May, that one of their members was barbarously murdered, and that another was a prisoner with the rebels, they made circuits of several miles round the country, to give the loyal inhabitants an opportunity of retreating to the town. They met great numbers of rebels repairing to their respective leaders, with whom they had some skirmishes, and in one of which they were so fortunate as to rescue three soldiers of the Ancient Britons, part of a detachment from Kildare, consisting of a warrant officer and four privates, one of whom they had barbarously murdered. One of the troop, who rashly pursued some rebels too far into a bog, received many desperate pike wounds. In their circuit they repaired to the house

\* Mr. John Caffidy, a brewer of that town, and a Romanist, showed singular zeal on all occasions, as a loyalist, in that corps.

† See plate I. 7.

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of Mr. Darragh, for the purpose of escorting him and his family to Monastereven; but he was in such imminent danger, and such excruciating pain, that he could not be removed.\*

Between four and five o'clock in the morning, one of the videts galloped into the town, with intelligence that the rebels were advancing; one column approached by the canal, covering the road to a great extent, and was opposed by the infantry, commanded by lieutenant Eagot, who ordered his men to present; and the rebels having suddenly halted, the infantry recovered their arms and advanced, on which the rebels retreated, with an intention of attacking the town in another quarter.

The cavalry, commanded by captain Haystead, then came forward, turned down the road towards the turnpike, and fell in with another body, whom they routed, after killing many of them.

The third column advanced into the main street, where the action became very furious.

The infantry maintained a warm and well directed fire on the rebels, and at last broke them.

The cavalry, taking advantage of their confusion, charged them, and pursuing the fugitives, killed and wounded a great number of them; no less than sixty rebels lay dead in the streets. On the part of the loyal yeomen, John Nicholson, Christopher Cox, John Pilfworth, Edward Simpson, and Richard Hetherington, and nine horses, were killed.

I think it is a tribute due to the memory of these brave men, that their names should be recorded in the page of history. It redounds much to the honour of the Monastereven yeomanry, that they defended their town against thirteen hundred rebels, well appointed with arms, without the assistance of the militia or regular troops.

A priest of the name of Prendergast was hanged at Monaster-eve, having been convicted on the clearest evidence of being deeply concerned in the rebellion.

A day or two before it broke out, he called on a protestant gentleman in its vicinity, for whom he had a particular regard, and informed him, that he was very desirous of favouring him and his wife; but that he feared it would be impossible to do so, unless they would consent to be christened, to confess to him, and to embrace the Roman catholic religion;

\* See the attempt on his life, page 197.

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that on such terms he would save also his brother; but that he could not save his wife, as she was an orangewoman.\*

When the rebels were entering the town of Monaster-eve, they attacked, and were on the point of breaking into the house of Mr. John Christian, with a design of murdering him, his family, Charles Browne, esquire, and his lady, Mr. and Mrs. Christian and their child, all protestants; but were driven from it by the fire of the yeomen.

On the twenty-fourth of May, while Mr. Darragh of Eagle-hill was lying on the bed of pain and sickness, his house at Eagle-hill was attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who came from their camp at Knockalin-hill, about three miles off. It was defended by Mr. Dalton, his brother-in-law, two other gentlemen, two soldiers, and two servants; the whole under the direction of Mr. Bolton, his surgeon, who fought with great bravery, the rest of his domesticks having joined the rebels. They had just time to place the barricades to the windows, which Mr. Darragh had been obliged to make use of to defend his house for twelve months before, and to distribute the ammunition. As the rebels approached the house, they sent forth a terrific yell, like savages, and swore they would carry off, on their pikes, all the heads of the inmates. They had but two guns, three pistols, and two swords, besides the soldiers' muskets, for their defence. A furious assault was made immediately on the house, and many volleys were fired into the windows of the ground floor, and middle story; and some balls found their way through the port holes, into the drawing-room, where Mr. Darragh lay, accompanied by Mrs. Darragh, her mother, sister, the maid servant, two men servants, and two soldiers. They were so fortunate as to rout the whole party, after killing and wounding a great number of them. The rebels carried off all the killed, except one ruffian, who fell when he was endeavouring to break open, with his pike, a window near the hall. He had in his pocket captain Swayne's protection, in consequence of having taken the oath of allegiance, and surrendered a pike, a few days before; and the following prayer:

"My God, I offer unto thee my sleep, submitting it with a pure intention to thy holy will; and that I may recover new vigour to serve

\* By this, he alluded to her being sister to a gentleman of noted loyalty, who was very active in checking the progress of the conspiracy.

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thee.\* I wish that every breath I am to take this night, may be an act of praise and love of the divine Majesty, like the happy breathings of the saints and angels who never sleep; and so I compose myself to sleep in the arms of my Saviour."

This wretch lived about a mile and a half from Eagle-hill, and had a short time before been brought through a malignant fever, and his life saved, by the benevolent assistance of Mrs. Darragh, who supplied him with medicines, wine, and other necessaries and comforts.

He kept a school, and a nightly rosary, which was some superstitious institution like the scapular, that served as a vehicle for treason.

## ATTACK ON RATHANGAN.

On Thursday morning the twenty-fourth day of May, the inhabitants of the country for some miles round Rathangan were in a state of insurrection; and as they approached the town, towards evening, in great bodies, and with much vociferation, captain Langton, who was quartered there with a company of the South Cork militia, fearing that he should be surprized and cut off, kept patrols all that night on the different avenues leading to it, which was very fortunate, as they had skirmishes with, and repulsed different parties of the rebels who were advancing towards the town. Pursuant to orders which he had received from general Wilford, he would have marched that day to Sallins; but he was persuaded to remain there by Mr. Spenser, who promised to excuse him to the general, and who sent a Mr. Gatchell to Kilcullen for that purpose.

On his arrival there, he found that it had been evacuated by the king's troops, and was in possession of the rebels, who attacked and endeavoured to seize him; but he narrowly escaped, after having been severely wounded. He received intelligence on the road, that the mail coach had been destroyed near Naas by the rebels; who, in large bodies, had been desolating the preceding night all the country contiguous to those towns with fire and sword.

The loyal inhabitants of Rathangan were in the utmost consternation all that night, as they could discern, from the tops of their houses, a great number of habitations on fire in the adjacent country; and their owners,

\* Every popish rebel imagined that he served his God in opposing a protestant, or injuring his protestant fellow-subjects.

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who were all protestants, came flocking into the town, after having narrowly escaped with their lives. They could also perceive multitudes of the rebels moving round the fires; and could hear them uttering the most dreadful shouts and yells.

Captain Langton, having received a peremptory order from general Dundas, marched from Rathangan on Friday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, and endeavoured to persuade Mr. Spenser to accompany him, as he was very obnoxious, from his noted loyalty; but he rejected his earnest entreaties.

The inhabitants remained under arms on Friday night, expecting to be attacked every moment. It was not until Saturday the twenty-sixth, about three o'clock, that the rebels in great numbers, and variously armed, entered the town; of whom the principal part approached and surrounded Mr. Spenser's house, which he had barricaded, and introduced into it some of his labourers, in whom he thought he could confide, and three protestant farmers, two of them yeomen. They broke in the window-shutters with the butt ends of their muskets, and thrust into the rooms large quantities of burning straw, on the end of their pikes. They also set fire to the back-door, and to the windows of the under-ground offices. Mr. Spenser perceiving that resistance would be fruitless, assured them, from a window in the first floor, that he would quietly surrender his arms. Having desired him to descend, he complied with their wishes, and approached them in a most respectful conciliating manner; on which a fellow, of the name of Doorley, to whose family Mr. Spenser had always been very kind, and whose brother was a yeoman in his corps, approached him with a menacing aspect, and flourished a scymitar over his head, using at the same time some insolent and opprobrious language. Mr. Spenser asked him, "What he had ever done to offend him?" Doorley replied, "You would not give me a protection against the soldiers, when they came into this country upon free quarters." Mr. Spenser assured him, "That he would have done so, if he had applied to him for that purpose."

Mr. Spenser, perceiving that they began to grow turbulent and furious, retired into his house, and was pursued by a party of them, who murdered him on his stair-case, having shot him

through the head, and mangled his body with pikes in a most savage manner. They then carried it out, and laid it on the ground, in the front of the house, as if to satisfy the rebel

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multitude, that their wishes had been accomplished. Next day the servants obtained permission to bury it; but without a coffin.

Thus this worthy gentleman, who was an active and intelligent magistrate, and as remarkable for the amiableness and affability of his manners, as the benevolence of his heart, fell a sacrifice to the fanaticism of those savages, to whom he had been unremittingly a kind and generous benefactor.

As his house was a short distance from the town, Mrs. Spenser, who was led to it in the midst of these monsters, had the anguish to see the mangled corpse of her husband lying at his door.

When they killed him, they proceeded to massacre George Moore, James his son, and John Heastip his son-in-law, the three protestants who were in the house: The labourers joined the mob, and were not injured, for their religion preferred them.

Mr. Spenser was captain of a yeoman corps, which made him hateful to the rebels, who were joined by almost the whole of the popish members of his troop. Of these, Martin Hinds, to whom he had been Angularly kind and generous, and Molloy, an opulent farmer, who was his second lieutenant, became leaders among the insurgents.

Mr. Moore, his first lieutenant, was an English gentleman, who had long served with reputation in the king's service, and had retired to Rathangan, a very pretty village, in which a few respectable families formed a pleasant society. On the approach of the rebels, he and about fifteen of the yeomen infantry, together with a few loyal inhabitants, retreated into the house of Mr. Neal, a quaker, as it was more defensible than his own. They asked him to surrender his arms, having assured him that his person should not be injured.

For some time having refused to comply, Mrs. Spenser, and some more respectable females, went to the front of the house, and on their knees besought him to accept of the terms offered by the rebels; from a conviction that resistance would be vain, and that it would terminate in the destruction of the besieged. They at last acceded to the terms which had been delusively offered; but these amiable females found, alas! that they had been deceived by these blood-hounds, whose cruelty could be equalled by nothing but their treachery; for they murdered every protestant in the house, by leading them into the street, and butchering them with savage

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exultation: But it is remarkable, that they did not injure a single papist whom they found there.

They led Mr. Moore about the streets, mocking and insulting him. His wife, who lay-in three days before, had been removed to the house of captain Grattan five or six hours previous to the massacre; and, having conducted him opposite to it, they resolved to affrighten him there, to increase the bitterness of death, and to wound the feelings of his innocent wife, whose sensibility was heightened by the delicacy of her situation; but some of the savages, more humane than the rest, objected to that refinement in cruelty. They then led him to another part of the town, and shot him; and soon after they massacred six protestants who had been in Mr. Neal's house with him; of whom the youngest, of the name of Foster, was but fourteen years old.

One of the Fosters escaped in the following manner: While they were torturing his brother, he rescued himself by main force, darted from them into an adjoining house, closed the door, and got into a little closet under the stairs, where he remained above forty hours, almost double; and when the savage pikemen pursued him, the maid servant humanely said, that he passed through

the house, and made his escape; but I am sorry to say, that her subsequent conduct: abated her merit very much; for afterwards, in a moment of cool deliberation, she expressed concern at having saved a heretic.

On the whole, they murdered nineteen protestants in that little village, and some of them with such circumstances of cruelty, as nothing but fanaticism, operating on the most barbarous ignorance, could dictate.

They cut off the arm of Robinson, a carpenter of the protestant persuasion, before they put a period to his existence.

On firing at one Whelan, a protestant, he fell to the ground, and then received many pike wounds; and yet he recovered and is still alive. The ruffian who fired at him exclaimed, "There goes a protestant!"

They killed one Coyle a shoemaker, far advanced in years, because he could not cross himself; but on finding him to be a heretic, they compelled him to cross himself as well as he could with his left hand, superstitiously believing, that the doing so would inevitably doom him to eternal damnation.

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They were inclined to kill Mr. Dawson, a protestant gentleman, who lived at Rathangan; but some of them objected to it, and said, "He is married to one of us," meaning a papist.

A woman urged them to kill doctor Bagot, an aged and infirm gentleman, who never denied medical assistance to the poor. One of the rebels objected to it, and said, he is a good man: She replied, "You should get rid of him; for his children sing "Croppies, lie down." However, they led him out to execution, and compelled him to wear a green wreath in his hat; but his wife saved him, by saying, he would be useful in dressing their wounds. There is not a doubt but that he would have shared the fate of the other protestant inhabitants of Rathangan, if they had not hoped to avail themselves of his skill as a surgeon; for, through the course of the rebellion, they were careful of the lives of such persons as were versed in the medical art.

These savages continued all night to express the joy which they felt at their success, by shouts and yells, uttered with barbarous distinctness, and to boast of their achievements in the presence of those persons whose relations they had massacred.

The following expressions were related to me by some ladies of undoubted veracity, who heard them uttered by these cannibals: "We have got rid of our friends, and have sent their souls jumping to hell." "We have at last got what we had a right to, our own county to ourselves,"\* meaning the county of Kildare.

One of them, soon after the murder of Mr. Spenser, asked one of his servants, whether they were all Roman catholics? and on her saying they were, the housekeeper excepted, he replied, "The bitch must be put an end to.\*"

Lieutenant-colonel Mahon of the 7th dragoon guards, marched to the relief of the town, on Monday the twenty-eighth of May, with a detachment of his regiment, and some yeomen cavalry from Tullamore, which is seventeen miles from Rathangan. Sometime before he arrived there, he divided the squadron into two parts, with a view of approaching the town by two different roads, in order to surround the rebels. One party arriving first, passed through it without any molestation, and having joined

\* The popish multitude are taught to believe, that the protestant\* have no right to reside in Ireland, or to any property in it.

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the other, they returned to see that every thing was right; but in passing through it, they received a most tremendous fire of musketry from the windows, by which three men were killed, and eleven were wounded; and six horses were killed, and twelve were wounded. It is surprising that they escaped so well, as the squadron, consisting of eighty, were close together; but the great dust which they raised prevented them in some measure from being seen. Lieutenant Malone, whose horse was shot under him in the street, became their prisoner, and had a narrow escape, as he was shot through his cloaths, and received many shots in his saddle and holsters. One of the savages was seen to give many fobs of a bayonet to one of the dragoon horses which lay dead in the streets; and every time he repeated it, exclaimed, "Take that, protestant!"

On Monday morning one James Curry, a leader of them, and supposed to be muster-master, cried out in the streets, "What is become of the boys of Coolelan and Ballinure? damn them, stick them to the heart, for not joining us." The savages swore vehemently that they would do so; and said we are the boys that will do their business. That villain was between sixty and seventy; he was hanged in two hours after.

They fired up into the steeple of the church, supposing that Wilson the sexton was there; but he lay concealed in a hay loft, and eluded their savage fury.

On Sunday, one of their leaders, mounted on Mr. Spenser's horse with all his accoutrements, arrived at Rathangan; and after haranguing them sometime, said, "Let there be no more bloodshed, as we have got possession of the cattle and the barrack of Dublin."

They frequently boasted of the murders they had committed. A young man having declared vauntingly, in the presence of Mrs. Watson, that he killed captain Moore, and committed other barbarities; she, who is a Quaker, and has much religious fortitude, exclaimed: "Oh! thou wretch! If thou art so great a monster at thy age, what must thy father be?"

On Monday afternoon, the city of Cork militia under Colonel Longford, with a detachment of dragoons, and two field pieces, approached Rathangan. The rebels shewed the utmost terror and consternation; some were for giving battle, others for abandoning the town; one was heard

\* Two town-lands in the county of Kildare. The inhabitants of every town-land were regularly enrolled and registered.

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to say, "I thank God I heard three masses yesterday!" A large party of them called out for holy water; and having obtained it, retired to Mrs. Pym's yard, went on their knees, and were sprinkled with it.

Lieutenant-colonel Longfield having appeared at some distance from the town, the rebels sent a man on horseback, with a flag of truce, towards him; and major Millar having advanced to meet him, received a letter from him for the commanding officer; importing, that they would instantly put Mr. Malone, their prisoner, to death, if the king's troops did not retire; but the colonel, disregarding their menace, advanced precipitately, and after having fired some rounds of cannon shot at the town, which dislodged the rebels, and put them to flight; and such was their confusion that they fled without injuring Mr. Malone.

Colonel Longfield obtained ample vengeance for the death of the loyalists, having killed in the attack and the pursuit between fifty and sixty rebels, and hung some of their leaders, who fell into his hands; among whom was Molloy, Mr. Spenser's renegade lieutenant.

They were on the point of hanging one Keogh, a glazier, who had been active among the rebels at Mr. Spenser's house. Having pleaded that he was compelled by force to join them, they spared his life; but obliged him to execute those whom they sentenced to death.

When the military appeared, the rebels had begun to fire the lead from the roof of the church, for the purpose of making bullets; and then they intended to have burned it.

Doorley owned afterwards, that in one day more they would have put all the protestant women and children to death, if the king's troops had not arrived; and there is every reason to think so, as their fanatical fury, inflamed by constant ebriety, had fermented to a very high pitch.

The barbarous treatment of Michael Shenstone, a protestant, deserves to be circumstantially related. He was led into the street, with the other unfortunate protestants, and received eighteen strokes of pikes.

A woman of the name of Farrel, who was infamously active in this sanguinary business, informed them, that they did not know how to kill Orangemen; on which a ruffian stepped forward, and trampled on the dead and dying. He then put a pistol close to Shenstone's head, and the ball entering near the ear, came out under the eye, having fractured the cheek-bone in a most shocking manner. In some hours after he was put

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into a cart with the bodies of seventeen protestants who had been murdered, and was conveyed to the church-yard to be interred; but some alarm preventing it, he remained among the dead that night. Next morning, at the intercession of some of the rebels, his body was delivered to his wife, by whose care and proper medicinal assistance he recovered, and regained the use of his limbs. These facts were related to me by a gentleman who saw Shenstone soon after; and they have been verified by his affidavit, sworn before Oliver Nelson, a magistrate, and by Mr. Bayly, curate of Rathangan, and Mr. Pym, his landlord.

I shall mention here an incident, which throws great light on the spirit of the conspiracy and rebellion, and the secret designs of the great body of the rebels. One Dennis, an apothecary and a protestant, was the county delegate, and the chief conductor of the plot in the King's county,\* which was to have exploded in a few days; but the wanton massacre of protestants at Prosperous and Rathangan having convinced him that their extirpation was the main object of the Romanists, though they had with singular dissimulation concealed it from him, who was their leader, he repaired to Tullamore to general Dunn, who commanded in that district, threw himself on the mercy of government, exposed the whole plot, and the names of the captains, who were immediately arrested. He said to the general, "I see, sir, that it will soon be my own fate."

#### ATTACK ON KILCULLEN.†

For a fortnight or three weeks previous to the twenty-third of May, the rebels continued to take oaths of allegiance, and to obtain protections, in consequence of having surrendered pikes and muskets, which they did to the number of between ten and fifteen thousand, to general Dundas, who resided at Castlemartin, within half a mile of Kilcullenbridge. In consequence of this, the civil magistrates, and the officers, were thoroughly convinced that the disaffected had completely renounced their rebellious designs.

A person assured me, that he rode alone on the morning of the twenty-third of May, from Tallagh-hill to Kilcullen-bridge, without seeing any persons on the roads or in the fields; and yet at four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Robert Douglafs of Gormanstown, came into Kilcullen, and informed the garrison, that about three hundred rebels had assembled

\* See plate I. 7. † Ibid,

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at the Rath of Gilltown the preceding night; and that he was very well informed, that they meant in a large body to attack the town, and to take general Dundas prisoner by surprise. In

consequence of this intelligence, patrols were sent to all the avenues leading to the town, and the army and the yeomanry were ordered to be in readiness.

At half past eight, two of captain Latouche's corps, John Farange and Hugh Gribbin, were sent expressly to Ballymore-eustace, to surprise the garrison there of the rifling. About midway, they fell in with five hundred pikemen, at a sudden turn of the road. They knocked Gribbin off his horse, and gave him several flabs of pikes; however he is since recovered. Farange returned, and entered the town, crying out aloud, "To arms!"

About twelve o'clock, a prisoner was brought in, who, on being whipped, confessed, that the rebels were at that time on the point of attacking Naas.

The town remained quiet till seven next morning, when general Dundas ordered forty cavalry of the 9th dragoons, and the Romneys, and twentytwo of the Suffolk fencibles, commanded by captain Beale, whose conduct merited the highest praise, to proceed to Old Kilcullen, where the rebels were assembled. Three hundred of them were strongly entrenched in the church-yard, which was defended on one side by a high wall; on the other, by a quickset hedge, with a dyke before it.

General Dundas ordered the Romneys and the 9th dragoons to charge the rebels, though it was up-hill, though the ground was broken, and many of the rebels were in a road close to the church-yard, in which not more than six of the cavalry could advance in front.

They however charged with great spirit, though their destruction was considered by all the spectators to be the certain and inevitable consequence of it; for what could cavalry do, thus broken and divided, against a firm phalanx of rebels, armed with very long pikes; nevertheless, they made three charges, but were repulsed in each; and at every repulse the general urged them to renew the attack.

It was with the utmost difficulty that captain Cooks and captain Erskine could prevail upon their men to renew the charge, after the first defeat. In the last charge, captain Cooks, to inspire his men with courage by his example, advanced some yards before them; when his horse having

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received many wounds, fell upon his knees; and while in that situation, the body of that brave officer was perforated with pikes; and he, captain Erskine, and twenty-two privates, were killed on the spot, and ten so badly wounded, that most of them died soon after.

Had general Dundas waited for the arrival of twenty-two of the Suffolk fencibles, who were advancing, and joined them in a very short time, that affair would have had a more fortunate issue.

Captain Beale, who commanded the Suffolk fencibles, with great coolness advanced within thirty yards of the rebels, broke and dispersed them with one well-directed volley, every shot having taken place.

General Dundas, defeated at Old Kilcullen, retired with his little force to the village of Kilcullen-bridge, where he halted for some time; but the rebels, elated with their success, determined to follow up their victory with vigour, and knowing that they could not hope to force the strong and narrow passes of Kilcullen-bridge, defended by regular troops, they took a route somewhat more circuitous; and fording the Liffey a little below Castle-martin, marched up to the Turnpike-hill, and took a position between Kilcullen and Naas,\* with intent to cut off general Dundas and his forces from the possibility of retreating.

The general upon this occasion put himself at the head of twenty-seven Suffolk fencible infantry, his cavalry in the rear, and marched boldly up to the rebels, whose success had increased their numbers to many thousands.

The rebels were drawn up in a regular line, three deep, with three bands of green colours. They began the attack by firing four rounds, accompanied with loud shouts. They were broken and dispersed by the second or third discharge of the Suffolk fencibles; on which the cavalry charged, routed them, and killed great numbers in the pursuit.

Mr. Latouche's corps made a distinguished figure in this affair, in which three hundred rebels were killed.

After the engagement, general Dundas abandoned Kilcullen, and marched to Naas, for the purpose of concentrating the forces under his command, as near the metropolis as possible; having well-grounded apprehensions, that it would be attacked by the enemy in great force.

Soon after the general marched from Kilcullen, the rebels plundered all the houses of the protestants in it and its vicinity, and murdered such

\* Fourteen miles to the South of Dublin, Plate I. 7.

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of the inhabitants as could not make their escape. They killed quarter-master King of the 9th dragoons, a man seventy years old, who remained behind in the town; and two dragoons of the same regiment, who guarded the reverend doctor Cramer's house, were treacherously murdered by some wretches who were drinking with them. They piked out one eye of a Mrs. Burchell, aged ninety; they also assassinated some wounded soldiers who had been left in the town, and a Mr. John Cheney at Donard. All the protestants near Kilcullen, who were so fortunate as to escape from the savage rebels, fled to Naas, where they remained some days in the utmost distress.

On the twenty-fifth of May, the house of the reverend Henry Annesley of Newpark, was surrounded by a party of rebels, headed by one Hetherington of Kildare, who, after taking a plentiful repast, and plundering it of provisions and various articles, set fire to it, and eight out-offices, which were soon consumed.

One of the leaders of this party was Laurence Byrne, a blacksmith who lived under and was kindly protected by Mr. Annesley's family, at Ballyfax. This ruffian made several attempts to stab him with a pike, but was prevented. He repaired the same evening to Ballyfax, with a cocked pistol, and compelled Mr. Annesley and his nephew to go to Knockallin camp.

All the protestant clergy in the county of Kildare, except one,\* were obliged to fly from their houses.

On Saturday the twenty-sixth of May, the houses of Mr. Eyre Lindfay, Mr. David Burchell, and Mr. John Jones, all protestants, were burnt near Ballyfax.

There were six rebel encampments in the county of Kildare,† one near Knockallin near Old Kilcullen, one at Barnhill near Kildare, one at Hodgestown, one at Hortland, one at Redgap, and one at Timahoe.

On Saturday the twenty-sixth of May, a rebel army, above three thousand in number, who composed for the greater part of those that had been stationed at Knockallin and Barnhill, sent a deputation to general Dundas, to signify that they would surrender their arms, and return to their respective houses, provided their prisoners that were taken were liberated; but he refused these terms. They then offered an unconditional

\* The peculiarity of his connections protected him. † Plate I. 7.

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surrender; but he hesitated to negotiate with them without the sanction of government.

General Lake having been sent to him by lord Camden, the two generals received their arms and their submission, and granted them pardon; yet the greater part of them joined their friends in their different camps in the county of Kildare, with the protections of those generals in their pockets; and others repaired to the county of Wexford, to join their fellow traitors there.

It is universally allowed, that this negotiation of general Dundas with the rebels, though well intended, produced the worst effects; for it made them elate and insolent, by shewing them that treason might be committed with impunity; and it encouraged them in the commission of murder and rapine for many months after, which will appear in the sequel.

General Sir James Duff, quartered in Limerick, having heard that the insurrection was very general and terrific, inasmuch as to threaten the metropolis, and to obstruct all the roads leading to it, marched from Limerick with two light six-pounders, seventy of lord Roden's fencible cavalry, and two hundred and fifty of the city of Dublin regiment of militia. They were joined on their route by about two hundred of the South Cork regiment of militia, and their two battalion guns; and by about fifty of the 4th dragoon guards, and a party of gallant yeomen. They arrived at Kildare by forced marches in forty-eight hours, and then repaired to a place called the Gibbet Rath, where the rebels were posted in a Danish fort.

General Wilford had been deputed by general Dundas to receive their submission; but, unfortunately for that body of rebels, Sir James Duff arrived there half an hour before him.

The general, on his arrival there, after having disposed his army in order of battle, sent a sergeant and twelve of the cavalry to the rebels, to desire they would quietly surrender their arms; but they wantonly and without provocation fired on the king's troops, of whom they killed one, and wounded three; but ample vengeance was soon obtained; for above three hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed, and several wounded by lord Jocelyn's fencible cavalry, who fell in with them pell mell; so that the artillery and infantry were unable to act without the risk of destroying their friends.

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The reverend Mr. Williamfon, a protestant clergyman of Kildare, and the priest of the parish, repaired to general Duff on the part of the inhabitants of Kildare, to obtain the royal mercy for them, on condition of surrendering their arms, and returning to their allegiance; but the king's troops, suspecting their sincerity, and not knowing them, were on the point of hanging them, which probably they would have effected, but that colonel Sankey, of the city of Dublin regiment, and brother-in-law of Mr. Williamfon, arrived and undeceived them.

Next day, Sir James Duff, having received information that a large body of rebels were encamped at Blackmore-hill, whither great numbers of those pardoned by general Dundas had repaired with their protections in their pockets, he marched to attack them; and by a few discharges of artillery they were routed, and a good many of them were killed.

No praise can equal the merit of Sir James Duff, and his gallant little army; for in forty-eight hours they marched seventy miles without halting. At Kildare, they found the murdered bodies of honest Crawford, of his innocent grand-daughter, and of the gallant young Giffard, who preferred death to dishonour, and whom they interred with military honours.

It is to be lamented that the disaffection of the popish yeomanry of the county of Kildare was highly disgraceful.

Of a corps of fifty yeomen cavalry at Castledermot,\* there were but five who were not implicated in the rebellion; and their lieutenant, Mr. Daniel Caulfield, was committed by government,

A neighbouring corps of yeomanry, called the Sleumarigue, under the command of Mr. Bambrick, with great modefty gave up their arms, confcious of the improper engagements they had made with the united Irifhmen.

A proteftant corps of the fame name, formed under the command of Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald, have rendered the moft effectual fervice to their country.

A well-mounted corps of fifty yeomen, called the Athy cavalry, were raifed under the command of Thomas Fitzgerald, efquire, of Geraldine, whofe commander was committed to the caftle of Dublin, where he remained a clofe prifoner for fome months; and foon after his arreft,

\* Plate 1. 8.

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the corps were difarmed publickly, in the market fquare of Athy, for difaffection.

An attempt was made to admit fuch as were without cenfure, into the loyal corps of Ballylinan, commanded by Steward Weldon, efquire; but very few were found eligible.

All the Roman catholicks in the Rathangan corps joined the rebels.. Molloy their lieutenant, and feveral more were hanged; many were pardoned under the proclamation, and others of them abfconded.

In the North Naas corps, there were fo many implicated in the rebellion, that but fixteen could be depended on to do duty.

Though the Clane corps were fixty-fix ftrong, fuch difaffection prevailed among the Roman catholick yeomen, that but twenty-four muftered on the twenty-fourth of May.

#### ATTACK ON CARLOW.\*

The mail coach from Dublin always reached Carlow in the morning, about eight o'clock; and, as its not arriving on the morning of Thurfday the twenty -fourth of May was to be the fignal for rifing there and ia its vicinity, the rebels could not make their intended attack on that town till the morning of the twenty-fifth.

About two o'clock on that morning they affembled in great force, moftly from Grange, Hacketftown, Tullow,† LeighHn,‡; and that part of the country between Rathvilly and Borris,§ headed by one Roach a farmer. They gave a moft dreadful yell as foon as they entered the town, where they were joined by moft of the lower clafs of the popifh inhabitants, and numbers of people who had been fecretly coming into it the whole of the preceding day and night. They marched, in number about two thoufand, through Tullow-ftreet, till they arrived at the potatoe market, where their progrefs was interrupted by two fentinels pofted at the collector's door, and a loyal proteftant who joined them; and they, by a conftant and well-directed fire, defeated their defign of uniting with the Queen's county rebels, (who were to have met them at Graigue-bridge) and drove them acrofs the potatoe market towards the gaol, where two fentinels, with equal fpirit, checked them in their career, and forced them to retreat through Bridewell-lane, towards the court-houfe; where

\* Plate I. 8, and II. i. † Plate II. i. ‡ 4 Ibid. 3, 4. § Ibid. 7.

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having received a few fhots from the houfe of a loyal proteftant, they cried out that they were furrounded by the foldiers, threw down their arms, and, in the greateft confternation, endeavoured to retreat by the road through which they had at firft advanced; but, fearing to meet the army in that direction, numbers of them retired into the houfes in Tullow-ftreet, which it is believed were inhabited by their affociates; for when the foldiers fet fire to them, to make the

rebels bolt, there was not a woman or child in any of them. Some rushed out through the flames, and were shot or bayoneted; others remained in the houses till they were consumed. The other miscreants who had taken different routes, were shot by the loyal inhabitants from their windows; and such of them as escaped, were pursued and killed by the soldiers and yeomanry; so that the streets, the roads, and fields contiguous to the town, were strewn with carcasses. That evening, and all next day, nineteen carts were constantly employed in conveying the dead bodies to the other side of Graigue-bridge, where four hundred and seventeen bodies were buried in three gravel-pits, and covered with quick lime. On the whole, it was believed, that no less than six hundred of the unfortunate wretches perished, including those who were consumed in the houses, and those who fell in the roads and fields, and were secretly interred by their friends.

The Queen's county rebels were to have met, and joined those of the county of Carlow, at Graigue-bridge; but having heard that there were two pieces of cannon posted there, they changed their route; and, headed by one Redmond, and one Brennan, who had been a yeoman, they burned some protestant houses in the village of Ballyckmoiler, and attacked the house of the reverend John Whitty, a protestant clergyman, near Aries, about five miles from Carlow; but it was bravely defended, by himself and eleven protestants, who kept up a constant fire, killed twenty-one rebels, and baffled all their attempts to storm or burn it. The conflict continued from three till six o'clock in the morning; when Mr. Whitty's ammunition being nearly expended, he sent two of his party to a neighbour to borrow more; but they were surrounded and overpowered after a gallant defence. The corpse of one of them, whom they killed, was mangled in a barbarous manner. They left the other, whose name was Impey, supposing him to be dead; but he afterwards

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recovered: He asked for a draught of water from some persons who were present, but they would not relieve him, till he asked for a priest, and then they supplied him with it. This party was first informed, by emissaries from Carlow, that their friends were successful, and had got possession of the barrack; on which they felt a degree of joy equal to madness, but it was only the delusion of a moment; for the dismay which they felt, on hearing the fate of their friends was such, as to check their sanguinary design of immolating an unfortunate protestant, whom they were on the point of shooting.

Richard Waters, a member of Mr. Rochfort's corps of yeomanry, fell into their hands; and they had him for some time on his knees, ready for execution, when an account of the sad catastrophe at Carlow arrived. He, taking advantage of the panic which it produced, repented to them the folly of continuing in their rebellious career; recommended to them to surrender their arms, and throw themselves on the mercy of government; and his exhortation not only produced the desired effect, but saved his life.

The barony of Carbery in the county of Kildare, part of the adjacent country, including considerable portions of the counties of Meath, and the King's county, were dreadfully agitated, so early as the beginning of the year 1795, by the defenders, who continued almost without intermission, till the rebellion broke out, to levy money, to plunder of arms the houses of protestants, and often to murder their inhabitants; and this in some instances at noon day.

About the hour of twelve o'clock at night, on the sixth of May, 1797, they attacked the Charter-school at Castlecarbery, in great numbers, broke all the windows, fired many hundred shots into it, and attempted to force open the door; but were repulsed with the loss, it is said, of twenty men killed. The number who fell could not be well ascertained, as they carried off the dead bodies. They assumed the title of united Irishmen some time in the year 1796.

On the thirtieth of May, 1798, about two thousand of them, headed by one Cafey, attacked and burned the same charter-school, after having plundered all the property of Mr. Sparks, the master, which was considerable. This man, remarkable for his humanity and tenderness to the children under his care, was peculiarly the object of their vengeance, on

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account of the vigorous defence which he had made the preceding year. The school had been defended by a party of fencibles, till the twenty-fourth of May, 1798; and when they were withdrawn, Mr. Sparks and his family were obliged to abandon it; and the children took refuge in the bog of Allen, and in some neighbouring cabins.

The day before the charter-school was burnt, the parish priest told some of the children, and an old woman who attended them, that they need not be under apprehensions that night; and that, at all events, they (meaning the children) would not be molested. The charter-school, as protestant institution, was peculiarly the object of hatred to the insurgents, who were exclusively of the popish religion.

In consequence of the increasing outrages of the country, and the well-grounded belief, that a general insurrection would soon take place, lieutenant Tyrrell, commanding the Clonard cavalry, in the absence of Mr. John Tyrrell, its captain, then in England, received an official letter on the tenth of May, ordering his corps on permanent duty at Clonard,\* four miles from Carbery.

Mr. Thomas Tyrrell, at that time high sheriff of the county, finding his house at Kilreny, a mile and a half from Clonard, indefensible; and as his noted loyalty and activity had made him obnoxious, he removed his family to the house of his kinsman, Mr. John Tyrrell, at Clonard; which he fortified, and where he kept a guard of one sergeant and eighteen men, who were relieved every week.

About the same time, captain O'Ferrall, of the Ballina cavalry, mounted a permanent guard at Johnstown; but as there were strong apprehensions of a general insurrection, he was permitted to join the guard at Clonard every night for protection, and returned every morning at four o'clock to Johnstown.

At last, the outrages and atrocities increased to such an alarming degree, that lieutenant Tyrrell repaired to Dublin, and applied to lord Castlereagh for a reinforcement of regular troops. His lordship assured him, that, from the peculiar state of the country, government could not comply with his request; but recommended to him to raise some supplementaries among the protestants of the country, and told him that they should be supplied with arms and ammunition.

\* See Plate I. 6 and 7.

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During this representation to administration, the rebels burned the protestant charter-school at Carbery, and several houses of protestants in it and its vicinity. They then proceeded towards Johnstown, burning all the protestant houses they met with in their progress, which terminated at Gurteen, where they plundered and burned the house of Mr. Metcalf.

Mr. Barlow, second lieutenant of the Clonard corps, marched out with part of his guard, and being joined by captain O'Ferrall, pursued the rebels to Gurteen; but finding that they were posted behind hedges, at each side of the road, which was so deep and so narrow, that the cavalry, though exposed to the enemy's fire, could not deploy, or make any offensive or defensive operations, they were under the necessity of retiring.

On the thirtieth of May, Mr. Tyrrell arrived from Dublin, and next day enrolled and armed nineteen well-affected protestants, to act as infantry. By this time the rebels had collected in

very great numbers, and encamped on an island in the bog of Timahoe,\* and at Mucklin and Drihid; and for some time they continued to plunder the houses of all the protestants in the neighbourhood, and carried off" all the horses and cattle they could find; and even intercepted the supplies of oxen and sheep which were going from remote counties to the capital.

Government, having received intelligence of these enormities, sent general Champagne, on the fifth of June, to consult with lieutenant Tyrrell, who was well acquainted with the country, on the best and most feasible mode of attacking the enemy's camp. General Champagne was escorted to Edenderry by lieutenant Tyrrell; but finding no troops there, he sent an express to Philipstown, to order troops from thence to attack the enemy; and they arrived at Edenderry on the evening of the seventh of May; and on the next day, the general, having arranged his plan of operation, proceeded to attack the enemy with the following forces: A detachment of the Limerick militia, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Gough; the Coolestown yeomanry cavalry, by captain Wakely; the Canal Legion, by lieutenant Adam Williams; the Clonard cavalry, by lieutenant Tyrrell; and the Ballina cavalry, by captain O'Ferrall.

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\* A gentleman who was a prisoner with them, informed me, that he saw a priest there, who encouraged the rebels to persist in the rebellion, by assuring them that all the people in Connaught were in a state of insurrection.

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The general disposed the cavalry so as to surround the bog, while the infantry attacked the camp, which was on an island in it. The contest lasted for some time, as the number of infantry was but small; however, their valour amply compensated the paucity of their numbers; for the Limerick, led on by the gallant colonel Gough, and ably supported by the Canal Legion, commanded by lieutenant Williams, at last forced the camp, and dispersed the rebels; of whom great numbers were cut off, in their flight, by the cavalry.

Lieutenant Tyrrell having received information that a numerous body of rebels had taken post on a hill near his house of Kilreny, where they were committing depredations and various enormities, went to Kinnegad himself for the troops quartered there, and sent an express for those who were stationed at Edenderry, to co-operate with them.

The following troops assembled on the thirtieth of June, and attacked the rebels, who, to the number of six hundred, were posted on Foxeshill: A detachment of the Limerick, the Coolestown, the Canal Legion, and a small party of the Northumberland fencibles. They were soon routed with considerable slaughter; and one Caffey, their commander, his brother, and another leader, were killed, and their bodies were exposed for some days at Edenderry.

Caffey had been principally concerned in the atrocities committed at Rathangan; the uniform great coat of Mr. Spenser, and the boots of Mr. Semple, a yeoman, murdered there, having been found upon him.

Lieutenant Tyrrell entertained the most sanguine expectations that such decisive advantages against the rebels would have restored peace and tranquillity; but the arrival of four thousand Wexford rebels in the county of Kildare, commanded by general Perry, and one Kearns, a popish priest, blasted all his hopes, and spread desolation in the country which he was appointed to defend. I shall postpone a description of their progress and operations, till I have mentioned their defeat in the county of Wexford.

The following anecdote will show the reader to what a state of debasement the popish multitude were reduced by the sanguinary and fanatical principles which were constantly infused into their minds, to prepare them for the approaching insurrection and rebellion; John North, of Nurney in the county of Kildare, a fellow of mean parentage, and plebeian

manners, married a handsome young woman of the name of Carrol, of the protestant religion, and respectably connected; but whose distresses compelled her to make so disagreeable and unequal a connection. Being a bigotted papist, and of a ferocious disposition, he became an enthusiast in the cause of the united Irishmen, and gradually contracted an envenomed hatred against his wife, on account of her religion; inasmuch, that he used constantly to beat her with great cruelty, and to reproach her with the appellation of heretic; and his relations, harbouring an inveterate aversion towards her for the same reason, would not suffer her to suckle her only child, a new-born infant. At last, impelled by fanaticism, he attempted to murder her with a knife, and would have effected it, but that his mother, on her knees, deprecated his anger.

He kept an inferior kind of publick house, which was the rendezvous of all the rebels of the adjacent country; particularly of one Prendergast, a priest, who was hanged at Monastereven, on the breaking-out of the rebellion. As he heard them at their nightly meetings forming treasonable plots, and expressing their determination to destroy all heretics, he was kept in a constant state of terror.

At last he found, among his papers, a letter from a rebel captain, advising him to kill her, and to bury her in an adjacent fallow field; on which he fled, and repaired to her relations in the county of Wicklow.

Soon after, this ruffian having a quarrel with a protestant yeoman of the name of Crofs, a challenge took place, and the combatants agreed to decide it with pistols. North fired first, and missed his antagonist, on which Crofs desired him to beg his life; but he swore he never would do so of an Orangeman; on which Crofs fired and killed him.

#### ATTACK UPON KILCOCK.

The day after the rebels surrendered their arms at Knockallin to general Dundas, a party of them, encamped at Timahoe, sent as their delegate the reverend father Murphy, a priest, to Sir Fenton Aylmer, posted at that time at Kilcock, with the Donadea cavalry which he commanded, consisting of one captain, one lieutenant, three sergeants, and thirty privates; for the purpose of assuring him of their penitence, and their determination of surrendering their arms; and to request that he would go to their camp, which he might do with the utmost safety, as they had

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the greatest respect and regard for him: He, agreeable to their desire, having gone there, accompanied by one friend, and escorted by two dragoons, had a long conference with their leaders; and in consequence of the strong assurance of their pacific disposition, and of an ardent desire to return to their allegiance, he repaired first to general Dundas, and afterwards to lord Camden, to obtain an amnesty for them.

While Sir Fenton Aylmer was conferring with the rebel chiefs in their camp, his friend perceived two of the inferior rebels steal behind a hedge, and present their muskets at him; on which he told the leaders, that he and his friend would instantly shoot them, if the assassins did not immediately desist: On which the chieftains made an apology, and said it was done without their knowledge. They then, at their instance, accompanied them to a place about a mile from the camp; and as a proof of their sincerity, they observed, that they had no arms; but they no sooner arrived there, than they saw six rebels with their muskets, going behind a hedge, to shoot at them.

Notwithstanding his exertions to serve them, they treacherously made an attack on him at Kilcock, with their whole force stationed at Timahoe, which is seven miles distant, on the

Monday following; saying, "That all they wanted was the bloody Sir Fenton Aylmer, and Michael Aylmer his lieutenant, and their bloody Orange crew."

One of his videts having informed him of their approach, he advanced with his corps, with an intention of charging them; but perceiving their great superiority of numbers, he founded a retreat, after having narrowly escaped being surrounded by them.

The rebels, after entering the town, searched every recess, and every chimney in the inn, for him and his officers.

Sir Fenton Aylmer then fell back, and joined a small corps of yeomen infantry, commanded by captain Jones, about a mile at the other side of the town, determined to give them battle.

On taking his ground, which was in Sir Percy Gethin's lawn, he found, to his mortification, that the infantry had retreated, and that all his corps, except fourteen who were protestants, had deserted him; the remainder, who were Romanists, not being able, as they said, to mount their horses in the hurry, remained behind; and the rebels were so friendly to them, that they only deprived them of their arms, without offering them any injury.

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The papists in captain Jones's corps retired to their respective houses, in the same manner, without being molested by the enemy. The rebels then burned the house of Joseph Robinson, a protestant, an active constable, and clerk of the parish church of Donadea, then the barrack; and afterwards Courtown, the seat of lieutenant Aylmer; swearing at the same time, that they would burn the house of every bloody protestant. They afterwards proceeded to Donadea, to burn the house of Sir Fenton Aylmer, but were diverted from doing so, by being informed that their own friends had lodged many valuable articles in it for safe custody; but they gave orders to have them removed, that they might execute, their malignant purpose. But having been engaged in some other enterprise, they fortunately forgot it.

Nicholas Newenham, one of Sir Fenton's videts at Kilcock, having, from excessive zeal, advanced too far, was taken prisoner by the rebels, and was a witness of the destruction of his father's house, close to Donadea, which they burnt, because he was a protestant; for they publicly announced their determination to destroy the property of every person of that persuasion.

Having led young Newenham to their camp, they compelled him to dig his own grave; and during five or six days they carried him often to the brink of it, and threatened to throw him in and bury him alive; and whenever they did so, they compelled him to say his prayers at the edge of it; and while performing his devotion, they mocked his religion, and cursed him, as a heretic; at last one of them, more humane than the rest, shot him, threw his body into the grave, and covered it lightly with earth.

These facts have been substantiated by the affidavits of different rebels, who afterwards obtained their pardon.

About a month after, as Sir Fenton Aylmer was coming to Kilcock with fourteen dragoons, he was way-laid near Clane, and had a narrow escape, as the hedges were thickly lined with rebels. Very fortunately for him, he had an advanced guard, consisting of four men, of whom they killed three, which alarmed them, and enabled them to make their retreat to Sallins. One of the advanced guard was Archibald Noble, a protestant, and late of the Fermanagh militia, noted for his courage and loyalty; and such was their hatred towards him, that they fired

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the instant they saw him, by which the remainder of the party were saved.

William Aylmer, a rebel general, declared afterwards, that he wou'd have cut off the whole of them by the ambush which he had laid, but that he could not refrain the impetuosity of his men.

Next day they lay in wait a second time for him and his party.

Of eighteen papists in Sir Fenton Aylmer's corps, eleven deserted on Sunday the eleventh of June, 1798, with their full arms and accoutrements. The other seven that remained faithful, were officers fervants, or persons who immediately depended on protestant gentlemen for their subsistence.

#### INSURRECTIONS IN THE COUNTRY NEAR ATHY AND NARRAGHMORE, AND COUNTY OF KILDARE.

On the seventeenth of March, 1798, John Glennan, a protestant, was murdered near the Moat of Ardcull; and a few days after, John Lucas, parish clerk at Narraghmore, a man far advanced in years, was decoyed out of his house by his brother-in-law, and assassinated.

These atrocities, and the constant robbery of protestant houses of arms, alarmed the loyalists so much, that they invited Mr. Rawfon, of Glaffealy near Athy, to command them; and he was soon at the head of one hundred and forty men, steady in support of their king and country. By their active exertions and the discoveries that were made under the direction of that excellent officer general Campbell, the leaders of insurrection were speedily apprehended in the vicinity of Athy. Many hardened rebels fought for chieftains in more distant parts, and several hundreds acknowledged their crimes and surrendered their pikes.

Colonel Keating, a most active magistrate and intelligent officer, perceiving that the storm was gathering, raised sixty yeomen cavalry and twenty infantry for the preservation of the peace; and it is to be lamented, that the Roman catholic members of those corps, with few exceptions, proved afterwards to be disaffected; and that many of them, in violation of their oaths of allegiance, turned their arms against their king and country.

This amiable gentleman went to the different popish chapels, and frequently exhorted the multitude to renounce their treasonable designs, and

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to return to their allegiance; but finding all his efforts fruitless, he left the country in despair; an ill-fated event for the neighbourhood where he resided! for, had he remained, his good sense would have contributed much to avert the storm which hung over the county of Kildare.

In the month of January, 1798, captain Rawfon, to undeceive and conciliate the people, published addresses at all the chapels in his neighbourhood, of which see a copy in Appendix, No. XV. and for this, his noted loyalty, and his active exertions as a magistrate, he was condemned by a committee of assassination, which sat in his vicinity; and the ruffian who made an attempt on the life of Mr. Darragh, having been employed to murder him, he lay in wait for him at different times, in a shrubbery near his house, and would have assassinated him, but that he was fortunately attended by his son, who was armed.

On the memorable twenty-fourth of May, an express arrived from Dunlavin to general Campbell, and intelligence was brought to captain Rawfon, that the popish multitude were in a state of insurrection on every side, and the protestant inhabitants of Narraghmore requested to know what measures they were to take for their protection. The general sent an express to Dunlavin, with directions how to proceed; and captain Rawfon sent another to Narraghmore, with orders to the loyalists to fall back on Glaffealy, with an assurance that a party would soon go to their assistance; but both the expresses were murdered by the way; and such of the unfortunate protestants of Narraghmore as could not effect their escape, remained in the village, without any assistance.

General Campbell sent a detachment of the Suffolk fencibles, under the command of major Montrefor, by Glaffealy, to the assistance of the Narraghmore loyalists, while he went with another towards Mulloghmafhill.

Early in the day, James Murphy of the water-works, as principal in command, with a number of rebel captains, collected the whole country, men, women, and children; in short, every one capable of bearing a pike; and they, with their united force, proceeded to attack the village of Narraghmore. Nine loyalists, who retired into the court-house, successfully resisted them for two hours, and at last beat them off.

John Jefferies, the permanent yeoman serjeant of the Narraghmore corps, having a house with much property, which he wished to defend,

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imprudently led his little party into it» The routed rebels were met by Daniel Walfh, a traitorous yeoman of that corps, who has been since deservedly hanged; and he rallied, and brought them back to the attack. Jefferies's house being soon set on fire, the loyalists parleyed, and the rebels promised that their lives should be spared, provided they surrendered their arms; but the instant they came forth, the pikemen fell to butcher them. No less than six traitors were flung together at Thomas Young; but the clashing of their pikes, and the confusion which arose from their eagerness to shed his blood, having suspended his fate for a moment, Fitzpatrick, one of the traitors of the Narraghmore corps, cried out to the pikemen to clear his way; and he instantly blew out the brains of his fellow foldier, with the musket which he had received to; serve his king and country he then seized a pike, and transfixed the body to the ground, crying out, "That's the way to kill a heretic."

Thomas Alcock, and Moses Borroughs, an old man of eighty years, (whose venerable locks should have protected him,) were next inhumanly butchered. The other six were reserved to be hanged in the adjoining wood of Narraghmore. The rebels then set fire to every protestant house in the town, in which the women were particularly active. On their retiring, the mangled body of poor old Borroughs was seen by Fitzpatrick, who thrust a pike into it, and pitched it into a dyke of water, exclaiming, "Fogh! I fraoll a protestant carrion."

This barbarian was apprehended by the Athy loyalists, tried by a courtmartial, executed on the spot where he had committed some of his enormities, and his head is now on the gall of Athy. In his last moments he declared that he died innocent.

Lieutenant Eadie of the Tyrone militia, who had been stationed for some months at Ballytore, was ordered, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, to join his company at Calverstown. Having proceeded with, twenty-three privates, by Narraghmore, he received a pressing invitation there to breakfast, which was very unfortunate, as by that delay he was prevented from arriving in time to save the lives of the loyalists.

He had not proceeded far with his party, when he heard the shouts of the savages, exulting over their victims, as they conveyed them for execution.

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Lieutenant Eadie placed his men behind a low wall, and when the savages came within thirty yards, gave them a volley, which killed many of them.

The savages fled, leaving all their prisoners, save Jefferies and William Afhe, behind them. They were rallied and brought back to the fight, by a heroine, whose spirit and animation would have immortalized her name in a good cause.

In their turn, the rebels attacked lieutenant Eadie's little party, for many hours; he kept on the defensive, until at length he completely routed his foes, taking the heroine prisoner. She was

stripped of her riding-coat and cap; and, lieutenant Eadie, either admiring her bravery or beauty, gave her her liberty.

The rebels, after their defeat by lieutenant Eadie, retreated to Ballytore, where they gained a reinforcement of many thousands; and, attributing their want of success to irreligion, they formed in the street, knelt down, and compelled Mr. Cullen, the parish priest, to give them his blessing. Then, headed by Redmond Murphy, and Malachy Delany, two rebel leaders, they broke into a house where lieutenant Yeates, the son of a respectable magistrate of the neighbourhood, was prisoner, butchered his body in a most cruel manner, and threw it into the streets to be devoured by pigs. They then murdered a poor travelling soldier, who had fought for protection in the house of Mr. Robert Hudfon.

They attacked and put to death several sick soldiers of the Suffolk fencibles, hanging some of them, who were in fever, out of their windows: they took prisoners two ladies, the wives of the Suffolk officers, and lodged them in the house of Abraham Shackleton,\* of Ballytore, under a guard of rebels. They then proceeded to murder Jefferies and Afhe; but Mr. Cullen saved and concealed them, till they made their escape to Athy.

By this time the rebel force had increased to the number of three thousand, and learning from their scouts, that lieutenant Eadie had missed the road to Calverstown, they pursued him. Major Montefor having proceeded with his detachment to Glaffealy, a party of rebels from Fonthown, under the command of captain Paddy Cowling and

\* His father was schoolmaster to Edmund Burke.

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Terry Toole, who were on their way to burn the mansion-house there, fled at his approach. The major then proceeded to the village of Narraghmore, but too late to do any essential service there; as no human being was to be seen, but the wretched victims of savage fury, and every protestant house in it was destroyed, or consumed by fire.\* The major then marched to the place of his destination, Redgap-hill, while captain Rudd with thirty men, flanked him through the woods of Narraghmore; and having been joined by lieutenant Eadie, they followed the route which major Montefor had taken.

At the end of the bog road near the turnpike, they were attacked and surrounded by the three thousand rebels from Narraghmore, on whom they kept up a brisk fire, for near half an hour, which brought the major and his party to their assistance. The rebels having perceived his approach, placed a number of wool packs on cars, which happened accidentally to be passing by; and some of their marksmen concealed behind them, fired and killed seven of the Suffolk fencibles, and then retreated to their main body. But the major pursued, and obtained ample revenge; for in a short time, two hundred rebels lay dead, and as many more were wounded. In these different conflicts, and in the scenes of carnage, conflagration and plunder, which occurred in the course of that day, sixty of the Narraghmore corps in their uniforms, fought with the rebels; for which, eighteen of them were shot, several were hanged, some fled the country, and others came in under the proclamation, offering pardon to repentant rebels, and received protections.

The main object of the rebels in that part of the county of Kildare, was, to join those of the Queen's county, and the county of Carlow; and to have assisted them in taking possession of the town of Carlow.

\* The houses of the following protestants were burnt at Narraghmore, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, by their Roman catholic neighbours, with whom, till that day, they had lived on the most friendly terms; and their inmates, narrowly escaping with their lives, fled for protection to Athy.

Mary Jefferies, widow, Joseph Whiteacre, Thomas Corry, Robert Cooke, Richard Holmes, Matthew James, Darby Kehoe, William Cope, Sarah Lucas, Catherine Young, William Little and James Little. These facts have been verified by the affidavit of the said persons, and captain Thomas J. Rawfon, sworn before A. Weldon, Esq. a magistrate, the twenty-sixth of July, 1798. Besides the above, the houses of the protestants whom they massacred in that town were burnt.

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Notwithstanding their different defeats, they collected a party of one thousand two hundred, and were proceeding to accomplish their original plan; but, in passing through Castledermot to Carlow, they were attacked by captain Mince, who commanded there a small party of the sixth regiment of foot. After the second discharge they were routed, and several of them were killed; and Sir Richard Butler, who went with his troop of yeomen cavalry to the assistance of captain Mince, pursued them and took many prisoners, of whom two were hanged; and the remainder, through the clemency of government, were set at liberty.

General Campbell, having received intelligence that the rebels were in great force in Ballytore, that they had taken many passengers prisoners, and that they obstructed the approaches not only to that town, but even the great Munster road to the metropolis, by felling large trees across them, he laid a plan for dislodging them, and ordered the troops from Carlow and Baltinglaff to march to one side of the town; and he intended to arrive at the opposite side at the same moment.

At twelve o'clock on the night of the 27th, he marched from Athy, with his whole force, except a few yeomen under the command of captain Rawfon, who were left in charge of the town; the person who undertook to guide his party mistook the road, and led him by the woods of Narraghmore, through which he sent a flanking party.

As they passed by the mansion-house of Narraghmore, some disaffected persons fired at the troops from it; on which general Campbell ordered it to be attacked with cannon. After some discharge of artillery it was set on fire; and the fellows who had fired at the troops were killed in the woods, as they were endeavouring to make their escape.

When the general entered Ballytore, he found it deserted by every male, except Mr. Francis Johnson, a surgeon; and as some of the Tyrone regiment had repeatedly seen him commanding the rebels, the sight of him kindled such indignation in them, that one of them bayoneted him through the breast, on which he fell. He rose again, laid his hand on his wound, and strongly, and with many oaths asserted his innocence. Several of the soldiers cried out, that they had frequently seen him at the head of the rebels — an open was made — five of the Suffolk fencibles presented their muskets at him; when he found that all subterfuge was vain, he exclaimed, "Since I must die,

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guilty as I am, the Lord have mercy on me!" and he was instantly sent into eternity.

The general, on entering the town, liberated colonel Wolfeley and his lady, two wives of the Suffolk officers, and some others, who had been prisoners with the rebels.

The rebels, finding that they were every where unsuccessful, sent a deputation to general Campbell, offering him a surrender of their arms; and he having assented, about three hundred gave up pikes and other arms at Ballindrum, near the Moat of Ardcully; and great numbers besides went to Athy, and obtained protections.

In about ten days, general Dundas thought it necessary to order the garrison at Athy to march to Kilcullen, to reinforce him there; and the town was evacuated by the military, the yeomen, and all the protestants; the latter well knowing that they would be massacred without the protection of the former.

When they had marched about ten miles, they received an order that the yeomanry should return to defend the town, which gave the greatest joy to the loyalists, as all their property would have been destroyed in their absence. They arrived there about twelve o'clock at night, and concluded that the rebels were in possession of it; but though they had been waiting to attack it some nights before, they were afraid to enter, suspecting that the evacuation of it was but a feint; and that the general meant to have attacked them, as soon as they had got possession of it.

The next evening they approached it in great force; but finding the yeomen ready to receive them, they fled from a small patrol who had been sent to reconnoitre.

From this period, the country round Athy appeared tolerably tranquil, and no bodies of rebels appeared in force; but still it was not safe for a protestant to appear, or travel ever so short a distance alone.

John Jefferies of Narraghmore, who escaped on the day they burned his house, having gone to that village from Athy, to look after such part of his property as might have remained, was murdered at two o'clock in the day.

Such was the malignity of the rebels in the county of Kildare, that a party of them, in order to distress the metropolis, endeavoured to obstruct the navigation of the Grand canal, by cutting its banks, and emptying

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its water into the adjacent country; but they were surprized and prevented by captain Griffith of Millicent, who killed some of them.

The vicinity of Athy remained peaceable, and it was believed that the distressed had given up their destructive schemes; but on the night of the twenty-fourth of December, 1798, a party of rebels, most of them from the Wicklow mountains, and under the command of Matthew Kenna and Redmond Murphy, two Kildare ruffians, set fire to the house of Mrs. Hannah Manders, close to Glasnealy, and murdered her, her two sisters,\* and Mr. John Anderfon her nephew, all protestants, and a fervant woman of the Romish persuasion, and threw their bodies into the flames, in which they were reduced to ashes.

They then burned the dwelling-house of captain Rawfon, and all his furniture; and in one hour destroyed the production of twenty-five years of active industry.

A Roman catholic fervant, who was in Mrs. Manders's house, was suffered to pass unmolested; but Anderfon, attempting to follow him, was shot.

The Roman catholic maid shewed her attachment to the rebels, by putting her head out of a door, and calling to them to take care of Keane, the brother of one of them, who was in the stable. He was accordingly led out, and rescued from the flames; but she met with that fate which she deserved; for resembling Mrs. Manders in person, they mistook her, and piked her to death.

In a short time after, captain Rawfon had one Whelan, an affairin, better known by the nickname of Black Top, apprehended, for the murder of the Manders family; and he was tried before a court-martial at Carlow.

It appeared on the evidence of Mrs. Margaret McIvers, the niece, who escaped through a back window, that, when the houses were set on fire, Black Top stood at the door with a musket and bayonet, to prevent any of the protestant part of the family from escaping: That she applied to him to take the young infant she held in her arms out of the flames, and she would take her chance; but he replied, "No, you damned heretick bitch! you may burn together; nits will become lice."

Immediately Howard, a traitorous yeoman, who had been often hospitably entertained in the house, entered it with a musket and bayonet; on which

\* They were unoffending religious women, far advanced in years.

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Mrs. Manders was overjoyed at seeing him, supposing that he came as her deliverer; and she expressed a hope that he would not murder her; but the obdurate ruffian replied, by knocking her down with the but-end [sic] of his musket, and transfixing her aged body to the floor.

An old superannuated fighter, who had not left her bed for many months, crawled into the garden, and endeavoured to conceal herself in a square of cabbages; but she was pursued and piked, and her body was thrown into the flames.

Black Top and Fitzpatrick (the murderer of Thomas Young at Narraghmore,) were convicted, and executed where they had committed these horrid crimes.

In the spring of 1800, one of the villains became an approver, and gave captain Rawson full information. Shortly after, Howard was taken in the county of Carlow, by a son of the captain's; and Keane and Bryan, two more of the assassins, were also apprehended. These three were brought to trial at the assizes, and fully convicted, to the satisfaction of a crowded court, and of the very humane judge Kelly, who in passing sentence, declared, "That it was the first case that ever came before him in which he did not feel distressed; but that he felt great satisfaction at being the instrument, under Providence, of ridding the world of such monsters."

On the trial it was proved, that captain Rawson's house and out-offices were burned in revenge for his loyal exertions; and that the Manders family were assassinated merely because they were heretics.\*

On this trial Mrs. Margaret McIvers, Mrs. Manders's niece, corroborated the testimony of the approver against Howard, in what has been before stated; and he, Keane and Bryan, were hanged and beheaded at Glasnevin.

All the cottagers contiguous to that place, to whom captain Rawson had acted with singular humanity for above twenty years, were among the foremost in plundering his house.

#### POISONING AT RATHCOOLE.

Though the efforts of rebellion were crushed at Rathcoole on the general rising, yet the rebels, indignant at the disappointment, endeavoured to accomplish their nefarious designs on the twenty-second of June, by poisoning the garrison there. On that day, captain Joseph Hewan of the

\* This was acknowledged by the approvers on the trial.

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Angusshire regiment, was ordered to march from Tallagh to Hazel Hatch, with twenty of his men, to reinforce the party there; and having halted his men at Rathcoole, the head quarters of his regiment, to refresh them, some of them, after having been there about an hour, were reported to be very ill. On enquiry, it appeared, that after having eaten some bread and milk, they were seized with a great sickness in their stomachs, accompanied with a head-ach, and a violent vomiting and griping; and they said, that they thought they had a ball of fire in their breasts.

Mr. Irwine, surgeon of the regiment, communicated these symptoms to colonel Hunter, who commanded there, and his suspicion, that the bread which they ate, had been poisoned. On which the colonel ordered the baker and his man into custody.

The men of both parties began now to be taken ill with the same symptoms, by five or six at a time; the commanding officer then ordered the baker and his boy, and one Doyle, who was strongly suspected, to eat some of the bread; but more of the men becoming sick, and the malignity of their disorder increasing, he ordered the two former to be shot. The latter grew as sick as any of the soldiers; but no body doubted of his innocence, as his wife and children were affected in the same manner, as they had ate of the bread. Doyle kept a low publick house, in which some of the soldiers had been entertained. Many of them would have died, but that they were relieved by medical assistance. The symptoms were sometimes abated by an emetic, but they often returned with redoubled violence; and then oil or melted butter, as a substitute, afforded them relief. Some of them were seized with such strong convulsions, that two or three men could not hold them, but with difficulty.

Mr. Robinson, a protestant clergyman, his wife, and seven children, who were passing through Rathcoole, were affected exactly in the same manner, in consequence of having eaten some of the bread.

Next day the officers of the Angushire regiment were well informed, that the roads, fields, and ditches near Rathcoole, were crowded on the preceding night with men well armed, and that they dispersed when the bakers were shot, and reinforcements came from Dublin, Tallagh, and Hazel-hatch. They intended to have surprized the garrison, when debilitated by poison.

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Some of the bread which had produced such dreadful effects in those who had eaten of it, was given to a cat and a dog, and they died of it. Some hours after the baker and his boy were shot, his house was searched, and a paper, containing about two ounces of yellow arsenick, was found in his bake-house; which, being sent to Dublin to a surgeon, proved, on the analyzation of it, to be that kind of poison.

#### ATTACK UPON MAYNOOTH.

From the supposed sanctity of this town, as a college had been recently erected there, and endowed at a very great expence by the *protestant state*, for the education of *papist priests*, it was hoped that it would not have been molested by the rebels; however, the protestant inhabitants of it and its vicinity were as much the object of the sanguinary rage of the rebels, as in any other part of the county of Kildare.

About twenty of the Carton cavalry, of which his grace the duke of Leinster was captain, and Thomas Long and Richard Cane, esquires, were lieutenants, did permanent duty there, for some time, previous and subsequent to the twenty-fourth of May; and ten of them were constantly stationed on the different avenues leading into the town: the duke was absent at that time in England.

About one o'clock in the morning of the tenth of June, 1798, two men approached the town and addressed one of the corps, who was at an outpost; and pretending to be travellers, and that they lost their way, begged admittance into the town, to get a lodging; but on being refused, they drew back a few paces, and both fired at the sentinels at the same time; on which, he galloped with the utmost speed to the guard room, and alarmed his fellow-soldiers; and was pursued by about five hundred rebels, headed by William Aylmer their commander.

Such was the disaffection of the corps, that, though they were alarmed in due time, only seven mounted their horses to face the rebels; and of those seven, but four fired at them; and they were under a necessity of retreating, lest they should be overpowered by the great superiority of numbers.

Lieutenant Cane made his escape, but a young gentleman of the name of Nugent, who had been on a visit with the lieutenant, and whose youth and innocence should have preserved him from their sanguinary

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disposition, fell into their hands, and was led to their camp and shot there next day. They took eleven yeomen prisoners, some of whom returned next day, and the remainder continued with the rebels. Three days after, a party of the same rebels entered the town of Maynooth, and plundered some houses; and at the same time, they seized Mr. Wilkinfon, a protestant, and a master carpenter, much esteemed for his probity; and conveyed him to their camp, where they next day piked him to death. As they conveyed him out of the town, he implored them to put an end to him immediately, that his body might fall into the hands of his friends, for the purpose of being interred; but they refused his request.

Afterwards lieutenant Cane, and about thirteen of the corps, joined the yeomanry at Leixlip, and continued to do duty with them, most of the remainder having joined the rebels.

Mr. John Brown, a gentleman farmer, much esteemed for his probity, lived at Barropftown, near Maynooth; and had three sons who served in the Carton yeomanry. He and his family, being natives of England, and protestants, were so much the object of rebel vengeance, that they were obliged to leave their house, and retire to Leixlip for safety.

In the beginning of September, Mr. Brown, his wife, daughter and son, went to pass the day at Barropftown. In the evening Mr. Brown, having rode out to see some hay-makers whom he employed, perceived, about forty paces from his house, twelve ruffians, armed and mounted, galloping furiously towards him; and on seeing him, they shouted and increased their speed. Mr. Brown galloped to his house, alarmed his family, and proceeded towards Leixlip. Part of the ruffians pursued him; the others his son, who fled from them on foot, and whom they murdered with savage barbarity; but his father was so fortunate as to escape.

The following anecdote will show the reader how much the influence of the Romish priests tends to defeat distributive justice: A rebel, of the name of Cullen, was to be tried at the summer assizes of Naas, on the following charges: For having fired three shots at a yeoman, as he was travelling along the high road, and wounding him in two places; and, for being concerned in the attack upon Prosperous, and in the murder of captain Swayne. One Kennedy, the prosecutor, was kept in gaol, to secure his appearance, and to prevent him from being assassinated. When the trial was coming on, Mr. Kemmis, the crown

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solicitor, went to the gaol for Kennedy, the prosecutor; but on approaching it, he perceived a priest whispering in his ear, through one of the grates; and who, on perceiving Mr. Kemmis, fled precipitately. On entering the gaol, he told Kennedy that he must repair to the court with him, as the trial would come on immediately; but to his great astonishment, he discovered, that the suggestions of his ghostly adviser, but for a few minutes, had induced him to contradict the most material facts which he had sworn in his information; for he pretended to be ignorant of them.

#### BATTLE OF OVIOTSTOWN, NEAR KILCOCK.

It was much to be lamented, that the rebels of the county of Kildare, instead of feeling gratitude for the royal mercy which had been extensively granted to them by the generals who commanded there, and of returning to their allegiance, persevered, for a long time, not only in committing individual robbery and assassination, but continued their encampments, and to commit depredations in large bodies. Lieutenant-colonel Irwine, who commanded the garrison of Trim, having received intelligence that a numerous body of rebels were assembling near

Kilcock on the eighteenth of June, marched on that night, with part of his garrison, consisting of the fourth dragoons, a troop of the duke of York's fencible cavalry, four companies of foot, and two battalion guns, and the following yeomanry corps: The Trim cavalry, one troop; the Navan and Murgallion cavalry, one troop; the Demifore, one troop. Soon after he passed through Kilcock, his advanced guard was fired on by a large body of the rebels; of whom the main body, supposed to consist of three thousand, was drawn up in a line at the bottom of Oviotstown hill, near Hortland house. As it was some time before the colonel could form, owing to the unevenness of the ground, and the number of inclosures on it, the rebels kept up a smart fire, and made a desperate effort to seize the cannon; but the well-directed fire of the infantry, made them abandon that enterprise. Soon after the troops formed, they routed the rebels, who precipitately fled to a neighbouring bog, where they effected their escape, after two hundred of them had been slain. The king's troops sustained the following losses: Fourth dragoon guards, one sergeant killed; captain Sir Richard Steele, one sergeant,

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two rank and file wounded; Murgallion cavalry, one rank and file wounded; Trim cavalry, one rank and file wounded; Duke of York's Highlanders, ensign John Sutler, one sergeant, and five rank and file killed; lieutenant-colonel Irwine, one sergeant, and seven rank and file wounded; the first flightly.

William Aylmer, who had been a lieutenant in the Kildare militia, was the leader of the rebels in this action.

For many months after, the ferocious spirit of the popish multitude continued to break forth in acts of rapine and murder, of which the reader will find some specimens in Appendix, No. XV.

The chapel of Athy was burnt in the month of April; and an offer was made, by some papists of consideration, of a sum of money to a soldier of the Cork regiment, to swear that it was perpetrated by the yeomen of that town, who are protestants. I shall refer the reader to the same Appendix, for the particulars of this infamous transaction.

This chapel was wantonly burnt, with a malignant design of throwing an imputation on the protestants of having done it.

#### DUBLIN.

I shall now return to the metropolis, to give the reader a short sketch of its situation, as its disaffected inhabitants still continued to give unquestionable proofs that they hoped to succeed in a general insurrection, with the assistance of the country rebels, and some of the disloyal yeomen, who were still attached to their cause in the city.

On the twenty-ninth of May, the Sepulchre's corps, who mustered about fifty effective men, commanded by captain Ryan, was ordered to mount guard at Dolphin's-barn, an outlet on the South West side of the city of Dublin. As they were marching to their post, a man of the name of Raymond, a Romanist, and one of the most active privates in the corps entered into conversation with one Jennings, who was also in the ranks, and said to him, "Do you see that our lieutenant has got pistols?" (alluding to lieutenant Maturin, the officer of the guard.) Jennings answered, "Yes." Raymond then said, "They will not be of any use to him, for we will do him out." When they arrived at their post, Jennings asked him what he meant, in the allusion which he made to the lieutenant. Raymond then informed him of the following plot "That, in

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case of an attack, which was hourly expected, and which it was believed he had previously concerted with the rebels, the disaffected members of the corps were to massacre the officers

and the proteftants of it, and to deliver up the bridge to the affailants: They were then to proceed to the battery in the park; to inform the guard that they had been defeated; to ask admittance; and on being let in, to murder the guard; to take poffeffion of the battery and ammunition; and to turn it to their own ufe.”

Jennings had been fworn an united Irifhman, and was attached to their caufe from pure republican principles; but being a proteftant, and having difcovered from the maffacres which had taken place, in the counties of Dublin, Meath and Kildare, that the extirpation of his own order was intended, he informed lieutenant Maturin of the plot; and he having communicated it to government, Raymond was taken up, tried, convicted and hanged on the Old Bridge the firft of June.

As the Roman catholick members of that corps, who formed the majority of it, were difcovered to be difaffected, they were difarmed on parade the Sunday following, and difbanded.

Raymond would not have formed fo desperate a defign, which muft have been defeated, and have terminated in the ruin of him and his fellow confpirators, if it were not connected with a general infurrection, which the difaffected in the metropolis conftantly meditated.

The fanatical zeal of fome of the rebels was fuch, and their hopes of fucceeding by a general infurrection, were ftill fo fanguine as to extinguifh all prudence.

Two foldiers, who were conducting a prifoner by Peter’s-row, were attacked at noon-day by two ruffians, who fnatched their firelocks from them, with which they knocked them down. One of them, of the name of Fennel, a notorious traitor, was taken up, tried and hanged on the twenty-ninth of May, on one of the bridges. He was fo great a fanatick, that he faid, when he was about to afcend the fatal ftep, “That he would live and die an united Irifhman.” This fellow had been captain of a corps of united Irifhmen; and was at the head of a numerous body of them, in the fields, near the floating docks, on the night of the twenty-third of May, waiting for a fignal to rufh into the city.

Committees were frequently difcovered in deliberation; blackfmiths were detected in the act of making pikes; and fentinels were frequently

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There was a conftant communication between the rebels of the metropolis and thofe of the country, which was proved by the frequent interception of letters; and that the former expected the co-operation of the latter.

On the evening of the twenty-fifth of May, a detachment of the merchants corps, confifting of one officer, one ferjeant, and twenty privates, was ordered to efcort four waggons of ammunition to Naas; and it was confidered by government to be a fervice of fo much danger, that their deftination was kept a profound fecret, till the moment of their departure; and a military officer, who accompanied the party, had orders not to fuffer any perfon to go before them, left the country rebels, rifen in great multitudes in the county of Kildare, and who had four encampments there, might cut them off. During the whole of their progrefs, one K——, a Romanift, and ftrongly fufpected of difaffection, inveighed bitterly againft government for the difrefpect fhewn to the corps, in having fent them off in fo fudden and unexpected a manner.

Next morning, when on their return to town, about a dozen rebels came out of a wood near Johnftown, as if to provoke an attack from the yeomen. The officer drew up his fmall party, who fired fome fhots at the rebels, on which they retired into the wood. K—— urged the party

to pursue them, which would have been fatal to the whole of them; as it has since been discovered, that there were from twelve to fourteen hundred rebels in the wood, ready to cut them off on their return, of which K—— had given them information the night before; and that the ten who shewed themselves were intended to draw them into an ambush.

On Monday the twenty-seventh of May, a party of the merchants corps, consisting of one officer, two sergeants, and thirty privates, were ordered on the same service to Naas. On that night, captain Beresford waited on captain Stanley, who commanded that corps, to inform him, that he had informations against K——, who was immediately arrested; and shewing strong marks of perturbation, he confessed that he was a colonel in the rebel army, and that he was to have headed a very large party on the twenty-third of May, in an attack upon Newgate.

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On Tuesday the twenty-eighth of May, an express going from Dublin had been stopped, and a letter was found upon him from K—— to the rebels, written on Monday; the purport of which was, to inform them of every particular respecting the effort which was to go to Naas, and expressing a wish that they might be more successful in cutting off this party than the former.

It was observable, that for some days previous and subsequent to the intended insurrection, the disaffected tradesmen, among whom the butchers were very conspicuous, would not take bank notes. Though it had been defeated on the night of the twenty-third of May, the rebels were so confident of succeeding in another effort, that fellows were at different times employed in marking the doors of the loyalists, and particularly those of the yeomen. Seven men were detected and seized on the thirtieth of May in the act of doing so; and on being whipped by a party of the attorney corps, in the old Exchange, they acknowledged that they belonged to a committee of fifteen employed in that service; that there were many similar committees, and that each of them had its respective department.

As an insurrection was still expected every night, the lord mayor published the following caution:

CITY OF DUBLIN.

Manion-house, 26th May, 1798.

A CAUTION,

Left the Innocent should suffer for the Guilty.

The lord mayor requests his fellow citizens to keep within their houses as much as possibly they can, suitable to their convenience, after sunset, in this time of peril, as the streets should be kept as clear as possible, should any tumult or rising to support rebellion be attempted, in order that the troops and artillery may act with full effect in case of any disturbance.

The lord mayor's servant acknowledged to his lordship, that he was at the head of a numerous body of servants, who were to have assassinated their masters; and that he and his party were to have murdered the lord mayor and his family, and two others of his servants, who had hesitated to join them; and that this atrocious deed was to have been the signal for the other servants in the vicinity to rise and commit similar enormities.

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Pursuant to a notice to the Roman catholics, inserted in the Dublin Journal of the twenty-fourth of May, an address, purporting to be that of the Roman catholics of Ireland, was presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, on the thirtieth of May, "expressing their firm attachment to his majesty's royal person, and the constitution, under which they have the happiness to live: That the share of political liberty, and the advantages which they possess under it, leave them

nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to induce them to look elsewhere, than to the tried benignity of their sovereign, and the unbiaffed determination of the legislature, as the source of future advantage; and they expressed their regret, that many of the lower order of their religious persuasion were engaged in unlawful associations and practices.”

This address was signed by four noblemen, some gentlemen of landed property, some respectable merchants, and by twenty-eight titular bishops. Had the latter, so early as the year 1793, informed government, which they might have done, having learned it in their confession boxes, that a conspiracy was at that time formed for subverting the constitution, they would have endeared themselves to the best; of kings, and to his government in England and Ireland. It may be said, that the secrecy required in the article of confession, raised insuperable obstacles to it. There is not a sentence in the scripture which gives the most remote sanction to the doctrines of confession and absolution, and the extraordinary superstructure raised on them, except that saying of our Saviour to his apostles, “Whosoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted to them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained.”

The Almighty thought proper, at one particular period, to make use of supernatural means, and to invest with extraordinary powers a certain set of men, whom he selected to dispel that darkness which invested [sic] the pagan world, and to work the salvation of his creatures; but that end being attained, it must be considered the highest arrogance in any christian pastor afterwards to claim a delegation from his Creator, and a right, to exercise those powers.

These doctrines were a device invented by the artful policy of the court of Rome, to gain an ascendancy for its members, wherever the Romish faith was professed; and it is most certain, that a set of men, in whom celibacy extinguishes all social affections, who are insulated in society,

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and whose primary object therefore is the aggrandizement of their own order, must have very great influence in society, when they can extract from their communicants of every rank and degree, their most important secrets. The Romish priests, thus circumstanced, may be considered as in a state of ambush, in respect to the rest of the community.

From the various and fluctuating opinions delivered by the learned divines and schoolmen of the Romish church on this doctrine, it is very evident, that secrecy in confession is a positive human institution; and it is very extraordinary, that a set of men who profess to be of the religion of Christ, which is the bond of peace, and enjoins the practice of every moral virtue, should prescribe a rule under the article of confession, which sanctions the concealment of crimes, and by doing so, prevents the punishment, and consequently encourages the commission of them. This is contrary to the divine law; for any thing unworthy of the Deity cannot be true, and whatever is repugnant to his attributes of wisdom, justice and mercy, must be false.

St. Paul tells us, “That our Saviour was all things to all men, that he might by all means save some.”\* But a priest is prohibited from disclosing a secret, on which the lives of thousands, or the existence of an empire, might depend. Misprision of treason is a capital offence by the laws of every state in Europe; and yet the popish priests are compelled to be guilty of it, in consequence of their not being allowed to break the seal of confession.

By the divine law we are ordered to submit to the laws and ordinances of the state under which we live. “Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the superior power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive damnation to themselves.”† “Wherefore ye needs must be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake.”‡ “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto

governors, as unto them that are sent by him *for the punishment of evil doers*, and for the praise of them that do well.”||

\* I Corinthians x. ii. † Romans xiii. 1, 2. ‡Ibid. 5. || I Peter ii. 13, 14.

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Now the priest, who obtains a knowledge of crimes, should, according to the ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, and for the punishment of evil doers, disclose them to the civil magistrate; but in doing so, he is guilty of sacrilege, as confession is a sacrament in his church, according to the canons of it; and by concealing them, he violates both the divine and human law.

By the ancient canons, particularly by the council of Lateran, under pope Innocent III. in the year 1215, every confessor, who reveals a confession, shall be interdicted and imprisoned for life. Cardinal Tolet says, “that the seal of confession should not be broken, to save the lives of princes, or even the republic. And Henriquez adds, “not even to save the whole world, or to keep it from burning, or all the sacraments from demolition.” But cardinal Bellarmine\* says, “if treason be known to a priest in confession, he may give notice of it to a pious and catholic prince, but not to a heretic.” And father Suarez said, that that was acutely and prudently said by him.” This shews that it was founded in human policy, and framed as a system of terror to drive foreign princes within the pale of the Romish church. Father Binet differed from Bellarmine, and says, “it were better that all the princes in the world perished, than that the seal of confession were broken.”

Jaurigny and Balthazard Gerard, who murdered William I. prince of Orange, Clement the Dominican, who assassinated Henry III. of France, Chatel, Ravailac, and all the parricides of that period, went to confession before they committed those crimes. Strada, a jesuit, distinguished for his learning, tells us, “that Jaurigny expiated the guilt of that crime, before its perpetration, by receiving the sacrament from a Dominican friar.†”

Fanaticism was carried to such excess in that dark age, that confession was an additional engagement to the perpetration of crimes; for, it was held sacred, as confession is regarded as a sacrament in the Romish church.

In those counties in Ireland, where the rebellion broke out, the lower classes of people, some days previous to it, resorted in great numbers to the confession boxes of their priests.

\* One of their most learned divines. † Non ante facinus aggredi fuftinuit, quam expiatam ejus animam, apud Dominicanum sacerdotem, cœlesti pane, firmaverat.

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Soon after the assassination of Henry IV. and while the French were lamenting the death of that amiable monarch, the advocate-general Servin, of illustrious memory, required that the Jesuits should be obliged to sign the four following articles:

- I. That the council is superior to the pope.
- II. That the pope cannot deprive the king of any rights by excommunication.
- III. That the ecclesiastics are like any other people, entirely subject to the king.
- IV. That a priest, who by confession is apprized of a conspiracy against the king, or the state, should reveal it to a magistrate.

The parliament passed an arret, laying the same injunction on the jesuits; but the court of Rome was at that time so powerful, and that of France so weak, that the arret was disregarded.

It is worth notice, that the court of Rome, which would not suffer a conspiracy against the life of a sovereign to be revealed in confession, ordered confessors to inform the inquisition, in every

influence, where a female should accuse another priest of having seduced, or attempted to seduce her. This revelation was ordered by Paul IV. Pius IV. Clement VIII. and Gregory XV.

Some of the most learned divines of the Romish church have specified certain cases in which confession might be revealed; and others have contended, that it might be disclosed in every influence, with the consent of the penitent.

This horrible absurdity is one of the unhappy consequences of the constant struggle, which has subsisted for ages between the ecclesiastical and civil power,\* and which has been the source of inextricable error; for mankind have been suspended between the crimes of sacrilege and high treason; and the distinctions of right and wrong have been buried in a chaos, from which they are not yet emerged.

To return. The roads leading to the metropolis, were so much obstructed by the rebels, that no mail-coach arrived there from the twenty-fourth of May until the thirty-first, when the spirited and gallant Sir James Duff struck terror into the rebels, by the defeat which he gave them on the

\* Fortunately avoided by the English constitution.

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curragh of Kildare, by which, he opened a free intercourse between Dublin and the southern parts of the kingdom; but it should not be forgotten, that general Campbell, by his good sense and spirited exertions in the vicinity of Athy, Narraghmore, and Ballytore, contributed materially to effect this.

As the disaffected in the metropolis were disappointed in their expectations of raising an insurrection there, numbers of them left it at different times, and displayed their zeal in the cause of the union, by joining rebel encampments in the country.

On the twelfth and thirteenth of June, a great many servants and mechanics, and other persons of various description, suddenly disappeared in Dublin, and the neighbourhood of Blackrock; and it was observable, that the same thing took place, when the rebels were about to make any great effort in Wexford, Wicklow or Kildare.

The loyalty, magnanimity, and firmness, of the corporation of Dublin, in the course of the conspiracy and rebellion, should never be forgotten. They raised four regiments of yeomanry, with uncommon celerity; and it is well known, that the indefatigable exertions of those brave corps preserved the metropolis from destruction. The vigilance and activity of the corporation in enforcing the execution of the laws were such, as to supersede the necessity of proclaiming the city, till the nineteenth day of May; and many counties claimed the protection of the insurrection law, two years before that period.

#### BATTLE OF TARA.\*

I already mentioned the barbarous outrages committed by the rebels in Dunboyne and Dunshaughlin; from whence, having proceeded towards Tara, in the county of Meath, most of the farmers and labourers of the county through which they passed, flocked to their standard; and in short, the mass of the people in the county of Meath, and in that part of the county of Dublin bordering on it, were in a state of insurrection, and plundered every house in the country, which happened not to have been well guarded, of provisions, wines, spirits, bed cloaths, wearing apparel and furniture. As there were no military

\* Eighteen miles to the north of Dublin, and in the county of Meath.

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in the country, and as the officers of the yeomen corps perceived that their safety depended on the concentration of their forces, they, by mutual and immediate communication, adopted measures for that purpose. The corps of lord Fingal and captain Gorges performed that service with great activity and vigilance.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, the officers of the Navan cavalry, John Prefton, esquire, captain, Philip Barry, lieutenant, wrote a letter to the officer commanding the garrison at Kells, to request that he would send them such troops as he could spare for their protection; as a private of captain Gorges's yeomanry had arrived there, and informed them of the atrocities committed at Dunboyne and Dunfhaughlin; and that the rebels had planted the tree of liberty at the latter.

Captain Molloy, who commanded at Kells, on receiving that intelligence, marched the yeomen cavalry and infantry of that town, to relieve them; but finding on his arrival there, that the town was not immediately threatened with an attack, he returned to Kells for the protection of its inhabitants, and of a large depot of ammunition in that town, which lay exposed in his absence.

It was then determined, that the Kells cavalry, with a detachment of the Navan troop, should proceed towards Dunfhaughlin, and reconnoitre the enemy; and they having discovered that the masses of the people were in a state of insurrection, and were committing various enormities, Mr. Barry, lieutenant of the latter, wrote the following letter to captain Molloy, at Kells:

“Sir,

“Prepare your yeomanry immediately, as an insurrection has appeared from Dublin to Dunfhaughlin, and numbers have been murdered. Communicate this to all the other officers.”

In consequence of this, captain Molloy apprized the different yeomen officers of these alarming circumstances; and recommended to them to be in readiness. Captain Prefton, commanding the Navan cavalry, having been informed that the Royal Fencibles were to be in Navan on the night of the twenty-fifth of May, on their route to Dublin, resolved to join them, in hopes of being able to obtain their co-operation in attacking next day the rebels, whom he had reconnoitred in great force, at Dunfhaughlin; and they having complied, and all the yeomanry in

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the adjacent country having joined them, they proceeded at break of day, on the morning of the twenty-sixth of May, from Navan, to attack the enemy at Dunfhaughlin.

On their arrival there, they found that the rebels had changed their position; and as they could not learn whither they had gone, the Royal Fencibles, having resolved to quit them, set out for Dublin, and the yeomanry determined to retire to their respective homes, which would have been fatal to the whole country, as the rebels would have spread universal desolation.

He then followed the Royal Fencibles, who had proceeded two miles on their march, and informed the commanding officer that he would engage to find out the rebels in two hours, if he would consent to stay; but having refused to comply, he informed him, that he would proceed to Dublin, and obtain an order from the lord lieutenant for him to return, before he could proceed half way on his march; on which he consented to return, and gave him two hundred and ten men, and one battalion gun, the whole commanded by captain Blanch; and they were joined by the yeomanry, commanded by lord Fingal and captain Prefton.

After going some time in quest of the rebels, they found them very strongly posted on Tara-hill, where they had been four hours, and were about four thousand in number; and the country people were flocking to them in great multitudes from every quarter. They plundered the houses in all the adjacent country of provisions of every kind, and were proceeding to cook their victuals, having lighted near forty fires. They hoisted white flags in their camp. The hill of Tara

is very steep, and the upper part is surrounded by three circular Danish forts, with ramparts and fosses; and on the top lies the church-yard, surrounded with a wall, which the rebels regarded as their citadel, and considered as impregnable.

The king's troops, including the yeomanry, might have amounted to about four hundred. As soon as the rebels perceived them, they put their hats on the tops of their pikes, sent forth some dreadful yells, and at the same time began to jump, and put themselves in various singular attitudes, as if bidding defiance to their adversaries. They then began to advance, firing at the same time, but in an irregular manner.

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Our line of infantry advanced with the greatest coolness, and did not fire a shot until they were within fifty yards of them. One part of the cavalry, commanded by Lord Fingal, were ordered to the right, the other to the left, to prevent our line from being outflanked, which the enemy endeavoured to accomplish. The rebels made three desperate onsets, and in the last laid hold of the cannon; but the officer, who commanded the gun, having laid the match to it, before they could completely surround it, protruded ten or twelve of the assailants, and dispersed the remainder. The Royal Fencibles preserved their line, and fired with as much coolness as if they had been exercising on a field day.

They at length routed the rebels, who fled in all directions, after having lost about four hundred in killed\* and wounded. In their flight, they threw away their arms and ammunition, and every thing that could encumber them. We took three hundred horses, all their provisions, arms, ammunition and baggage, and eight of the Royal Fencibles whom they had taken prisoners two days before, and whom they employed to drill them.

It was much to be lamented, that the brave Royal Fencibles lost twenty-six men in killed and wounded; and the Upper Kells infantry had one killed, and five wounded.

The king's troops would have remained on the field all night, but that they had not a single cartridge left, either for the gun or the small arms: The prisoners, of whom they took a good many, informed our officers, that their intention was, to have proceeded that night to plunder Navan, and then Kells, where there was a great quantity of ammunition, and little or no force to protect it; and that when they had succeeded, they expected, according to a preconcerted plan, to have been joined by a great number of insurgents from Meath, Westmeath, Louth, Monaghan and Cavan, and to have released all the prisoners confined in Trim, where they would not have met with any opposition.

So general an insurrection might have been fatal to the kingdom, for the rebellion in Wexford and Kildare was raging with inextinguishable fury: It was still destructive in Wicklow and Carlow, and the masses of the people, in many parts of Leinster and Munster, were on the point of rising.

\* In their pockets, popish prayer books, beads, rosaries, crucifixes, pious ejaculations to our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, and republican songs were found, and scapulars on the bodies of many of them.

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The garrison of Dublin was so weak, and so much exhausted by fatigue in the severe duty which they underwent, in endeavouring to prevent its disaffected inhabitants from rising, that they could not send any troops to the adjacent country.

Part of the rebels who fled from Tara, retired to the bogs of Meath and Kildare, where they continued for three weeks to plunder and desolate the surrounding country.

The earl of Fingal, who commanded the yeomanry in this action, shewed great spirit and courage in it; for which, and his noted loyalty and zeal in the service of his king and country, during the progress of the conspiracy and rebellion, he became so obnoxious to the disaffected in the county of Meath, that it was resolved to cut him off; and his assassination was to have been a signal for a general massacre of all the loyalists in that county.

I think it right also to say, that captain Molloy, who commanded the yeomen infantry, under lord Fingal, displayed the most steady and deliberate valour; and that the officers and privates under him fought with the coolness of veterans.

On the fourth of June, lord Edward Fitzgerald died in the gaol of Newgate. During his confinement he often enquired, with apparent solicitude, of Mr. Gregg the gaoler, and those persons who attended him, of the state of the metropolis, and the kingdom in general. Any extraordinary noise which he happened to hear, he supposed to be occasioned by the explosion of that conspiracy which he had planned.

As the execution of Clinch on the second day of June, attended by a numerous body of troops, and a vast concourse of people, occasioned much noise in the metropolis, he anxiously enquired the cause of it; and having been informed, it affected him so much, as almost to put him into a state of derangement. Lady Louisa Conolly, his aunt, attended by the earl of Clare, visited him the day before his death, but he was completely delirious. A person who was present informed me, that it was a most affecting scene, as the degraded and deplorable state to which his crimes and misfortunes had reduced him, made a very deep impression on that very amiable and respectable lady.

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

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army, he was considered a man of honour and humanity, and was much esteemed by his brother officers for his frankness, courage, and good nature; qualities, which he was supposed to possess in a very high degree. After the war he retired on the half-pay list; but having again entered into the service, he obtained the majority of the 54th regiment, quartered at St. John's, New Brunswick, on the bay of Fundy, and joined it in May, 1788.

The following adventure is a strong proof of that active mind and enterprising spirit which he displayed on all occasions: He set out from Frederick-town on the river St. John's for Quebeck, in the winter of 1788, through woods and deserts, which had never before been traversed by any European; and without any other attendant than captain Brifbane of his regiment, a guide, and his own servant, who was a negro. From the great depth of snow, they were obliged to use snow shoes, and they had no other provisions but what they carried on a sledge, which lord Edward drew in his turn. This journey, which was some hundred miles, took them many weeks to perform.

In the month of November, 1791, the regiment landed at Portsmouth, where lord Edward received a letter from lieutenant-colonel Bruce of the same corps, from Naples, acquainting him, that he was in a rapid consumption, and advising him to take proper measures for succeeding him: But as his lordship and his family were at that time in opposition in parliament, he would not solicit a favour from government; but at the same time expected that the commission would have been given to him without felicitation, though he had many competitors of longer standing.

On hearing that colonel Sturt succeeded to the commission, lord Edward, fumed with disappointment, and fired with indignation, repaired to Paris the latter end of the year 1791, or the beginning of the year 1792, and became, from disgust, an enthusiastic admirer of the

extravagant political theories of the French, which were repugnant to, and subversive of the glorious constitution under which he lived, but of whose defects he pretended to be a reformist; and having manifested these principles without reserve, his majesty thought proper to strike his name out of the list of the army; but allowed him at the same time to sell his commission.

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He became so great a devotee to French principles, that he married a little French woman, whose birth and origin\* were unknown, except by conjecture, and who had nothing to recommend her to him, but the extravagance and malignity of her republican principles.

The fate of lord Edward affords a strong and instructive lesson to such gentlemen as oppose the crown, from motives of disgust and disappointed ambition, not to exceed the bounds of moderation; for a person, enflamed and blinded by repentment, may, from an insatiable desire to gratify it, gradually sink into a dereliction of every religious, moral, and political duty; and a vehement reformist is often an incipient traitor.

“Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.”

The reader may form some idea of the persecution of the protestant clergy in the archdiocese of Dublin, from Appendix, No. XV.

The reader will find the origin and progress of the conspiracy in the county of Carlow, in Appendix, No. XI.

#### REBELLION IN THE COUNTY OF WICKLOW. §

Previous to the introduction of the principles of the united Irishmen into it, in the year 1796, it was the most peaceable and amenable to the laws, of any county in the kingdom; and the active and unabating industry of its inhabitants, had improved it so much, that its appearance was entirely changed within the last twenty years.

Religious animosities between protestants and papists were at an end, or at least were dormant; and tithes were not complained of as a grievance. The gentlemen of the country resided on their estates; employed great numbers in building, planting, and agricultural improvements; maintained social order, and gave energy to the execution of the laws. The farmers followed the example of their landlords, meliorated the state of their arable lands, and, in general, built good and commodious houses.

The labourers, who had constant employment, received as wages ten pence a day in the summer, and eight pence in the winter; and paid but

\* She was supposed to be the natural daughter of the duke of Orleans, by madam Genlis.

§ Plate 1. 8.

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two guineas a year for a cottage and an acre of land; but in some places their wages were higher.

In the parish of Rathdrum, twenty good slated houses were built within a few years, with suitable offices, fit for gentlemen of large fortune; and many others on a smaller scale, but neat and commodious.

Most of these buildings have been destroyed; every thing that art could accomplish for the happiness of man has been annihilated; and all progressive industry has been suspended by the late rebellion, promoted by the united Irishmen.

For some weeks previous to the breaking-out of the rebellion, the magistrates of the county of Wicklow met almost every week, for the purpose of preventing, if possible, the explosion so much dreaded.

Every means were used to call the lower classes of people to a sense of their duty, and a submission to the laws. Friendly exhortations, and promises of protection, were for a long time resorted to; but they were treated with derision. Threats were then used, with no better effect. The magistrates then had recourse to rewards for publick or private information of seditious meetings, and concealed arms; however, friendly and conciliating admonitions were still continued. The resolutions of the magistrates, containing pathetick exhortations, and threats, and rewards, were printed and circulated through the country; but the minds of the people had drunk too deep of the intoxicating poison of French republicanism, sublimated by fanaticism, that no antidote could counteract its baneful influence.

I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XVI, 1. for part of a pathetick address, published by the magistrates, on the third of April, 1798; when finding that mild and conciliatory measures were disregarded, they were driven to the necessity of proclaiming the whole county. The upper and lower half barony of Talbotstown was so much disturbed, that it was proclaimed the tenth of November, 1797.

The first seeds of disaffection sown in the county of Wicklow were by a party of defenders, who had been hunted out of the county of Louth by the Speaker, in the year 1792; and were employed as labourers in the mines of Messrs. Camacs, at Ballymurtagh.

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Those miscreants, with their most zealous exertions, could not propagate defenderism any farther than the district in which they lived; and it was not accompanied with any acts of violence or outrage. All the efforts of the united Irishmen to make the people of the county of Wicklow join in their rebellious designs, proved unavailing, till they persuaded the Popish clergy to co-operate with them for that purpose; which took place in the year 1796, as stated in the report of the secret committee, on the evidence of doctor M'Nevin, a Roman catholic, and one of the leaders in the rebellion.

A loyal papist, who was tenant to captain King, of Rathdrum, informed his landlord, that he had been pressed by a neighbour to take the united Irishmen's oath, and threatened, if he refused, or delayed to comply, with the total destruction of him and his family; but he peremptorily refused, having assigned as a reason, that he had taken the oath of allegiance. This objection was laughed at by his pretended friend, who assured him, that it had been decided, and declared, by their clergy, that the oath of allegiance, and all other oaths prescribed by law, were to be considered as compulsory, and therefore not binding; and that none but those which were voluntarily taken, imposed any obligation on consciences.\* He at the same time recommended to him, to consult father C. a priest, on the subject; and having asked him, whether it was sinful to take the united Irishman's oath, after having taken the oath of allegiance? he assured him, that it was no sin. This man, having been informed that his life would be in imminent danger, unless he joined the united party, as he was told that a resolution had passed at one of their meetings, that such persons as refused to do so should be put to death, told his landlord captain King of what had passed; and by his advice, he asked father C. and two more priests, who happened to be in his company, whether a person could get absolution in their church, for having deliberately killed a heretic, or one who differed from them in religious tenets? The answer of the priests, which was evasive and equivocal, shocked him so much, that he resolved to become a protestant; and he and all his family have continued to go to church ever since the rebellion.

\* See the council of Lateran, pages 10, 11, and the opinions of doctor Burke, and the cardinal Legate, on such an oath, pages 39, 40.

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This man being satisfied that papists, under priests influence, regarded the oath of allegiance as not binding, suggested to his landlord, captain King, the following test oath, and recommended that it might be proposed to the Cronebane corps of yeomen; and assured him, that numbers of them, who were disaffected, would refuse to take it.

“I ——, do in the presence of my neighbours, solemnly swear by the contents of this book, containing the holy gospel of Christ, that I have not joined, nor in any manner entered into, any society, or association of persons, styling themselves united Irishmen, or any other seditious society or association whatsoever, or taken any oath to keep the secrets of any such society: And that I will not join, nor enter into, any such society, or take any oath to the prejudice of his majesty king George III. or contrary to the existing laws, or constitution of this kingdom of Ireland. And all this I swear, freely and voluntarily, without any mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever.

“So help me God.”

The fact turned out as predicted; forty-four of that corps who were deeply disaffected, refused to take the oath, which a priest of the name of Meagher, pronounced to be blasphemous, when it was proposed for his consideration; though he would allow his flock to take the oath of allegiance, or any other prescribed by law.

This priest declared that he had lost all influence over his congregation ever since the introduction of French principles; and yet, when a search for arms was about to be made, he gave notice to them to come in and take the oath of allegiance, which was immediately and implicitly obeyed by all his parishioners.

It was universally believed that he did so from an idea that the taking that oath would supersede the necessity of searching for arms, and throw a veil over the malignant designs of the united Irishmen. Captain Mills, who commanded the Cronebane corps, disarmed the forty-four disaffected members, and their places were supplied by loyal men.

This test oath, and the occasion of framing it, having been mentioned in the Dublin Journal, was adopted by the officers of many other corps in the counties of Wicklow, Dublin, and Wexford, by whom it was proposed to be taken; and it produced universally the same effect, as almost the whole of the papish yeomen refused to take it, and were therefore dismissed; which tended much to strengthen the cause of loyalty;

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as some corps were purged of many traitors by it. Fourteen Roman catholics of the Coolgreany corps, commanded by captain John Beaman, refused to take it, and were therefore dismissed.

In the Castletown corps, commanded by captain Grogan Knox, there were about fifty papists, and ten protestants. The captain intended to propose the above test oath to be taken, but was dissuaded by his two lieutenants, Sir Thomas Emond and Laurence Doyle, both papists; but as the disaffection of the papish members were very strongly suspected, the gentlemen of the country insisted on having them dismissed, which was very fortunate, as many of them were afterwards hanged, or shot, for having been concerned in the rebellion.

There was very great disaffection in the papish yeomen of Bray. In short, there appeared a spirit of disaffection among the papish yeomen of every corps in the county of Wicklow. Captain Hume's corps consisted of protestants, and were of course loyal.

William Byrne of Ballymanus, a rebel captain, and a member of the Wicklow yeomanry, having refused to take the oath, quitted it. He was afterwards hanged, for having been an active rebel leader.

Some time previous to the rebellion, and during its existence, many protestants were murdered with horrid circumstances of barbarity. The magistrates and gentry of the country, by frequent addresses, endeavoured to recal the people to a sense of their duty; and offered large rewards for the discovery of such atrocities.

Captain King having sent one of those papers to father C—— to be read from the altar; he, in answer, said, “That he had received a paper from him, which contained rewards for the discovery of crimes, and that he was sure it was well intended. That our Saviour was betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, but he hoped that none of his parishioners would act the part of Judas.”

For some months previous to the rebellion, the priests strongly inculcated the necessity of sobriety and peaceable demeanour,\* to lull the magistrates and government, and to prevent the rebels from betraying their secrets, which had such immediate and universal effect, that the whiskey houses were deserted, and those who had been the most notorious drunkards, could not by any persuasion be induced to drink any spirits, and

\* This appeared to have been the main object of the defenders, as appeared in their prospectus found on Sharky at Drumbanagher, so early as the year 1789. See Appendix, No. II.

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obtained from broils and quarrels, and particularly from seditious language in any mixed assemblies.

Such instructions, penned with energy and elegance, were printed and circulated among the people, which rapidly produced an apparent reformation in their manners, to the great surprize of those who were ignorant of the secret motives which occasioned it.

Very early in the rebellion, two men of the names of Doyle and Lancafter, were found in arms near Glenmalier. The former, a papist, was condemned to die; but it appearing that he was more than once instrumental in saving the life of Lancafter, who was a loyal man, and had been compelled to join the rebels, he was pardoned at the intercession of captain King and Isaac Eccles, esquire, two magistrates. When the mitigation in his sentence was communicated to him, he related several circumstances concerning the rebellion; among others, that he believed the priests promoted the rebellion to the utmost of their power, and that twenty-eight of them were in the rebel army at the camp of Vinegar-hill.

In fact, the war there was purely religious; for there was no other motive to actuate the minds of the people, except the hope of plunder, which was held out as an additional encouragement.

The old obsolete popish holydays were revived, in order to give the seditious more frequent opportunities of assembling, which could have proceeded only from the clergy, who attended on those days.

When the united Irishmen had diffused their principles among the minds of the people, their leaders tried many devices to ascertain the strength and numbers of the party, and at the same time to inflame their resentment against the protestants of the established church, whose loyalty was unquestionable. For that purpose, they propagated reports, “That the Roman catholics were to be murdered on a particular night, by the yeomen and loyalists.”\* This afforded a plausible pretext to the disaffected to assemble in their respective districts, to avoid or oppose the intended massacre.

At other times it was said, that the orangemen harboured that barbarous design, though at that time the very name of orangeman was unknown

\* See similar reports propagated in the rebellion of 1689, p.74 and 75.

there. The first meeting of that kind took place the eleventh of October, and was general in the country, from Arklow to Bray, taking in the whole of the county east of the mountains.

On the tenth of October, a man who assumed the name of James Collins, and said he was the fervant of captain King, perambulated a great part of the county on horseback, and propagated a report, "That he had been employed three days in giving notice to all the orangemen in it, to meet the Rathdrum troop (all of whom but four were orangemen,) the next night, to begin the massacre of the Roman catholicks; and the reason he assigned was, that all the yeomanry corps were to be ordered to march to Bantry bay, and that they were to perform that office before they set out."

He declared, "That though he was fervant to that loyal gentleman, captain King, he was a warm friend to the Roman catholicks, and for that reason he wished to put them on their guard."

This person having been well described, captain King traced him to the mines of Ballymurtagh, where he was employed by the Messrs. Camacs; and he discovered also, that his name was James McQuillan, a native of the county of Louth, where he had been active among the defenders.

On being committed to gaol, he acknowledged, "That at a meeting of the Ballymurtagh men, (many of whom had been defenders,) it was agreed, that he should undertake his mission, and propagate the report about the designs of the orangemen; that he went by the sea-side to Dublin, and returned by another road to make the diffemination of it more general."

He assumed the name of Collins, because several persons of that name were in the service of captain King.

The rifting and assembling of the people was preconcerted, and McQuillan's mission was merely to give them notice on what night it was to take place.

Captain King's name was much made use of to have him affaffinated, as he was very active as a magistrate, and a yeoman officer, in checking the progress of rebellion; for which purpose he was one of the first persons marked as an object of rebel vengeance in the Union Star.\*

\* See an account of it in page 187.

The informations relative to McQuillan are lodged in the clerk of the crown's office.

Many other agents were employed to spread such reports in the county of Wicklow.

On the seventh of August 1797, William McDaniel of Crownaroe, announced publicly at Humewood, and in other parts of the county, that many of the protestant members of captain Hume's corps,\* in which there was but one Roman catholick, took a solemn oath, to burn all the Roman catholick houses in the county, and to shoot their inmates, and that they would soon swim in Catholick blood. This ruffian was taken up, convicted of that crime at the assizes, and imprisoned six months.

A female vagrant went about the country near West-Afton, spreading a report, with active malignity, "That Mr. Acton, a gentleman of good landed property, said, that an order had been received from government, that the protestants should put all the Roman catholicks to death; and that he expressed concern at it, to some of the lower classes of that persuasion." That gentleman offered a reward for the discovery of that wretch, but he could not obtain it..

The conduct of the united Irifhmen in the county of Wicklow, previous to the rebellion, was exactly fimilar to what took place in every other part of the kingdom; except that they murdered but few perfons in plundering houfes of arms.

The firft perfon affaffinated in it, was an inoffenfive old gentleman of the name of Nickfon, on the feventh of November, 1797.

When the rebels went to his houfe for arms, he opened the door himfelf, informed them, that they fhould have what arms he had, and faid, they fhould alfo have fomething to drink, if they went in.

One in the rear of the party cried out, “Does the old rafcal prate? No. 4, fhoot him directly.” On which. No. 4 fleeped forward, and fhoot him through the body.

The popifh multitude in Wicklow, as well as in moft other counties, previous to the rebellion, repaired to the magiftrates, fwore oaths of allegiance, and obtained protections, with no other view but to deceive them and the government.

\* It had not a fingle united Irifhman in it.

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Even fo late as the twentieth of May, great numbers of people went to Arklow, took oaths of allegiance, and furrendered pikes to the reverend Mr. Bayly of Lamberton, a magiftrate; but for no other purpofe than to delude the government and the loyal fubjects.

Had protections been withheld till the people had furrendered their arms, and had fncwn fome figns of returning obedience, this praftice would have been attended with the beft efleds; but the general officers in their refpective diftricts granted them indifcriminately, and without any condition. An artful rebel has obtained two protections for himfelf, from two different quarters, and had given one of them to a neighbour, who affumed his name.

Dwyer, the noted rebel leader, more cruel than Hackett or Holt, and who has been the occafion of many atrocious murders near Baltinglafs, obtained a protection from general Moore, in the year 1798, and remained fome time in his camp, corrupting his foldiers; and yet for near two years he bids defiance to the king’s troops, and keeps the inhabitants of a large tract of the county of Wicklow in terror and difmay.

Four deferters from the Antrim militia, and another rebel, were taken at their harbour, at Aughavanagh, with their arms, and carried to the general’s camp; but having pretended that they were on their way to furrender, he gave them protections, and difcharged them. They were afterwards (except one who was fhoot,) the moft defperate robbing party in the country.

It is not to be fuppofed that the general would have treated them with fuch lenity, had he known that they were deferters. Had he confulted the yeomen, or the country gentlemen of the diftrict, he could not have been deceived; but at that time it was the fafhion to abufe the yeomanry, and to treat the opinion of the country gentlemen with contempt, which was fatal to many parts of that county.

From the following extract, taken from informations fworn before the reverend Edward Bayly, of Lamberton, in that county, the reader may judge of the defigns of the rebels. Simon Beahy fwore the twenty-fifth of May, 1798, that the object of the rebels was, to affift the French, when they came to conquer the kingdom.

Owen Redmond depofed the twenty-third of May, that he was fworn to join the French, and affift them, and to kill all thofe who would not join them.

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John Hall depofed the fame, the twenty-third of May.

John Bryan made the fame depofition, the twenty-feventh of May.

Patrick Myrna fwore the fame the twenty-third of May. Michael Stafford fwore the twenty-third of May, that all thofe who were not united would be murdered.

Terence Kinfley fwore, the twenty-third of May, that the united Irifhmen were to rife in rebellion againft the king and his government, and to deftroy all perfons who were not of the popifh religion.\*

I have feen a great number of informations of the fame tenor, fworn by repentant rebels.

I did not hear of a fingle inftance of difaffection among the proteftant yeomen in the county of Wicklow,† or that a perfon of that perfuafion was concerned in the confpiracy or rebellion.

Part of the Arklow corps quartered at Gorey, patrolled the country on the night of the twenty-feventh of May, and in doing fo, took up a wounded rebel, whofe life they promifed to fpare, if he would difclofe what he knew of the united bufinefs; on which he freely and voluntarily confeffed, before many refpettable witneffes, “That he had been fworn by his prieft, to rife againft the government, and to kill all the hereticks.”

Many rebels in the county of Wicklow enlisted in the king’s troops, while they were quartered there, merely for the purpofe of obtaining arms and ammunition, and a knowledge of military difcipline. On the night of the twenty-firft of September, twenty-two of the king’s county militia, who had practifed this bafe artifice, deferted with their arms and ammunition. Some yeomen cavalry were fent in purfuit of them, but the deferters having lain in wait, fired on them when they were in a deep road, with high hedges on each fide, killed two of them, and wounded fome more. This method was univerfally adopted by the rebels, for the above purpofes, and to deduce the king’s troops from their allegiance.

On the thirteenth of May, 1798, the magiftrates and yeomen officers for fome miles round Baltinglafs, publifhed | exhortations to the lower clafs of

\* See Appendix, No. XVI. a. † Except Holt, a low fellow, without any kind of principle.

‡ Plate I. 8.

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people, recommending to them to furrender their arms, to make full confeffions of their guilt, to fwear oaths of allegiance, and to receive protections; and vaft multitudes of them continued to do fo, from morning till night, from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth of May; and yet, on the morning of that day, the infurrection of the lower clafs of people was general; and they were all armed with pikes or mufkets, though, with their ufual diffimulation, they had for fome days before put on the femblance of contrition.

On the nineteenth of May, a decent looking man went through the country contiguous to Baltinglafs, exhorting the people to be in readinefs to rife at a moment’s warning, as no excufe would be taken.

On the morning of the twenty-third of May, the following notice was put under the door of a yeoman of captain Saunders’s corps:

“This is to give you notice, that if you do not do as you are defired to do, you will be left defolate: and further, if you let any bad perfons know, you will be burnt in your houfe.”

Captain Saunders of the Saunders-grove corps, having received a hint that fome of its members were deduced by the united Irifhmen, called a full parade of them on the twentieth of May, and exhorted them, if any of them had been unfortunately tempted to fwerve from their allegiance,

to acknowledge it to him either publicly or privately; but his address to them did not produce any effect.

Such of them as were disaffected, had resolved that evening to disclose their guilt to their captain, but that James Dunn, the corporal, who had seduced them, persuaded them to adhere to the united cause, and not to violate the oath of secrecy which they had taken. Full information having been received of the guilt of Dunn, he was taken up on the twenty-first of May, by the Wicklow militia, and on being arrested, he impeached some of the members of his own corps.

This discovery induced captain Saunders to call a full parade the twenty-second of May, when he announced it to his men, in presence of a party of the Wicklow militia, and the Dunlavin cavalry; and having desired three or four of the most guilty to come forward, no less than twenty of them, touched with the feelings of compunction, advanced, and confessed that they had been sworn. They were immediately conveyed as prisoners to Dunlavin, where many of them were shot on the morning of the twenty-fourth

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of May, when the general rising took place. There was much disaffection in the papist members of all the yeoman corps in that part of the country; but I could not hear of a single instance of treachery in a protestant. There was a conspiracy formed to murder captain Saunders; but this is not surprising, as all the protestant gentlemen of that county were to have been cut off by their papist servants or tenants. Thomas Kavanagh, a papist member of lord Aldborough's corps, was a leader of the rebels; and was afterwards hanged: and his head was amputated, and fixed on a may-pole at Baltinglass.

Mrs. Saunders, with heroic fortitude, remained at Saunders-grove, with her six children, during the whole of the rebellion, while the tempest howled around her; and, confiding in the fidelity of a few protestant yeomen, she bid defiance to many bands of traitors who often approached her house, which she humanely made the asylum of many loyal protestants, who narrowly escaped from the pikes of the affians in the adjacent country.

The rebels having assembled to the number of four or five hundred, near Stratford upon Slaney, entered that town in order to pillage it. While they were proceeding to do so, lieutenant Macaulay, commanding thirty of the Antrim militia, and cornet Love, with twenty of the ninth dragoons, attacked them; and at the same instant, captain Stratford appeared at the other end of the town with a detachment of his corps. They attacked the rebels at the same time, and completely routed them, having killed between one and two hundred; and many were wounded, who made their escape. Thomas Kavanagh, who headed the rebels on that occasion, offered to mount guard next day at Baltinglass, in order to betray it to the rebels, which he would have done, but that his treachery was discovered.

Previous to relating the battle of Newtown-mount-kennedy, I shall give an account of the progress of the rebellion in the adjacent country, and of the circumstances which immediately preceded it.

In the spring and summer of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, strong symptoms of disaffection began to appear in it, such as cutting down trees to make pike handles, founding of horns, meetings of the people on moon-light [sic] nights for the purpose of exercising, and firing shots to intimidate and keep within their houses the loyal inhabitants. Some vigilant and intelligent magistrates, seeing that nothing but active and seasonable exertions could save the county from destruction, had the landholders

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principal inhabitants convened, to take its alarming state into consideration. Notwithstanding the most indubitable proofs that treason fermented, and had made a considerable progress in the country, which was evinced by the facts which I have stated, many noblemen and gentlemen were so incredulous, in consequence of the artful conduct, and gross misrepresentation of the disaffected, and of the readiness of the multitude to take the oath of allegiance, as not to believe that they had treasonable designs, and for that reason, the meetings were frequently adjourned; and instead of adopting vigorous measures, the most friendly and pacific addresses to the people were published, inviting them to respect the laws, and to return to a sense of their duty.

The committees of the united Irishmen regarded their patience and forbearance, as cowardice and pusillanimity; and the lower classes of people became daring and insolent, pulling down the pacific resolutions of the county meetings; and denouncing vengeance against such magistrates and loyal subjects, as expressed a disapprobation of their seditious proceedings; or had taken an active part against them; and at length it became dangerous for persons of that description to traverse the country, for fear of being assassinated.

At last they were driven to the necessity of proclaiming the whole county, as the infection had spread very widely. Some parts of it had been proclaimed the tenth of November, 1797. The general meetings of the people, in their respective districts, on the eleventh of October, I have already mentioned. It had a most terrific appearance, in the country round Newtown-mount-kennedy. The people, in considerable numbers, headed by their captains, and variously armed, paraded there. On being interrogated by the gentlemen of the country, who remonstrated to them on the dangerous consequences of their conduct, they said, in excuse, that they assembled in defence of their persons and property, against the orangemen, who, they said, conspired against them; and were to rise and cut off every person of their persuasion without exception.

I have already mentioned, that such reports were framed for no other purpose, but to kindle an inextinguishable hatred in the Roman Catholics against the Protestants; and the effects of it appeared afterwards in the massacres which took place in the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, Meath, Dublin, and Kildare.

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Matters remained in that state, till the spring of 1798, when a paper containing the proceedings and resolutions of the county of Wicklow committee was obtained, and was afterwards proved upon oath before the secret committee of the house of lords, which shewed the extent and malignity of the conspiracy.

Government still desirous, if possible, to avoid harsh and coercive measures, and to induce the people to return to their duty and their allegiance by mild and conciliating means, lieutenant-general Craig, by their orders, issued a proclamation, dated the eleventh of May, 1798, for that purpose, which see in Appendix, No. XVI. 3 and major Hardy, a humane gentleman and a judicious officer, who then commanded in that county, used the most zealous endeavours to the same end.

Early in the month of May, as the country was in such an alarming state, that no loyal subjects could with safety remain in their houses, the yeomen of the district were ordered into garrison at Newtownmount-kennedy.

On Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May, a party consisting of ten of the Ancient British cavalry, commanded by lieutenant Edwards, and the same number of the Newtownmount-kennedy cavalry, under lieutenant Archer, were ordered to proceed to Roundwood, and to return by the Devil's-glynn, where the rebels were supposed to be encamped in considerable force; and they were to reconnoitre them, and to ascertain their numbers and their position. As they approached Roundwood, they attacked and cut off some small parties of the rebels.

Soon after they were informed, by express, that the rebels were proceeding to burn all the houses of the protestants, and that they had begun with that of Mr. Hugo,\* at Drummeen, about three miles off; the detachment arrived in time to save the dwelling-house, but they found the offices in flames. They attacked and routed the rebel party, who committed that atrocity, with considerable slaughter, and laid waste the village of Clohogue, in which they took refuge.

On the twenty-ninth of May, two dragoons, one a yeoman, the other an Ancient British fencible, were sent from Dublin, with an express to lord

\* He was lieutenant of the Wicklow cavalry, and was noted for his zeal, his activity and courage.

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Rofsmore, at Newtownmount-kennedy, who was to forward it to Wicklow. When they were within two miles of Newtownmount-kennedy, some rebels, who lined the hedges, fired on them, and killed the yeoman who carried the express; and yet his comrade, though the traitors continued to fire at him, dismounted, and with great coolness took the express out of his pocket, and delivered it, all covered with the blood of the deceased, to lord Rofsmore.

For some days previous to the thirtieth of May, immense numbers of rebels were seen on the mountains which overlook the village of Newtownmount-kennedy, which gave strong reasons for suspecting that they meant to attack it.

About one o'clock, on the morning of that day, the town was assaulted by about one thousand of them, variously armed, who began by shouting and huzzaing for Napper Tandy, and then by setting fire to several houses, particularly to the liable of the Ancient Britons; but very fortunately the horses had been removed the preceding day.

On their entering the town, they were opposed by the small garrison in it, consisting of forty Ancient Britons, twenty of the Antrim militia, forty of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, and forty dismounted men, who had only received their arms the preceding day.

Nothing could exceed the valour of this small force, in repelling so sudden and violent an attack. In the first onset, captain Burgany of the Ancient Britons fell, covered with shot and with pike wounds. Captain Gore of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, who bravely led the attack, was dismounted, and received some dangerous pike wounds. Mr. Graves Archer, lieutenant of that corps, was severely wounded in the charge, and his horse was killed; and several of the yeomen received flight wounds.

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, the rebels were routed and pursued with much slaughter, the pursuit having continued for some hours; and the rebels, to facilitate their escape, dropped some hundred pikes in their flight.

The conduct of lieutenant Ferguson, and his detachment of the Antrim, was highly meritorious, not only for their courage and activity in the town, but in dislodging and dispersing a party of rebels, headed by one Maguire, a noted leader, who were too late for the attack on the

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village, but materially assisted in covering the routed rebels in their retreat.

Holt, a famous rebel chieftain, who commanded at the attack on Mr. Hugo's house, was to have assisted in the assault on Newtown-mountkennedy, with six hundred men; but could not arrive there before the main body was defeated.

The reader may conceive in what a dangerous and terrific state this country was in, on the breaking-out of the rebellion, from the following circumstance: Captain Beauman, who commanded the Goolgreany corps, was at Arklow,\* when that event took place; and though his

houfe was but five miles diftant, he did not venture to go to it, nor could he learn, what was going forward there for three weeks; fo completely was all communication cut off.

For fome months after the rebellion was faid to be extinguiſhed in the county of Wicklow, the rebels continued to commit the moſt flocking atrocities, plundering and burning the houfes of proteſtants, and murdering their inmates, though there were three camps ftationed there at that time, for the purpoſe of preventing the commiſſion of outrages.

In the pariſh of Donoughmore, twenty-two of the principal proteſtant houfes were burned, and no houfe of a Romanift, but one; and that, becauſe the woman of it lamented, that the houfe and property of her proteſtant landlord had been deſtroyed.

A hundred proteſtants of that pariſh fled for protection to Tullow,<sup>†</sup> Dunlavin, and Baltinglaſs;<sup>‡</sup> and were afraid to return to their reſpective homes, in confequence of the threats and denunciations of their popiſh neighbours.

All the proteſtant houfes at each fide of the road from Baltinglaſs to Hacketftown, from Hacketftown to Rathdrum, and from Rathdrum to Bleffington, were burnt; but the property of a Roman catholick did not receive the fmalleſt injury in that extenſive tract. On Wedneſday the twenty-fifth of July, they burned all the proteſtant houfes, fixty in number, between Rathvilly and Hacketftown. This defolating ſpirit was very much encouraged by the refuſal of the general officers to aſſiſt the civil; magiſtrates with troops to prevent it.

Plate II, I †Ibid. II. ‡Ibid.. I. 8.

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Mr. Hume, member for the county, made ſuch an application for general ——; but he openly and bluntly refuſed him, having faid, that ſuch outrages were occaſioned by the burning of houfes, by country gentlemen.

The rebels, finding that they ran no riſk of puniſhment, proceeded in large bands and with cool deliberation to lay wade extenſive tracts of country.

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XVI. 4, for ſome ſpecimens of their treafonable deſigns, of their deſtructive ſpirit, and of the cold-blooded murders which they committed.

About three o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, two yeomen patrolling near the meeting of the waters, a place between Arklow and Rathdrum, ſaw a well-dreſſed man, on a horſe covered with foam and ſweat, from fevere riding; they feized him, and demanded who he was, and whence he came. He answered, that he was a gentleman, and had been riding about for pleaſure, to ſee the beauties of the country. Having conducted him to Rathdrum, he was examined by the commanding officer there, but would not give an account of himſelf.

A young gentleman of Drogheda, a recruiting officer, who was preſent, recogniſed the priſoner, gave privately a brief hiftory of him to captain Giffard, and requeſted that he would keep it a profound ſecret.

At that inflant an alarm having been given, that the rebels were advancing, the garrifon got under arms, the cannon were drawn out, and the matches were lighted.

Captain Giffard ſhewed him theſe preparations: Told him, he knew that he was father Martin, a prieſt, of Drogheda: That he was acting as a ſpy: That unleſs he made a full confeſſion, he ſhould be put to death, as his life was forfeited by the laws of war: That if he complied, he ſhould be left at the diſpoſal of the viceroy, who was merciful; but if he heſitated, he ſhould be blown away at the mouth of a cannon.

He inſtantly dropped on his knees, begged to be taken into a private room, where, he faid, he would make a full and candid confeſſion.

At first he began to trifle; but the captain having mentioned some circumstances, which convinced the prisoner that he knew more of him than he supposed, he made the following full and unreserved confession upon oath, and afterwards signed it:

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“That his name was Martin, that he had been a friar of Drogheda, and that he recently officiated at Dunboyne: That he was early an united Irishman, and very active in the cause: That he preached up the massacre of the protestants at Dunboyne, which afterwards took place there: That he was in habits of intimacy with father Ledwich, parish priest of Rathfarnham, whose nephew (Ledwich) and Wade, he excited to rebellion, in consequence of which they were both hanged on the Queen’s-bridge: That he was now come down to promote the cause, and was in fear of Byrne and Holt, who were at the head of a large body of rebels in the mountains, between Rathdrum and Hacketstown: That he had fled the preceding night at the house of a priest at Roundwood.”

He also stated, “That there was a club of traitors at that time fitting in Dublin, and another in Drogheda,” most of whom have been since taken up, and punished. He said, “That a large sum of money had been levied on the Roman catholics in general, both clergy and laity, every person paying according to his wealth, some an hundred pounds, others one shilling: That he, though a poor priest, was rated at a guinea: That the money so levied, was to be applied to purchase arms and ammunition, and to reward their friends both in and out of parliament.”

The practice of putting red tape on the necks of popish children, a short time before the rebellion broke out, prevailed as much in the county of Wicklow as Wexford. It is certain, that the intent of it was, to distinguish the popish from the protestant children. The pretext was, to protect them from the effects of a contagious disorder which would soon appear in the country, and be fatal to many of its inhabitants; but experience has since taught us that it was to enable the rebels to discriminate protestants from popish children in the massacre which was intended of the former.

A court-martial was held at Arklow, the eighteenth of June, 1798, by orders of general Needham, for the trial of Matthew Waddock, a traitor, found in arms, and for being in the action of the ninth of June, at Arklow.

The prisoner acknowledged the crime, and that while he attended the rebel army, he considered as chief commanders in it, Anthony Perry of Inch, father Francis Kavenagh, parish priest of Gorey, father Roche of the same, Bernard Murray, apothecary, and Matthew D’Arcy, both of the same.

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James Munigan, a prisoner, taken in arms with Waddock, deposed that fathers Roche, Stafford, Kavanagh and Redmond,\* four priests, were always considered as commanders in the rebel army.

The death of captain Hume, member for the county of Wicklow, murdered by the rebels, happened in the following manner; which was proved on the trial of John Moore, the rebel who killed him:

John O’Neale swore, that the party of rebels to which he belonged, was closely pursued by the king’s troops, through Glenmalier, into Aughavanagh, where they saw different parties of the king’s troops in pursuit of them. They had but six horsemen of their party, three in red, and three in coloured clothes. Captain Hume, having mistaken them for a party of yeomen, advanced near them, and cried out, “Is there not enough to mind that position?” Conway, one of the rebels, asked him, Who he was to which he answered, “Captain of a corps of cavalry.” Conway then said, “Did you ever hear of the Ballynacrochin cavalry?” and then raising his firelock, missed

fire at him. On which Moore shot him, and mounted his horse, and Conway took his horse. This gentleman, who was universally and deservedly esteemed in his country, had displayed great courage and activity at the head of his corps, during the progress of the rebellion. This melancholy event happened in the month of October, 1798.

#### REBELLION IN THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD

The inhabitants of no part of Leinster enjoyed so equal a portion of social happiness, as those of the county of Wexford, which arose from the following causes: Many English families who settled there at different periods, but particularly in the last century, introduced that economy, industry, and cleanliness, which are peculiar to the British nation, but in which the native Irish are very deficient; and strong vestiges of those habits are still evident in the descendants of the British settlers. There are fewer absentee estates in Wexford than in most other counties, and more gentlemen resident in it, who maintain social order, and discharge the duties of hospitality, charity and humanity; and as the leaves of a tree enrich the soil which nourishes the parent trunk, so the rents of an estate should be expended in

\* The latter was hanged. He was coadjutor to father Kavenagh, parish priest of Gorey.

[A Map of part of the Counties of Carlow, Wexford, & Wicklow.]

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rewarding the labour of those, who, in producing them, contribute to the ease, the comfort, and convenience of the landlord. From its oblong and narrow form, and the fertility of its sea coast, it enjoys a much greater length of it, in proportion to its quantity of square acres, than any other county a circumstance favourable not only to commerce, but to agriculture, as the sea sand, and sea weed, form a very good manure for corn. It is abundantly supplied with fish and sea fowl. It is bisected by the river Slaney, which is navigable to Enniscorthy, fifteen miles from the sea: part of it is bounded on the west by the rivers Nore and Barrow, which unite a little above New Ross, and proceed in a very copious stream to Dunbrody, where being joined by the river Suir, they run in a south-east direction, and, passing by Passage and Duncannon fort, discharge themselves into the ocean at Hook tower.\*

The county of Wexford had been generally noted for the peaceable disposition of its inhabitants, and a chaste administration of justice, which might be justly imputed to the comfort, and the constant occupation, which its very extensive and flourishing agriculture affords to the farmers and the peasantry, and to the number of gentlemen who reside on their estates. While many counties in Ireland were disgraced by nocturnal robbery and assassination, committed by defenders and united Irishmen, for five years previous to 1797, it was the pride and the boast of the Wexford gentlemen, that their county remained in perfect tranquillity! But in the autumn and winter of the year 1797, and in the spring of the ensuing year, as there were well grounded suspicions that the minds of the people began to be infected by those baneful principles, which have since proved so fatal to the kingdom, that pikes had been manufactured, that clubs had been formed, in which illegal oaths had been administered, meetings of the magistrates were held in different parts of the county, to take into consideration the necessity of proclaiming those districts, where symptoms of disturbance had appeared.

From the beginning of the year 1797, it was perceived by some magistrates of discernment, that the lower classes of the people were very unwilling to pay their debts, or to fulfil any engagements: That they appeared furly when called on to do so and they were heard, when angry,

\* See Plate F, No. I. III. III.

† The only instance to the contrary that occurred there some years were the whiteboys in the year 1774, and the defenders who appeared there in 1793; but the latter were soon suppressed.

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or drunk, to hint on such occasions, that they “would soon have an opportunity of being revenged. They were seen to remain later than usual at fairs and markets, and in publick houses, and to confer together in whispers.

At a meeting of the magistrates held at Gorey, the twentieth day of November, 1797, such strong proofs appeared, that a spirit of disaffection had existed some time in certain districts, that nineteen parishes were proclaimed; which circumstance alarmed the priests of those parishes, and their congregations, as they found that the progress of their rebellious designs would be impeded, if the civil magistrate was empowered to act with additional energy under the insurrection law. They therefore assembled at their respective chapels, and in an address, which they universally adopted, besought the earl of Mountnorris to avert that measure, as it would cover them with a suspicion of disloyalty and disaffection, which they by no means merited: And as his lordship, and seven more magistrates of the county, spoke and voted against proclaiming those parishes, they entreated him and them, to meet them at their respective chapels, that they might take the oath of allegiance, to clear themselves from that imputation; and his lordship, and those magistrates, having accordingly attended them, they all, at their respective altars, swore an oath of allegiance, agreeable to a form previously agreed upon.\*

So deep was the disguise of the popish multitude, and their priests, that the protestant ministers, churchwardens, and parishioners of some parishes, were prevailed on by them, to sign certificates of their loyalty and peaceable deportment, in order to prevent the adoption of that salutary coercion, which would have checked their dangerous designs; and yet those very priests, and their flocks, displayed the most bitter and unrelenting enmity against those ministers† and their congregations, in the month of May, and hunted them like wild beasts.

At the meeting held at Gorey, eight magistrates, including Lord Mountnorris, voted and spoke vehemently against proclaiming the nineteen parishes, from a persuasion that the popish inhabitants and their priests were

\* See in appendix, No. XVII. the address to his lordship, and the oath of allegiance which they all adopted, and the names of the priests and their respective parishes.

† See in appendix, No. XVII. the certificates of some parishes, which I happened to obtain.

A map of the Southern part of the County of Wexford. [Folding map, facing p.321.]

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perfectly innocent; and yet they were as obnoxious to that ferocious and sanguinary spirit which broke forth in the month of May, as those who wished to enforce that measure.

The symptoms of rebellion were so evident and alarming in the month of April, that twenty-seven magistrates assembled at Enniscorthy, on the twenty-fifth of that month, and agreed that the whole county should be proclaimed, and it accordingly, took place on the twenty-seventh; but Mr. Joshua Pouden strenuously urged an exemption from its operation for that town, from a conviction of the loyalty of its inhabitants; and Mr. Alcock of Wilton, from the same motive, solicited a similar privilege for his tenants; though the sequel proved that they were deceived.

This procedure was adopted, in consequence of their having discovered that great quantities of pikes had been made, and of their having detected blacksmiths in the act of fabricating them.

Mr. Hawtrey White, captain of the Ballaghkeene yeomen cavalry, obtained the following information, and communicated it to government, fo early as the month of November, 1797: Their manner of affembling: Their frequent meetings: Their mode of collecting money in their refpective parifhes: That it was to be applied to the purpofe of purchafing arms and ammunition, and of feducing the military: That an attack on the city of Dublin was meditated: That the popifh priefts were deeply concerned in the rebellion; and that whenever it would break out, religion would have the chief influence.

Many other priefts and their congregations followed the example of thofe who took oaths of allegiance, on the twenty-fixth of November, 1797, having folicted the magiftrates to give them the fame opportunity of exculpating themfelves.

In the month of February, 1798, fome of the principal popifh farmers of the parifh of Kilrufti, folicted Charles Dawfon, efquire, of Charlesfort, near Ferns,\* a magiftrate, to attend them at their chapel for that purpofe; and he complied with their wifhes, on the enfuing Sunday, when he was affitted by the reverend Edanus Murphy, their parifh prieft, and his coadjutor. The latter in a long harangue from the altar, expatiated on the virtues of his prefent majefty, the wifdom and lenity of his

\* See Plate II. 6.

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government, and recommended to them a fteady and unfhaken fidelity to both. He at the fame time appointed three days for them to affemble at different places in the parifh, to take and fubfcribe the oath of allegiance, before Mr. Dawfon, which they accordingly did; and father Murphy was prefent at one of their meetings.

The fame prieft and his flock affembled again on the twenty-eighth of January, 1798, in their chapel, expreffing their abhorrence of the barbarous outrages lately committed, and of the dangerous confpiracies formed by traitors and rebels, ftyling themfelves united Irifhmen; and declaring their unalterable attachment to their beloved fovereign, and to our happy conftitution. It was figned by Edanus Murphy, and five hundred and fourteen of his parifhioners, and publifhed in the Dublin Journal on the third day of March, 179S, after having been prefented to the viceroy.

Notwithftanding fuch unequivocal teftimonies of their loyalty, Mr. Dawfon had ftrong reafons for thinking that a fform was gathering, as the people affembled privately, and many pikes had been manufactured in the parifh, fubfequent to the adminiftration of oaths at the chapel. He therefore prevailed on fome of his tenants, partly by threats, and partly by perfuafion, to make a full confeffion of their guilt, and to deliver up their arms, which they accordingly did; and next day, a great number of people followed their example, in acknowledging their delufion, in furrendering pikes, and in foliciting protections, which they obtained; though thefe very people had a few days before taken oaths of allegiance, and had figned an addrefs to the viceroy.

On this difcovery, Mr. Dawfon, alarmed at the perilous ftate of the country, repaired on the twentieth of May to Wexford, where he and twenty-nine magiftrates affembled; and publifhed notices, exhorting all the people in general to come in, to take oaths of allegiance, to confefs their errors, and to accept the protection which they then offered them. This produced the defired effect; far the magiftrates continued the entire week to receive great numbers of people, who feemed very penitent, having confeffed their errors; the committees before whom they had been fworn; and the blackfmiths who had made their pikes, of which they furrendered great quantities.

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The same protections were granted in the parishes of Enniscorthy, Templehambo. Ferns,\* Newtown-Barry† and Camolin,‡ where the respective parish priests attended, and exhorted their flocks to testify their loyalty, and to renounce their errors; and this continued till the day before the rebellion broke out, and in most of the parishes in that county they followed their example.

The priests and their congregations in the parish of Monomolin, took oaths of allegiance, surrendered their arms, and received protections, on the week preceding the rebellion, and sent a loyal address to the viceroy.

Great numbers of people in the parish of Kilcoran, attended by two priests, continued to take oaths of allegiance on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, previous to the thirtieth of May. Above one thousand persons did the like in the parish of Taghmon, the week preceding the rebellion, and two hundred even so late as the morning of Whit Sunday.

The protections granted to the persons who took such oaths, were found afterwards in the pockets of numbers of them who fell in the rebellion.

On the twelfth of April, 1797, many parish priests and their congregations addressed Lord Camden in terms strongly expressive of their loyalty, and on this occasion they all adopted one form of address.||

As the Earl of Mountnorris had always been peculiarly attentive to the interest of the Roman Catholics, and had endeavoured to awaken a sense of duty in them, at this alarming period, they solicited him to present them to the viceroy, which he accordingly did.

The Reverend Dudley Colclough, a magistrate, administered oaths of allegiance in the parish of Templehambo, to some hundreds of people, who surrendered their pikes, and on doing so received protections.

Sir Frederick Flood and Henry Brownrigg, Esquire, did the like in the parish of Camolin, where the priests attended.

The following letter§ published in the Dublin Journal of May twenty-sixth, shews how much the magistrates were imposed on.

\* Plate H. 6. † Ibid. 5. ‡ Ibid. See in Appendix, No, XVII. i. the names of the priests, their parishes and their addresses.

§ Camolin, May 24th. "I have the satisfaction of informing you, that the measures of government have been attended with the happiest effects. In this parish, many hundred pikes have been given up [cont.]

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It was observed, that in the town of Camolin, a number of priests used frequently to meet, dine together, and hold private conferences for some months previous to the rebellion.

At Enniscorthy, the two Mr. Pounders sat for an entire week, previous to Whit Sunday, giving protections to the people, in consequence of their having taken the oaths, and surrendered their arms. These proceedings took place in the presence of three priests,\* who to give a greater appearance of sanctity to them, insisted that the people should be sworn on a popish manual; and yet so little regard had their flock for the sacred obligation of an oath, that some of these protections were found in the pockets of rebels, who were killed on the Monday following, when they attacked the town of Enniscorthy.

In the parish of Ferns, oaths were administered to the inhabitants of it, by Isaac Cornock, Esquire, and the Reverend Mr. Turner† of Ballingale, both magistrates, until the evening before the rebellion broke out.

Some of them denied, that they had ever seen a pike, or taken the united Irishman's oath; but on being refused protections, and threatened with the severity of the law, they acknowledged both; and said, that they had procured those weapons to protect themselves against orangemen, who they heard would soon rise and exterminate the Roman Catholics. A few of them owned, that the purport of their oath was, to join the French, and to kill all loyal subjects, and such persons as would not join them; and on being urged to declare whom they meant by loyal persons, they said protestants.

Mr. Hawtrey White of Peppard's castle,‡ in the parish of Donoughmore, an active magistrate, knowing that rebellious principles had been widely diffused, and had taken deep root in the minds of the people,

within these few days to Sir Frederick Flood and Henry Brownrigg, esquire, magistrates; and the unfortunate people are crowding in with the fullest confession, and throwing themselves on the mercy of government. I have been myself an eye-witness to the scene of guilt and contrition in the deluded peasantry, against whom such baneful arts have been exerted."

\* It was observed, that a priest retired with some of the parishioners, and whispered them sometime before they took the oath.

† Mr. Turner, before whom they swore those oaths on Saturday, was murdered by them next morning.

‡ Plate III. I.

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prevailed on the following priests, and the most respectable farmers of their congregations, to assemble at his house, on Saturday, the nineteenth day of May, for the purpose of admonishing them, on the alarming state of the country: Father Nicholas Redmond, parish priest of Donoughmore, father Michael Murphy, of\* Ballycanew, father Michael Lacy, of† Kilmuckridge. He informed them of his having received certain intelligence, that secret meetings of the people had been frequently held, in which treasonable oaths had been administered, and that great quantities of pikes had been made in their parishes, and in all the adjacent country; and he pressed them to use their utmost exertions, by exhortations from the altar, to check their deluded congregations, in their career to destruction; but they, and their parishioners, declared in the most solemn manner, that they were positively ignorant of the alarming circumstances which he stated, and that they had never seen a pike; though Mr. White had positive information, that some of the farmers who had made such declarations of their innocence, were possessed of considerable quantities of those weapons. They all departed, making strong professions of loyalty, and expressing great surprise and concern at what they had heard. Next day these priests exhorted their flocks from the altar, to conduct themselves peaceably, and to act with fidelity towards the government; and they, as if deeply impressed with the admonitions of their spiritual pastors, continued the entire week to surrender pikes, and to swear oaths of allegiance before the magistrates, and to receive protections. But though the mass of the people gave such unequivocal testimonies of their sincere intention to preserve social order, the following circumstance raised many ominous doubts and conjectures in the minds of his majesty's loyal subjects: That the popish multitude resorted to their chapels, much oftener than usual, for some weeks before the rebellion broke out, to exercise their devotions, and to confess to their respective parish priests, not only in the county of Wexford, but in many other parts of the province of Leinster.

For some months previous to it, doctor Caulfield, the popish bishop, and a number of priests, used frequently to meet, and dine at the house of Peter Redmond, at Enniscorthy, where they held secret conferences.

\* Plate II. 6. † Plate III. 2. ‡ Mr. White had undoubted information at that time, that these priests were deeply and actively engaged in the cause of the union. Michael Murphy was killed at the battle of Arklow.

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By such profound diffimulation, covered over with the broad mantle of religion, the priests and their congregations lulled the government, and the magistrates, into a state of supine and fatal security; and prevented them from adopting such vigorous measures, and salutary precautions, as were necessary to prevent the execution of their nefarious designs. They therefore formed their destructive plans, with the silence and secrecy of moles, and started forth, suddenly, with the fury and fierceness of tigers. The delusive stillness that preceded the insurrection in the county of Wexford, resembled a calm in one of the tropical regions, which is suddenly succeeded by a hurricane, that spreads universal desolation.\*

When, this dreadful volcano burst forth, which has brought irreparable calamities, and indelible disgrace on that once-happy and opulent, portion of the kingdom of Ireland, there were no other troops in the county of Wexford but the North Cork militia, consisting of but three hundred men; and they did not arrive there till the twenty-sixth of April. Their head-quarters were in Wexford, where three companies of them were stationed; the remainder were cantoned at Gorey, Enniscorthy, and Ferns. Two thousand troops, properly cantoned in it, would have awed the rebels into obedience, and have prevented the possibility of a rising; but the solemnity and sacredness of oaths, and the earnestness of protestations, banished all suspicion on the part of the government, the magistrates, and the loyal subjects; though the subversion of the former, and the extirpation of the latter, had been some months concerted.

The following reason is to be assigned, for the zeal which the leaders of rebellion in the county of Wexford displayed, in organizing and arming the people, and in practicing the arts of deception on the government lord Edward Fitzgerald had laid a plan, that a few fast-sailing French frigates, should come to Wexford, filled with arms and ammunition,

\* But, as we often see, against some storm,  
A silence in the heavens, the rack stand still.  
The bold winds speechless, and the orb below  
As hush as death; anon, the dreadful thunder,  
Doth rend the region. — SHAKESPEARE.

|| Plate II. 4 [missing ref. in text].

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with officers and Irishmen, and persons capable of drilling men. § In consequence of this, their expectations of their arrival were such, that the Wexford rebels mistook our frigates for French, when they appeared on their coast.

It was the intention of the Irish directory, that the insurrection should take place at one and the same time, all over Ireland; but the following circumstances disconcerted their scheme, and prevented the accomplishment of it. The arrest of the representatives for the province of Leinster, at Oliver Bond's, and afterwards of lord Edward Fitzgerald, the two Sheares, Neilson, and some other leaders; and as their successors disagreed about the time of rising, it is certain that it was not determined on till a short time before it was to take place in Dublin and its vicinity.

It was not communicated to the Wexford leaders till the twenty-fifth of May, and it required some time to apprize the different captains of it, that they might prepare their corps to act in concert. For these reasons, the general insurrection in that county did not take place till Whitfriday, the twenty-seventh day of May, 1798.

But the zeal of father John Murphy,\* of Boolavogue chapel, in the parish of Kilcorraick, was so intemperate, that he began his military career at six o'clock on Saturday evening the twenty-sixth of May; and considering the time of its duration, and the limits to which it was confined, we must allow that it was as destructive as that of Attila, Jengis Kan, or Tamerlane. His father was a petty farmer at Tincurry, in the parish of Ferns, where he was educated at a hedge-school, kept by a man of the name of Gun. It appears by his testimony and diploma,† that he received holy orders at Seville in Spain, in the year 1785; and, I presume, that he graduated there as a doctor of divinity, as he assumes that title in his journal,‡ which he dropped in his retreat from Vinegarhill, and which was found by captain Hugh Moore of the 5th dragoons, aid-de-camp to general Needham.

As one Webster, a protestant neighbour of doctor Murphy, was returning from Gorey, he met him near Boolavogue, about four o'clock

§ Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XVI.

\* See the oath of allegiance which he took, and his address to lord Mountnorris, with other priests, Appendix, No. XVII. † See Appendix, No. XVIII. ‡ Ibid.

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on Saturday the twenty-sixth of May, and was saluted by him with great cordiality; and yet, in about three hours after, the doctor was at the head of a numerous party of rebels, who burned the houses of Webster,§ and his brother, and many of his protestant neighbours.

The doctor collected his forces by lighting a fire on a hill called Corrigrua,\* which signal was answered by another fire on an eminence contiguous to his own house, at Boolavogue; soon after which father Murphy set out on his crusade, at the head of a numerous band of followers.†

These outrages, the first symptoms of open rebellion, were communicated to the garrison of Enniscorthy,‡ in the following manner: A party of these rebels attacked the house of the widow Piper, at Tincurry, four miles from that town, wounded her in a desperate manner, and murdered her son-in-law, a young man of the name of Candy. Her daughter, having narrowly escaped by leaping out of a window, mounted a horse, and galloped off to Enniscorthy, and informed the garrison quartered there of these atrocities, at seven o'clock in the evening.

About the hour of eleven o'clock that night, the Enniscorthy and Healthfield yeomen cavalry, commanded by captain Richards and captain Grogan, proceeded to Tincurry, to disperse the rebels; and on their arrival there, found all the circumstances of atrocity related by the poor female fugitive to be strictly true; and they were also informed by her mother, that the affairs principally concerned in them, were one Fitzpatrick, and the Boulgers, a papist family, her near neighbours, with whom she had always lived in the closest friendship and that their enmity could have arisen from no other motive, but because she was of the protestant religion, and that her two sons were in the service as yeomen.

Soon after the yeomanry returned to Enniscorthy, they were alarmed a second time, by the arrival of a young man of the name of Webster, who informed them that his father's house at Garrybritt, about five miles off, had been set on fire by a party of rebels, and that he made his escape after having rushed through the flames. On this intelligence, captains Richards and Grogan set out a second time with their corps of cavalry, in pursuit of the rebels; and on their arrival at Garrybritt, found the

§ See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 2. the Affidavit of Samuel Whealey. \* Plate II. 7. † Ibid. ‡ Plate III. 2.

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houfe of the two Webfters, brothers, John and Robert, in flames, and the two daughters of one of them, both handfome and young, having narrowly efaped, were fitting in their fhifts, in an orchard near the houfe, fhivering with cold. Their father, a man of confiderable fubftance, was in a moment reduced to poverty.

Captains Richards and Grogan faw all the proteftant houfes, as far as their fight could extend, in a ftate of conflagration; and having received undoubted information that father Murphy was at the head of the rebels who were thus fpreading devaftation, they, in the firft inftance, repaired to his houfe, where they difcovered that he, confcious that his nefarious conduct would provoke the vengeance of the magiftrates and the military, had concealed his furniture in a pit in an adjacent field, before he had fet out on his campaign; and all the rebels who attended him followed his example.

They therefore fet fire to father Murphy's houfe, as a punifhment for the atrocities which he and his followers had perpetrated. Some perfons have afferted that the yeomen were the aggreffors on this occafion, and that father Murphy would not have embarked in the rebellion, if he had not been provoked by the burning of his houfe and his chapel; but the facts which I have related are a fufficient refutation of this; and the affidavits of two rebel leaders of the names of Roffiter and Crawley,\* remove all doubts on it.

In juftice to captain Richards, I think it right to fay, that he would not fuffer any of his party to burn father Murphy's chapel, or to infult his veftments, which were found in the pit‡ near his houfe; but that on the contrary, he infifted that nothing of the kind fhould be done, having faid, "Punifh the man, but do not mock or infult his religion."

The yeomen cavalry, in their progrefs that night, overtook fome of the rebels in arms, whom they put to death, and burned fome of their houfes, which their inmates had deserted, and from which the furniture had been removed and concealed.

Many particulars of the deftructive career of that facerdotal hero, during that night and next day, have been verified by the affidavit of Samuel

\* See Appendix, No. XVIII. 3. ‡ They found there his teftimonium and diploma.

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Whealey, a farmer of that parifh.\* Having burnt every proteftant houfe in the parifh of Kilcormick, and murdered fuch of their inmates as he could feize, he proceeded to a place called the Harrow, where he engaged and defeated a party of the Camolin yeomen cavalry, having killed lieutenant Bookey, who commanded it, and Mr. John Donovan, one of the privates; after which he burned the houfe of Rockfpring,|| belonging to the former.

When lieutenant Bookey fet out with his troop, he left a guard in his houfe, confifting of five Roman catholick fervants, and two proteftants, Jacob Ward and Samuel Hawkins. Between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, about five hundred rebels, headed by father Murphy, furrounded the houfe of Rockfpring, on which the five papifts deserted, and the two proteftants were left alone, with four guns, to defend the houfe. The rebels called to them to deliver up their arms, which the two proteftants faid they would do, and immediately difcharged four guns at them; and they continued to load and fire at them with all poffible celerity. The rebels, incenfed at their fpirited conduct, threw ftones at the windows, fired into them with their mufkets, and at laft broke open the front door with a fledge. As fome of the affailants had fallen by the fire of the befieged, others, dreading the fame fate, were heard to cry out, "Let us retreat, before more of us are killed."

The rebels having entered the houfe, got lights, and affembled in the hall; on which the two proteftants ceafed firing, and placed themfelves on the head of the ftairs, with their mufkets, to

prevent their foes from ascending. Father Murphy ordered some of his men to go up stairs, and learn who the persons were that had the audacity to oppose him; but having hesitated to obey his commands, he drew his sword, and threatened them instantly with death. Two of them having attempted to comply, were shot before they proceeded far, and tumbled down among their comrades. As the last resource, to be revenged of the besieged, they set fire to the house; and yet the two protestants, with the most deliberate valour, continued to charge and fire, till the floor, a prey to the flames, began to crack under them; on which they repaired to the upper story, but even there they were much scorched with the flames, and almost

\* See Appendix, No. XVIII. ». H Plate II. 7.

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filled with smoke. But as they ceased to fire, the rebels imagined they were suffocated or consumed, and that they had obtained ample revenge; and fearing that the dawn, which was not far distant, would expose them to the yeomanry of Enniscorthy who had been scouring the country, they retreated, by which the lives of these two brave men were preserved.

As the murder of the reverend doctor Burrowes, rector of Kilnuck-ridge, and the burning of his glebe-house at Kyle,\* were marked with circumstances of peculiar atrocity, I shall give a minute description of them, as related to me by his widow and children.|| Some of his protestant parishioners, dreading that they would fall a prey to the sanguinary rage of father Murphy, took refuge in the house of Kyle, on Saturday evening. One Murphy, though an united Irishman, had candour and humanity enough to inform Mr. Burrowes, about eleven o'clock that night, that his house would be attacked early next morning by a party of rebels. In consequence of this information, he, his family, and his parishioners sat up all night, and barricaded the lower part of the house, which was attacked at sunrise by about five hundred rebels.

It was vigorously defended for some time, many shots having been fired by the assailants and the besieged. At last, the rebels set fire to the out-offices, which were quickly consumed, and soon after to the dwelling-house, which in a short time was in a state of conflagration. The rapid progress of the flames in the latter was imputed to some unctuous combustible matter applied to the doors and windows of the house, which the rebels frequently used in the course of the rebellion.

The besieged, being in danger of suffocation from the thickness of the smoke, resolved to quit the house, however perilous it might be; and they were encouraged to do so by father Murphy, who assured them, that they should not be injured, if they surrendered themselves without any further resistance. Relying on his promise, they quitted the house, on which they treacherously murdered Mr. Burrowes, and seven of his parishioners; and gave his son, a youth of fifteen years,| so severe a wound in the belly with a pike, that for some time he lay motionless and

\* See Plate III. 2.

|| The most material of them have been verified by the affidavit of his eldest son. See Appendix, No. XVIII. 4.

‡ This amiable youth languished and died of that wound in the autumn of 1800.

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apparently dead. Mrs. Burrowes, her four children, and Miss Clifford, her niece, continued for twelve hours to weep over the mangled bodies of her husband and his seven parishioners, and to console and administer relief to her son, who was in excruciating agonies, and bleeding so copiously, that every moment she expected his dissolution.

The horror of the scene was heightened by the house in a state of conflagration, discharging immense volumes of flame and smoke, and emitting such heat, that the unfortunate sufferers

could scarce endure it. All her household furniture, and her cloaths, except what she and her children wore, were destroyed by the fire.

In the evening, she, her children, and niece, repaired to a wretched inn at Oulart, about half a mile off, with her son, who was carried on a door. These unfortunate sufferers remained there till Tuesday the twenty-ninth day of May, and during that time her son did not receive any medical assistance. They were escorted by a party of rebels to Castleanefley, the seat of Mr. Clifford, above five miles off, where they were kept as prisoners, till the town of Wexford was taken from the rebels.\*

While Mr. Burrowes's house was in flames, Thomas Foxton, one of his protestant parishioners, who fought an asylum in his house, concealed himself in an oven, to escape the sanguinary rage of the rebels, and he remained there till their departure. By skulking in places of concealment, he contrived to evade their searches, till after the king's troops got possession of Wexford; when he, half famished, and attended by his wife and three young children, was met between Inch and Gorey by a flying party of rebels, who put him to death. His afflicted wife carried his body, on her back, two miles, to the church of Inch, to be buried. An instance of piety which deserves to be recorded! ||

Though the popish inhabitants of Kilrush had continued to take oaths of allegiance, and to surrender pikes to Mr. Dawson, of Charles-fort, for a week preceding Whit Sunday, he had such strong doubts of their sincerity, that he kept in his house by night, ten of his protestant parishioners, well armed, for his protection. Having dismissed them on that morning,

\* See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 4. the affidavit of T. C. Burrowes.

|| Richard, the brother of Thomas Foxton, and William Edwards who escaped, and who were examined as witnesses the sixteenth of November. 1798, on the trial of Peter Crowley, one of father Murphy's gang, proved that they heard some of the rebels say, "That all protestants ought to be killed, as they were not christened."

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was preparing to attend his family to church, consisting of Mrs. Dawson, two daughters, his son of the age of fifteen, and a miss Reade, when a man, who was under obligations to him, arrived at his house, and informed him, that he had just come from a large body of people, who had risen the night before, had burned many houses, and had committed many various enormities, which he enumerated, and that they were resolved to carry every thing before them; that they were determined to compel Mr. Dawson to join them, and co-operate with them; and that they would murder him, and his family, if he refused to comply. Mr. Dawson boldly declared, that he would submit to die, sooner than violate his allegiance to his king. He immediately sent a person to collect his protestant guards, but, alas! no more than one of them, his gamekeeper, could be found;\* and a few minutes after he arrived, a thousand rebels surrounded his house, and set fire to it and his out-offices, which were soon in flames. Mrs. Dawson, her daughter, and miss Reade, in the greatest consternation, made their escape out of a window. Mr. Dawson fled into his hall, as it was the most defensible part of his house. Soon after the front door fell in, and he received a musket ball in his breast. He could have shot the man who fired at him; but perceiving his family in the hands of the rebels, he feared that they would instantly have fallen a prey to their savage revenge.

As the flames began to rage in every part of his house, he fled into his lawn, where he was surrounded by a large body of them, who were proceeding to assassinate him; but some of them interfered, and said, it would answer their purpose much better, to take him with them, and make him act as their commander. He showed them his wound, which bled copiously, and assured them it would soon occasion his dissolution; and they seemed so much convinced of it, that they left him. He then proceeded through a plantation of trees to a tenant's house. His son, of whose

safety he had despaired, arrived there soon after, breathless and faint from running. He had fallen into the hands of the rebels, who were on the point of murdering him. They procured horses, and repaired to the town of Ferns, two miles off. In their way thither, they perceived

\* This man's name was John Willis, and he was murdered that morning by one Arthur Murphy, his neighbour, and apparently his friend.

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all the protestant houses on fire, in every direction, as far as their fight could extend. The protestant inhabitants of Ferns,\* alarmed at such appearances, and expecting that the town would be attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who were assembled in its vicinity, retreated to Enniscorthy,† six miles distant, escorted by a detachment of the North Cork militia, and the Scarawalh yeomanry, commanded by captain Cornock; and Mr. Dawson, and his son joined them. Mrs. Dawson and her family repaired to Newtownbarry,‡ five miles off, under the protection of the yeomanry cavalry of that town; and next day, escorted by them, they went to Enniscorthy, which was nine miles off.

The houses and property of all the inhabitants of the town of Ferns were plundered or destroyed, when they fled to Enniscorthy. The base ingratitude of the popish multitude towards doctor Cleaver, bishop of Ferns, deserves peculiar attention. That amiable prelate, as noted for his great piety and extensive learning, as for his mildness and humility, resided constantly in his diocese, which was by far the best regulated in the kingdom. In the course of a few years, he had provided for above twenty curates, without any other recommendation but their own merit; in consequence of which, his clergy were distinguished for their unremitting practice of every religious and moral duty.

His lordship and Mrs. Cleaver, were singularly charitable and humane, to all the lower classes of people in his neighbourhood. He paid an apothecary in Ferns £30 a-year, to attend his labourers; and he regularly employed a physician when they were afflicted with maladies of a dangerous nature.

He supplied them with clothes and blankets every winter; and with provisions at Christmas.

And yet, horrid to relate! those very labourers plundered his house of every valuable article in it, on the morning of Whit Sunday, and openly avowed their thirst for the blood of him and Mrs. Cleaver. An orphan, whom he had found naked, and starving, at the age of seven years, and whom he had fed, clothed, and instructed, for six years, in his palace was the leader of these savages, shewed them every precious article of furniture; and assisted them in breaking open the cellar. He used to

\* See plate II, 6 and 7. † See plate III. 3.; ‡ See plate II. 5.

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prelate at the head of the table, and his toast was, "Damnation to all bishops". Some of his lordship's English maid-servants were eye-witnesses of these scenes of brutal ferocity.

A rebel, taken in arms, near Scarawalh-bridge,\* in the month of June, was asked, Why they did not destroy the bishop's palace, when they plundered it? and he answered, that father John Murphy, of Boolavogue, meant to keep it for himself.

Notwithstanding the assurances of father Michael Murphy, and father Michael Lacy, and their flock, on the nineteenth of May, to Mr. White, at Peppard's castle, of their fidelity to government, and their total ignorance of a conspiracy; the insurrection was as general, and as destructive, in the parish of Kilmuckridge,† near which it lies, on Whit Sunday the twenty-seventh of May, as in the parish of Kilcormick. Mr. White's house was plundered on that day by his own tenants and neighbours, who had a short time before surrendered their pikes, and

taken oaths of allegiance, as a proof of their sincerity. Two of the former, for whom he had a strong predilection, were the first who began to pillage. One of them, of the name of Brien, was so great a favourite with him, that though he discovered sometime before, that he was concerned in the conspiracy, he rebuked him privately, and would not proceed against him with that rigour, which the law required; and yet, he frequently pierced the portrait of Mr. White with a pike, and lamented that he had not the original. He entered the apartment of Mrs. White, his sister, an aged lady, and told her, she must quit the house; and he was soon after followed by a young woman, armed with a pike, who gave her the same orders. Mr. White is captain of the Ballakeen cavalry; and it was very fortunate that he had assembled his corps at Gorey, on Saturday the twenty-sixth of May; for it has been since discovered, that it was the intention of the rebels, to have cut them off, singly, in their respective houses, that night.

In the parish of Camolin, they had surrendered many hundred pieces, and continued to confess their guilt with apparent contrition, and to take oaths of allegiance in the presence of their priest, father Francis Kavanagh, till the eve of the rebellion; but on Whit Sunday they rose in mass, armed with pikes and guns, vowed vengeance against the protestants as orangemen,

\* Plate II. 8. † Plate III. 2.

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proceeded to plunder and demolish their houses, and to kill some, and to take others prisoners.

The reverend Mr. Owen, the parish minister, having fled, was taken prisoner near Gorey, where he was confined ten days, during which time he was often urged to become a convert to popery; but having refused, they knocked him down, stripped him of his clothes, and gave him some ragged garments to hide his nakedness, wounded him with pikes, and sent him barefooted to Wexford gaol, with some other prisoners. Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, a papist gentleman, was captain of the guard who conducted them, though he had taken the oath of allegiance, and had been a member of the Shelmalier yeomanry.

Early on the morning of Whit Sunday, captain White, having been informed that the rebels had risen the preceding night in great force, and were committing great outrages, proceeded to the place where they were said to be assembled, with his own corps, and that of lord Courtown's. On his arrival there he found the intelligence which he had received to be true: He pursued the insurgents, which he could easily do, as their destructive progress was marked by the houses of protestants in a state of conflagration. He ordered some of the stragglers whom he found in arms to be put to death. One of them, whose life was spared, confessed to captain White, that the party whom they pursued was headed by the reverend John Murphy, of the parish of Kilcormuck; that they were determined to burn the house, and take the life of every protestant that came in their way; that the inhabitants of the country for some miles round were to assemble that night at Oulart, and were to plunder and burn all the protestant houses that occurred in their way thither. Captain White's party pursued the rebels within six miles of Wexford, in hopes of being able to engage them; but when they were within a musket shot of them they halted, and faced about to give them battle; at the same time a party of them formed at each side of the road, with a view of surrounding them. The rebels amounted, to about four thousand, and the yeomen cavalry, who were armed only with pistols and sabres, did not exceed eighty; and as they were enclosed in a narrow road, where they could not act, captain White very prudently ordered them to retreat. He then recommended to his yeomen to get their families into Gorey\* as fast as possible.

\* Plate II.

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He accompanied Mr. D'Arcy, a member of his corps, within a mile of Ballynahown,\* his country seat, and advised him to send his mother, a venerable old lady, into that town, to escape

the savage fury of the rebels; but before he could effect it, he was shot near his house, by a rebel of the name of Whelan, who was attached to father John Murphy, as his aide camp.† This young gentleman was possessed of a large estate, and had very honourable connections, as his mother is aunt to the earl of Ely, and sister to general Tottenham. From a desire to serve his king and country, he entered as a private into the Ballaghkeene cavalry. Captain White then repaired to Inland,‡ the seat of Mr. Bolton, within two miles of Kyle, and recommended to him to repair immediately to Gorey, for protection. Mr. Bolton, and his family, consisting of Mrs. Bolton and ten children, succeeded in escaping to Gorey, but were stopped in their way by a party of rebels, who disarmed, and were on the point of murdering them and their servants.§ On that morning the houses of Mr. D'Arcy and Mr. Bolton were plundered and burnt. Captain White was induced to go to the house of Kyle, by the great volume of smoke, which issued from it; and on his arrival there, he beheld that heart-rending scene of misery which I have already described. At some distance from the house, he met William Edwards, one of Mr. Burrowes's Protestant guards, whom the rebels had left for dead; but as they had not touched any vital part, he rose, as if from a trance, and through excessive weakness, tottered every step in endeavouring to make his escape. His arm was broke; he had many ghastly wounds, and he was covered with blood.

On the sixteenth of November, 1798, Peter Crowley was tried and convicted at Wexford, of having been actively concerned in this woeful scene, on the evidence of Richard Foxton and William Edwards; and they proved that some of the rebels declared at Kyle, that all Protestants should be killed, as they were not Christians; and that Mr. Burrowes cried out for mercy when he surrendered himself to father Murphy, but was immediately butchered.

\* See Plate III. a.

† This was proved on the trial of the rebel general Roach, which began the seventeenth of December, 1798, at Wexford. ‡ Plate III. a. § See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 5. the affidavit of George Williams, giving an account of the destruction of the rebels on the morning of Whitfunday.

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Mr. White made many attempts to go to his own house; but as all the avenues to it were occupied by detachments of the rebels, who afterwards plundered it, he retreated to Gorey, and had many narrow escapes in doing so. In his way thither, he beheld the houses of Protestants on fire, in every direction. I shall refer the reader to the affidavit of George and Elizabeth Williams, for the scene of desolation which the country, for many miles round, exhibited on Whitfunday.\* Mr. Ferjeant Stanley arrived at Gorey, from Dublin, on Saturday the twenty-sixth day of May, in his way to Cork, where he was to hold a special commission. Captain White sent six yeomen cavalry to escort him as far as Enniscorthy. Two of them, George Greenly and James Shaw, stopped, on their return, at their own houses, where they were murdered. Margaret Greenly, the sister of the former, on hearing that her brother had fallen into the hands of the rebels, fled to his assistance, in hopes of deprecating their anger, but they barbarously murdered her. Shaw was desperately wounded, and carried to his bed, with a prospect of his recovery; but the rebels returned in a fortnight, and butchered him with ferocious cruelty; but spared the house, because his mother was a papist.†

As father Michael Murphy, who acted with such profound diffimulation, made a conspicuous figure in the rebellion, I shall say a few words on his origin and progress through life. He was born at Killnew, near Kilmuckridge,‡ of mean parents, and was bred at a hedge school at Oulart, by one Prendergast, an itinerant pedagogue; and having received holy orders, he went to Bourdeaux, recommended to the Abbe Glynn, president of the Irish college there, by the reverend James Caulfield, then parish priest of New Ross, but now parish bishop of Ferns, which appears by the following letter:

“Reverend Sir, Rofs, October 23d, 1785,

“The reverend Michael Murphy, a fubject of the diocefe, and ordained a prieft laft Whitfuntide, now bound for your city, for the purpofe of profecuting his ftudies of philofophy and theology, craves a line from me

\* Appendix, No. XVIII. 5.

† Michael Fitzpatrick, who headed the gang of affaffins that murdered him, was convicted of that crime at Wexford, the twenty-eighth of September, 1799, and hanged.

‡ See Plate III. a.

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In his favour to you; I can only fay, he is well recommended to me, as a fober, regular, well-behaved man; and if it is convenient to you, I fhall efteem your accommodating him for the above end. I believe he is the laft of the fet that applied to me, wherefore I hope I fhall not have occafion to trouble you again for fome years.

I have the honour to be, kc.  
JAMES CAULFIELD.”

At his return from France, he became an officiating prieft at Ballycanew, and behaved himfelf there with very great propriety, till the rebellion broke out; but, under the veil of sanctity, he concealed a furious and fanguinary fpirit, which difplayed itfelf on the morning of Whitfunday; when, at the head of a numerous party of his parifhioners, whom his evangelical inftructions had converted into robbers and affaffins, he proceeded towards Oulart, burning the houfes of proteftants, and murdering fuch of their inhabitants as could not efcape.

I have been well affured, that he narrowly efcaped from the deftructive fpirit of French republicanifm, when his order was on the point of being annihilated in France; and yet he manifested a ftrong predilection for the principles of that nation, and a defire to join them, fhould they land in Ireland.

The moft memorable event occafioned by the fanatical rage of the rebels on Whitfunday, was the defeat of a detachment of the North Cork regiment at Oulart, near Kilmuckridge,\* of which the afflicted family of the reverend Mr. Burrowes were eye-witneffes, a few hours after their own cataftrophe happened; and as it was in a great meafure the caufe of the dreadful fcenes of carnage and plunder which foon after happened in the county of Wexford, I think it right to give the reader a circumftantial account of it.

On the morning of Whitfunday the twenty-feventh of May, 1798, at an early hour, the town of Wexford was alarmed by the arrival of Edward Turner of Newfort efquire, a magiftrate, who informed the officer commanding the garrifon, that his houfe had been befet that morning by a large body of infurgents, who had feized the pikes which they had

\* Plate III. J. † Ibid. III. 4.

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surrendered to him a few days before, after having taken oaths of allegiance, and that they were affembling in great numbers.

The garrifon confifted of part of the North Cork militia, captain Boyd’s yeomen cavalry, and doctor Jacob’s yeomen infantry. A detachment of the cavalry was ordered to fcour the country; and about the hour of eleven in the morning, one hundred and nine picked men of the North Cork, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Foote, marched out to attack the infurgents; and on their march towards Oulart,\* they were joined by colonel Lehunte’s yeomen cavalry. From

that time the situation of the town was truly distressing: The rebels were understood to be in considerable force; and the anxiety of the inhabitants for the fate of the brave men who marched out to oppose them, was aggravated by the reports of the horrid atrocities they had committed in their progress through the country; for between two and three o'clock they had received intelligence at Wexford, of the murder of Mr. D'Arcy, the reverend Mr. Burrowes, and the reverend Mr. Turner; and the supposed murder of Mr. Dawson, and the burning of their respective houses.

All was solemn silence and anxious expectation! but still encouraging accounts were received of the North Cork militia, before whom the rebels were said to be flying in every direction. But this delusive hope was of short duration; for about the hour of four o'clock, Mr. Perceval, the high sheriff, rode into town, with the melancholy account of their total defeat and destruction; and soon after lieutenant-colonel Foote, and one sergeant, the wretched remains of that fine and valiant body of men, were seen pensively riding over the bridge, and approaching the town: And now the solemn silence of that awful morning was succeeded by a truly heart-rending scene. Most of the North Cork, who fell in the action at Oulart, were married men; and as soon as their fate was known, their widows and orphans ran into the streets, filling the air with their cries, dismaying every heart, and piercing every soul with shrieks of anguish and despair.

This fatal affair took place at Oulart, about eight miles off, where the rebels, to the number of five thousand, were posted on the side of a hill. A detachment of them descended from it, apparently with a design to engage the king's troops; though this turned out in the event to be but a

\* Plate III. 2.

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stratagem, for the purpose of surrounding and surprising them. The rebels, having been broken and dispersed by a general volley, fled up the hill towards the main body, and were pursued by the North Cork militia, who were broken into small parties during the pursuit, from the number of hedges which they had to clamber over. In the mean time, father John Murphy, who commanded the rebels, sent numbers of them circuitously under cover of the hedges, to attack the militia on either flank, and in the rear, while the main body charged them in front. This artifice succeeded; for they were surrounded, overpowered by numbers, and the entire party was cut to pieces, except the lieutenant-colonel, a sergeant, and three privates. They were attended by colonel Lehunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, in which there were twenty-four Roman Catholics; and of these, twenty deserted to the rebels on that morning before the action began, which contributed to their success.

This action was thus described to me by persons of veracity, who were spectators of it. Lieutenant-colonel Foote has given the following relation of it in a letter to a friend: "I marched to a hill called Oulart, where between four and five thousand rebels were posted. From their great superiority of numbers, it was not my intention to have attacked them, unless some unforeseen favourable circumstances would warrant that measure; however, my officers were of a contrary opinion. I met here part of a yeoman cavalry corps, about sixteen; the remainder, with their sergeant, having that morning joined the rebels. I halted with this corps, while I sent a note by their trumpeter to Wexford, with orders for two officers and forty men to march thence to us to support our detachment; apprehending that the rebels, from their numbers, might intercept our retreat, afterwards, when I joined the party, I found that they were moved forward by the officer next in command; and the soldiers cried out, that they would beat the rebels out of the field. By this movement we were immediately engaged with the rebels, who fired from behind the hedges, without showing any regular front. We beat their advanced party from one hedge to another, which they had successively occupied, and fired from on us, killing great numbers of

them, till they retreated in much disorder to the main body, which consisted mostly of pikemen. I considered this a favourable opportunity of forming the detachment, for the purpose of retreating, or of receiving the enemy in a good position; and

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I used every exertion to effect it; but unfortunately the too great ardour of the men and officers could not be restrained. They rushed forward, were surrounded, and overpowered by numbers. They displayed great valour and intrepidity, and killed a great number of the rebels.\* Of this detachment, none have as yet returned to Wexford, but myself, a sergeant, and three privates. I received a wound from a pike in my breast, a flight one in my arm, and several bruises and contusions.”

The colonel had a faithful servant, who had lived eighteen years with him; and who, regardless of his own danger, remained close to him during the action, and often warned him that the rebels were taking aim at him, but he was soon shot himself.

It appears, that the rebels were rendered bold and desperate by intoxication; and that from twelve to fifteen of them singled out and attacked each of the soldiers, who did not resign their lives but at a dear rate to their assailants.

Lieutenant Ware, nephew to lieutenant-colonel Foote, a young gentleman just of age, and possessed of a good landed property, was on the point of making his escape on horseback, after the dispersion of his party; when a small boy, one of the band of musick, who had been wounded, called out to him, and implored him to save his life; on which Mr. Ware stopped his horse, and humanely endeavoured to raise him on his saddle, and to carry him off; but before he could accomplish his benevolent design, he was dragged from his horse by a rebel, with a hook annexed to his pike, and was immediately butchered.

The officers who fell in this unfortunate affair were, major Lombard, the honourable captain De Courcy, lieutenants Williams, Ware, Barry, and ensign Keogh.

Whitfriday, the day after this defeat, the servant of one of the officers who fell, having been warmly attached to his master, went to Oulart, to have his body interred; but the rebels murdered him, as soon as they discovered his generous design. The subsequent success of the rebels in the county of Wexford, arose, in a great measure, from the arms and ammunition which they obtained, and the confidence with which they were inspired by this victory over the king's troops, whom they had hitherto considered as invincible, however inferior their numbers might have been. All the night after this action, the rebels continued to burn the houses,

\* The rebels have said, that they lost but seven men killed.

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and destroy the property of protestants, and to murder each of them as fell into their hands.\*

The day after the action at Oulart, orders, written in red ink, were issued by father John Murphy, and dispersed over all the adjacent country, commanding, at the peril of their lives, all persons capable of bearing arms, to join his army forthwith, for the purpose of attacking Enniscorthy; at the same time, the old men were ordered to bury the dead.

Two persons, employed in that task, found some remains of life in one of the Cork soldiers, and one of them conveyed him to his pig-stye, with the humane intention of restoring him, if possible. By supplying him with nourishment, he recovered the use of his speech, and had every symptom of convalescence: He said that his name was Sullivan. The merit of his preserver was the greater, as the crime of rescuing a soldier or a yeoman from destruction, if known, would inevitably have occasioned his own.

A ruffian of the name of Rofterfon, having heard of this act of humanity, repaired to the house of the person who performed it, and censured him for it as a criminal act. He said in his defence, "That the poor patient was a good Roman catholic", but the savage retorted, "That his religion was no excuse, as he was a soldier"† and he instantly plunged his pike into his body.

As soon as the garrison of Gorey heard of the defeat of the North Cork at Oulart, and of the immense numbers who were flocking to the standard of father John Murphy, they, despairing of being able to maintain their position against so great a superiority of numbers, retreated to Arklow, and were followed by all the protestants of the town, and the adjacent country, who dreaded the sanguinary rage of the rebels. They, with infancy and decrepitude in their train, and with little or no means of subsistence, presented a woeful spectacle; and as all the houses at Arklow were occupied by the military and yeomen, these poor fugitives suffered very great distresses, fleeing in barns and out-offices, and even in ditches.

On Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May, major Hardy, who commanded at Arklow, ordered the garrison to return to Gorey, by which they gained

\* For a description of their atrocities, see Samuel Whealey's affidavit in Appendix, No. XVIII.

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some fame, and rendered the most important service, in repulsing a numerous body of rebels who attacked that town on the thirtieth of May.

The murder of the reverend Francis Turner of Ballingale,\* about three miles from Ferns, and rector of Edermine, was attended with circumstances of peculiar atrocity. On the morning of Whit Sunday, a party of about three hundred affians, headed by Denis Carthy and James Maher, set out from the house of William Carthy of Ballycarney,† uncle of the former, and declared their intention of putting him to death in the presence of Mrs. Carthy, who endeavoured to dissuade them from it, affirming that Mr. Turner was universally esteemed and respected. The house was defended for some time by him, and eight of his protestant parishioners, who had fought an asylum in it. Mr. Turner, soon after the attack was made, received a shot in his jaw, which entirely disabled him from attending to the defence of his house. As it was double, and the assailants seemed to direct all their fury against its front, the besieged, after the death of Mr. Turner, paid no attention to the rear, into which the rebels entered, having been admitted (it is said) by the treachery of the butler.

After having murdered Mr. Turner, and five of his protestant parishioners, they set fire to his dwelling-house and out-offices, in which the bodies of the deceased were consumed. An affian of the name of William Beaghan, insultingly flourished the blade of a scythe over the dead body of Mr. Turner, and uttered some expressions indicative of savage joy.

In front of the house, they ran a pike through the neck of William Christian, one of Mr. Turner's protestant guards; and while the weapon was infixd in the wound, they shook his head very violently, to increase the agony of his pain; and when his body fell on the ground, they raised it up on their pikes, and tossed it in the air, to extinguish any remains of life which might have been in it.

After the perpetration of this horrid deed, Denis Carthy and James Maher, boasted at their return to the house of William Carthy, of having executed it; and the latter openly declared, that a quantity of blood which appeared on his breeches, was that of the reverend Mr. Turner.

Thus this worthy gentleman, whose benevolence and amiable manners had justly entitled him to universal love and esteem, and whose mind was highly adorned with profound and elegant learning, fell a prey to the

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fanatical rage of a popish rabble, headed by his tenants and neighbours, whom he had never failed to treat with kindness and beneficence.

The principal leader in this atrocious act was Michael Keogh, Mr. Turner's proctor, who was raised to a state of comfort and affluence from downright poverty, by his kindness and generosity.

The circumstances attending this tragical affair were related to me by his two nephews, and a fervant of the late Mr. Turner, who were eewitnesses of them; and most of them were verified by affidavit.\*

One of the former, of the age of twelve years, sometime after this melancholy event, went to the garden of his deceased uncle to pull some fruit, when he was insulted by a rebel boy about fifteen years old, who attempted to expel him from it; having declared, that he had no right to be there, as his family had informed him that the garden was his property.

The minds of the people must have been universally filled with an idea of exterminating all those who were connected with England by religion, interest, or consanguinity, and of appropriating this island exclusively to themselves, when a child of that age made so open and prompt an avowal of it.

The singular fortitude and integrity of Mrs. Gambia Carthy, wife of William Carthy, in prosecuting James Maher and Denis Carthy, her husband's nephew, justly entitle her to universal esteem and admiration. She is daughter of surgeon Maw of Gorey, and of the protestant religion. When these ruffians deliberately expressed their design of murdering Mr. Turner, on the morning of Whitfunday, she endeavoured to dissuade them from it, and afterwards, she appeared as a witness against them on their trial; though, by doing so, she was sure of provoking the vengeance of all her husband's relations, who were of the popish persuasion, and most of whom were deeply and actively concerned in the rebellion.

On the murder of the reverend Mr. Burrowes at Kyle, his widow and her family were conveyed to Oulart, and afterwards to Castle-annefley,† the seat of Mr. Clifford, who was her brother; and Mrs. D'Arcy, his

\* See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 6. the affidavit of John Horton, James Doyle, and Gambia Carthy. † Plate III.

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mother-in-law, repaired there also, expeding to find security and some consolation under the roof of so near a relation; but, alas! they soon discovered that it was as much the house of woe as their own mansions.

Having heard of the calamities which had befallen his sister's family, Mr. Clifford went to Oulart, on the twenty-seventh of May, to relieve them, but finding that the rebels were in possession of it, he endeavoured to make his escape; and in doing so. one of the rebels fired a pistol at him, and wounded him in the shoulder.

On Wednesday the thirtieth of May, he resolved to go to Kyle, to secure such part of his sister's property as had not been plundered; but thinking that the protection of the parish priest would be necessary for his safety, he repaired to the house of father Michael Lacy\* for that purpose. As soon as he arrived there, another man of the name of Lacy fired four shots at him with a musket, but fortunately missed him; and yet Mr. Clifford continued all the time on his knees, imploring mercy from the savage. Lacy then gave the musket to a man of the name of Boulger, whom he

knew to be a better markfman than himself, and he fired, and gave him a defperate wound in the head, as the charge confited of flugs and horfe-nails. On falling to the ground, the rebels beat him in a moft cruel manner, and diflocated his fhoulder, fo that they left him for dead. They then fhot his faithful attendant, a proteftant fervant, who had lived twenty-five years in his family.

As this amiable gentleman was diftinguifhed for general benevolence, and every good quality that could endear, it was believed that he had not an enemy on earth-; but his religion was his only crime. Mr. Clifford, who might have foothed the anguifh of his aged mother-in-law Mrs. D'Arcy, and Mrs. Burrowes and her five orphans, was conveyed, with his poor fervant, on a car to his houfe, where he continued delirious, and in convulfions for a month; during which time his afflicted wife and fix children daily expected his diffolution; and to heighten their diftreffs, the houfe was occupied by a party of rebel guards, who were daily relieved from a neighbouring camp at Upton,|| the feat of

\* Father Lacy, the prieft, might have faved his life by the turn of his finger. || See Plate III. I. i.

Plate IV: A Map of Enniscorthy and Vinegar-hill where the Rebels were pofted previous to the Action on 21<sup>st</sup> of June 1798 by Alex Taylor Capt<sup>n</sup>. in His Majesty's Royal Engineers. [Facing p.347.]

[Inset text:] Gen. Sir James Duff & Loftus advanced by the Ferns road when the latter turned to the left at A by the road to the fields B. The dotted line represents the advance of the Rebels C. The point at which Gen. Lake began the attack.

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Mr. James White. While they continued prisoners at Caftle-annefley, their food was fo bad, that they were often on the point of ftarving.

The inhabitants of the country contiguous to Carnew,\* nine miles from Gorey, collected in fuch numbers on the twenty-feventh of May, under the aufpices of father Michael Murphy, that they had the confidence to attack that town.

On that morning, the garrifon confifting of a company of the Antrim militia, commanded by captain Rowan, two corps of yeomen infantry, and one of caivalry, making in the whole about two hundred men, having received intelligence that they were approaching the town, marched out, met, and engaged them, at a place called Bullinrufh, killed nine, and took two prifoners, and difperfed the remainder, who fled to Ferns,† poffeffed at that time by the rebels. The garrifon had the mortification to behold all the loyalifts houfes. in flames, as far as they could fee.

While the infantry were refiting themfelves, a detachment of captain Wainright's troop, who had been on an out-poft, were driven in about four o'clock in the evening, by the main body of the rebels from Ferns, who were advancing to renew the engagement.

The little garrifon formed and. marched to attack them on Kitthomashill,‡ where they were judicioufly ported. The rebels having been broken in about a quarter of an hour by the fire of the infantry, were charged by the cavalry,§ though up a fteep hill, and difperfed in all directions. In the purfuit, about one hundred and fifty of them were killed; and of the garrifon but one man was flightly wounded. They took a great number of horfes, fome of which had belonged to the unfortunate Mr. Turner, who was that day murdered at Ballingale. There were three priefts in that action, one of whom was the famous father Michael Murphy, killed at the battle of Arklow on the ninth of June.

On Friday following, the first of June, the unfortunate colonel Walpole marched into Carnew, and reconnoitred the rebels, pofted on Ballymore-hills, twice before the fatal fourth of June.

The rebellious inhabitants of the country, encouraged by the fucefs of father John Murphy againrt the North Cork regiment, flocked to his ftandard at Oulart in fuch numbers, that he refolved to attack the town.

\* See Plate n. 4. † Ibid. 7. ‡Near Slievebuoy mountain, Plate II. 5. §The Shilela cavalry, commanded by captain Wainright, earl Fitzwilliam’s againft it, who in various actions shewed great valour and good fenfe.

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of Ennifcorthy,\* about fix miles diftant, on Monday morning the twenty-eighth day of May; but first I think it right to give the reader an account of the garrifon which defended it.

	Captains	Subalterns	Serjeants	Drummers	Rank & file
North Cork militia					
Captain Snowe’s company	1	1	3	2	56
Captain De Courcy’s company		1	2	1	24
Total of the North Cork	1	2	5	3	80
Enniscorthy infantry					
Captain Founden	1	2	2	1	50
Do. fupplementary		1	3		57
Scarawalsh infantry					
Captain Cornock	1	2	3	1	60
Ennifcorthy cavalry					
Captain Richards,	1	2	2	1	50
Total	4	9	15	6	297
Officers Names					
North Cork, captain Snowe, lieutenant Bowen, enfigh Harman. Ennifcorthy, infantry, captain Founden, lieutenants Drury and Hunt. Supplementary, lieutenant Founden. Scarawalsh infantry, captain Cornock, lieutenants Carden and Rudd. Lieutenant Spring on half-pay, and formerly lieutenant of the 63d regiment, joined the troops as a volunteer.					

Ennifcorthy† is a market, a port, and a borough town, which returned two members to parliament. It is divided into two parts by the river Slaney, over which there is a ftone bridge. The market-houfe, the court-houfe, and the principal ftreets are on the fourth fide of it. Two fuburbs called Templehannon|| and Druingould§ lie on the north fide, and at the foot of Vinegar-hill, a mountain which is quite clofe to the town. It is about twelve miles from the town of Wexford, fifteen from Rofs, eighteen from Gorey, eight from Taghmon, fix from Ferns, and nine and three quarters from Newtown-barry. As the tide ebbs and

flows

\* Plate III. i. † Ibid. IV. ‡ Ibid. || Ibid. 5. § Ibid. 6.

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flows to it, which makes the river navigable for barges of fome burden, it was a place of confiderable trade; and the inhabitants were between four and five thoufand, before the defolating fpirit of rebellion banifhed or deftroyed a great portion of them.

Information having been received that James Lacy, a shopkeeper, was at the head of a traitorous conspiracy, he suddenly disappeared. On searching his house, some treasonable papers were found in it; which exasperated the yeomen so much, that some of them rushed into it and destroyed a great part of the furniture. This man was afterwards commissary general of the rebel army, on Vinegar-hill; and his brother, a priest, frequently attended the camp there, and aided the rebels.

On Saturday evening, the twenty-sixth of May, captain Pouden and the reverend Mr. Hancock, both magistrates, agreed on the expediency of seizing and laying under requisition all the gunpowder to be found in the shops; not only to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels, but to supply the loyalists, should there be a deficiency of it. That night the garrison lay under arms in the streets, and the necessary guards and patrols were established.

From Saturday evening till Monday morning, protestant families, in great numbers, were coming into the town, flying from the fanatical vengeance of the rebels, and bringing their children, their baggage, and their furniture on carts.

On that evening a handsome young woman, of the name of Piper, came galloping at full speed into the town, with horror and fright in her countenance, and crying out, "Murder! Murder!" and saying, that the massacre had begun. I have already related the cruelty of the rebels towards her family at Tincurry.

About seven o'clock on Monday morning, the twenty-eighth day of May, a man arrived there, and informed the garrison, that they would be attacked before three o'clock in the afternoon; and at that time the troops were much exhausted in mind and body, from being constantly under arms, from supplying patrols and videttes, and from scouring the country; and soon after captain Snowe received a letter from lieutenant colonel Foote, with an account of the defeat of the North Cork at Oulart. Captain Ogle, of Belview\* new member for the city of Dublin,

\* Plate III. 4.

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marched to the relief of the garrison on Sunday morning, with a numerous corps, of infantry but having received intelligence that his own country was disturbed, he was under the necessity of returning to it, accompanied by the Healthfield corps of cavalry, commanded by captain John Grogan.

On Monday morning the twenty-eighth day of May, about nine o'clock, the drums beat to arms, as a report was spread, that the rebels were advancing towards the town in great force. The different positions. and rallying posts were immediately assigned to the garrison. The North Cork occupied the bridge, the Enniscorthy cavalry the street leading to it from the town, the Enniscorthy and Scarawalsh infantry the Duffrey-gate-hill, at the Newtown-barry road. A considerable guard was posted in the market house, where the arms and ammunition were lodged, and some suspicious persons were confined; and another in the castle, where some notorious rebels were in strict custody.

About half an hour before the enemy appeared, a rebel spy, with a white cotton jacket, and a white hat with a broad green band, was seized near the town, and as a rebel commission was found in his pocket, he was hanged. .

At length, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the videttes at the Duffrey-gate\* came galloping in, and announced, that the rebels who had assembled at Bally-ore hill, which is on the north east side of the town, and about two miles distant from it, were advancing on the Newtown-barry road, in an immense column, which extended a mile in length, and was so thick, as to fill up the road.

Some officers in the garrison, who had seen a great deal of actual service, declared that their number was between five and six thousand; They staid at Bally-ore hill till father John Murphy said mass for them.

In the course of the morning they set fire to some houses, in hopes of drawing the garrison out of the town.

As many avenues led into the town, it would have been impossible for the yeomanry to occupy them for its defence, from the paucity of their numbers, should the rebels be allowed to approach it. For this reason, captains Cornock and Pouden led their corps forward in a line about four hundred yards from the Duffrey-gate on which the rebel column

\* Plate IV. 2, 3.

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halted about the same distance from them. Soon after, three rebel leaders\* who were on horseback, with drawn swords, began to move among them, and to give orders; on which great numbers of the rebels filed off in the fields on the right and left, to the distance of about half a mile from the main body; which they did with a design of outflanking the yeomen, of cutting them off from the town, and of entering it by the different avenues which led into it. After this movement, having advanced a little, they drove a number of horses on the road against the loyalists for the purpose of throwing them into confusion. They then fired a general volley, both from the main body, and the flanks; by which lieutenants Hunt and Pouden were mortally, and captain Cornock slightly wounded, and some of the privates were killed and wounded. One Thompson, who had volunteered among the supplementary yeomen, received a spent ball in the neck, which he extracted, and fired at the enemy.† The yeomen returned the fire, with considerable effect. The rebels still advanced, firing at the same time from behind the hedges, with such steadiness and celerity, that captain Brury, who had served the whole of the American war, and who volunteered that day, declared, he had never experienced a heavier or better-directed fire. As the county of Wexford abounds with water-fowl, the occupation of a fowler is so profitable, that numbers of the lower classes of people are not only expert in the use of fire-arms, but excellent marksmen.

As the rebels still continued to advance, and “to extend their wings, for the purpose of surrounding the yeomen, the latter retreated near the town, and sent to captain Snowe, who guarded the bridge, where he was supported by the cavalry commanded by captain Richards, to request he would reinforce them with the North Cork, and he accordingly repaired to the Duffrey-gate, attended by the cavalry, to support the yeomanry; but as a detachment of them were between him and the enemy, and exactly in his line of fire, he could not do any material service, without running a risk of injuring the loyalists; and, as apprehensions were entertained that the rebels would cross the river to attack Temple Shannon, he repaired to his former post at the bridge, and at the same time,

Two of these were father John, Murphy, and Roach, colonel Lehunte's permanent serjeant.

† An officer, who assisted him in extracting it, assured me of this.

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ordered the cavalry to cover his retreat, as a large body of the enemy had come near his last position. Captain Richards then charged and dispersed them, but in effecting it, nine of his men were killed, and three wounded; and sixteen of his horses were either killed or so severely wounded, as to be unfit for service.

The high clay banks, improperly called in Ireland hedges, formed the fences of the town-fields round Enniscorthy, and afforded breast-works to the rebel marksmen, behind which they fired with security and deliberation on the loyalists.

At last, the yeoman infantry, perceiving that they must soon be surrounded, and cut off by the long extended wings of the enemy, while the main body engaged them, divided themselves into small parties, and occupied the different avenues which led into the town, where they made a most gallant defence, having killed great numbers of the rebels; though they suffered much from the treachery of the disloyal inhabitants, who not only fired at them from the windows, but their fanaticism was such, that they set fire to their own houses, to annoy the yeomen; for, in a short time, three large suburbs, called Gutter-street, Drumgoold, and Irish-street,\* and two lanes in the centre of the town, were in flames; yet the loyalists were so confident of success, from having completely repulsed the rebels, that they gave three cheers. The enemy, defeated in the many attempts which they made on the north and west side of the town, made an effort to cross the river, about a quarter of a mile above the bridge, where there is an island, in which they succeeded; but were soon repulsed by captain Richard's corps, part of whom fired at them with carbines, from a place about one hundred yards above the globe house, and killed great numbers; at the same time they were severely galled by the North Cork on the bridge.

They then attempted to cross the river higher up, out of the reach of the fire of the North Cork. On this, captain Snowe detached lieutenant Prior, with a sergeant and sixteen men of his corps, to oppose them, which they did most effectually; for having taken post behind a hedge, they continued to kill great numbers of them, till their ammunition was expended. Soon after captain Cornock came to captain Snowe at the bridge, bleeding copiously, from a pike wound he had received in the neck, having the crown of his hat cleft from a blow of a pike, and demanded a reinforcement, as the rebels, under cover of

\* See Plate IV. 3.

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the smoke, had forced into the town in considerable numbers, at the Duffrey-gate and Irish-street. At the same time the disaffected inhabitants fired on the yeomen from their windows. One column of them attacked captain Pouden's, the other captain Cornock's corps, which had suffered materially. The streets were entirely involved in smoke, so that the yeomen could not perceive the rebels till they were charged by their pikes. The flames from the houses at each side of the street were so great, as to unite over their heads, and to form an arch. Their hair was singed; the bearskin in their caps was burnt. The loyalists, bravely disputing every inch of ground, retreated to the market-house,\* an open space, like a square, where they made a determined stand, and killed great numbers of the enemy. By this effort the loyalists turned the scale, and drove the rebels completely out of the town, the streets of which at each side of the river presenting an awful scene of conflagration. While the troops were thus engaged in the fourth side of the town, another body of the rebels crossed the river, about three quarters of a mile above the bridge, but were soon routed by captain Snowe, on which occasion his men showed great dexterity, as marksmen, having seldom failed to bring down such individual rebels as they aimed at. Captain Snowe then ordered captain Richards to charge them, which he did most effectually, but with the loss of two men killed, and some wounded.

As a party of the rebels which came from Vinegar-hill towards the globe still remained unaffailed, and their numbers seemed to increase, they were attacked by captain Drury, with half a company of the North Cork, and he dispersed them with considerable slaughter. Thus ended an action which lasted more than three hours, fought on a very hot day, and in the midst of a burning town, the disaffected inhabitants of which set fire to their own houses, to annoy the loyalists, and fired on them from their windows. In this the yeomen and protestant inhabitants

performed prodigies of valour, in support of the constitution in church and state, and in defence of their property and their families. They lost near one third of their number, which did not exceed three hundred, and the rebels whom they encountered, were said by some to amount to five thousand, by others to six thousand.

\* See plate IV. 4.

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A return of the killed and wounded in defence of the town of Enniscorthy, on Monday the twenty-eighth day of May, 1798.

	Killed.			Wounded.	
	Officers	Serjeants	Privates	Officers	Priv.
North Cork Militia		1	3		3
Scarawalsh infantry	1	2	17	1	3
Enniscorthy infantry	1		6		4
Supplementary infantry	1		30		
Enniscorthy cavalry			11		6
Total	1 captain	3 subalterns	1 drum.	67	1 16

Captain John Pouden who commanded the supplementary yeomen, lieutenant Hunt of the Enniscorthy infantry, and lieutenant Carden of the Scarawalsh infantry, were killed. The latter, who had served with reputation as an officer during the whole of the American war, was shot from the window of one Denny an apothecary, it is said, by one Barnett his servant. In the number of the killed and wounded, I have not inserted a great many protestants who suddenly joined the troops with guns, pistols, pikes or swords, and of whom many fell in the action.

Of the garrison eighty-eight were killed and wounded; and deducting seven of the North Cork, there remain eighty-one loyal protestants who bled that day in defence of the constitution in church and state.

It was generally believed, that not less than five hundred of the rebels were killed or wounded. The banks of the river, and the island in it were strewn with their dead bodies, and numbers of them fell in the streets; but it was observed that the disaffected inhabitants were always ready to drag them into their houses, whenever they could get a safe opportunity, that the sight of them might not discourage their surviving friends. To keep up their courage, every artifice was used; for even women, as if insensible of their danger, were seen in the midst of the carnage, administering whiskey to their rebel friends.

“When the action terminated, the rebels were completely routed and expelled from the town; however, the loyalists did not think it tenable for the following reasons: It was in a state of conflagration; and the rebels, who continued to hover round it, would have attacked it in the night, and would have been assisted by the Roman catholic inhabitants, who were very numerous; As there were many avenues leading to the

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town, and as the loyalists, under arms, had lost near one third of their number, which did not originally exceed three hundred, they must have been overpowered and massacred in the night. The officers therefore, after mature deliberation, resolved to abandon the town, and to march to Wexford, on the east side of the river by St. John’s; but, from the suddenness of the retreat, only a few of the protestant inhabitants could attend them; and they could carry with them no other

comforts or necessaries but the wearing apparel which they wore. Imagination cannot form a more tragical scene than the melancholy train of loyal fugitives, of whom some were so feeble from their wounds, from sickness, the tendernefs of old age, or infancy, that they could not have effected their escape, had not the yeomen cavalry mounted them on their horses. Some parents were reduced to the dreadful necessity of leaving their infants in cottages, on the road side, having, at the same time, but a faint hope of ever seeing them again.

As they travelled to Wexford, the rebels fired at them from the opposite side of the river, wherever they could get an opening.

Such of the loyal inhabitants as were unable to join their departing friends, took a melancholy farewell of them, and waited the fatal hour, when they were to fall victims to the fanatical vengeance of the rebels, who, when they got possession of the town, proceeded with savage delight, to commit unbounded carnage and plunder. The following extract of a letter written by a very respectable beneficed clergyman, the reverend Mr. Handcock, rector of Kilcormick, who fought with the king's troops in defence of the town, will give the reader a perfect idea of the sufferings of the protestant inhabitants on that day:

“Finding that we could no longer keep our ground, I rushed singly through the streets, with a blunderbuss cocked, and presenting it at every person who looked at me, running for my life, but without the faintest hope of saving it, or that of my family, yet determined to share their fate, and with great difficulty getting into my house, locked and barricaded by the frightened inmates, I dragged my wife down stairs with my children, just as they sat in her sick room;† and observing which way the fugitives were moving out of the town, I forced them along with the

\* Plate IV. 4. † She lay in but two days before.

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tragical cavalcade, until my wife, overpowered with terror and the heat of the flames, fell on a burning pile of rubbish, where, unable myself from fatigue to raise her, she would have been suffocated or trampled to death, had not a gallant fellow of the North Cork militia, wounded, and scarce able to drag his legs after him, assisted me, swearing the Munster oath, “By; J—— s, you did not forsake us, and I will not desert you.” The poor fellow accordingly stuck by us till we arrived at Wexford.

In return for this, having got my wife and children behind or before mounted yeomen,\* I procured a horse for his wife, and carried his musket as far as I was able. When we came within three or four miles of Wexford, we were met by the yeomen cavalry of it, who turned out, on hearing our disaster, to cover our retreat.

The rebel army having got possession of the town, broke open the gaol and liberated all the prisoners. They then proceeded to burn and destroy every house belonging to a protestant of any distinction. Before sunset the principal part of the town was in flames; and, late in the evening, a great number of old men, women and children, of the protestant religion, fled into the adjoining woods, lest they should perish in the flames, or by the sanguinary rage of the rebels. Such of them as were not fortunate enough to make their escape, were massacred. The rebels having broke open the cellars, continued to commit every wanton cruelty and barbarous excess, which savage ferocity, heightened by fanaticism and ebriety, could dictate.

When they entered the town, some ladies of distinguished beauty, wild with horror and affright, waded over the river Slaney at the risk of their lives, with one child on their back, and another in their arms. Numbers of both sexes fled to the wood of St. John's,† better known by the name of Ring-wood, where they passed the whole night, petrified with horror, at hearing shots constantly fired, the shouts of the rebels, and the groans of the dying. They kept a gloomy silence, not venturing to speak to each other, lest they should be discovered.

The rebels having heard next day, that a number of protestants were in the wood, sent a party, well armed, to find it; and they killed such

\* Many of the mounted yeomen, though overcome with fatigue, walked the whole way and gave their horses to the fugitives. † Plate III. 2.

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of them as were not fortunate enough to make their escape. They continued for some days after, to beat it as closely as a pack of fox-hounds would.

A party of ladies who fled towards the river, when the rebels entered the town, informed me, that several shots were fired at them; and that in their retreat, they met a boy about fifteen years old, armed with a pike, who approached them with a stern air; on which they asked him, if he was going to kill them? and he said, "No; but it is no matter where you go, for you will all be killed."

As soon as the rebels began to enter the town, many of the Roman catholic inhabitants frequently exclaimed, particularly the women, "That they would have no heresy amongst them; that they would put an end to heretics; and that they would have all or none."

They murdered Richard Whaley, a locksmith, near one hundred years old, as soon as they entered the town; and Edward Sly, a protestant, was shot by his neighbour William Lee, when he was kindly reaching him a quart of beer. Numbers were dragged from their houses, and barbarously massacred in the presence of their wives and children.

The town, the morning after the rebels got possession of it, presented a dreadful scene of carnage and conflagration; many bodies were lying dead in the streets, and others groaning in the agonies of death; some parts of the town were entirely consumed, and in others the flames continued to rage with inextinguishable fury; no less than four hundred and seventy-eight dwelling-houses and cabins were burned in the town and its suburbs, besides a great number of stores, malt-houses, and out-offices.

Early next morning, the rebels formed a camp on Vinegar-hill, made entrenchments round it, and placed some batteries in them. They then stationed a large garrison in the town, which was relieved every day by an officer's guard from the camp. Such great numbers of the lower class of people from the adjacent country flocked to their camp, that it soon consisted of at least ten thousand men. They posted strong picket guards, sentinels, and videts, in all the avenues leading to the town, and for some miles round it.

They then proceeded to destroy the church of Enniscorthy, and having pulled down the organ, the pews, the communion table, and reading desk, they burned them to ashes before the church-door, where they

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tore the bibles and the prayer-books; and then proceeded to demolish the remainder of the inside part, leaving nothing but the roof and the bare walls. They took down the bell, and mounted it between two beams on Vinegar-hill, for the purpose of marking the progress of time, and of alarming the camp in case of surprize.

They committed such protestants as were not fortunate enough to retreat to Wexford with the loyalists, or to escape into the woods, to a prison on the hill, formed by the walls of an old wind-mill, and then proceeded to try them by a court-martial, which sat constantly for that purpose. The only charge against them was, their being orangemen, which was synonymous with protestant.\*

On the morning of Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May, they put to death twenty-four persons of the established church, by shooting some, and piking others in front of the rebel line, of whom one was Mr. Henry Hatton, portrieve of the town of Enniscorthy, an innocent unoffending gentleman. § They burned the glebe-house of Enniscorthy to ashes; but converted the out-offices into stores for holding provisions and arms for the camp.

A committee of twelve, consisting of some rebel officers and three priests; viz. fathers Roche, Kearns and Clinch, and at times father John Murphy, continued constantly to sit, and to superintend and regulate the concerns of the camp, and the newly-established republick. When the business of the day was over, they dined together at a table, regularly furnished with the best viands which the country could afford, and with delicious wines taken from the cellars of the neighbouring gentlemen.

They sent gangs of assassins round all the adjacent country, commanded by rebel officers, in quest of protestants, who seized such of them as could not make their escape, and committed them to prisons at the foot of the hill, or in the town. I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. || for the mode in which this infamous business was conducted, and for some

\* See in Appendix, No. XIX. 8. the confession of James Beaghan.

§ For a description of this horrid scene, see Appendix, No. XIX. in the affidavits of Catherine Heydon, Benjamin Warren, Richard Sterne, Robert Whitney, Margaret Hunt, Edward Stacey, and Ann Piper.

|| See extracts from the trials of Thomas Clooney, James Beaghan, William Fenlon, Andrew Farrell, and Nicholas Walfh.

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of the atrocities which were perpetrated by the rebels while they continued in possession of Vinegar-hill.

The walls of the old windmill on the top of the hill served as a fold to contain the victims who supplied the sacrifice of the day; and when the rebel ranks were on parade, they were led forth and butchered in their presence, and as a regale to them; and what was very singular, the executioners often knelt down, crossed themselves, and said a prayer, before they immolated the victims, who were frequently almost famished before they were led to execution, from the bad and scanty food with which they were supplied.

The camp was constantly attended by from ten to twenty priests, who daily said mass at the head of each rebel column, and afterwards pronounced an exhortation to animate them in the extirpation of heresy, and in the exclusive establishment of their own, the only true orthodox faith.

Mr. Stephen Ram, of Ramsfort, in the county of Wexford, brother-in-law to lord Courtown, who is deservedly loved and revered by his tenants, informed me, that such of them as were of the Roman catholic religion, and had been unfortunately concerned in the rebellion, were very communicative to him, and informed him, that they entered into it at the instigation of their priests; that it was usual in the rebel camp, for the priest of each parish to call over the names of his own parishioners; and that his coadjutor did so, if he was prevented from age, infirmity, or any other cause.

Commisaries were appointed in every parish, to provide provision for the camp, according to the directions of the committee, or the commander in chief, and each of the commissaries had a certain number of pikemen under his command.

The commander in chief, at each camp, gave written orders to the commissaries to supply the different rebel corps or individuals with provisions, of which I give the reader copies of some originals which fell into my hands.

“The commander in chief requests commissary Brennan to give bread for forty men to captain Devereux’s corps.

June 15th, 1798. ROCHE.”\*

Lacken-hill.

\* This was father Philip Roche. Mr.

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“Mr. John Brennan,

Please to send dinner for twelve men belonging to Jeremiah Fitzhenry.

18th June, 1798,

ROCHE.”

“Permit Tom Harper and another man to pass for food for eight men to commissary Brennan.

June 19th, 1798,

ROCHE.”

Whenever any of the country commissaries sent provisions or cattle into one of the camps, they obtained receipts for them from the commissary general, as appears by the following:

“Received from Mr. John Brennan,\* seventeen bullocks, to keep at grazes till called for. June 18th, 1798, first year of liberty.

STEPHEN MYLER.”

General Roche received the following present from a man of the name of Murphy, who acted as steward in the camp, and wished to ingratiate himself with the commander in chief, as appears by the following letter:

“Sir,

“I have sent you a cask of wine, a barrel of beer, eighteen loaves of bread, two sheep of the best sort, one loaf of bread, and two fowl for your own use; from your friend and humble servant,

PATRICK MURPHY, steward.”

This camp, which was the grand rendezvous of the rebels, sent large detachments to those who fought the different battles in the county of Wexford. Their tents were formed of carpets, quilts, sheets, blankets, window curtains, and various articles of furniture which they had seized in protestant houses.

Mrs. M.J a respectable gentlewoman, who remained the entire night of Monday the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, in Ringwood, gave me the following relation of the dangers and distresses which she and her husband suffered. It will serve to show the savage and sanguinary disposition of the rebels.

Mr. Bennett, of Birmount,§ lay concealed in the wood that night. Next morning, about seven o’clock, when we were almost sinking with

\* He had been a member of the Healthfield cavalry, and in violation of his oath of allegiance deserted and joined the rebels.

‡ This is not really the initial letter of her name, which I conceal, lest it might expose her to rebel vengeance.

§ Plate III. 3.

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cold and hunger, he kindly invited us to his house, which lay close to the river Slaney, at the opposite side of it. Having gone there, about seven o'clock in the evening, a woman came to us, trembling with fear, and said, "That the rebels were approaching in all directions to burn the house, and to murder us." Mr. Bennett hid himself in his garden. We were advised to get some green boughs, as the emblem of rebellion, and to go out to meet them; and having accordingly done so, they desired us not to be frightened, as they never injured women; and they asked us if we were Christians, (meaning Roman Catholics,) and very fortunately we told them we were. They informed us, that they had just killed Mr. Edward White\* of Roxana, and his son, who lived near Vinegar-hill; having, as they said, searched his house for arms and Orangemen. Having found Mr. M. in the garden, they presented their firelocks, and were on the point of shooting him; but said they must suspend his execution till their officer, who was absent, arrived. They took him off, mounted behind one of them; when they fortunately met a rebel, who had a particular regard for Mr. M., and who galloped off speedily to Vinegar-hill camp, and procured him a protection from father John Murphy, who was then commander in chief there.

"On Thursday I went to Vinegar-hill, in hopes of getting a protection from father Philip Roche,† a rebel chieftain, and in our way thither, we saw the bodies of Mr. White and his son, lying dead and naked in the lawn before his house; for the rebels would not suffer them to be buried.

"In our way to Enniscorthy, we saw twelve dead bodies lying on the road; and on entering the town, we were filled with horror at beholding a great number of them in the streets.

"The camp at Vinegar-hill presented a dreadful scene of confusion and uproar. A number of female rebels, more vehement than the male, were marching out to meet the army from Newtown-barry. This was a large body which father Roche led from Vinegar-hill to the attack of that town, which took place the first of June. Great numbers of women

\* This aged gentleman was a magistrate, and had been always friendly to the Roman Catholics. His son was almost an idiot. The rebels made them kneel in a potatoe trench, shot them, and some days after covered them lightly with earth. They murdered on Vinegar-hill his brother, Mr. John White, of Whitefield, a magistrate, and very far advanced in years.

† Edward Roche was the lay-general.

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were in the camp. Some men were employed in killing cattle, and in boiling them in pieces in large copper brewing pans; others were drinking, cursing, and swearing; many of them were playing on various musical instruments, which they had acquired by plunder in the adjacent Protestant houses; and this produced a most disagreeable and barbarous din.

"At last I met father Roche in Enniscorthy, and he gave me a protection, not only for Mr. M. but one for Mr. Bennett's house, in the following words, which was posted up in the hall: "No man to molest this house, or its inhabitants, on pain of death!"

"However, next day, a rebel guard came to Mr. Bennett's, and compelled him and Mr. M. to go before the parish priest of Bree, in order to send them to the attack on Ross; but Mr. John Devereux, a rebel captain, on seeing Roche's protection discharged him; and soon after father John Sutton of Enniscorthy, and a Mr. William Barker, a rebel general, gave them protections, and certified that they had been tried by a court-martial, and acquitted.

“We then repaired to Mr. Jofhua Lett’s, a mile beyond Ennifcorthy, where we ftaid fome days. During our refidence there, we daily faw great crowds of rebels, who often boasted of the number of proteftants they had put to death, and even in what manner they had piked them. They faid, “That Cork and Limerick had capitulated to them: That Dublin was furrounded by forty thoufand united Irifhmen: That the whole kingdom would be foon in their poffeffion; and that there fhould be no other religion but the Roman catholick.” They compelled us to go to mafs, which we did, to preferve our lives.

“At laft, the rebels, having difcovered that Mr. M. was concealed in Mr. Jofhua Lett’s houfe, threatened to demolifh it, unlefs he was inflantly difmiffed. As Mr. Lett was obliged to comply with this mandate, we repaired to Mr. Fitzhenry’s of Ballymacus,† about five miles off. In our way thither, we met many parties of rebels, who would have put Mr. M. to death, but for the prieft’s protection; for which they fhewed the utmoft refpect. This fhews the great influence of the facerdotal order, and how eafily they might have prevented the maffacres of proteftants.

† Plate III, 3.

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“We were there but a few hours, when a rebel guard arrived, and carried us back to Ennifcorthy, where Mr. M. was put into a guard-houfe, containing about a dozen unfortunate proteftants, who were fhoot or piked next day in the camp. I was then defired to apply to one of their officers, named Morgan Byrne, whom I found fitting in their committee-room, at a long table, with many books and papers before him. Father Kearns was at the head of the table, round which all the members of the committee fat. On repreffing my fituation, and that of Mr. M. Mr. Patrick Sutton, who was a general among them, faid, “He would do his utmoft to ferve Mr. M. and me and Mr. Morgan Byrne\* faid, “He would fpare his life, provided he would join and fight with them; but on no other condition.

“Unheard-of barbarities were committed at Ennifcorthy, Vinegar-hill, End in all the adjacent country, before the rebels were fubdued and driven from them.

“The pikemen would often fhew us their pike s all ftained with bloody and boaft of having murdered our friends and neighbours.”

Every morning when the rebels paraded on Vinegar-hill, they put to death from fifteen to thirty proteftants in their prefence, and as a regale to them; and this was done with the folemny of an execution under a judicial fentence.

Samuel Goodifon, a farmer, worth £400 a-year, of the proteftant religion, was univerfally eftemed for his good moral charafter. He and his family, confifting of a wife and nine children, remained in Ringwood on the night of the twenty-eighth of May, to efcape the fanatical rage of the rebels. On Tuefday morning, they repaired to St. John’s,† the feat of Doctor Hill, on the Slaney, who offered to let them remain there; but Goodifon faid, he had fuch warm friends among the Roman catholicks, that he was fure of getting a protection from them, if he could arrive with fafety at Ennifcorthy. He left his family at a mill, within a quarter of a mile of the town; and having advanced a fhort way, he was overwhelmed with joy at meeting his neighbour and particular friend, Luke Byrne; but that fanguinary ruffian fhoot him inflantly, inftead of affording him that protection which he folicted. A respectable gentlewoman of Ennifcorthy

\* The loyal fubjects called this fellow Santerre, and his father Luke Byrne, who was more fanguinary, Marat.

† See Plate III. 2.

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heard him boast afterwards, that he never ate so sweet a breakfast, as he had that morning, for that he had killed Samuel Goodison and William Carroll.

John Stillman, eighty years old, who had served as a soldier the greater part of his life, and George Saunders, seventy years old, fled all Monday night in Ringwood; and having come out of it about twelve o'clock, next morning, they were shot on the road leading to Enniscorthy. Saunders died instantly. Stillman continued alive till next day, and was able to get up. A rebel out-post, of about twenty men, amused themselves with ridiculing, insulting, and torturing him. They often asked him in irony, (as he was a protestant) Whether he would have a priest? They had but one ball among them, and they fired it five or six times through his body, while prostrate on the ground; and yet he was alive next day. He had but one eye, which they put out with a pike. At length they put him to death. Afterwards the rebels were known to call him their plaything, in conversation at Enniscorthy; and to declare, he was so tough an old fellow, that they had great difficulty in putting him to death.

I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 1. for the sufferings of Benjamin Warren, a protestant yeoman, and the scene of carnage which he beheld on Vinegar-hill. I saw his wounds in August, 1798. His body had been perforated with pikes in many places.

When the town was evacuated on Monday the twenty-eighth of May, Richard Sterne, a sickly old man, his wife, his son far gone in a consumption, and a grandchild, five years old, on his back, endeavoured to retreat to Wexford with the protestant fugitives, but being unable to accompany them, they concealed themselves in a wood, where they remained four days and four nights, and must have starved, but that they received a few potatoes and about a pint of milk from a fisherman.

I shall refer the reader to his affidavit. Appendix, No. XIX. 2. for an account of his sufferings, and of some of the horrors practised at Vinegar-hill.

In Appendix, No. XIX. 3. the reader will see an account of the murder of the reverend Mr. Heydon, in the streets of Enniscorthy, who was venerable for his piety and his years, being near eighty years old.

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I have been assured that the rebels would not suffer his body to be interred for some days, and that a great part of it was devoured by pig.

Richard Sterne was a prisoner in Mr. Beale's barn, at the foot of Vinegar-hill, where he saw numbers of his fellow-prisoners tried and condemned by a rebel court-martial (at which one Lawrence Power was president) for being orangemen, or protestants, which were synonymous. Lawrence Power was afterwards taken in Dublin, tried, convicted, and hanged. Richard Sterne, being examined on his trial, deposed, that he saw many persons led to execution under the judgment of that court; and that he saw one Murtagh Keane shoot Thomas Simpson and Jeremiah Smyth, soon after Lawrence Power had pronounced the sentence.

I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 4. for the barbarous treatment which Edward Stacey, a protestant farmer, of Tomgar, received from four ruffians, who were sent from the camp in quest of protestants. I saw the wound which he received, soon after it was healed.

The gangs of pikemen who were sent to roam the country in quest of protestants, to supply the grand slaughter-house at Vinegar-hill, could not refrain their thirst for blood, and often killed their prisoners on the spot where they seized them, though contrary to the orders of their leaders.

For the sufferings of lieutenant Hunt, of the Enniscorthy yeomen infantry, see Appendix, No. XIX. 5.

On the thirtieth day of May, William Neal, Henry and Bryan, his sons, were seized at their house at Ballybrennan, by a band of affairins, who were sent from the camp in search of protestants, and were conveyed to Vinegar-hill camp. Michael Maddock and Joseph Murphy were leaders of the party. The former called them orangemen, meaning protestants, and wanted to kill them as such, but was over-ruled by some others of the band. Bryan Neal offered them his horse and cow to liberate them; but Maddock said, "That the cattle of all orangemen belonged to them already."

When they arrived on Vinegar-hill, Murphy said he would not bring them any more orangemen, unless they put them to death directly: On which a conference was held, when the father and the two sons were immediately condemned. They first led out to execution Bryan, who begged they would shoot him, instead of torturing him with pikes.

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One of the rebels said he should not die so easy a death, and instantly struck him on the head with a carpenter's adz [sic], which made him stagger a few yards; but he was soon brought back, when one of them stabbed him in the side with a spear, another in the neck, and a third shoved them aside and shot him. William, the father, who was then brought forth, solicited to be shot; and having complied with his request, they put him on his knees. The executioner missed fire at him three times; on which father Roche, the general, who attended the execution, desired him to try whether his firelock would go off in the air. He accordingly tried, and it succeeded. Father Roche then gave him a protection, and ordered him to be discharged; having imputed his escape to divine Providence. Murphy and Maddock were near neighbours, and supposed to be the intimate friends of the Neal family, who had no suspicion that they had harboured such sanguinary hatred against them, on account of their being of the protestant persuasion.\* William Neal had another son burnt at the barn of Scullabogue.

Charles Davis, a glazier of Enniscorthy, and of the protestant religion, fought against the rebels in defence of that town; but was afterwards made a prisoner, and conveyed to Vinegar-hill by a party of rebels, who informed him, that, as he was an orangeman, he would be put to death. On his arrival in the camp, he saw about forty bodies lying dead, quite naked, and very much mangled with pikes; among which he perceived the body of Mr. Henry Katton, portrieve of the town of Enniscorthy.

The rebels desired him, insultingly, to lay his hand on his deceased friends, whom they called hereticks; and told him, that all the hereticks in the kingdom should share the same fate. They then put him on his knees, in the midst of the dead bodies, and shot him through the body and the arm, and gave him several pike wounds; after which they buried him, covering his body lightly with fods. He lay in that situation from seven o'clock in the evening till five next morning, when he found a dog, who had scraped away the fods, licking his wounds. A party of rebels, who were near the grave, perceiving the motion of his

\* These facts were verified by oath, on the trials of Murphy and Maddock, held at Ross, the thirteenth and twenty-fourth of August, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulke; also, by affidavit, sworn before D. Colclough, esquire, by William Neal, twenty-fourth July, 1798

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body, exclaimed, "The dead is coming to life; and that Davis should have a priest, as he could not obtain salvation without one." Father Sutton, of Enniscorthy, † who was in the camp, administered the rites of his church to him, and told him he was sorry to see him in that situation; but as there was no prospect of his recovery, he was glad that he was to die under his hands. He was then delivered to his wife, who conveyed him to his own house; where, with the aid of medical assistance, he recovered. These facts have been verified by affidavit, and are universally known. Charles Davis, who is now living, shewed me his wounds.

John Mooney, fervant to doctor Hill, and a proteftant, was taken prifouer, and conducted to the wind-mill prifon, on the top of Vinegar-hill, the thirty-firft day of May; and found there fixteen proteftant prifoners, with fome of whom he had been long acquainted. They were defired to prepare for death; and foon after a ruffian entered the prifon with a drawn hanger, and began to torture the prifoners by way of amufement; but the rebel centinel ftopped him, and faid, that as they were to die foon, it was cruel to torment them. In a few minutes one of the prifoners was dragged out of the mill door, and fhot; and foon after the remainder were executed in the fame manner. Among them there was a well-dreffed refpectable looking man, and his fon, a boy about thirteen years old. The father feemed to bear his approaching diffolution with great fortitude, fuppofing that they would not injure his fon, on account of his tender age; but what agonizing pangs muft he have felt, when his child was butchered in his prefence! and he, when led out to execution, was obliged to ftep over his bleeding corpfe, which fell acrofs the door.

Mooney, the laft perfon taken out, was placed by the fixteen dead bodies; and the executioner, whofe name was Byrne, defired him to turn his back to him, (which the viftims were often compelled to do;) but Mooney refufed to do fo, having faid, that he was not afraid to face a bullet. The executioner, who was very ragged, advanced, with his mufket prefented, within twelve paces of him, when Mooney defired him to ftop; and taking off his coat, waiftcoat and hat, which were

‡ This prieft might have faved any perfon he chofe, as he was daily attending the camp.

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new, threw them to him, defired him to take them for his trouble; and requested he would approach nearer to him, and do his bufinefs properly. The executioner, ftruck with his fortitude, faid it was an undoubted proof of his innocence; and declared he would have nothing to do with him. On this, one Murtagh Brien, alias Kane, a fanguinary monfter, and the common executioner, rofe from his knees, (for the rebels commonly knelt and prayed before or during the execution,) and infifted on putting Mooney to death, and prefented a blunderbufs for that purpofe; but Byrne interfered, and fwore he would blow out the brains of any perfon who would attempt to injure him; and he immediately difmiffed him.

Papifts of the meaneft fituation, even beggars, have been known to fave proteftants when they chofe.

Mooney was feized by a party of rebels two or three days after, and they were on the point of putting him to death, for having, as they faid, often enquired for and opened the letters of father Sutton at Ennifcorthy, before the infurrection took place, in order to obtain information relative to the rebellion; but that prieft, who happened to come up when the charge was made, acquitted him of it.

The rebels made a conftant practice of violating women who fell into their hands. In confequence of which, a rebel general, Patrick Sutton, iffued the following proclamation:

#### PROCLAMATION.

“Whereas information has been received that many outrages are committing through the country on the wives and daughters of feveral people: This is therefore to defire and command all officers to ufe every exertion to apprehend and bring into Vinegar-hill camp each and every perfon who fhall be found guilty of fuch offences, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

Given under my hand at Vinegar-hill camp, this 17th day of June, 1798, the firft year of liberty.

PATRICK SUTTON, commander in chief.”

Patrick Connors was peculiarly the object of popish vengeance, for the following reasons: Having married a protestant wife, he was constantly urged by his popish neighbours and his parish priest, to make her change

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her religion; but he refused to interfere about her mode of worship. At last, he was so much disgusted and shocked at their bitter and unremitting reproaches, that he became a convert to the protestant faith. In consequence of this, he was denounced by his parish priest, who laid his flock under a prohibition not to deal with him. This interdict reduced him to poverty, from having obtained a good livelihood as a shopkeeper in the town of Enniscorthy.

On the thirtieth of May, 1798, he, his wife and daughter, were taken to the camp of Vinegar-hill, where the rebel troops were drawn up at parade in the form of a half moon. Connors, John Plunket, and James Rigley, two more protestants, were led out in front of them to be executed. James D'Arcy, a corn-factor, in good circumstances, who volunteered in this bloody business, stepped forward from the line, with a horse pistol, and shot them one after another, charging the pistol with great deliberation, and saying between each murder, "I will now do your business." His daughter, Mary Connors, was offered ten guineas if she would not prosecute; but she declared, that she would not sell the blood of her father.

The poor old widow of Connors was holding him by the arm when they shot him; and, on falling, he pulled her to the ground. On rising, she exclaimed, "You had now better put me to death!" and the brutal savage was on the point of doing so, but other rebels, more humane, prevented him.

These facts were proved at Wexford, on the trial of D'Arcy, the sixteenth of November, 1798, when he was convicted and hanged.

D'Arcy bore a very good character previous to this atrocious act.

It appears that many Roman catholics, who had led irreproachable lives, and were esteemed for their moral conduct prior to the rebellion, imbrued their hands in human blood, without any horror or remorse during the course of it, as their feelings had been blunted by fanaticism.

Edward St. Leger, a protestant, was taken prisoner and conducted to the old mill on Vinegar-hill, by a party of rebels, on the first day of June, 1798, but was released soon after at the intercession of one Fenlon. As he was leaving the prison, he saw a man sitting on the ground, with no other clothes than a piece of a ragged blanket thrown over him. He presented a most ghastly appearance, as his eyes were out, his

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head and body were much swollen, and his cheeks were covered with ulcers. On St. Leger's exclaiming, "What a miserable object!" he attempted to speak, but uttered some inarticulate sounds, which he could not understand; for which reason, he believed, that his tongue had been cut out. An armed rebel who was near, and seemed to be guarding him, told St. Leger, that he was under punishment, and spoke something of slow death; meaning, as he verily believed, that the unfortunate wretch was condemned to suffer a slow death.\*

Unwilling to disgust the reader, I will give him a circumstantial account of but a few of the various cruelties practised on the victims who were immolated on Vinegar-hill by these ferocious fanatics; had they been perpetrated by the dregs of the people, some allowance might have been made for the force of religious bigotry on the minds of the vulgar herd; but we have to lament, that many persons whose birth, education, or opulence, raised them far above that description, were present at, or were consenting to, the perpetration of these atrocities; for we find that they were constantly in the rebel camps where they daily took place, and that they

could have prevented them is unquestionable; for no instance that I could discover ever occurred, that the personal interference or the written protection of a rebel officer, or one of their priests, did not save the life of a person destined for destruction.

Mr. William Barker, a brewer and a merchant of Enniscorthy, was a general in the camp: Mr. Patrick Sutton, formerly a merchant, and well educated, held that rank; and his two sons, one of whom was educated for the bar, were officers there: One Kelly, an opulent farmer near that town, a rebel officer, who has been hanged: The bloody Luke Byrne, a maltster, and his two sons, in opulent circumstances: Messrs. Codd || and Walsh, shopkeepers, and reputed rich: Marineth, a farmer, was wealthy: Andrew Farrell was in good circumstances, and yet he was active in promoting the massacres: Jeremiah Fitzhenry, married to John Colclough's sister, was of the ancient family of the Fitzhenrys, in the county of Wexford: John Colclough, of a family highly respectable, who often represented the county, was well educated and in good circumstances,

\* See Appendix, No. XIX. 6. || Francis Codd, another person of the same name, was very loyal.

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disgraced himself by yielding to the influence of fanaticism. He was the only priest that I could learn of his family. Messrs. Garret and William Byrne were rebel chieftains, and attended the camps.

The reverend Mr. Pentland and Mr. Trocke were put to death on Vinegar-hill, on Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May, with about thirty protestants more.

Luke Byrne, an opulent farmer and brewer of Enniscorthy, though advanced in years, was remarkably cruel and sanguinary; and his two sons, Morgan and Mogue, were little less so. His brother frequently acted the part of executioner on Vinegar-hill.

William Carroll, a tanner, of the protestant persuasion, who had always lived on terms of the warmest friendship with Luke Byrne, accosted him in the street of Enniscorthy, when he was at the head of a party of rebels; but Byrne drew his sword, prostrated him with a blow of it, and ordered the pikemen, whom he commanded, to dispatch him; and they instantly perforated his body with pikes. This honest and industrious man left a widow and eight children.

It is surprising how wanton the rebels were in committing cruelties. On Thursday the thirty-first of May, John Doyle saw a wounded man lying in the street at Enniscorthy, and approaching him, said, in a strain of irony, mingled with cruelty, "What a pity it is you are not more alive!" and then stabbed him several times with a pike, and turned over his body. Doyle was convicted of that crime before a court-martial, on the twentieth of July, 1799.

Thomas Clooney, a farmer, was worth several thousand pounds. His son was aid-de-camp to the rebel general at Ross, and was shot there.

Fenlon, a schoolmaster, a young man of pleasing manners, and a genteel appearance, a captain in the rebel army, was hanged in Wexford.

Furlong, a rich farmer, was a rebel captain, Robert, John and Denis Carthy, very opulent farmers, and well educated, were deeply concerned in the rebellion. Their nephew Denis was stained with the blood of the reverend Mr. Turner, murdered on Whit Sunday. William Lacy, a shop-keeper at Enniscorthy, and brother to father Michael Lacy, (who used to say mass there,) was commissary general in the camp on Vinegar-hill.

William Devereux of Taghmon, was in opulent circumstances. Messrs. John and Edward Hay, actively concerned in the rebellion, were of an ancient papist family, and were extremely well educated.

A barbarous murder committed by the former, with all the coolness of deliberation, proves how far fanaticism can extinguish all religious and moral principle. A protestant boy, known by the name of Grey Thomas, who lived at Newcastle, near the house of Mr. John Hay, was murdered by him on Vinegar-hill.\*

Mr. Hay was thoroughly convinced that every true protestant was sincerely attached to the constitution in church and state, and would oppose the views of the united Irishmen, who were desirous of separating Ireland from England; of forming in it a republic under the auspices of France, and of totally extinguishing the protestant religion, which they regarded as a pestilent heresy.

Thomas Smythson, verified upon oath, on the trial of Edward Roche, a rebel general, at Wexford, the circumstances attending the death of Grey Thomas; and that he heard John Hay declare, in the rebel camp, "That they never could have luck while there were protestants among them."

On the same trial, which began the seventeenth of December, 1798, Thomas Hatchell proved, that Mr. John Hay proposed on Vinegar-hill the massacre of all protestants; and both these witnesses proved that Edward Roche opposed his sanguinary proposal.

There were commonly twenty priests in the camp,‡ and they never interfered for the preservation of protestant lives, except in behalf of a person who happened to be the peculiar object of their regard, or in whose safety they were deeply interested. On the contrary, it appears that numbers of them daily laid hands at the head of the rebel lines, and exhorted the rebels to extirpate heretics or orangemen, which appellations they gave to protestants. || Some persons have endeavoured to palliate the atrocities committed by the rebels, by saying, "That their sanguinary rage was not directed against protestants as such, but merely against a political sect of them called orangemen." This plea could be urged with much less colour in the county of Wexford than elsewhere; because there were no orangemen there; nor was there even an attempt to institute an

\* See Appendix, No. XIX. 7. ‡ The reader will find this verified by different affidavits in the Appendix.

|| See the affidavits of Richard Sterne, Richard Grandy, William Fleming, and Andrew Skeppard, in Appendixes, No. XIX. and XX.

Orange lodge in it till the North Cork came into it, and they did not arrive there till the twenty-sixth of April.

A few days after, a ferjeant Jeffers attempted to make a few orangemen, among the lowest mechanics at Enniscorthy; but as soon as captain Snowe discovered it, he checked and prevented him. The truth is, that the appellation of orangemen was adopted to disguise the sanguinary and intolerant principles of popery, against every other sect of christians,\* and which has on most occasions characterized it; but this thin disguise was seen through; for on many occasions, not only the infuriate savages, but even their priests denounced them as protestants, and the carnage of them was indiscriminate. Not only those of superior rank, whose elevated situation might have excited their envy, and whose wealth might have tempted their rapacity, fell a prey to their fanatical fury; but the inhabitants of the humble abodes of industry were equally obnoxious to it; though they had never heard the word orangemen 'till they were denounced as such by their affairs.

I could not ascertain the number of protestants who were massacred in the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill and its vicinity; but I have been assured that they exceeded five hundred. Among these there were men of landed property, magistrates, clergymen, merchants, farmers, labourers and mechanics. I have obtained the names of as many as I could of the protestants, who were murdered in the county of Wexford, at large, but I could not procure the whole. It will be found with the parishes or townlands to which they belonged in Appendix, No. XIX. 9.

The doctrine of exclusive salvation in the Romish church, from which this sanguinary spirit flows, is inculcated in the koran of Mahomet. Ockley, in his history of the Saracens,† tells us, that the Turks say, agreeable to this doctrine, that every person who is not of their religion, is an enemy to God; and that when they are fighting against such, they are fighting in the cause of God.

The savage delight which the rebels took in the effusion of human blood on Vinegar-hill, resembles the conduct of Mahomet, when he conquered, and took possession of Constantinople, in the year 1452, as

\* See James Beaghan's confession, Appendix, No. XIX. 8. † Vol. I. pages 198, 228.

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related by Knowles, in the following words of his celebrated history of the Turks:

“That he, as a proud conqueror, with great triumph, entered the city of Constantinople, then desolated, and void of all christian inhabitants; and there, after the manner of the Turkish kings, made a sumptuous and royal feast, unto his bashaws and great captains; when, after he had furnished himself with excess of meat and drink, he caused divers of the chief christian captives, both men and women, (of whom many were of the late emperor's line and race) to be in his presence put to death, as he with his Turks sat banqueting, deeming his feast much more fitly, by such effusion of christian blood; which manner of exceeding cruelty, he daily used, until such time as he had destroyed all the Grecian nobility, that were in his power, with the chief of the late Constantinopolitan citizens.”

The Celts, who covered a great part of the European continent, immolated human victims to the Deity; and the Irish, who are of that race, follow the same practice, and both on the score of religion; but the former did so as Pagans, the latter as Roman catholics. The Auto da Fes, which continued till within a few years in Spain and Portugal, were also regarded as offerings to the Deity.

The sufferings of Mr. George Horneck and his family, a very respectable farmer, of Girrane, in the county of Wexford, merit a circumstantial relation. From considerable opulence, he was reduced to very great indigence by the rebellion. He had three sons, remarkably handsome, and esteemed for their good deportment. One of the name of George, had been bred in the university of Dublin, and was enrolled in Mr. Ogle's corps; another, called Robert, was bound to an apothecary, in Enniscorthy. They showed great valour in defence of that town, but were overtaken and seized in their retreat towards Wexford, by a party of rebels commanded by Robert Carthy, of Ballyhogue,\* who put George to a cruel death. They conducted Robert to the camp at Vinegar-hill, as a prisoner. The rebels then sent to his father, who, with other protestants, was keeping garrison at the house of the reverend John Richards, of Grange,† a clergyman of the established religion, to inform him, that, if he

\* A family distinguished for their rebellious principles. † See plate III. a.

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would surrender his arms, they would save the life of his son, who would be permitted to serve in their army. But the father refused to comply; having given as a reason, that he had taken an

oath of allegiance, and swore not to surrender them to any person, but to the government. At the same time he implored them to be merciful to his son. Next day the rebels stripped him naked, and shot him in their camp. As he betrayed some symptoms of life, after he fell, they knocked him in the head, with the butt-end of a firelock; and yet this unfortunate young man recovered about midnight, and though quite naked, and covered with blood, and ghastly wounds, he crept to the foot of Vinegar-hill, waded over the river Slaney; and, though much exhausted, he walked to his father's house, which was seven miles off; on approaching it, he was buoyed up with the fond hope of finding an asylum there from the rebel blood-hounds; but, alas! how severe was his disappointment, on finding it deserted by his family, who had fled for protection to Ross, whither he endeavoured to follow them; but was intercepted by a party of rebels, who murdered him, and threw his body into a gravel pit.

Mr. Charles Cooper, son-in-law of George Horneck, who, as a yeoman, had assisted in the defence of Enniscorthy, was seized with three other loyal fugitives, at Castle-bridge, and massacred. As many victims, whom the rebels apparently put to death, had afterwards recovered, and made their escape, they tied together with a rope the bodies of these four men. Philip Horneck, the brother of George, fell into the hands of the rebels at Alderstown, the house of Mr. John Glafcott, whence they conveyed him to their camp at Carrickbyrne, where they murdered him, and then quartered and burned his body. In his last moments they insultingly asked him, whether he remembered the white-boys, on the ninth of June, 1775; That banditti infested that year, not only the county of Wexford, but many other parts of Leinster and Munster.

On the night of the above day, a party of them attacked, and attempted to enter the house of George Horneck; when he and his brother Philip bravely defended it, repulsed the banditti, and killed one of them. That event excited the most implacable vengeance in the breasts of those ferocious fanatics, against this loyal but unfortunate family.\*

\* These facts relative to the Horneck family are substantiated by affidavit, sworn by George Horneck, before Standish Lowcay, a magistrate, the third of October, 1798.

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John Coffey, an old, fickle man, was taken in a chaise, near Vinegarhill, and led as a prisoner to the rebel camp. On being asked, whether he was a Roman catholic? he answered in the affirmative; but he was also required to prove himself such by crossing himself, and saying some popish prayers, which very fortunately for him he could do, though a protestant: for they would have put him to death if he had failed.

Two or three days before the rebellion broke out, father Roche, the priest, who became afterwards a general, waited on the reverend Mr. Richards, of Grange, his neighbour, gave him some arms which he said had been surrendered to him; and at the same time assured him, that nothing was to be feared, as the people were loyal and peaceable. When the insurrection took place, sixteen protestant families fled to the house of Grange,\* and kept garrison there. Father Roche, in two or three days after his pacific assurances to Mr. Richards, went to his house, with two men more, and promised him, that neither his person or property should be injured, provided he delivered to him the Horneck family, and the protestant tenants of captain Blacker; but if he refused, that his house would be immediately attacked by five thousand men, with two pieces of cannon; but Mr. Richards rejected his infamous proposal with laudable fortitude, and in about ten minutes after, he and his little garrison, on fifteen cars fet out for Ross,† where they arrived with safety; though they had a narrow escape from a body of rebels posted on a neighbouring hill.‡

I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 10, for the sufferings of George Piper, and his family, and his assassination on Vinegar-hill, and the abominable conduct of father Redmond, of

the parish of Ferns, who not only refused him a protection, when in the hands of the affaffins, or to rescue him from them, which he might easily have done; but, according to his wife's affidavit, he was instrumental in sending him there.

It often happened that one protestant was compelled to kill another: Thus George Walker, parish clerk of Ballycanew church, was compelled to shoot John Cobourne, a butcher, of the protestant religion, and of

\* Plate III. 2. †Plate III. 5. ‡Verified by Horneck's affidavit before quoted.

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the same parish, on Vinegar-hill.\* It is surprizing how active and unremitting the popish priests are, in representing the protestant religion as an abominable heresy, which, they say, never fails to bring the divine anger on its professors.

Samuel Hendrick was married to a popish wife by the reverend Mr. Handcock, rector of the parish of Kilcormuck, in which the nuptials were celebrated. On the twenty-ninth of May, having been taken prisoner by a party of affaffins who were sent from Vinegar-hill in quest of protestants, he prevailed on them to conduct him to the reverend father Patrick Quigley, parish priest of Clone, hoping that he would save his life by giving him a protection; but he informed him, that his marriage was null and void; that it only served the purpose of gratifying a brutal passion; and he refused to grant him a protection, until he was married by a priest. To preserve his life then, he was under the necessity of being married a second time by father Quigley, and of paying him one guinea for celebrating the marriage rites.†

The reader will see some shocking instances of rebel atrocity in the affidavit of Robert Whitrey, in Appendix, No. XIX. 11.

I shall refer him also, for specimens of cruelty practiced on Vinegarhill, to extracts from the trials of Thomas Clooney, William Fenlon, Andrew Farrel, Nicholas Walfh, and James Beaghan, in the same Appendix, and No. 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17.

I shall now proceed to give an account of two attacks which were made by the garrison of Vinegar-hill, on Borris, the seat of Mr. Kavenagh, in the county of Carlow.

#### ATTACK ON BORRIS.

Mr. Kavenagh,|| of Borris, having been distinguished for his loyalty, and his activity as a magistrate, was peculiarly the object of rebel vengeance; and as his beautiful seat was but fourteen miles from Vinegarhill, but ten miles from Lackan, and not far distant from the Roar,§

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\* This was verified by the affidavit of Cobourne's widow, in No. 390 of the archives of the house of commons, and quoted in Appendix, No. XIX. 9.

† Verified by affidavit sworn the 23th day of March, 1799, before A. Jacob.

‡ Plate II. 6, 7.

|| A gentleman lineally descended from the kings of Ireland, and first cousin to the earl of Ormond.

§ Plate VII. 3.

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populous and rebellious district in the county of Kilkenny, his situation was serene and alarming.

The system of free quarters had been enforced with considerable strictness in the county of Kilkenny, in the month of May; and, by the orders of general Sir Charles Apgill, it was soon to be extended to the county of Carlow, unless the deluded inhabitants precluded the necessity of it, by a speedy surrender of their arms, of which they were well known to possess large quantities.

The general's orders, and the exertions of the gentlemen of that county, had made the surrender of pikes rather general; but it was checked by an order from the directory in Dublin, which was printed and circulated by their captains and sergeants. It exhorted them, by no means to give up their arms, as an insurrection was immediately to take place.

It providentially happened, that Mr. Kavenagh's corps of yeomanry, though not on permanent duty, was assembled early in the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, for the purpose of arresting all the disaffected blacksmiths in their district; and as their exertions in that service was attended with considerable success, it occasioned a general spirit of commotion in the neighbourhood; which induced captain Kavenagh to keep his corps together, as he had every reason to think that his post would be attacked that night; and which the rebellious inhabitants were induced to undertake from the following motives: The orders of their directory for a general insurrection: The great quantity of pikes and pike-handles surrendered to the captain, and known to be in their possession: The plunder of his house, and the hopes with which the leaders inspired their deluded followers, that they would not meet with resistance.

The house of Borris was attacked on the night of the twenty-fifth of May, by a party of about five thousand rebels, who were received with very great spirit by the Borris corps, who repulsed them; but not until they had broke open the lower windows of the house, which were but flightly barred, and rescued the blacksmiths who were confined in it. It was believed that not less than fifty rebels were killed and wounded on that occasion.

The exertions of the yeomanry corps of the neighbourhood, for three or four days, completely cleared the country of the most active rebels,

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and their leaders, who joined their associates in the county of Wexford, where they carried every thing before them.

The post of Borris having been reinforced with thirty of the 9th dragoons, and twenty-four of the Donegal militia, and as captain Kavenagh's corps consisted of thirty-five mounted, and twenty-two dismounted cavalry, the garrison remained unmolested till the twelfth of June, though not far distant from some of the strong rebel camps.

On the day before, Sir Charles Apgill, by concerted movements of the troops in his district, surrounded the rebel camp formed in that disaffected district, the Roar, opposite to Ross, after having shot many of the assassins who composed it.

The events of that day, and the submission of the adjoining district, had lulled the garrison of Borris into a security, which was near proving fatal to them; for about one o'clock on the next day, they received an account, that great multitudes of rebels were pouring down from the different passes through the mountains, which separated that post from, their camps in the county of Wexford.

At that time the small garrison was weakened by the absence of every officer but one, as they were engaged with several of their men in different duties in the adjacent country. The rapid movements of the enemy allowed no time for calling them in; for in less than two hours after the notice of their approach, they filled the town of Borris, and set fire to all the houses in it belonging to Mr. Kavenagh and his yeomen; they, however, met with a gallant resistance at the mansion-house of Borris, though its garrison was reduced to twenty of the Donegal, and seventeen of the yeomanry, including their sergeants, who commanded them. The rebels had a howitzer, which they brought to bear upon the house, but were unable to batter it. They were commanded by father Kearns, a priest, and a noted rebel leader, who was afterwards hanged at Edenderry. Seven rebels were found dead on the spot; but it has been since learned, that they carried off many of their killed and wounded on carts, and that they threw many of the former

into the burning houses; only one of the garrison, a Donegal soldier, was killed, and two were wounded,

One of the rebels who was wounded, and could not retreat, proved to be a tenant of Mr. Kavenagh, who lived close to his house, and to whom

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he had been singularly kind. On being asked why he embarked in this treasonable enterprise, he confessed, that he was tempted to do so, by a promise of obtaining a portion of his estate.\*

Several persons who were engaged in this attack, assigned the following reasons for it: That it was partly undertaken at the instigation of the rebels of the neighbourhood, who breathed revenge in consequence of having been driven from their homes, and had fled to the Wexford camps: They had earnest hopes also of seizing a large quantity of ammunition; for they had heard, that it was a depot, in consequence of some artillery chests which had been left there by a regiment who had marched through it; and it was their intention on seizing it, and the arms of the garrison, to have proceeded across the rivers Barrow and Nore, at Enniscorthy, and to have assisted in the projected renewal of an attack on Ross, by advancing against it from the Kilkenny side, on Rossbercon; a march in which they had little reason to doubt of being joined by the whole country through which they passed. From that day, the operations of the rebels were confined to the county of Wexford,

About the sixteenth of June, a detachment of the garrison of Ross, proceeded by a circuitous march to Graignemanagh, in the county of Kilkenny, a most rebellious district, and blew up the bridge there.

The day after the rebels got possession of Enniscorthy, they formed a camp on the mountain of Forth, commonly called the Three Rock mountain, with a view of attacking Wexford, which is within three miles of it,

I have already delineated the procession of a body of rebels from Enniscorthy to that mountain, headed by father John Murphy, with a large crucifix in his arms.]

But previous to my entering on a description of the events which took place at Wexford, I think it right to give the reader a short historical and geographical account of that town.

Wexford || is a sea-port, borough, market, and corporate town, and rather populous for its size. It is the chief in the county of the same name, and the third largest; in the province of Leinster. It is governed

\* See the affidavit of John Semple on this affair, in Appendix, No. XIX, 18. † See Richard Sterne's affidavit, in Appendix, No. XIX. 2. ‡ Plate III. 6. and Plate VI.

[Folding Map:] Plan of the Town of Wexford with inset box styled "Reference to the Houses destroyed by the Rebels in June 1798 [facing p.381.]

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by a mayor, recorder, and bailiffs. It is theshire and assizes town, and gives the title of earl, as does Waterford also, to the noble family of Talbot, who are earls of Shrewsbury in England. It returned two members to parliament. It is seated on a bay in the Irish channel, at the mouth of the river Slaney. The harbour, though capacious, is shallow. It is formed by two necks of land, with an entrance half a mile broad, and was formerly defended by two forts, one at the extremity of each isthmus, called fort Marget, and fort Rossclare; but as its entrance is obstructed by sand

banks, ships drawing more than ten feet water seldom enter it. Ships of greater magnitude load and unload three miles from the town, near the fourth side of the haven, where there is sufficient depth of water, but no shelter from the fourth winds. Wexford was originally fortified by the Danes, and improved and enlarged by the first English settlers in the twelfth century, who took it from the Eafterlings, after a siege of four days, on the fourth of May, 1170. It was besieged by Cromwell, the first of October, 1649, and having been betrayed by captain James Stafford, commandant of the castle, it was taken by storm, and Sir Edward Butler, the governor, and two thousand soldiers, were put to the sword.

Large vestiges of the town-walls are still visible, and the four gates which led to it remained, until lately, almost perfect. The town is irregularly built, and the streets are narrow. There is a large and elegant new church in it. Four religious houses were erected there at a very early period. First, a priory of regular canons, supposed to have been founded by the Danes, and is called the priory of St. Peter, and faint Paul of Selfker. Its prior sat in parliament, as a baron. The church still remains, with a large steeple in the centre.

Second, the priory of St. John and St. Bridget, for knights hospitallers, founded in the twelfth century, by William Marshall, earl of Pembroke. There remains yet part of the old church, without the walls, which has been since converted into a Roman catholic chapel.

Third, the grey friars had a convent there, in the thirteenth century, built in the reign of Henry III.

Fourth, St. Mary Magdalen, a leper hospital, erected in the year 1408, the tenth of Henry IV.

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The trade of Wexford is not very extensive. It consists chiefly in barley and malt, of which it exports large quantities; and in beer, beef hides, tallow and butter. In 1763 it contained one thousand three hundred houses, of which six hundred and fifty were taxed. In 1788, it had one thousand four hundred and twelve. But its chief boast and ornament is a magnificent wooden bridge, over the river Slaney, which was built by Mr. Samuel Cox, an American, who erected those of Derry, Waterford, Portumna, and Ross. It is one thousand five hundred and fifty-four feet long, and thirty-four broad, standing on seventy-five piers of piles, of six uprights each, with a portcullis, or draw-bridge, for vessels to pass through. It was begun June the twelfth, 1794, and was finished in February 1795; and stands in twenty feet water. This magnificent bridge was built by a subscription of £14,000.

The general rising of the rebels, the defeat of the North Cork detachment at Oulart, and the taking of Enniscorthy, had spread so great an alarm, that two hundred of the Donegal regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, arrived at Wexford, on the twenty-seventh day of May, to strengthen the garrison there, consisting of the remainder of the North Cork, which did not amount to three hundred effective men: the Healthfield and Enniscorthy cavalry, captain Ogle's infantry, the Enniscorthy infantry, and the Wexford infantry, commanded by doctor Jacob, and the Scarawalsh infantry, the Wexford and Taghmon cavalry. As an additional reinforcement to the garrison, a detachment of the Meath regiment and four officers, under the command of captain Adams, and one corporal and seventeen gunners of the royal artillery, with two howitzers, commanded by lieutenant Birch, marched from Duncannon-fort for Wexford, on Tuesday the twenty-ninth day of May.

The first night they arrived at Taghmon,\* where they expected to be reinforced by eighty of the thirteenth regiment, under major Scott, and four companies of the Meath regiment, commanded by the earl of Bective. Though these troops did not arrive in time to join them, the Meath detachment set out on their march, near two hours before day, having been encouraged to do so by the country people, who gave them

\* See Plate III. 6.

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the most solemn assurances that they would not be molested on their march; though in doing so, they had no other design, but to expose them to a numerous body of rebels who lay in ambush for them.

When they arrived within four miles of Wexford, having seen ten or twelve men on an eminence near the road, they prepared for action; but after some time, not perceiving an enemy, they renewed their march. Having arrived near the mountain of Forth,† three miles from Wexford, where the rebel camp was formed, they were surrounded on all sides by a great number of rebels, who raised a white flag, and soon after began a very severe fire, accompanied by the most dreadful yells.

The militia, panic-struck by the numbers of the enemy, and the darkness of the night, betook themselves to flight; in consequence of which, eighty-nine of the privates, and three officers, including captain Adams, who commanded, were cut to pieces; and of the artillery, four gunners were killed; a corporal and eleven men were taken prisoners, and the howitzers and ammunition fell into the hands of the rebels. As soon as they had taken the artillery men, they were proceeding to put them to death; but a rebel having asked them of what religion they were, a gunner of the name of Dungannon, answered, that they were Roman Catholics, which saved their lives; though in fact, six of them were Protestants. Dungannon being a Papist, knew the object of the question.‡

Lieutenant Birch, of the Royal Irish artillery, who commanded a detachment of that corps, gave an account of that disastrous affair, in the following letter to major Stewart of his own regiment

“Sir, Duncannon-fort. 23d of July, 1798.

“Some time since I related to lieutenant-general Stratton the circumstances which produced the loss of the howitzers, under my command, in the most collected manner I could.

“On Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May, I left this, with two howitzers, one corporal and seventeen gunners, sixty-six privates of the Meath regiment, and four officers, under the command of captain Adams. At Taghmon we understood we were to be reinforced by eighty of the thirteenth regiment, under major Scott, and four companies of the Meath, under lord Bective, from Waterford. Major-general Fawcett joined us,

† Plate III. 6, 7. ‡ See Andrew Sheppard's affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. i.

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but the other troops not arriving, we proceeded on our march to Wexford. We were given to understand by every one we met on our march that we should meet with no opposition between us and Wexford; and having no suspicion that the rebels were assembled so near us, we were not ordered to take any caution against a surprise. Within four miles of Wexford we perceived about ten or twelve men assembled on a hill, near the road, on which we prepared for action; but after remaining in that situation some time, perceiving no further appearance of opposition, we were ordered to limber up and proceed. Having proceeded some distance, at the foot of a high mountain, we were suddenly attacked by several thousands of the rebels, who supported a sharp fire, with loud shouts, on all sides against us; before they opened their fire, they hoisted a white flag, and two or three hats on very long poles, for a few seconds. After the first fire the militia betook themselves to flight, having thrown down most of their arms. We in vain attempted to prepare again for action, but our horses, which were not trained to fire, grew furious and unmanageable, so that it was impossible to do any thing; and they threw us into such instant confusion, that, with the sudden flight of the infantry, we found it utterly impossible to spike the

howitzers. Three of the Meath officers, with most of their men, were killed, and one taken. On our part, besides the howitzers, four gunners killed; one corporal, eleven gunners taken, two of whom were afterwards killed at Rofs, the rest have arrived here safe; two gunners and myself escaped.”

This victory, and the acquisition of so large a quantity of arms and ammunition, inspired the rebels with boldness, and induced great numbers to flock to their standard; but nothing contributed so much to this, as the fanaticism which the priests kindled in the ignorant multitude, by assuring them in their sermons and exhortations which they constantly preached in their camps, that it was the will of God to root out heresy; and to give their holy religion an ascendancy, was manifest, by his enabling them, who were unprovided with arms, and ignorant of the use of them, to overthrow the soldiers of an heretical government, who were well-armed and disciplined; and they frequently took musketballs out of their pockets, and assured them that they had been hit by them in battle; but that the balls of heretics could make no impression

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on them, nor upon any true Roman catholic, who was fortified by faith. At the same time, they assured the misguided multitude, that they could discomfit and disperse the heretic troops, by throwing chaff or sand at them.\* The gunners, whom the rebels took prisoners, were compelled to serve in their army.

Major-general Fawcett marched from Duncannon-fort† to Taghmon,‡ with eighty of the thirteenth regiment, and a party of the Meath, to support the detachment under captain Adams; but on hearing of their defeat, he returned. As soon as lieutenant-colonel Maxwell was informed of that event, he marched out with two hundred of the Donegal regiment, and about one hundred and fifty yeomen cavalry, to support the thirteenth regiment, who were expected that morning at Wexford. When he arrived at the foot of the Forth|| mountain, near the place where the detachment of the Meath regiment was cut to pieces, he was attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who maintained a heavy fire on his party, from behind rocks, hedges and houses, which lay at the foot of the mountain; and they discharged some shots at them from the howitzers, which they had taken that morning. For the purpose of embarrassing our troops, they drove a number of horses along the road, amongst them, which, in some measure, produced the desired effect; and the confusion was very much increased by the precipitate retreat of the cavalry, who, pent up in a narrow road, where they could not form or render any possible service, and at the same time, exposed to the enemy's fire, found it necessary, for their safety, to fly to Wexford. On this a great body of the rebels rushed down from the mountain, with a view of cutting off the retreat of the remainder of the troops, and which they would have effected, but that the Donegal regiment repulsed them by a heavy and well-directed fire. At last, colonel Maxwell perceiving that he would risk much, and that no possible advantage could be derived from maintaining his post against so great a superiority of numbers, ordered a retreat. In this action, lieutenant-colonel Watfon, formerly of the sixty-fifth regiment, who had retired to Wexford, and who volunteered on this occasion, lost his life, and some privates of the Donegal were killed and wounded.

\* Appendix, No. XX. See the affidavits of Fleming, Sheppard, Grundy, and Sterne. †Plate III.

9. ‡ Ibid. 6. || Ibid. 6, 7.

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On Monday the twenty-eighth day of May, the military, and loyal inhabitants of Wexford, began to put it in a state of defence, by forming barriers at the different avenues leading to it, through which no person was allowed to go, without a pass obtained from the chief magistrate of the town, or one of the officers on guard. The barriers consisted of walls rudely made of large stones, with an interval in the centre, which was filled up with large blocks of timber, occasionally removed, to let the cavalry, patrols and videttes, pass and repass. On Tuesday the

twenty-ninth of May, a detachment of the Donegal regiment, and some yeomen corps, marched in. On Wednesday the thirtieth of May, about four o'clock in the morning, the drums beat to arms, on receiving intelligence, that a detachment of the Meath regiment had been cut off; at which the people, being much alarmed, ran about the town in great confusion, and numbers of them went on board vessels in the river, failed out of gun-shot, and remained at anchor, waiting the event of an attack, which they expected would be made on the town. The consternation was much increased by the following circumstances: At a very early hour they beheld the remote end of the wooden bridge in a state of conflagration, and the flames advanced so rapidly, that it would have been soon consumed, if the inhabitants of Wexford had not extinguished them. It was set on fire by a body of rebels, whose design in destroying it was, to prevent the garrison from receiving a reinforcement of troops, and to cut off their retreat, when they should be attacked by the rebel army encamped on the mountain of Forth.

Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, after he returned, held a council of war, when it was resolved to evacuate the town, as not tenable, for the following reasons: The rebels encamped on the Three Rock mountain, not less in number than ten thousand, and emboldened by their recent victories, and the large quantity of arms and ammunition which they had acquired, meditated an immediate attack on Wexford, and had even put themselves in motion for that purpose; and it was well known, that its rebellious inhabitants, who had been sometime organized, and were well supplied with arms and ammunition, would have fired on the garrison from the windows, while they were defending themselves from the rebels outside; of which they had some convincing proofs.

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Two persons were discovered with arms and ammunition in a house near one of the barriers, where a cannon was planted, ready to fire on the gunners. A person who was sent out of town to reconnoitre, the evening before it was evacuated, was fired at from a house in John-street, as he was returning. The garrison were so much afraid, that the disloyal inhabitants, following the example of those at Enniscorthy, would set fire to the town, while they were engaged in its defence, that the mayor would not permit the bakers to heat their ovens, in consequence of which the troops were in the utmost distress for want of bread: Provisions were apparently so scarce, that the king's troops were almost starved; and yet as soon as the rebels entered the town, long tables, well served with food, were laid for them in the streets.

Many of the soldiers, who composed the garrison, were dispirited by the repeated advantages obtained by the rebels, particularly over the Meath regiment, and by the retreat of the Donegal regiment that morning from the mountain of Forth. Some of them were mutinous, and refused to do duty. The consternation began to grow general through the garrison.

Some gentlemen of consequence went to the gaol to liberate Mr. Bagenal Harvey; but he, perceiving that the rebels, whose cause he had espoused, were on the point of gaining the town, refused to accept their offer.

On the evacuation of the town by our troops, and before Bagenal Harvey had quitted the gaol, or had taken an open and decided part in supporting the rebellion, he consulted Gladwin the gaoler, whom he considered a man of integrity, what line of conduct he would advise him to pursue; and he proposed, that they should both steal privately out of town, and go to Duncannon fort; and at the same time he assured him, that if he would surrender himself to the general officer who commanded there, and make a complete and unequivocal renunciation of his errors, it would remove every stain and suspicion which his former conduct had brought upon his character; but unfortunately for him, Mrs. Dixon entering the gaol at that moment, he related to her what Gladwin had said; on which she declared, "That as he had begun the business with

them, he must go through with it;" which induced him, wavering at that moment, to preponderate on the side of rebellion.

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As this gentleman made a conspicuous figure in the rebellion, in consequence of which his life and property were forfeited to the laws of his country, I shall say something of his character and situation in life.

He was of a very respectable protestant family in the county of Wexford, and inherited an estate of above £2,000 a year from his father, which he had increased considerably by his œconomy. He received the rudiments of his education in Trinity College, Dublin, and was afterwards called to the Irish bar, which he attended during his father's life. His figure was small, and his countenance, though ugly and rather mean, was expressive. He was universally allowed to be a man of humanity, and of the strictest honour and integrity. His first cousin was married to general Keugh, another rebel chieftain, whose friendship he warmly cultivated, and to whose house he resorted whenever he went to Wexford. His political opinions, like those of his friend, were founded on principles of metaphysical abstraction, which often end in the destruction of those who cherish them, in the subversion of all social order, the degradation of greatness, and the plunder of wealth. He naturally had a discontent and a gloominess of mind, which made him prone to find fault with the forms of our excellent constitution, which he wished to reform. Constantly associating with men who openly professed similar principles, but who, different from him, were actuated by the malignant hope of rising to wealth and consideration, from obscurity and poverty, during a season of general confusion; from a moderate reformist, he gradually became an inveterate anarchist and a rebel.

In consequence of information given by Anthony Perry, of Inch, to the magistrates at Gorey, on the twenty-third of May, Mr. Harvey was taken and committed to the gaol of Wexford, on the Saturday night following, at eleven o'clock; and in consequence of charges made by the same person, Mr. James Boyd arrested at day-break, on Whitfunday, Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark,\* eight miles from Wexford, and lodged him in the county gaol.

When Mr. Boyd first appeared, Fitzgerald laid his hand on his breast, and made the most solemn assurance of unfeigned loyalty; yet a great quantity of pikes were found in his parlour, ready mounted, and fit for service. Edward Hay slept in the same bed-chamber with him.

\* Plate III. 4.

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After his arrest, he affected many delays, in hopes of being rescued by the rebels, who had risen, and were approaching his house in great numbers; but Mr. Boyd compelled him by menaces to get out for Wexford.

On the same day Mr. Boyd arrested and committed Mr. John Colclough, of Ballyteigue,\* in the barony of Forth, eleven miles from Wexford. They were all bailed the day before the evacuation of that town; but it was at the same time agreed, that one of them should remain in prison, as a hostage for the rest, and that fell to the lot of Mr. Harvey.

But to return to the evacuation of Wexford, which took place the thirtieth of May. The necessity of that measure was fully proved by the following circumstance: That all the popish inhabitants of Wexford, with but few exceptions, displayed their rebellious principles in the most sanguine manner, as soon as the king's troops left it, and produced great quantities of arms, which they would have turned against them, if the town had been attacked.

Such was the zeal of the rebels, that some of them endeavoured to seduce the soldiers of the Donegal regiment, during the short time they were in Wexford;† and one of them in the suburb

through which they retreated, brought to his door two loaded muskets, to fire at the column when they were at some distance; but a Donegal soldier, whom he did not perceive, happened to be near, and shot him.

The evacuation of the town, which for prudential reasons was not announced till the troops began their march, threw its loyal inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Those who foresaw that the event must have taken place, embarked a day or two before, in such vessels as they could procure; but those who had no intimation of it till the retreat began, got on board, precipitately, any vessels, even without decks, which happened to be near the shore. Some protestants, of active and approved loyalty, dreading the immediate vengeance, of the rebels, waded up to their middle, to small boats, in which they were to be carried to ships or floops; and the boatmen, in many instances, exacted three or four guineas, for conveying them but one or two hundred yards. Those whom

\* Plate III. 10.

† Matthew Murphy, and others, were tried by a court-martial the 31st of March, 1800, for having tried to seduce the Donegal regiment at Wexford.

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infirmity or the want of money precluded from the hope of escaping by sea, abandoned themselves to despair, dreading the fate of the Enniscorthy loyalists.

Part of the garrison marched out of the barrier rather irregularly, and with precipitation, about an hour before the main body, consisting of the following troops: The Scarawalsh infantry, commanded by captain Cornock; the Enniscorthy, by captain Pouden; and some loyalists in coloured clothes. Part of the North Cork who were at the barrier, perceiving them, exclaimed, "What! the yeomanry and loyalists, who fought with us at Enniscorthy, are retreating; and some of the yeomen of this town have united with the rebels: We won't stay here to be sacrificed on that they suddenly joined them. Captain Snowe, of the North Cork, endeavoured to make them return; but finding that he could not influence them, thought it his duty to head them, not only to prevent them from committing outrages, but for their own preservation, to keep them in a state of subordination.

This party amounted to about two hundred, including the soldiers of the North Cork. The main body of the garrison, consisting of the Donegal militia, part of the North Cork, and many corps of yeoman infantry and cavalry, followed in about an hour after, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Maxwell.

When the first party had advanced about four miles, they were informed that a large body of rebels lay in wait for them, at a small village called Mayglafs,\* in the barony of Forth, about two miles further on. They, therefore, by the advice of captain Cornock, took a circuitous road towards the sea, and avoided them, which was very fortunate, as they might have been overpowered by the superiority of their numbers.

Disappointed of their object, the greater part of the rebels dispersed; however, about five hundred of them, who remained in a strong position at Mayglafs, attempted to oppose colonel Maxwell's party, who routed and killed a good many of them.

About seven miles from Wexford, captain Snowe overtook Mr. John Colclough and his wife in a phaeton; and as he, from residing in that country, and from being a rebel chieftain, had great influence there, the captain resolved to detain him as a hostage, to prevent any attack

\* Plate III. 8.

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from being made on his detachment in their retreat. During their march, large bodies of rebels frequently appeared behind the hedges, ready to oppose them; and whenever that happened, captain Snowe obliged Mr. Colclough to stand up in his phaeton, as a token of amity; at other times, Mr. Colclough waved his hat in the air; on which the rebels dispersed, which evinced the great respect they bore him.

He had been liberated the day before at Wexford, and said, he was going to his house at Ballyteigue, in the barony of Forth; though in fact, he was proceeding to join the rebels; yet, with fingular diffimulation, he, standing in his phaeton, drank the king's health, and said.

Captain Snowe, remember that I am a loyal subject I was committed on a charge grounded on the malicious information of a villain."

Next day Mrs. Colclough triumphantly entered Wexford, which was in possession of the rebels, in her phaeton, adorned with green emblems.

They compelled Mr. Colclough to accompany them to the river Scar,\* where the tide being full, which made it impassable, they were under the necessity of making a detour of at least ten miles.†

About six miles from Duncannon fort, when it was extremely dark, they were attacked and fired on in the rear, by a body of rebel horse, commanded by John Murphy, of Loughnageer, who afterwards headed the Rossigarland corps of rebels, and was concerned in burning the barn at Scullabogue. The soldiers, after firing a few random shots, were panick struck, and fled to Taylor's-town bridge; on which having thronged in great numbers, they were very much exposed to a heavy fire from the rebels, who were posted in an adjacent furze brake on a hill.

Many persons were killed on the bridge, and among them two women, one a soldier's wife, the other a beautiful young girl, extremely well dressed, who was the daughter of an Enniscorthy loyalist, and had retreated with them from that town.

About fifty of the North Cork, and the yeomanry, were taken prisoners, and a good many were killed. James Neale, one of the band of mufick, his wife, and another woman, who became their prisoners, were perforated with pikes in a most barbarous manner. After having stripped them of the principal part of their clothes, their bodies were conveyed to a newly-ploughed field, and covered lightly with fods.

\* Plate III. 8. 9. † They retreated by Bridgetown, Baldwinstown, and Dunarmuck, Plate III. 9.

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Neale's wife, in whom life was not quite extinguished, recovered in the night, and removed the fods; and finding her husband's bloody shirt and waistcoat, she covered herself with them, and crept to Tintern, from whence she was sent on a cart to Duncannon-fort, and from thence to Waterford, where she was completely cured in the hospital. Her legs, thighs and arms had many pike wounds; and her head was swollen and ulcerated with them.‡

As captain Snowe's party, attacked in a strange country, and during a dark night, were panick-struck and dispersed, he was left quite alone, and arrived at Duncannon-fort about seven in the morning, after having experienced various dangers and distresses, and overcome with fatigue and hunger. Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell's party retreated by Mayglafs, Bridgetown, Baldwinstown, and Dunarmuck, and the pass of the river Scar, at Barry's-town; where, having been obstructed by the tide, they halted some time to refresh the troops; and thence to Duncannon-fort, by Foulkes's mill. Thus the retreat of the garrison of Wexford was in a great measure performed, during a dark night, in a country whose inhabitants were hostile, and in a state of infurrection; yet in the course of their march of eighteen hours, they had not received any nourishment.

Before I proceed to give the reader a description of the entry of the rebels into the town of Wexford, of which they got possession the thirtieth of May, and of the events which occurred there, I shall endeavour to give him an idea of their different strong posts and encampments, and of the objects which they were desirous of attaining; and in this, their plans appear to have been systematick, and guided by policy and foresight.

Confident of success, from their recent victories, and the numerous hordes assembled on the mountain of Forth and Vinegar-hill; and as multitudes were hourly flocking to their standard, they divided their army into three divisions.\*

‡ She was far gone with child; yet she was delivered at the usual time, and the child is living.

\* The zeal and policy, with which the rebellion in the county of Wexford was conducted, arose from a plan, which lord Edward Fitzgerald had formed, of landing there a few troops from France, with a number of good officers, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, in a few remarkably fast-sailing frigates.

—Report of the Secret Committee, Appendix, XVI. p.136.

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One under the command of Bagenal Harvey, and father Philip Roche, of Poulpearfy, in the parish of Killan, was to form a camp on Carrick-byrne-hill,\* for the purpose of attacking the town of New Ross. Another, under father Kearns, captain Doyle, and captain Redmond, nephew of father Redmond, parish priest of Ferns, marched to Vinegar-hill, from whence they were to proceed to take Newtown-barry.† The third, commanded by Anthony Perry of Inch, father Michael Murphy of Ballycanoe, and father John Murphy of Boolavogue, was destined to attack Gorey; and having taken it, to march to Dublin.

By taking Newtown-barry, they would completely command the river Slaney, having previously gained Enniscorthy and Wexford, situated on it; besides the advantage of possessing the harbour of the latter.

Newtown-barry is in a defile surrounded with very high and steep mountains; and, being on the principal road which leads to the counties of Carlow and Kildare, it would open a communication, and afford a perfect co-operation with the rebels in those counties, and enable them to prevent the arrival of reinforcements, or the conveyance of ammunition to the king's troops from that quarter. The acquisition of Old Ross,‡ would give them the command of a very fine navigable river, and open a communication with the county of Kilkenny rebels; besides, it is now well known, that most of the disaffected inhabitants of Munster would have risen in mass, as soon as that town had fallen into their hands.

The towns of Gorey,|| Arklow,§ and Wicklow, were so thinly garrisoned, that the leaders of the third column were confident of proceeding to Dublin, without any material impediment. They knew also that immense numbers would flock to their standard in their progress; and that the rebels in the metropolis, with whom they held a constant communication) bold, numerous, well-armed, and organized, would rise on their approach.

Government having received intelligence of the intended attack on Newtown-barry, colonel L'Eftrange was sent to defend it on the thirtieth of May, with a detachment of the King's-county militia, a few dragoons, and two battalion guns; the whole, including two corps of yeomen, one infantry, the other cavalry, amounting to about three hundred and sixty. As the inhabitants had been in constant expectation for some days of an attack from the rebels encamped on Vinegar-hill, all the avenues to the town had been occupied by patrols, both day and

\* Plate III. 5. † Plate II. 5. ‡ Plate VII. 5. || Plate II. 4. § Ibid, i.

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night, to prevent a surprize. On the evening of the thirty-first of May, they were suddenly alarmed by the arrival of a young woman in the town, with the utmost precipitation, and crying out, "Here they are! here they are!" She had been a prisoner to the rebels on Vinegar-hill, where she was so unfortunate as to see her two brothers put to death, with extreme torture. In the frenzy of grief, she, at the risk of her life, seized and mounted a horse, and was so lucky as to make her escape, though closely pursued.

Next day, the first of June, colonel L'Estrange went out with a party of dragoons to reconnoitre, in the direction of Vinegar-hill. When he advanced about three miles, he perceived the rebels advancing in great force, and so concealed by a thick wood, and large hedge-rows, that he suddenly found himself in the midst of them. After exchanging a few shots, he returned to the town, and made the best disposition he could for its defence. Soon after the enemy began to advance in two large columns, one at each side of the river, and under cover of very thick woods, which are on high hills that surround the town. As they approached, they communicated with each other, by loud shouts and yells, which served as signals to announce the moment of attack.

About three o'clock, the rebels fired some round and some cannon shot into the town, which obliged the out-posts to retreat into it. As colonel L'Estrange perceived a design in the rebel column at the opposite side of the river to get on his rear, and to surround him; and as his small force would be insufficient to guard the different avenues leading to the town, after consulting with his officers, he resolved to abandon it, and to take possession of a rising ground, which commanded it; and by doing so, he strengthened his force by its concentration.

The rebels, imagining that the king's troops, intimidated by their numbers, had fled, rushed into the town, and proceeded to plunder and burn it. The yeomen, enraged at seeing their families and their property in such imminent danger, applied to captain Kerr, who commanded the yeomen cavalry, to lead them on; saying, that they would conquer or die. He asked permission to do so, and obtained it.

Afflicted by lieutenant-colonel Westenra, and major Marley, they immediately advanced into the town, which was full of rebels, who were plundering and burning it; and who would have completely demolished

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it, but that a few loyal subjects, by keeping up a constant fire from their houses, retarded and checked their destructive progress. While the rebels were thus engaged, our troops attacked them with a heavy fire of grape-shot and musketry, which routed them so completely, that they fled in every direction; on which the cavalry charged, and killed great numbers of them; having pursued them about three miles on the Enniscorthy road. Another large body of them, who took a different direction, re-assembled on a hill over the town, but were charged and routed by the cavalry, who cut down great numbers of them in the fields adjacent to it. On that occasion the yeomen acted with singular valour. The number killed was about four hundred, and among them two priests, who were dressed in their vestments. This defeat was peculiarly mortifying to the rebels, from the great numbers which they had in the action; for father Roche, the general, who commanded there, owned afterwards, when a prisoner at Wexford, that most of the men encamped at Vinegar-hill were engaged in the attack on Newtown-barry.

Father Redmond, parish-priest of Ferns, led his parishioners to that action, in which numbers of them were killed. He was tried for it, but acquitted, because people were afraid to prosecute; of which colonel St. Leger, president of the court martial, assured me; and some persons, who saw him at their head, informed me of it.

An immense body of rebels marched from the camp on the mountain of Forth, near Wexford, on the thirtieth of May, to assist those who were in the vicinity of Gorey,\* in attacking it. They encamped the first night at Oulart,† with an intent the next day to take post in two divisions, one on Ballymore|| mountain; the other, on Ballymenane-hill;‡ and after having formed a junction, to have attacked that town. Captain White, of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, who commanded the garrison of Gorey, having heard of their approach, marched out on the morning of the first day of June, with twenty-five of the Antrim, twenty-five of the North Cork, twenty dismounted yeomen of the Gorey corps, and detachments of the Ballaghkeene, Gorey, and Camolin cavalry, and attacked the Ballymenane division, about three miles from Gorey, on the Ballycanoe road.§ After sustaining the fire of the infantry for about a quarter of

\* See Plate II. 4. † Ibid. III. a. ‡ Ibid. .11. 6, 7. || Ibid. II. 5. § Ibid. IT. 6,

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an hour, they were broken and fled; on which the cavalry charged and killed about two hundred of them.

It was very fortunate, that the action took place before a junction could be formed. As soon as it began, Fitzgerald, Perry, and Roche, rebel generals, who commanded the Ballymenane division, rode off to call up the other; but the deroute took place before it could arrive. On being dispersed, they joined the other party on Ballymore-hills, meditating an attack on Gorey.

On Whitfunday, a horse patrol from Gorey took three rebels in arms in the adjacent country, and hanged them in the town. They owned in their last moments, that they were incited by their priest to enter into the rebellion.

Intelligence having been communicated to government, that the same body of rebels, with a large reinforcement from Vinegar-hill, meditated another attack on Gorey, to oppose them, general Loftus was ordered to proceed from Dublin to Rathdrum, in the county of Wicklow, the twenty-ninth of May, with two hundred of the Dunbarton fencible infantry, and fifty of the 5th dragoon guards, which detachment was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Scott, who, on the following day, cleared the woods of Donane and the Devil's-glynn, of the banditti which had attacked Newtown-mount-kennedy the preceding day.

General Loftus, after having made such arrangements as the nature of the circumstances would admit, for the defence of Wicklow and Rathdrum, proceeded to Arklow, agreeably to subsequent orders received from general Lake.

On the second of June, he was informed by letter from general Lake, that general Eustace and colonel Walpole would join him with some troops for the purpose of co-operating with him.

On the evening of the second of June, general Loftus, having been informed that colonel Walpole was actually arrived at Carnew,\* sent an express to him with orders to join him next morning at Gorey.

I think it right to inform the reader, that lieutenant-colonel Walpole was sent from Dublin with orders to join general Loftus with what troops he could procure from general Dundas at Naas, Kilcullen, and Baltinglafs; and that he marched with eight hundred men obtained from

him,

\* Plate II. 4.

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with two six-pounders and a howitzer, by Baltinglafs and Tinahely,\* to Carnew. He was not vested with any command, and received no other orders but to march the troops to Gorey, and to leave them under the command of general Loftus.

When colonel Scott's detachment, consisting of two hundred fencible infantry, fifty dragoons, one hundred men drawn from the Antrim regiment, and two curriple guns, were moving from Arklow on the morning of the third of June, general Loftus received a letter from colonel Walpole, dating, that he thought Carnew a much better place to attack the rebels, posted on Ballymore-hill, from, than Gorey;‡ that he had reconnoitred them twice, and had got the best information of their designs; that his force was able to beat the whole rebel army; and that therefore he would not move his troops from Carnew, but that he would himself meet general Loftus at Wicklow.

The general having consulted with colonel Scott and captain Ormfby, it was agreed, that he must have meant Arklow. Colonel Scott therefore moved forward with his detachment towards Gorey; general Loftus having sent an express to colonel Walpole to meet him at that town, leaving Arklow in charge of the yeomen.

General Loftus received a second letter from colonel Walpole, excusing himself for not coming, and saying, that he had received the best information concerning the rebels, and had reconnoitred them himself; however, on the evening of the third of June, colonel Walpole arrived at Gorey, with part of his troops; for, notwithstanding the peremptory orders he had received to bring the whole of them, he left two companies of infantry at Carnew.

Colonel Walpole, though not vested with any command, being too eager for fame, and desirous of enjoying the principal merit of any action that might be achieved, was rather forward and decided in giving his opinion; and though the officers who were his superior, not only in rank and authority, but in knowledge and experience, did not implicitly yield to it, they paid some deference to him, on account of his confidential situation in the castle of Dublin, and the opportunity it afforded him of acquiring the best information. He said, he had obtained orders to

\* Plate II. I. ‡ Ibid. 4.

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collect the troops which he had under his command, and to proceed to the county of Wexford, to co-operate with him, and general Eustace, who, he said, was in the front of Gorey, towards Wexford; but unfortunately for general Loftus, it happened that general Johnson, finding himself in an alarming and critical situation at Ross, detained general Eustace there, for the purpose of availing himself of his assistance.

At their first interview, colonel Walpole said, that he supposed general Loftus would attack the rebels next morning; and that he hoped he would afterwards march, or permit him to march, to Enniscorthy; and after having taken that town, to proceed to Wexford.

In consequence of this extraordinary conversation, general Loftus took colonel Scott and captain Ormfby of the Wexford regiment aside, and lamented to them, that such a man as colonel Walpole was sent to act with him, as he was known to possess the confidence of the lord lieutenant, but shewed a downright unwillingness to obey general Loftus's orders. It was then settled, that colonel Walpole should not be permitted to march to Enniscorthy, until they had received some information from general Eustace; but that, as colonel Walpole seemed so decided on attacking the rebels on Ballymore-hill, from his knowledge of their position, he agreed, that they should do so in conjunction next morning, provided it appeared feasible on reconnoitring them.

General Loftus then made the following arrangements for that purpose:

At nine o'clock on the morning of the fourth of June, lieutenant-colonel Walpole was to march with the main body of the troops, two six-pounders and a howitzer, towards Ballymore, by Clough,\* where he was to be joined by one hundred men whom he had left at Carnew, The garrison of that town were to take post at Camolin,† three miles from Gorey, and to wait for further orders.

Lord Angram was directed to march from Newtownbarry, fifteen miles distant from Gorey, with two hundred and fifty of the King's county militia, and his own detachment of dragoons, and to take post at Scarawallh-bridge, twelve miles from Gorey, thereto observe the motions of the enemy on Vinegar-hill; and if he received no orders before the afternoon, he was to meet colonel Walpole at Ferns. ||

\* Plate II. 5. † Ibid. || Ibid. 6, 7.

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Lieutenant-colonel Scott, with two hundred of the Dunbarton fencibles and fifty of the 5th dragoons, under the command of general Loftus, moved towards Ballymore, by Ballycanew,\* to the left of colonel Walpole, in a southern direction. These two roads diverge soon after you leave Gorey; and at the distance of about five miles from that town, there is a communication between them by a cross road running from east to west, and not far from Ballymore, where the two detachments were to have united and to have reconnoitred the rebels.

Captain McManus, with one hundred of the Antrim militia regiment, was posted between Gorey and Ballycanew, near a cross road which led to Clogh, to be ready to protect Gorey, or to support colonel Scott or colonel Walpole, as the occasion might require. Colonel Walpole was protected on the left by the general himself, with colonel Scott and his party, a little more than a mile and a half distant from him. On his right, within a mile and a half, he had upwards of one hundred light infantry ordered from Carnew, who were to wait his further orders. -General Loftus gave him twelve yeomen gentlemen, as guides, and took "ten himself for the same purpose.

General Loftus desired him to proceed with the utmost caution, and to let him know how he went on. The two roads, on which general Loftus and colonel Walpole were to proceed, towards Ballymore, were nearly parallel, and there was a cross road between them at Clogh, which afforded an easy communication.

At a road to the right, leading to Camolin, some rebels appeared at a distance, on which some of the officers, under the command of colonel Walpole, suggested to him the propriety of forming, or of marching with advanced guards, and flankers; which advice he rejected, and replied, that he was commanding officer. On advancing to the cross roads near Clogh, some more rebels appeared; and captain Duncan, of the artillery, having advanced about two hundred yards before the party, to have a good look out, returned, and informed colonel Walpole, that he had seen a man on horseback with a gun. At the same time there was an appearance of rebels in front, and to the right of the road leading to Ballymore-hill.

\* Plate II. 6.

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Had he any degree of prudence or military skill, he would have instantly deployed, and formed, which he might easily have done, as the adjacent fields were flat and spacious; and having done so, he should have communicated his situation to general Loftus; and having been asked to do so, by some of his officers, he replied, by saying, that it should be colonel Walpole's, and not general Loftus's action.

On being repeatedly pressed to send an express to general Loftus, he expressed his fears that the rebels would escape from him. Actuated with the vain glory of arrogating exclusively to himself the merit of defeating the rebels, he quitted this very advantageous position, and advanced to Tubberneering, a little beyond Clogh, where the road was deep and narrow, and the clay banks on each side, with deep trenches, and bushes on the top were very high. The adjacent fields which were small, with high and thick quick-set hedges, had potatoes, corn, and uncut grass in them, all which afforded ample means of concealment for the rebels, who were advancing towards Gorey; and on seeing at a distance the king's troops marching, formed an ambuscade at Tubberneering, to which place colonel Walpole advanced, in a most irregular manner. The rebels, taking advantage of his disadvantageous situation, suddenly rose from the adjacent hedges in which they were concealed, and directed a tremendous fire on the king's troops, who were put in the utmost confusion, as great numbers of them fell, without a possibility of forming for their defence.

Colonel Walpole, dressed in a full uniform, and mounted on a tall grey horse, formed a conspicuous object for the rebels, and fell in the first onset. The column was now actually surrounded, in a place, which from the height and number of its inclosures, was favourable for the irregular and desultory warfare of savages; at the same time that it baffled the efforts of valour and discipline.

An attempt was made by a detachment of the 4th dragoon-guards to turn the enemy's right flank, but the closeness of the country made this impracticable.

Colonel Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, at the same time, advanced with the Ancient British fencible cavalry, which he commanded, to the front of the infantry, and retook a gun which had fallen into the hands of the rebels; but the gunners having been killed or forced to fly, and

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the artillery horses having gone off with the limber, he was obliged to abandon it to the enemy.

After having sustained the attack for about three quarters of an hour, with considerable disadvantage on the part of the king's troops, and having lost their commander, and three pieces of artillery, which were immediately turned against them, they began to retreat in great confusion, as might be expected from raw and inexperienced troops.

The rebels having pressed hard on them, a general dismay instantly took place, which would probably have been fatal to the whole of the column, had not lieutenant-colonel Cope, of the Antrim militia, been posted at a small distance, with a detachment of his own regiment, and rallied and formed them on the road, to impede the progress of the enemy. To this small band of brave men, under the command of that cool and gallant officer, the safety of those who escaped on that day is in a great measure to be imputed.

The column retreated in the utmost disorder to Gorey, colonel Cope disputing every inch of ground, and covering their retreat. When they arrived there, most of the windows were occupied by the rebels, who kept up a heavy fire, and killed many of them; however, they effected their passage through the town.

Colonel Cope found great difficulty in leading his men through it; for whenever the rebels fired at them from the windows, they imprudently rushed into the houses whence the shots were fired, and obtained revenge by bayoneting the assailants.

Of his corps, amounting to one hundred and thirty, he lost between thirty and forty; and his horse was wounded in such a manner as to be rendered useless.

Captain Stark of the Londonderry militia, captain Duncan of the artillery, and captain Armstrong of the King's county militia were carried into Gorey very badly wounded; but were

obliged to retreat to Wicklow, on having their wounds dressed, as the rebels were advancing into the town.

As colonel Walpole had made no communication of his situation to general Loftus, he remained totally ignorant of it, till he heard a smart firing on his right near Clogh; on which he sent an express to

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captain McManus, who had been conducted by Mr. Hunter Gowan, to go over by the cross road to support colonel Walpole; but the issue of this unfortunate affair was decided so quickly, that the main body of our troops having been routed before his arrival, the captain and his detachment were surrounded and taken prisoner, after many of them had been killed.

General Loftus, who was near the village of Ballycanew,\* when he heard the firing, pushed forward with his detachment to Tubberneering; but on his arrival there, had the mortification of seeing colonel Walpole and many of his soldiers lying dead and naked.

Sir Watkin William Wynne, having seen captain McManus, with a company of the Antrim, advancing to support colonel Walpole, sent captain Wynne, with a troop of his regiment, to cover them; but the surprise was so sudden, that his efforts proved ineffectual.

Captain Wynne, on his arrival at the town, after the retreating column had passed through it, found that the enemy, who were pursuing them, had attained the entrance of it, and had actually brought one of the guns which they had taken, to bear on the main street. Thus captain Wynne, cut off from his corps, determined instantly on forcing his passage by the town, and on cutting his way through the rebels who surrounded the gun; and he gallantly effected it, but with the loss of five yeomen killed, and a few men and horses wounded.

Several bodies of people having been discovered on the hills at the Arklow side of Gorey, it was apprehended that fresh parties of rebels were assembling to oppose the retreat of the column towards Arklow. Sir W. W. Wynne therefore pressed forward with the cavalry to disperse them, but he soon discovered that they were the protestant inhabitants of the town and its vicinity, who, in despair, had abandoned their houses and their property, well knowing that they would have fallen a prey to the cruel and sanguinary spirit of the rebels.

Above one thousand and seventy of them fled on the fourth of June to Arklow, and next day to Wicklow, carrying their wives and children on above three hundred carts, with which they formed booths or tents on the strand near that town, where, they, remained near a month, without any means of subsistence but what they received from charitable contributions.

\* See plate II. 6.

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Sir Watkin having got the rear of his command clear of the town, used every effort to induce the troops to halt and form; but the panic was so great, that all his efforts were fruitless, and they rushed on precipitately, and in disorder, even to Arklow. In these circumstances, a council of war was held, and it was determined (probably judiciously) but certainly much contrary to the feelings and inclinations of the yeomanry, to retreat to Wicklow, as their houses and families were exposed to destruction by this measure, which however was effected in the course of the following night. The town of Arklow suffered much less than might have been expected during an interval of thirty-six hours, between the evacuation of it by the retreating army, and the arrival of major-general Needham there, on Wednesday the sixth of June. The main body of the rebels had not approached it; and but a few petty depredations were committed by some home insurgents, who, after having plundered some houses, went off to their associates at Gorey.

The security of Arklow is to be imputed to the wife precaution of the officers commanding the army which retreated to Wicklow; who carried with them, as hostages, a great number of its principal disaffected inhabitants, and whose lives would have answered for any wanton act of mischief or barbarity committed by the others.

The defeat of colonel Walpole left general Loftus with but two hundred and fifty men, in a most alarming situation, and it required not only address, but the most prompt and vigorous exertion to extricate himself; for, it has been since discovered, that the rebel army at Vinegar-hill had formed a junction with that which was posted on Ballymore, making in the whole above twenty thousand men, for the purpose of taking Gorey; and this plan was connected with their main object of attacking the metropolis, which they endeavoured to accomplish five days after.

The general advanced within three quarters of a mile of Gorey, which he found to be in possession of the rebels. He had then no other resource to save his small detachment, but to force his way through that town, or to form a junction with lord Ancram. Large bodies of rebels were seen in motion on the adjacent hills, just over their heads; and who often fired on them, not only with the guns which they had taken, but with their small arms. In this critical fate, any, even the smallest delay, would have been attended with the loss of the detachment. He

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made his men advance rapidly without returning the enemy's fire, and considered himself as very fortunate in having the assistance of so able and judicious an officer as colonel Scott. He, general Loftus, and captain Corry, having examined the position of the rebels, found that their numbers were immense; that the hedge-rows, leading to Gorey, were lined with them; and that all the adjacent hills were occupied by considerable numbers, who fired on them with the two six-pounders and the howitzer taken from colonel Walpole.

The general, therefore, prudently resolved to join lord Ancram, at Carnew,§ which could not be effected but by marching round the enemy's right, and by crossing Slievebuoy\* mountain. Lieutenant-colonel Scott moved off on the Camolin† road, while the general remained with the fifty dragoons, to watch the motions of the enemy; and captain Corry, who commanded them, endeavoured to engage the attention of the enemy, and to make them believe that he was moving towards Gorey, by the cross road leading to the Ballycanew road; and had not captain Corry made this feint, lieutenant-colonel Scott could not have marched unmolested to form a junction with lord Ancram, which was effected near Slievebuoy mountain, and by persevering in not waiting to return the enemy's fire. Carnew was occupied early next morning.

The difficulty of conveying the guns and the tumbrils over that mountain was very great, and could not have been effected, as there was no road for a four-wheeled carriage, but for the advice of Mr. Brownrigg of Barndown, who had a perfect knowledge of the country. Thus this small body fairly marched round twenty thousand rebels; and by the good countenance which they kept, and by preserving their fire, though constantly fired at, they escaped without any injury. At midnight general Loftus reached Carnew, where he learned that the light infantry ordered to Camolin to act with colonel Walpole, had, upon his defeat, retreated to Newtownbarry, and that general Eustace was detained at Ross to support general Johnson. Thus he had only the additional support of lord Ancram's party; viz. two hundred and fifty men of the King's county regiment, and eighty Mid Lothian dragoons; but upon lord Ancram's report, that a detachment of the Meath and Donegal regiments had arrived at Newtownbarry,

§ Plate II, 4. \* See Plate I. 5.

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the day before, escorting ammunition from general Johnson, he ordered that detachment to join him; by which he was enabled to fend detachments for the defence of Arklow and Hacketstown; and the important post of Newtownbarry was well defended.

Had the rebel army taken advantage of their victory, and proceeded to Arklow and Wicklow, those towns must have fallen into their hands, and they would probably have marched to, and attacked the metropolis; but, incited by the hope of plundering Gorey and its vicinity, they continued for five days to commit every excess and enormity, that the love of rapine and savage cruelty could inspire. The protestant church, which was the first object of their fanatical rage, they completely dismantled. They pillaged and destroyed the houses of all the protestants, and murdered many of their inmates, who could not make their escape. They also plundered and demolished the town of Carnew; having harboured insatiable revenge against its inhabitants, for the victory which they obtained over them on the twenty-seventh of May.\*

A drummer of the name of Hunter, of the Antrim regiment, of the age of twelve years, fell into the hands of the rebels, in the unfortunate affair in which colonel Walpole lost his life. He carried his drum with him, and when he was conducted to the town of Gorey, with some other prisoners, they desired him to beat it, having intended to make him serve them as a drummer; when he, actuated by a spirit of enthusiastic loyalty, exclaimed, "That the king's drum should never be beaten for rebels;" and at the same instant, he leaped on the drum, and broke through both its heads. The inhuman villains, whose relentless hearts were not susceptible of those refined sentiments, which would have excited a generous admiration of so heroic an act even in an enemy, instantly perforated his body with pikes.

In this action, a priest attacked captain Duncan of the Royal Irish artillery, and wounded him with a pistol ball, as he was mounting his horse; but his temerity was soon punished, for the captain drew a pistol from his holster and laid him prostrate.

The following anecdote of the Royal Irish artillery, whose valour has been conspicuous on all occasions, deserves to be recorded: During the confusion and dismay which took place among the troops, when they were surprised in the road at Tubberneering, the gunners of the artillery, with

\* They plundered and burned Ramfort and Clonaltin, the two elegant seats of the Messrs. Ram.

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the most deliberate coolness levelled one of the hedges of the road, dragged the cannon into the adjacent field, and fired many shots at a numerous body of rebels, who were posted on a high rock, from whence, with their musketry, they had killed many of our soldiers. They drove the rebels from that advantageous position, after having killed a great number of them, which contributed materially to prevent the complete destruction of the army.

I shall refer the reader to the affidavits of Andrew Sheppard, George Taylor and Blakely Ormfby, Appendix, No. XX. 1, 2, 3, for an account of the brutal treatment which they gave their protestant prisoners in the town of Gorey. They murdered many persons of that persuasion in the adjacent country. The following occurrence happened there: A protestant tenant of Mr. Stephen Ram, of the name of Poole, who bears an uncommon good character, fled from his house near Gorey when the rebels got possession of it; some of his pious acquaintances persuaded him to return, as persons of his religious faith were not molested; but on doing so, he found that they meant only to lead him into danger, by putting him in the power of the Romanists. He was advised to repair to the rebel camp at Gorey, and to procure a pass there; but he could not obtain it. He was then advised to go to father Francis Kavenagh, a priest, who had supreme power at Gorey, and had a guard of pikemen at his door, to prevent more than one person at a time from entering it. On addressing him for a protection, he said, "After serving the devil all your life, you

come to me for a protection," meaning that he had been all his life of the protestant persuasion. However, he gave him a protection; but in this he acted with diffimulation, as it was not meant to protect him; for he was arrested and imprisoned, and narrowly escaped with his life. This priest was the oldest, the best benefited, and reputed one of the most respectable priests in the diocese. By his apparent candour and liberality he had insinuated himself into the esteem and good opinion of the nobility and protestant gentry of the country, whose houses he resorted to constantly, and was well received there; and yet his conduct was so exceptionable, that general Needham\* would have had him tried by a court-martial, and he probably would have shared the fate of his coadjutor, father Redmond who was hanged; but that some respectable persons, in consideration

\* I heard this from the general and many persons present.

[ Plate III: Folding Map of New Ross & [facing] Map of Part of the Country round Ross ]

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of his age, and led by their partiality for him, persuaded the general to discharge him. This old hypocrite was very active in the rebel camps.

Being unwilling to break the thread of my narration of the events which took place at Wexford, during three weeks that the rebels were in possession of it, before I enter upon that subject, I will finish the relation of many other transactions which happened during that period.

I mentioned before that an immense body of rebels had encamped on Carrickbyrne-hill,\* for the purpose of taking possession of Rofs, which is six miles distant from it.

#### BATTLE OF ROSS.

Rofs is a corporate, a port, and a borough town, which returned two members to parliament. It is situated on a large river, formed by the junction of the Nore and Barrow, which unite about one mile above it, and meeting the river Suir at Dunbrody, runs in a south-east direction by Paflage, and discharges itself into the sea at Hook-tower, from which it is about twenty-five miles distant. The navigation to it is very good, and vessels of near four hundred tons burden can lie close to the quay; for which reason it was a place of considerable trade, so early as the reign of Henry V. and large quantities of corn and provisions are now annually exported from it. It obtained charters from Henry IV. Richard II. Henry V. and VI. James I. and II.

It was formerly a place of great strength, being surrounded with high walls, with towers and bastions, of which there are considerable remains: However, it made but little resistance to Cromwell; though it was defended by lord Taaffe, an able general, who had a numerous garrison in it. It had many religious houses, of which there are some remains. The whole of the town, except Friary-street, South-street, North-street, the quays, and the space between there and the river, is on a very steep descent. It is ten miles from Waterford, nineteen from Wexford, and sixteen from Enniscorthy.

In consequence of the encampment at Carrickbyrne, the Donegal, Clare, and Meath regiments of militia, detachments of the English artillery, the 5th dragoons, and Mid Lothian fencibles, marched into Rofs.; and on the fourth of June, the county of Dublin regiment afforded a

\* See Plate III. 5. † Ibid. ‡ Plate II. 5.

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very reasonable reinforcement to the garrison, as the rebels on that evening, with dreadful yells, moved from Carrickbyrne to Corbethill, an eminence about a mile and a half from the town, and from which there is a gradual and uninterrupted descent, after having driven in our out-post, which had been stationed on Lacken-hill.

A person, who was forced to attend them in their march, informed me, that they moved by parishes and baronies, each having a particular standard; and that in their way they stopped at a chapel, where mass was said at the head of each column, by priests who sprinkled an abundance of holy water on them.

The garrison, consisting of about twelve hundred effective men, and about one hundred and fifty yeomen, under the command of general Johnson, continued on their arms all night. The infantry and artillery were mostly in a line outside the walls of the town, to the east and fourth side of it; the cavalry on the quay, the yeomen infantry on the bridge.

About four o'clock, one of the sentinels at an out-post shot a man who was galloping towards him with a white handkerchief, which he waved in the air as a flag of truce. On examining him, it appeared that his name was Furlong, and that he was sent by Bagenal Harvey, the rebel general, to propose to general Johnson to surrender the town to him, as the following summons was found in his pocket:

“Sir,

“As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town; your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controlled, if they meet with resistance; To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

Camp at Corbethill, I am, Sir,  
half past three o'clock morning, B. B. HARVEY,  
June 5th, 1798. General commanding, kc. &c. &c.”

I give the reader a copy of Bagenal Harvey's appointment as commander in chief) which fortunately fell into my hands:

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“At a meeting of the commanders of the united army held at Carrickbyme camp, on the first of June, 1798, it was unanimously agreed that Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey should be appointed and elected commander in chief of the united army of the county of Wexford, from and after the first day of June, 1798.

Signed by order of the different commanding officers of the camp,  
NICHOLAS GRAY, secretary.”

“It was likewise agreed, that Edward Roche, should from and after the first day of June instant, be elected, and is hereby defied a general officer of the united army of the county of Wexford.

Signed by the above authority,

N. GRAY,”

About five o'clock in the morning, not less than thirty thousand of the rebels approached the town, some in columns, others in intermediate lines, with terrific yells, having four pieces of cannon, besides fivels.

A great number of priests, with their vestments on, and crucifixes in their hands, by moving through the ranks, and animating them by their harangues, kindled a degree of enthusiastick ardour in them, which nothing but fanaticism could inspire.

They moved with flow but irrefutable progress, like an immense body of lava, which issuing from the bowels of Vesuvius, spreads desolation over the plains of Calabria, and from which man alone can escape, and that by flight only.

It is supposed that one-fourth of them had muskets, the remainder were armed with pikes. Their superior force soon made our advanced guard retire to the main body, and they took possession of our alarm posts. The struggle there became ferocious, and matters wore a very unfavourable aspect, particularly at the Three-bullet gate, which post was at last forced by an immense column of rebels, who, regardless of danger from fanaticism and ebriety, made a most formidable attack, and carried one of our guns, which they immediately turned against us.

In the first onset which they made at the Three-bullet\* gate, they were repulsed; on which general Johnson ordered captain Irwine to advance and charge them with a detachment of the 5th dragoons, in a field

\* See Plate VII. 5.

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where they seemed doubtful whether to advance or make good their retreat. Seeing the cavalry advance briskly on them, they fled precipitately, leaped over some very high ditches, and fired from behind them on the dragoons, who had approached very close to them, and attempted to leap over them, but in vain. The very same circumstances happened in two other fields where they charged. They lost in the course of these charges cornet Dodwell, one sergeant, one corporal, twenty-four privates, and twenty-five horses. The gallant general Johnson was in each field where these charges were made.

When captain Irwine was approaching the Three-bullet gate from the east field, a twelve-pounder posted there was fired, and killed his horse, which fell on his leg, and prevented him from moving, at the same time that our troops in that quarter had retired within the gate, and were retreating towards the bridge, and the rebels had advanced within a few yards of him, and would have killed him, but that they were engaged in taking possession of the gun. In that critical moment an artillery horse happened to pass by, and so near him, that he laid hold of one of the traces, and was dragged into the town, by which his life was saved.

The rebels, in great numbers, having entered the town in that point, part of them were engaged in setting fire to the houses, in which some of the popish inhabitants assisted them, whilst others pushed for the bridge.

General Johnson perceiving this, planted guns at the several cross lanes, leading from Church-lane\* and Nevill-street, and one at the old market place,§ to which for some time he attached himself. By these the rebels were repulsed with great laughter. Such was their enthusiasm, that though whole ranks of them were seen to fall, they were succeeded by others, who seemed to court the fate of their companions, by rushing on our troops with renovated ardour.

One rebel, emboldened by fanaticism and drunkenness, advanced before his comrades, seized a gun, crammed his hat and wig into it, and cried out, "Come on, boys! her mouth is stopped." At that instant the gunner laid the match to the gun, and blew the unfortunate savage to atoms. This fact has been verified by the affidavit of a person who saw it from a window.

\* Plate VII. 5. § Ibid.

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The main body of our troops, overpowered and terrified by the immense body of rebels who entered the town at the Three-bullet gate, fled over the bridge to the Kilkenny or Rossbergen side of the river, and the enemy being in possession of the greater part of it,\* (except where they were

checked by one gun at the old market-place, and two more supported by ferjeant Hamilton, at the main guard, which flood at the crofs formed by the junction of Mary-ftreet, Quay-ilreet, North and Southftreets) proceeded to plunder and burn. The gallant general Johnfon (whose ardour and activity could be equalled by nothing but his cool preference of mind,) seeing them in that situation, followed our troops to the Kilkenny side of the river, rallied and brought them back to their respective posts, by which the rebels within the town were completely subdued. He often exclaimed to the fugitives whom he rallied, "Will you desert your general?" without any effect; but when he added, "And your countryman?" they gave three cheers, and followed him. Having succeeded in rallying the fugitives, he rode before them to a part of our troops^ who, much to their honour, had kept their post near the Three-bullet gate, and informed them that a reinforcement of fresh troops had arrived from Waterford, which delusion produced a very good effect in animating them; however, he reinforced them with some of those whom he had rallied, as there was a rebel column opposite to them, which seemed, by its advancing towards them, determined to make one desperate effort. At this moment the fortune of the day hung in a balance; but it was soon turned by the steady fire of our troops, who repulsed the rebels with great slaughter.

Then, by turning the rear of the rebels who had entered the town at the Three-bullet gate end of it, not one of them escaped; and by manning the ditches outside, he prevented them from receiving a reinforcement.

From the arts of seduction practised on the Clare regiment, while at Waterford, where it had been quartered some months, the rebels being sure of their assistance, frequently exclaimed during the action, "Clare regiment, don't fire on your religion!" Prudence would not admit, that a handful of men, almost exhausted by hunger and fatigue, should pursue an enemy so superior in number to a considerable distance. The utmost extent of the pursuit, and that only by a small part of the army, was to a ravine under Corbet-hill, and Roffiter's stores; from whence general Johnfon perceived

\*It was ably served and defended by captain Bloomfield.

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them retiring, every man making the best of his way to Carrickbyrne.\* The enemy left dead two thousand six hundred, besides numbers whom they carried off on cars. The loss of the king's troops was one colonel, one ensign, four serjeants, three drummers, eighty-one rank and file, and fifty-four horses killed one captain, one drummer, fifty-four rank and file, and five horses wounded; one captain, three lieutenants, one ensign, two serjeants, two corporals, seventy-two rank and file, and four horses missing. Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin regiment, who fell in the first onset, at the Three-bullet gate, was universally lamented, as his publick and private virtues made him an object of general esteem. He was possessed of high mental endowments, being an elegant scholar and a good publick speaker. He had the gentlest manners, and the mildest affections, warm and sincere in friendship, and so benevolent and humane, that he never harboured revenge.

Great part of the rebels after the action encamped on Slievehilla,‡ a deep and high mountain, about four miles from Ross, where they remained, regularly answering our morning gun; and thence they went to Lacken-hill,† where they continued, till they were dislodged by general Johnfon, when he marched to Vinegar-hill.

It is probable that the whole province of Munster would have been desolated as much as the county of Wexford, if the valour and activity of general Johnfon had not preserved Ross; for it has been discovered, that the inhabitants of most parts of that province were to have risen by a preconcerted plan, if that town had fallen into the hands of the rebels; and it was proved, that messengers were on the point of being sent from Waterford by the treasurers of the united

Irishmen, to summon the people of the South to rise. General Johnson was seen in every part of the battle, giving orders and animating the troops. It is astonishing how he escaped, as he was often in the most perilous situations, and had two horses shot under him. He received very material assistance from general Eustace, whose valour and activity were very conspicuous during the action.||

\* Plate VIII. 6. † Plate VII. 7. || Ibid. 5.

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I cannot pass unnoticed the valour and loyalty of Michael M'Cormick, on that day. He had been formerly a quarter-master of dragoons, and having retired, was in the mercantile line at Ross. Conspicuous by his huge stature and a brass helmet, he was constantly seen in the warmest part of the action, animating the troops, and rendered the most essential service to general Johnson.

About ten o'clock in the morning of the fifth of June, the Roscommon regiment, in two divisions, one led by the honourable colonel King, marched from Waterford, to reinforce the garrison of Ross, which is ten miles distant from it. When the first had advanced about two miles on their march, they were met by some of the fugitive soldiers from that town, who informed the colonel, that our troops, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted by fatigue, had been beaten with great slaughter, that they had fled to Thomastown, and that the town of Ross had been burnt. However the colonel, determined to do his duty, marched to a high hill over a deep defile called Glynmore,\* in a straight line about two miles and a half from Ross; whence, with the assistance of a good glass, he saw a smoke issuing from the town, but could not discern any troops in it; from which he concluded that his intelligence had been well founded. He, therefore, thought it prudent to retreat, and the many important consequences which flowed from his determination, (though censured at the time,) strongly prove the vanity of human wishes, and how great and inscrutable are the mercy and wisdom of Providence!

The enemy, when repulsed, retired at first to Corbet-hill, whence they saw the Roscommon regiment; and as they were ignorant of their retreat, and as the distance, obscuring the discernment of the rebels, had magnified their number, they imagined that our troops had received a large reinforcement, which deterred them from renewing the attack that evening as intended; and it is to be feared, that it would have been fatal to the garrison, who were overcome with hunger and fatigue, and many of them had sunk into a state of ebriety and somnolency.

It was also very fortunate that the Roscommon regiment returned to Waterford that night, as the rebels, who were numerous, and well organized there, meditated an insurrection, imagining that Ross had been taken.

Next day, colonel King marched with his regiment to Ross, with two battalion guns and a piece of flying artillery. He found the people of the county of Kilkenny in a state of general insurrection.

See Plate V. 1, 6.

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When he approached Glynmore,\* a deep valley, with a river which is crossed by a bridge, he perceived great numbers of people on all the adjacent hills who fired signal guns. The rebels had made the bridge impassable, by breaking down one of the arches; but the colonel soon made it passable, by laying beams and planks on it. He sent before him his grenadier company, with a piece of artillery, who, with a few discharges of it, dispersed a body of rebels posted on the opposite hill, who meant to dispute his passage.

That body had taken the preceding day twenty-five foldiers, and captain Dillon of the Dublin regiment, who had fled from Rofs; and on the first discharge of the artillery, they maffaced fifteen of the foldiers, and captain Dillon, whose head they converted into a foot-ball.

One Gaffney, the leader of these affaffins, was taken and hanged next day at Rofs.

It has been discovered that the Kilkenny rebels were to have co-operated with those who attacked Rofs; but that they mistook the day, which was very fortunate; for they would have cut off a great part of the garrison of that town, when they fled over the bridge, overcome with hunger and fatigue.

The following barbarous murder was committed at the Roar,§ in the county of Kilkenny, about four miles from Rofs, the day before the battle. Mr. Bartholomew Cliffe, Mr. Richard Annesley, and Mr. Richard Elliott, being unable from bad health, and the delicacy of their constitution, to assist in the defence of that town, retired to the Roar on a car, which was sent for them by a tenant of Mr. Elliott, who was his foster brother, and to whom he had been singularly kind.

When they had arrived at the church of that village, three ruffians attacked them with pikes, and continued for some time to torture them, until they were dead, in the midst of a number of spectators, who unmoved, and with indifference, beheld this barbarous spectacle.

Mr. Cliffe, who was universally loved and esteemed for the mildness of his manners and the benevolence of his disposition, was thrown into the gripe of a ditch, mangled and covered with wounds, where they meant to bury him. He had strength enough to raise himself a little,

\* Plate VII. 6. 5 Ibid. 3, 4.

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and to cry out for mercy; when savage woman, a disgrace to her own sex and to human nature, gave him a violent blow of a large stone in the breast, and put a period to his existence.

Mr. Elliott called out to his tenant, who had ever experienced the most striking instances of his regard, and said, "Sure, Ned, you won't see me murdered?" but the unfeeling savage replied, "No;" and turned his back to him, while the ruffians continued to torture him. Mr. Elliott's tenant was a man of such influence there, that he could have easily prevented these barbarous murders.

The man who led the car to the Roar, and was eye-witness of these shocking enormities, substantiated them by affidavit. It must give the reader pleasure to learn, that Mr. Elliott's tenant, and two more of the affaffins were soon after shot; and that the third has fallen a victim to the vengeance of the law. The inhabitants of the Roar and its vicinity were remarkable for their disaffection and rebellious spirit, for which they were severely punished.

I shall now relate some of the incidents which occurred in the course of this very extraordinary action, which lasted from five in the morning till three in the evening. The main body of the rebels entered the town by the Three-bullet gate, and many also by the priory or fourth-gate, where one of the field pieces, that the rebels had taken some days before near the mountain of Forth, was retaken by the king's troops; but this took place after they were driven out of the town. They burnt all the thatched houses, and many of the slated ones in Neville-street, which runs in a direct line from the Three-bullet gate; every thatched and some slated houses in Michael-street and Mill-lane, which are at right angles with Neville-street; all the houses in the upper part of Mary-street, which crosses the end of Neville-street; all the houses in Church-lane and the Chapel-lane, both which communicated with Mary-street. On the whole, the number of houses supposed to be burnt amounted to two hundred and eighty-six.

There was very great destruction of the favages in Chapel-lane, where they lay in heaps. They had possession of it, and of the upper part of Mary-ftreet, for a considerable time.

A numerous body of them, supposed to amount to five hundred, went down a great part of Mary-ftreet, which is on a declivity, to attack the

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main guard, ably defended by ferjeant Hamilton of the Donegal, and sixteen men only, with two ship guns, which were very badly mounted, and yet they were served with such effect as to occasion a prodigious slaughter. He had a large quantity of ammunition under his protection, and as he remained almost entirely unsupported, when the troops were driven over the bridge, an officer, from an idea that he must be overpowered, recommended to him to remove it to the Rofsbergen side of the water; but he replied, "That he never would quit the spot while he had life." He made lanes through the body of five or six hundred with discharges of grape shot, and completely repulsed them. This was the last great effort which they made to overpower him.

Parties of from twenty to thirty made different attacks on him, but they were always knocked down by the Dowfeley family. William Dowfeley, his brother Samuel, both very old, two of his sons, and three other men, took post in the house of the former, which is in Mary-ftreet, opposite to a lane called Bakehouse-lane, and near the main guard, at the lower end of Mary-ftreet. As the favages were perfectly secure in that lane from the guns of ferjeant Hamilton, they made many attempts to collect there in great numbers, for the purpose of surprizing and storming his post; but Dowfeley's party played them so well with constant volleys, and were so near them, that every shot took place, and they killed no less than sixty in one spot. They had an old soldier with them, who charged for them with great celerity, and put in each cartridge one large and four small balls. The lane was filled up with the dead.

A party of rebels got into a very good fortified house at the upper end of Mary-ftreet, which the soldiers having set fire to, the favages were roasted alive; and when their bodies were brought forth, presented a most hideous and disgusting spectacle.

Half the houses in the Cross-lane, and almost every one in the Friary-ftreet were consumed. Three of them were recently built and were very commodious.

Great numbers of the favages were killed outside the town, between the Three-bullet gate and the Bunnion gate, which lies at the upper end of it.

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Mr. Tottenham, the proprietor of Rofs, employed six carts and a great many men for two entire days, in collecting the bodies of the slain. Most of those found in the town were thrown into the river, and were carried off with the tide. The remainder were thrown into a fosse outside the town wall, and were buried there.

The main body that entered at the Three-bullet gate, and contiguous to it, having divided, some went down the Cross-lane, others down Michael-ftreet, and others down Neville-ftreet and Mary-ftreet, setting fire to the houses in their progress. Another body burned half of Irifhtown,\* which was near half a mile long; both sides having been burnt as far as they went. But there were not many employed in that service, as a party of soldiers that were stationed at the end of a lane called Boreenafane, that communicates directly with Irifhtown from Corbethill, killed a great number in the lane, and prevented them from getting into Irifhtown in any considerable force. Major Vandeleur, of the Clare, was of very great service there.

The rebels brought one of the fieldpieces, which they had taken at the mountain of Forth, as far into South-ftreet as major Cliffe's house, and one of the artillery men, taken at the same time, was tied to it for the purpose of serving it. A fellow of the name of Forreftal, made him

discharge it, once with grape, and twice with round-shot, at the main guard. The poor artillery man, whose loyalty was unabated, elevated the gun in such a manner as not to do execution; for with the left shot he knocked off the quoin of a house, (but almost close to the eaves,) opposite to the court-house, where the main guard was stationed. The poor fellow boasted of what a fine shot he had made; but Forrestal drew out a pistol, and shot him through the head, saying, "That is a much better shot."

This was related by two persons who were in a window over where the transaction happened. Forrestal was convicted of having committed fourteen murders, for which he was hanged. The two loyalists, who were witnesses of this transaction, had but one pistol, and but one charge for it, which one of them would have fired at Forrestal, but that the other prevented him; for if he had not succeeded in killing him, he

\* Plate VII. 3.

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would have demolished his house with the cannon in a few seconds. It is very singular that the rebels never ventured to send a force round to penetrate at the North gate\* end of the town, where they must have succeeded, as the main body of our troops were employed in defending it in the opposite direction.

The following curious incident occurred in the town of Ross: When the rebels entered the town, they dragged a man of the name of Dowfely, a protestant, from his house, and his next door neighbour, a Roman catholic, denounced him as such, for the purpose of having him affiliated; on which the rebels gave him three stabs of a pike. A woman of the name of Catherine Whelan, a Romanist, his neighbour, and as he thought, his friend, clapped her hands with joy on seeing the rebels enter the town, and welcomed the boys (as she called them) to Ross, and said, "They should kill Dowfely, as he was a protestant." They had at that time left him, as he had said that he was a Romanist; but on her saying the contrary, they returned to him while lying on the ground on his side, and having turned him on his back, desired him to bless himself, and on not doing it right, they stabbed him again, which was occasioned by her malevolent observation; on the whole, he received sixteen pike wounds. A woman of the name of Mary Foley, saw the rebels approach him again, take him up by the hair of the head, and ask him to say some popish prayers; she then humanely whispered some of them into his ear, which he repeated, on which the rebels pardoned and left him. A young man of the name of Richards, who saw this barbarous transaction, carried Dowfely into his house, and he afterwards recovered by medical assistance. All these circumstances were proved by the concurrent testimony of Dowfely, Mary Foley and Richards, before a court-martial, held at Ross the eleventh of August, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulke, for the trial of Catherine Whelan, who was cast for transportation.

A gang of assassins, armed with pikes, and headed by Richard Long, was sent in quest of protestants the first of June, 1798, from Carrickbyrne camp; and they seized Francis Plunket and his sister, both protestants, between Robinstown and Palace, and conveyed them to the camp.

\* See plate VII. 6.

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Long stationed a great number of male and female rebels on the road leading to Ross, with orders to intercept any protestants that they might find going there, as numbers of that persuasion fought an asylum in it from rebel vengeance. Plunket's sister besought the rebels in the camp to permit her to go home to her children; but they refused, having said she was taken there to suffer death. Long assigned as a reason, why he was so active against him and his sister, that he was an orangeman's servant, and his sister was an orangewoman. Long's brother desired

Francis Plunket to deny that he was related to his fifter, who was to suffer death for being a protestant, and that probably he might escape; the poor unfortunate woman died of fear.

These circumstances were proved before a court-martial, held at Ross the seventeenth of August, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulke, when Richard Long was cast for transportation.

When the rebels got possession of the town, one of them who entered the house of a protestant woman, gave her twenty-four wounds of a pike, notwithstanding which she leaped out of a window, and in doing so broke her leg; and yet she recovered, and is now living.

Notwithstanding the complete overthrow of the rebels at Ross, and the slaughter of them which took place on the fifth of June, they, encouraged by the thinness of the garrison, which consisted of but one hundred and fifty of the Dublin militia, formed a second conspiracy for attacking and burning the town, and murdering all its loyal inhabitants, and then marching to Waterford, for the purpose of taking it. The leaders of the conspiracy used to assemble at the house of one Malone, a publican, where they made different attempts to seduce the soldiers of the Dublin militia. One of them, who was very loyal, pretended to accede to and promote their designs, and informed them that many of his comrades would co-operate with them; but he communicated the whole of what had passed between them to captain Latouche, who, the better to develop their schemes, assumed the habit of a common soldier, and was introduced by the loyal one to the band of traitors at Malone's, as one of the fraternity, and pretended to be warmly attached to it.

In the course of conversation he discovered, that they were quite sure of the co-operation of many of his soldiers, who were to deliver up the

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ammunition to them; and that the masses of the people from all the adjacent country, aided by a numerous band of well-armed traitors who frequented the woods of Killoughrin, were to attack the town on the Friday following. They then attempted to administer an oath to him, on which he had them arrested and committed.

Malone, at the head of the conspiracy, had lived twenty-five years with the father of Mr. Tottenham, had become rich, and set up a public house. Major Cliffe's servant, another of the conspirators, had long enjoyed his esteem and confidence; and two of Mr. Deane's servants, deeply implicated in the plot, had been reputed men of good character. Such was the return which government received for their mild and conciliatory conduct which the rebels so recently experienced!

The rebels having secured the navigation of the Slaney, by getting the towns of Wexford and Enniscorthy into their hands, their next object, for the purpose of gaining the town of Ross which they reckoned certain, was to secure the navigation of the river on which it stands, by which they would have opened a complete communication between the rebels of the counties of Wexford, Waterford, and Kilkenny, have procured a constant and copious supply of provisions, and have had the most opulent and populous part of the county of Wexford completely in their power; and they would have prevented any supply of ammunition from being brought up from Duncannon fort, the chief depot of the king's army in that quarter: They would also have cut off all communication between Ross and Waterford, which was the chief place where general Johnson could expect to procure provisions for his army.

As all the inhabitants of the county of Wexford were in a state of insurrection, and consequently the general could not send any intelligence to, or receive any orders from government, he would have been completely insulated with his small army, if the rebels commanded the navigation of the Ross river. He would also have been prevented from sending the sick soldiers to Waterford,

as the inhabitants of the country between Waterford and Rofs, ten miles afunder, were for many days on the point of rifing.

To obviate this, general Johnfon, who fhewed as much fagacity as courage during the rebellion, ordered captain Hill of the navy, with fome gun-boats, which he commanded, to deftroy all the boats on that

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river, which he accordingly did, to the number of one hundred and feventeen. Though the gun-boats employed in that fervice were well baricadoed, and had on board each of them a party of foldiers, who were commanded by the brave ferjeant Hamilton, the rebels never fuffered one of them to pafs without keeping up a conftant and fevere fire upon them; for which purpofe, they kept ftrong piquet guards along the banks of the river; and they ufually began this practice at Camolin wood, only a mile from the town. As it happened that one of the gun-boats ran a-ground, an immenfe body of rebels rufhed down from Slieve Kilta,\* where they were encamped, and made feveral daring attempts to take poffeffion of her; and it was not without the greateft difficulty, that the other gun-boats, who feafonably came to her affiftance, refcued her from them. In this conflict, four men belonging to the gun-boats were killed, and feveral of them were wounded.

Another great object of the rebels, after they had got poffeffion of Wexford, was, to eftablifh a naval force upon the coaft.

They had already manned and armed two or three veffels in that port, one of them a Liverpool letter of marque, which mounted ten guns. By thefe means they fecured lord Kingfborough, and feized fome veffels freighted with provifions, which might otherwife have efaped.

When our frigates arrived on the coaft, they completely put an end to that praftice.

The rebel leaders, for the purpofe of making their efcape, had affembled a number of fmall craft on that part of the coaft near Fethard; of which general Johnfon being aware, fent a revenue cutter, and fome gun-boats, under the command of captain Hill, for the purpofe of deftroying every veffel that might be found in that harbour; which was done as effectually as the nature of the fervice would admit; for thirteen veffels were either burned or rendered ufelefs. The rebels maintained a very heavy fire upon the gun-boats, during the performance of this fervice, and there appeared a very large force ready to refift any further attempts, which, however, were not intended. They were faid to be under the command of father Edward Murphy.

Very few, if any proteftants, were murdered in the parifhes of Old or New Rofs. Captain Tottenham, of the town of Rofs, having informed them of the taking of Ennifcorthy by the rebels, and defired them to make their efcape into the garrifon, and they providentially followed his

\* Plate VII. 7,

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advice. Two perfons only, that I could hear of, of the parifh of Old Rofs, fell into their hands, when they were endeavouring to make their efcape: into that town, and were murdered by them. They were of the name of James, a father and fon, the former near eighty years old.

The reverend William Olafcott, rector of the parifh of St. James or Ballyhack,\* which lies on the Rofs river, above Duncannon-fort, and oppofite to Paffage, having received the earlieft intelligence of the rebel encampment formed on the mountain of Forth, and the defeat of the Meath militia there, critically alarmed his parifhioners; fame of whom fought an afylum in the fort of Duncannon,† and others croffed the river at Ballyhack, and were treated with very great

humanity by captain Forbes of the Ravenfworth tranfport, who received as many of them as he could accommodate in his veffel; and provided them with neceffaries. Two only fell into the hands of the rebels, who pofted piquets on all the roads leading to Rofs, Ballyhack and Duncannon, to intercept fuch proteftants as might attempt to efcape.

William Hore, of Harperftown,‡ efquire, nephew of the earl of Courtown, had appointed a day for the prieft and the congregation of the parifh of foncormuck,|| to affemble and take oaths of allegiance; but the rebellion broke out the day preceding it. He endeavoured to make his efcape to Duncannon-fort, on foot, by the moft fecret and by-ways; but he was feized by a body of pikemen, who were pofted to prevent orangemen from retreating to that garrifon. Mr. Hore requefted to be carried before father Edward Murphy, parifh, prieft of Bannow;|| with which they complied. But that reverend gentleman, though his will was a law, would not liberate him. He was therefore taken to Wexford, and fuffered on the bridge in that fcene of carnage fo difgraceful to human nature. William Allen Cox, efquire, captain of the Taghmon§ yeoman cavalry, lived at Coolcliff, in the fame parifh, and on a navigable river called the Bannow; but which is extremely narrow until it reaches Clonmines. He endeavoured to make his efcape in a fmall boat, in hopes of getting to fea; but he was fo befet by pikemen, that he was under the neceffity of landing in the midft of a horde of thofe favages; however, he derived great confolation from the fight of father Edward Murphy, whofe

\* See Plate I. 10. † Ibid. III. 9. ‡ Ibid. III. 7. || Ibid. III. 9, 9. § See Plate III. 6. ¶ Ibid. 7.

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protection he implored; but he briefly replied, “That his ftay there would be but fhort and he left him in the hands of thofe mercilefs wretches. He then took to his boat, and was foon after feized by the pikemen at the Scar pafs of Barriettown,\* and conveyed to Wexford, where he fuffered on the bridge.

The parifh of Bannow, of which Edward Murphy was prieft, is fo populous and extenfive, as to require two chapels: one called the chapel of Garrig, about two miles from Bannow, where he generally officiates; the other at Ballymitty, is not far from Taghmon. This reverend father was the perfon who preached the fermon at Vinegar-hill, which Richard Grandy was prefent at, and made affidavit of before George Ogle, efquire, and three magiftrates more.‡

A proteftant of the firft authority declares, that fhe heard him preach, at Carrig, a fermon, in which he faid, “That God Almighty befriended them in all their operations, for the attainment of liberty; and that the whole of the bufinefs was as vifibly his work, as that of dividing the red fea by Mofes.” He affured fome female proteftants† in his neighbourhood, whom he occasionally vifited, that he had forefeen and foretold to numbers, this ftruggle for liberty, as he termed it, fourteen years before it took place; and he afferted very frequently, that the whole force of England, even if fhe were twice as powerful as fhe is, would not be able to re-conquer Ireland, as Providence fought their battles.

During the fhort exiftence of the Irifh republick, he regularly intrufted the proteftants in his neighbourhood in his catechifm, telling them that there were four hells, and a great deal more of fuperftitious nonfenfe. A proteftant lady, whofe fon was confined in Wexford gaol, on account of his religion, applied to his reverence to interfere for his liberation; but he gave her a fhove from him, faying, “He would, never fave a heretick; and that he had other bufinefs to mind.”

While this falfe prophet was celebrating mafes at Carrig, on a Sunday during the rebellion, he heard the report of a cannon; on which his congregation, known by the name of the Bannow corps, were immediately, under arms, and by his order proceeded in great force to Bannow

\* Plate III. 8. ‡ Appendix, No, XX, 7. † The male fled, or were taken prisoners by the pikemen.

to oppose some gun-boats, and a revenue cutter, sent into the bay of Fethard, to destroy some boats and the stores of a Mr. Lynn there, containing a great quantity of malt, which the rebels were taking away to brew for their camps. This reverend gentleman soon followed his troops, and drew them up with some skill on the beach of that place, at a short distance from Fethard, on which the gun-boats were then firing; and it is said, by persons of veracity, who were forced into the rebel ranks that day, that Murphy ordered a number of women to march from his chapel, and join the rebel troops with hats on, that they might assume the semblance of men, in order to intimidate the sailors by their numbers. The gun-boats succeeded in destroying some fishing smacks; but as the fire which had been communicated to the stores was extinguished, this sacerdotal hero returned in triumph to Carrig, at the head of the Bannow corps, with colours flying, and music playing. He distributed a great quantity of scapulars in his parish; and he frequently told such female protestants as happened to remain there, that doctor Caulfield would be primate of Ireland, and that he would be archbishop of Dublin.

Agreeable to the proclamation issued by government, offering pardon to such repentant rebels as should take oaths of allegiance, and surrender their arms, Mr. Tottenham, the proprietor of Rofs, and other magistrates, continued in the months of July and August to extend the benefit of it to great numbers of that description, who carried in a few bad pikes and muskets, merely for the purpose of obtaining protections; from which, and from subsequent events, it was unquestionable that they harboured .. their rebellious designs as strongly as ever. And what signified oaths to "such wretches, when the multitude had been guilty of the most flagrant violation of them? None of them would confess the names of their officers, except such of them as had been killed or hanged. One sanguinary ruffian was very candid in his confession; he said, that general Harvey ordered him to attack and burn the town of Rofs; he said, that he fired a great many shots, and never without effect; that he entered Rofs by Neville-street and Mary-street, but could not proceed farther than the main guard. That post had been bravely defended by serjeant Hamilton of the Donegal regiment, with two ship-guns, and sixteen men, who never abandoned his post. Mr. Tottenham asked this intrepid rebel,

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Whether he would have fired at him, if he had seen him? and he answered, that he would have been very proud to have had him under his eye. He asked him also how many he had killed? to which he replied, that he could not tell, as he had taken his ammunition out of a pouch; but that he was sure he never fired without killing or wounding a soldier.

#### MASSACRE AT SCULLABOGUE.

I contemplate with horror, and relate with reluctance, an occurrence which took place on the day of the battle of Rofs, which will remain a lasting disgrace to human nature, and an indelible stain on the county of Wexford. During the encampment of the rebels on Carrickbyrnehill,\* a party of them were posted at Scullabogue,† within half a mile of the camp, where a barn was converted into a prison for the confinement of protestant prisoners. Bands of assassins were sent round the adjacent country in quest of protestants, whom they meant to extirpate, when they accomplished their final purpose of overturning the government. For the manner in which this barbarous business was conducted, and the circumstances of cruelty and atrocity which accompanied it, see Appendix, No. XX. 4, 5, 6.

On the eve of the thirtieth of May, captain King, the proprietor of Scullabogue, was advised to abandon his house, and to carry off what valuable effects he could, as a camp was to be formed the day after on Carrickbyrne-hill, which is within half a mile of Scullabogue.

Next day he made his escape, and the rebels took possession of his house. It appears, on the evidence of different persons, that one hundred and eighty-four protestants were burned in the barn of Scullabogue, and that thirty-seven were shot in the front of it.

The following circumstances appeared by the evidence of Richard Silvester, a witness on the trial of Phelim Fardy, one of the wretches concerned in that horrid affair: That when the rebels encamped on Carrickbyrne-hill marched towards Ross, on the fourth of June, the protestant prisoners were left at Scullabogue, under a guard of three hundred rebels, commanded by John Murphy of Loughnaguer, a rebel captain, Nicholas Sweetman and Walter Devereux, who both held the same rank: That when the rebel army began to give way at Ross, an express was sent

\* Plate III, 5. † Ibid. 6,

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to Murphy, to put the protestant prisoners to death, as the king's troops were gaining the day; but Murphy refused to comply without a direct order from the general: That he soon after received another message to the same purpose, with this addition, that the prisoners, if released, would become very furious and vindictive: That shortly after a third express arrived, saying, the priest gave orders that the prisoners should be put to death: That the rebels on hearing the sanction of the priest, became outrageous, and began to pull off their clothes, the better to perform the bloody deed: That when they were leading the prisoners out from the dwelling-house to shoot them, he turned away from such a scene of horror; on which a rebel struck him with a pike upon the back, and said, he would let his guts out if he did not follow him: That he then attended the rebels to the barn, in which there was a great number of men, women, and children; and that the rebels were endeavouring to set fire to it, while the poor prisoners, shrieking and crying out for mercy, crowded to the back-door of the barn, which they forced open for the purpose of admitting air: That for some time they continued to put the door between them and the rebels, who were piking or shooting them: That in attempting to do so, their hands or fingers were cut off: That the rebels continued to force into the barn bundles of straw to increase the fire. At last, the prisoners having been overcome by the flame and smoke, their moans and cries gradually died away in the silence of death.

It was proved on the trial of John Keefe, convicted by a court-martial on the fourteenth of April, 1800, on the evidence of Robert Mills, that, after the bloody work began, he saw the prisoner with a pike, the point of which was broken, and the top of the shaft or handle was bloody > that he carried it to an adjoining forge, whetted it on a sharpening-stone, and then proceeded to the front of the dwelling-house where they were shooting the prisoners. Among the persons most conspicuous, we find the names of Fardy, Sinnott, Michell or Mifcally, who trampled on the dead and wounded bodies, and behaved otherwise in such a ferocious manner, as to obtain from the rebels the appellation of the true-born Romans.

William Ryan, a farmer, about three miles from Scullabogue, had a daughter who was kept by a gentleman at Duncannon. The rebel guards at Scullabogue thinking that they might extract from her some important

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information relative to the plans of the loyalists, as her paramour was of that description, and dreading that she and her friends who were Roman catholics, might betray some of the rebel secrets to her keeper, lent a body of pikemen in quest of her; but not being able to find her, they were of opinion that her sister Eleanor, who lived at Mr. Roffiter's, would answer equally well. They therefore led her to the barn, and her father having shortly after gone there to solicit her liberation, they committed; him and his poor old wife, who went there also, in hopes of being

able to move their compaffion; but fhe fhared their fate, having been thruft into the barn, where they were all burnt.

No lefs than twenty-four proteftants were taken from the village of Tintern, about eight miles diftant, many of them old and feeble, and were led in one drove to the barn, where they perifhed.\*

Thomas Shee and Patrick Prendergaft were burnt in the barn, both Romanifts, becaufe they would not confent to the maffacre of their proteftant mafters.

William Johnfon, a very old man, though of the fame perfuafion, fhared a fimilar fate. He gained a livelihood by playing on the bagpipes, and was fo unfortunate as to incur the vengeance of the rebels, by playing the tune of, ‘ Croppies, lie down.’

William Neil, another Romanift, who fuffered there, was by trade a tailor, and had worked for fome time in the garrifon of Duncannon. Having occafion to return to Camolin, of which he was a native, he procured the pafs of general Eawcett for his protection, but it turned out to be the means of his deftruction; for having been intercepted by the rebels, who confidered the pafs as an emblem of loyalty, they committed him to the barn, with his fon Daniel, who happened to accompany him, and they both perifhed in the flames.†

Some perfons have contended that the perfecutions in the county of Wexford were not exclufively levelled againft proteftants, becaufe a few Romanifts were put to death in the barn and at Wexford; but the fanguinary fpirit againft them was fo uniform at Vinegar-hill, on the bridge

\* See Appendix, No. XX, 4.

† They burned the wives and fome of the children of the North Cork militia in the barn, who were Roman catholicks; but it was fufficient to provoke their vengeance, that they werc connected with the foldiers of an heretical king.

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of Wexford, and Scullabogue, and indeed in every part of the county, as to remove any doubt on that head.

The witnefs, during this dreadful fcene, faw a child who got under the door, and was likely to efcape, but much hurt and bruifed; when a rebel perceiving it, darted his pike through it, and threw it into the flames. While the rebels were fhooting the prifoners in front of the dwelling-houfe, a party of men and women were engaged in ftripping and rifing the dead bodies; and the prifoner, Phelim Fardy, called out to them to avoid the line of his fire, (as he was bufily employed in fhooting the prifoners,) and in faying fo, he fired at a man who was on his knees, and who infantly fell and expired.

The barn was thirty-four feet long, and fifteen wide, and the walls were but twelve feet high. Suffocation then muft have foon taken place, as fo great a number of people were compreffed in fo fmall a fpace; and, befides the burning of the thatched roof of the barn, the rebels threw into it, on their pikes, a great number of faggots on fire.

Richard Grandy, who was prefent, fwears, that the prifoners in front of the houfe were led out by fours to be fhot; and that the rebels who pierced them when they fell, took pleafure in licking their fpears.\*

A gentleman prefent, who had a narrow efcape, affured me, that a rebel faid he would try the tafte of Orange blood, and that he dipped a tooth-pick in a wound of one of the proteftants who was fhot, and then put it into his mouth. Whenever a body fell on being fhot, the rebel guards fhouted, and pierced it with their pikes.

Samuel and John Jones, two brothers, were put to death in front of captain King's house in the following manner: When they were on their knees, the wife of one of them stood between them, took each of them by the hand, and closed her eyes; and when they fell, in consequence of being shot, she implored the rebels, as an act of mercy, to put her to death, but they refused to do so. She then got a cart, and put on it the two bodies which the rebels had stripped quite naked. She covered them with her cloak and petticoat; but when she had led the cart to some distance, she was stopped by a party of rebel women, who

\* See his affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 7.

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led it back, and compelled her to return with them. They urged the rebels to put her to death, and she appeared to rejoice at the idea of resigning that life which they had embittered by murdering her husband. They seemed well disposed to kill her, and would have done so, but that John Murphy, their captain, prevented them, having said, that such a horrid deed would kindle a blush on the cheeks of the Virgin Mary.

The Jones's, who lived at Abbey Braine, were in good circumstances. Murphy took out of one of their pockets a pocket-book, which, it was said, contained notes to a considerable amount. The father of the Jones's, who was very old, died in a few days after of a broken heart, and he and his sons were interred in the same grave.

One Sleater, an opulent man from Wales, who came to Ireland every year to buy cattle for the English market, in which business he dealt very extensively, was picked up by the rebels, and shot among the thirty-seven prisoners. He had a pocket-book, which contained (it was said) notes to the amount of £1,000 which fell into the hands of the rebels.\*

On most occasions, they did not offer any violence to the tender sex; but at Scullabogue, they burned a great many women and children.

It has been said, and indeed proved, that John Murphy, the rebel captain, who commanded the guard at Scullabogue, refused to massacre the prisoners, till he had received the orders of a priest of the name of Murphy, for that purpose. Brian Murphy, parish priest of Taghmon, is supposed to be the person alluded to. The affidavit of Michael Atkins, which the reader will find in Appendix, No. XX. 9. throws great light on it.

The following occurrence, relative to a priest, happened on the same day, and shews what great influence the sacerdotal order had over the misguided multitude: Patrick Dobbyn, and his three sons, William, Richard and Samuel, were taken prisoners at Old Court, in the parish of Adamstown, where they resided, by Thomas Cavenagh, and some more popish banditti, who committed them to prison at Scullabogue; the former on the second, the latter on the first day of June. Elizabeth,

\* The person who led him out to execution, was a ruffian of the name of Cowrean, whom he had employed in buying cattle, and who had gained considerably by his kindness and generosity.

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the wife of Patrick Dobbyn, went to father Shallow, parish priest of the union of Adamstown and Newbawn, who resided at Ballyhannon, one mile from Scullabogue, and implored him to have her husband and sons released; but he refused, and informed her, that he should be in as much danger as they, if he went near the rebel camp; and yet the same priest liberated from the barn,\* and saved a young man of the name of Lett, the son of a Mr. Lett of Kilgibbon, within three or four miles of Enniscorthy; and it appears also by affidavit sworn before general Fawcett, that father Shallow took an active part in the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne.†

William Fleming, a protestant, and a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, having the protection of a priest, went to the barn on the seventh of June, to look for the body of one Robert Cooke, a friend, for the purpose of interring it; but the bodies were so much injured by the fire, that he could not distinguish one from the other. I shall refer the reader to his affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 8. containing many curious particulars relative to the rebellion, particularly the exhortation of father Roche, the general, in the camp of Slievekilta,|| to extirpate orangemen and disaffected persons, and in which he assured the rebels, that they were fighting for their religion.

The life of Fleming was often saved by the paps of father Brien Murphy, a priest of Taghmon, of which I give an exact copy:

“Mr. Wm. Flemmon has complied with every condition required of him, and therefore is to be *stoped* by no man.

June 2d, 1798.

Revd. BR. MURPHY.”

On the trial of Thomas Clooney, a rebel leader, at Wexford, the fifth of June, 1799, it was proved, that, while the camp was at Carrickbyrne, he at the head of three hundred rebels went to Old Rofs to burn the protestant church, and the houses of some protestants there; and that while the former was burning, he said, the Devil’s house is on fire.

The ferocity of the rebels was such, that they often murdered each other with impunity in their camps, or during their marches.

8 Appendix, No. XX, 5. † Ibid. 10. || Plate VII. 7.

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A boy of the name of Bennett, about fourteen years old, entered the lawn of Mr. King, at Scullabogue, on horseback, the day preceding the massacre. One Hanlon, a schoolmaster, insisted on getting his horse; and on being refused, he ran the boy through the body with his pike and killed him. Bennett’s brother, a young man, having arrived next day, asked permission to get revenge for the death of his brother; and having obtained it, instantly killed the schoolmaster. He was buried in a place separate from the protestants; for the rebels were heard to declare, that they would not inter him with hereticks.

The bodies of the protestant prisoners were buried by a subscription, raised by the rebel chiefs; Bagenal Harvey, who was filled with horror and shame at the massacre, having set it on foot.

One Templeton, a yeoman, was taken prisoner at the battle of Rofs, by the rebels, and carried to Scullabogue, where he saw one Walter Devereux, a farmer, sitting on the wheels of a cart, within ten paces of the barn; and Devereux pointing to it, said, “That all protestants and loyalists should be served in that way.” On entering the barn, he saw the bodies in the same situation as described by William Fleming.

Walter Devereux was taken at the cove of Cork, when attempting to make his escape to America, and the protections of five different general officers were found on him; though he was afterwards charged with the massacre of some of the Wexford regiment at Newbridge, besides that at Scullabogue, which was proved by informations sworn before colonel Ram at Cove, and on the trial of Devereux at Cork.

Bagenal Harvey, who was a man of honour and humanity, though deluded by absurd political speculations, was filled with the greatest horror on hearing of the massacre at Scullabogue; and, therefore, the day after, he issued general orders,\* denouncing the penalty of death against such persons as should murder their prisoners; for which humane effort to check that sanguinary spirit, which now for the first time began to appear, he was despised; and that inhuman savage,

father Philip Roche, was elected in his stead, at the camp of Carrickbyrne; and it appears that Edward Roche, who had been elected second in command of the republican army at Wexford, then became commander in chief, as appears

\* See Appendix, No. XX. 13.

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by a paper\* signed by him, dated the seventh of June, 1798. The reverse of fortune which general Harvey experienced in the course of seven days, was no less rapid than unexpected, and convinced him of his folly and temerity.

A respectable protestant, who was taken prisoner by the rebels, and compelled to serve in the camp at Carrickbyrne, informed me, that father Roche, in a publick harangue, denounced all protestants as hereticks, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of them were permitted to serve in their ranks: That on the same day, he met Roche in a tent, and that he, with singular diffimulation, assured him, that they made no religious distinctions, and never regarded a man's religion, provided he was loyal and true to their cause: That Bagenal Harvey, on hearing Roche's harangue, lamented to him, that the war unexpectedly turned out to be purely religious: That the priests had got absolute sway: That he feared quite distracted, and wished he could make his escape.

On the eighth of June, the day after Bagenal's Harvey's deposition, Francis Glafcott, esquire, of Pilltown, his intimate friend, wrote to him for his protection; but he wrote in answer, that he was unable to protect himself. This letter marked strongly the distress and perturbation of mind which he at that time suffered.†

He lamented in this letter, that Mr. Tottenham, of Rofs, refused to speak to Furlong, whom he sent with a flag of truce to general Johnson, on the morning that the rebels attacked Rofs; and some persons have been so weak and absurd as to condemn general Johnson for what happened on that occasion; but which human wisdom could not prevent.

A foldier, at an out-post, shot Furlong, a man of mean appearance, when in full gallop towards the town, and without any other emblem of his being a herald, or a messenger of peace, than his having a white handkerchief in his hand; and the letter which was found in his pocket, contained nothing but a peremptory requisition to general Johnson, to surrender the town to Bagenal Harvey, commander in chief; with which that brave officer would not have complied.

It has been said, that Bagenal Harvey was deposed, because he shewed a want of courage in this action; but that is scarce credible, for he displayed

\* See it in Appendix, No. XX, ij. † Ibid.

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very great firmness in various duels which he had fought in the course of his life.

Bagenal Harvey, on his deposition, was appointed president of the council at Wexford, consisting of a few leading members of the newly established republick, which sat for the regulation of their affairs; and we find his name, with that of Nicholas Gray, his secretary, to many orders issued by them. See the oaths prescribed by the council for the rebel officers and privates to take.\*

Some days after the taking of Enniscorthy, father Kearns, Patrick Sutton, and William Barker, all rebel chieftains, marched a body of rebels from that town towards Lacken-hill. They stopped at St. John's, the seat of doctor Hill, close to Enniscorthy, and took him and his brother with them, in order to leave them as hostages, at Slievekilta camp, to secure the lives of any of their leaders who might fall into the hands of the loyalists. They remained at Scullabogue, twelve

miles off', the first night, under the guard of fifteen savage pikemen, who slept in a small room with them. A hoghead of whiskey was carried on a car, in the midst of the rebel column. Impatient at not having it drawn fast enough for them, one of the savages knocked in with a stone a cask of the cask, in consequence of which the liquor was lost.

One of the rebels led Mr. Hill to the barn, which had been burnt two or three days before, and he saw a great number of the guard turning up the bodies, in quest of money and watches, and who afterwards owned that they had been successful in their search.

Father Kearns returned in the morning, and desired them to prepare to march to Lacken-hill, near Ross. He made them halt at Newbawn chapel, about a mile from Scullabogue, where he said mass' for them, having a broad cross belt, and a dragoon's sash under his vestment. The rebel chiefs knelt round the altar, from which Kearns, when mass was over, endeavoured to exhort the rebels, in the same strain that Murphy and Roche used at Vinegar-hill and Carrickbyrne; but the current of his eloquence was soon stopped by ebriety, his illiterate habits, his gross ignorance and vulgarity.

Some readers may regard these anecdotes as trifling and uninteresting, but it should be considered that it would be impossible to depict

\* See it in Appendix, No. XX. 16.

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the spirit of the rebellion, and the true character of the savages concerned in it, without giving a circumstantial account of the events which occurred in the course of it.

Mr. Stephen Ram, of Ramsfort, informed me, that many of his papist tenants, who had been in the rebellion, were very communicative, and owned that they entered into it at the instance of their priests. They also declared, that it was usual in the rebel camps, for each priest to call over his parishioners, and that the coadjutor acted in his stead, if he was prevented by age or infirmity from doing so. Those who appeared reluctant were liable to censure.

When father Roche, the commander in chief, was encamped on Lacken-hill, he wrote the following letter to father Doyle:

“Revd. Sir,

“You are hereby ordered,’ in conjunction with Edmund Walsh, to order all your parishioners to the camp on Lacken-hill, under pain of the most severe punishment; for I declare to you and to them, in the name of the people, if you do not, that I will censure all Sutton's\* parish with fire and sword. Come to see me this day.

Lacken-hill, June 14th, 1798.

ROCHE.”

To the Revd. James Doyle.

It was given out in general orders, that the commander in chief should send out guards, to compel such persons as they should find loitering at home, and that such guards should punish with death those who should resist them. Those who were found loitering should also be tried by a court-martial, and punished with death. See Appendix, No. XX. 13.

This is according to the French system of terror.

The next memorable action which took place in the rebellion was the battle of Arklow, which happened on the ninth of June.

The rebel leaders knew, that if the metropolis fell, there would be a general insurrection of the papist multitude all over the kingdom. They resolved therefore to make one desperate effort to

gain it, knowing that immense numbers would flock to their standard in their progress thither, and that the mass of the people in it would rise, as soon as they approached

\* It is presumed that Doyle was coadjutor to Sutton.

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approached it. Flushed with the victory which they had gained at Tubberneering near Clough, they were sure that their efforts would be crowned with success.

The melancholy intelligence of Colonel Walpole's disaster spread a general gloom through the metropolis, where it was received the evening of the day it happened. The consequences that might have resulted from it were not easily to be foreseen. The hopes of the disaffected were raised to the highest pitch. Plans of insurrection were formed by the rebels in Dublin, as they had the most sanguine hopes of being joined by their brethren in arms, who had given such an extraordinary and unexpected instance of prowess against the king's troops. Reports were industriously propagated, magnifying the numbers of the rebel force; and serious apprehensions were entertained by many for the safety of the capital.

The following letter was written by the rebel general, father Michael Murphy, at Gorey, on the sixth instant, to Thomas Houfton, of Thomas-street, Dublin, which sufficiently proves the determination of the rebel chieftains to march to, and attack the metropolis. Soon after the battle of Arklow, general Skerret met a foldier, who had some plunder in his hands; among other things, a watch, a crucifix, and the following letter which he had found on the body of father Murphy:

“Friend Houfton!

Gorey, 6th June.

“Great events are ripening. In a few days we shall meet. The first fruits of your regeneration must be a tincture of poison and pike, in the metropolis, against heretics. This is a tribunal for such opinions. Your talents must not be buried as a judge: Your sons must be freed with fortitude against heresy, then we shall do; and you shall shine in a higher sphere. We shall have an army of brave republicans, one hundred thousand, with fourteen pieces of cannon, on Tuesday, before Dublin; your heart will beat high at the news. You will rise with a proportionable force.

Yours ever.

Decipher, B. I. K. M. Y.\*\*\*

M. MURPHY.”

Father Murphy, in the constant hurry and confusion in which he had been kept, in preparing for the attack of Arklow, had not time or

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opportunity to forward this letter, which remains as a proof of the bold and malignant designs of the sacerdotal hero and his fanatical sectaries.\*

So great was the consternation in Dublin, that the countess Camden fled for England, and many ladies not only of rank and fashion, but even of middling and mean situations, followed her example. The regular military force in the capital was small but the loyal citizens enrolled as yeomen, to the amount of about four thousand, well-armed and disciplined, nobly stood forward to save their country, completely overawed the disaffected within the city; and enabled government to detach from the garrison the Cavan battalion of militia, and a small party of the Royal Fencibles, who were sent off on the day following, in carriages imprefsed for the purpose, to Wicklow, to join there the debris of Colonel Walpole's column, and to endeavour to recover the

town of Arklow. The honourable general Needham was appointed to the command of these troops, and reached Wicklow on the evening of the fifth of June. On the sixth, the column moved forward without opposition to Arklow, but found the country altogether deserted by the male inhabitants, who had, almost to a man, gone off to join their friends at Gorey.

The arrival of fresh troops from Dublin revived the drooping spirits of those who had been defeated under colonel Walpole; though most of them were in a deplorable state, having thrown away their packs, containing all their necessaries, to lighten them in their retreat; and the shoes they had, were completely worn out. On the march the column was joined by the Arklow corps of yeomanry, all loyal protestants. As their houses and property had been destroyed by the rebels, they formed themselves into small parties, before they joined general Needham; and set fire to many houses, of which the male inhabitants were known to have joined the rebels at Gorey; but these acts of revenge were completely put an end to by the general, and all the straggling yeomen were called in. When the column approached within three miles of Arklow,†

a

\* From this letter, the reader may conceive to what a state of plunder, carnage and conflagration, the metropolis would have been reduced on the night of the twenty-third of May, if the pikemen had risen and occupied the streets before the yeomen were alarmed, as they would have been joined by many thousand rebels from the country, who were waiting for the signal to rush into it.

† Plate II. ||. Fill

[Folding map:] Plan of the Town of Arklow with part of the Circumjacent Country

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strong party of dragoons was sent forward to reconnoitre. They pushed on to the town, and on their appearance, some few fellows who had committed acts of violence and rebellion, after the retreat of the king's troops to Wicklow, made their escape to Gorey.

The town was taken possession of by the dragoons without any opposition; and about four o'clock, on the sixth of June, the main column marched in. It is impossible to describe the joy which their arrival diffused through the town, as most of the protestant inhabitants had deserted their houses, and fled to the beach, to avoid the destruction which seemed to impend over them and their families, and made their escape in boats; but on seeing the column enter the town, they returned. The seventh and eighth, the troops remained unmolested; though they were in constant expectation of being attacked. Patrols were kept constantly in motion, and every precaution was adopted that prudence could suggest. Some fences were levelled, to clear the only position which it appeared advisable to occupy in case of an attack. The disposition of the forces for that event was resolved on; and ground was marked out for encamping the entire body outside the town,\* that on any alarm they might turn out and form with greater promptitude.

#### THE BATTLE OF ARKLOW.

On the morning of the ninth, about eleven o'clock, intelligence was brought that the enemy were at hand. The garrison instantly turned out, and a cavalry patrol advanced two miles towards Coolgreaney,† where they saw at some distance a mounted patrol of the enemy which immediately retired. It happened very fortunately that a detachment of the Durham fencibles, a very fine regiment, amounting to three hundred effective men, arrived about one o'clock that day, without whose assistance the little garrison would not probably have been able to withstand the superior numbers of the enemy.

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\* Plate. VIII. Plate II, 2.

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9th of June, 1798.

*Effective return of the forces under the command of the honourable major general Needham at Arklow*

REGIMENTS, &c.		Colonels	Field offices.	Captains	Subalterns	Staff	Quatermasters	Seijeants	Drummers & Trimmers	Rank and File
Colonel Sir W. W. Wynne's division	— 4th (or Royal Irish dragoon guard);			2	2			3		
	5th (or Royal Irish drag.);				1					18
	Ancient British fencible light dragoons.	1	2	1	5	2	4	7	4	81
	Cavalry	1	2	3	8	2	4	10	4	120
Lieutenant-colonel Cope's division:	Armagh militia;	1		7				3	3	107
	Tyrone mil. (light comp.);		1	1				3	1	42

	North Cork militia;							1	1	28
	Suffolk fenc. (light comp.);		1	1				2	3	31
	Cavan militia;	1	1	4	9	4		24	7	312
	Antrim militia;		1	1	6	2		9	2	201
	Londonderry militia (grenadier company).			1	1			4		66
Colonel Skerrett's division:	Durham fencible infantry;	1	2	4	15	4		27	15	245
	Dubarton infantry.			1	6	1		10	5	105
	Infantry		5	13	47	13		83	37	1,137

YEOMANRY CORPS		Mounted					Dismounted			
		Captain	Subaltern	Serjeant.	Trump.	Rank & File	Subaltern	Serjeant	Drum.	Rank & File
North Arklow	captain, Lord Wicklow	2	2	3	1	40				25
South Arklow	captain Atkins	1	2	4	1	43		1		15
Camolin	captain, Earl of Mountnorris	1	2	2		57		1		24
Coolgreney	captain Beauman	1	2	4	1	43				
Castleton	captain Knox	1	2	4		41				9

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About four o'clock in the afternoon, the out-post at the charter-school A, was ordered in; and another cavalry patrol was sent there, and they observed at some distance, the enemy deploying the immense masses which had marched by the Coolgreney road, from Gorey, and extending themselves into a kind of irregular line of great depth; the right being at the little rock of Arklow B, where a very strong column was formed, which marched by the sea-side road, and was destined to attack the lower end of the town, or fishery C. On the Coolgreney road another immense column was formed, to attack the right of our position, at the upper end of the town D. When these arrangements were made, which took up half an hour, the enemy sent forward a numerous patrol of cavalry and infantry, which attempted to surround the patrol, which we had sent to the charter-school, and obliged them to fall back to the garrison. In the mean time the king's troops prepared for action, having made the following disposition: A part of the Antrim, with some supplementary yeomen, commanded by captain Rowan, were destined for the defence of the barrack E, and lined the walls on a temporary banquette erected for the purpose.

Another detachment of the Antrim, under the command of lieutenant-colonel O'Hara, was posted at the upper end of the town at D, with a barricade suddenly formed of cars and boxes in their front, and having one of their regimental field-pieces with their own gunners. The line of the king's forces was formed with the Durham on the right, in the circular position FFG, which gave some advantage in point of ground; but, after the firing began, the troops on the left of the Durham moved forward, under cover of the hedges, their front GGG, where they remained during the rest of the action. The Suffolk fencibles and the Tyrone light companies, with some

of the supplementary yeomen lined the very strong hedges HHH; a small party was posted in the churchyard I, and another at the end of the street K, for the defence of the lower end of the town.

The main object of the rebels was to outflank and surround our little army, by which they must have overpowered it by their immense superiority of numbers; which the excellent disposition made by general Nedham was well calculated to prevent.

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The cavalry, with the exception of one troop of the Ancient Britons, and the Arklow cavalry, posted at L, were stationed at the bridge, and on the sands outside the town MMM, where they were perfectly under cover.

The rebels first appeared on the tops of hedges, in a great circular line, extending from the Gorey or sea side road to the sand banks near the sea, and was very deep. They put their hats on their pikes, and gave most dreadful yells. The enemy now moved forward to the attack, and in their progress set fire to Lamberton, the beautiful seat of the reverend Mr. Bayly, rector of the parish of Arklow N, which was entirely consumed. The party on the Coolgreney road was warmly received on their first appearance, by colonel O'Hara, with his gun and party at the barrier D; and they suffered very severely from the two guns on the right of the Durham's. One of the enemy's six-pounders was now dragged off the road by the lane N, and advantageously posted on the summit of an hill O, commanding the position of the king's troops, but which was so extensive that they could not with their small numbers occupy the whole of it. The other gun which the rebels brought with them was drawn by the Yellow-lane P, and posted not injudiciously on an eminence at Q.

The enormous mob which composed the rebel army was estimated at twenty-five thousand men by those who were best informed. In their march they plundered the houses of all protestants of every thing valuable, and put in strict requisition all the spirits and provisions that could be supplied. Under the influence of intoxication and fanaticism they were led on by their priests, who inspired them with ideas of their own invincibilities; because, as they informed the misguided wretches, they were engaged in the cause of heaven, and against the enemies of God. To maintain that religious phrenzy, which was the only source of their courage, they, at the end of every mile during their march, said mass for them, and used every mode of exhortation, and every superstitious device that priestcraft could invent. They advanced in an irregular line, which was frequently broken by their running out to file along the hedge rows lying parallel to the position of the king's troops, of the cover of which they endeavoured to avail themselves. Their front rank was composed of those who had fire-arms, and who were mostly from the barony of Shelmalier, on the Wexford coast, where they subsisted during the winter

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by shooting barnacles and other sea fowl, which makes them expert marksmen. They were covered in the rear by the pikemen many deep, and at certain intervals their line was strengthened by numerous masses of men, who were ready to supply the places of those who fell, or to act as occasion might require. Each company had a green flag or colour about two feet square, with a yellow harp in the centre. Some, however, were party-coloured, and equal in size to the king's colours. Their leaders were distinguishable riding through the ranks, marshalling them, and giving orders.

During the engagement the rebels frequently repeated their dreadful yells, which heightened the terrific appearance of this numerous host of barbarians, who seemed confident from their superior numbers, that they could easily overwhelm our small army.

The column\* on the right of the enemy's line, which formed at the rock B, and marched by the sea side road S, attacked the lower end of the town with great fury, setting fire to the houses, and

advancing under cover of the smoke, with the most determined perseverance. The flames were fortunately interrupted by the interval between C and R, and did not communicate to the rest of the town.

The rebels, notwithstanding their most desperate efforts, were unable to withstand the heavy and well-directed fire kept up by the party posted at K; and never succeeded in passing the point R, at which multitudes of them were killed, but who were instantly replaced by others; and they were plainly observed throwing their killed, and, it is believed, many of their wounded into the flames, where they were consumed or buried under the ruins of falling houses. The attack was supported with the utmost obstinacy on this point for two hours and a half, when the enemy began to desist from an attempt which had proved fatal to so many, and to retire along the street of the fishery C, and by the sea side road S.

This being observed, the cavalry on the bridge, under colonel Sir W. W. Wynne, was ordered to charge, and that officer led them on with his usual gallantry against the enemy, many of whom were cut down on the sands TT, and the rest made their escape up the Yellow-lane P, and into the enclosures, where the cavalry could not follow them.

While this warm conflict was maintained at the lower end of the town, the attack was supported with still more obstinacy against the barricade

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at D; by which the rebels were in hopes of making their way to the rear of our little army. This column was led on by father Michael Murphy, the priest, of Ballycanew, who endeavoured to animate them by every argument and exhortation that could work on their bigotry. Many of their chiefs, who led them on to successive attacks, were killed within a few yards of our guns.

Murphy, who had hitherto escaped, headed the column at the charter-school, which was still very great; but as they shewed a reluctance to advance, he took out of his pocket some musket-balls, which, he said, were fired by the enemy, and some of which had hit him without wounding him; and others he had caught in his hands. He assured them at the same time, that the balls of heretics could not injure them, as they were under the protection of the Almighty, in whose cause they were fighting, provided they were steadfast in their faith. By that stratagem, he prevailed on many of the deluded wretches to follow him; and they successively became victims of their superstition and temerity. Father Murphy, after many escapes, fell himself by a cannon shot, within a few yards of the barricade D, while shouting to his followers, and waving in his hand a fine standard with a cross, and Liberty or Death inscribed on it. The fall of this church militant hero had an immediate effect in damping the ardour of the enemy, which from that moment began to abate.

About eight o'clock, when it was almost dark, they began to retreat towards Coolreney, in an irregular and disorderly manner. They carried off nine cart-loads of dead and wounded. If the cavalry had one hour's day light, they would have pursued them, and have cut off great numbers in their retreat. The loss of the rebels was said to be one thousand killed, and great numbers wounded.

The rebel cannon were worked by some of our artillery-men, who were taken near Wexford on the thirtieth of May; and as they levelled them too high, their fire was in a great measure ineffectual; for during the whole engagement, but two shots had any effect. One of them passed through the ammunition box of one of our guns, the other broke the carriage and killed three of the gunners.

When our troops got possession of Gorey, on the twelfth of June, a yeoman of the name of Sherwood, found a popish confession of faith\* in the box of a priest, the original of which is now in the possession of the

\* See a copy of it in Appendix, No. XX. 15.

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reverend Mr. Bayly of Arklow. It has been published in a pamphlet, entitled, Veridicus, and in another written in defence of the orangemen, in reply to Theobald McKenna, esquire; and as an anonymous writer has treated it as an imposture, from its monstrous absurdity, I think it right to observe, that various productions of the same nature, but infinitely more absurd and ridiculous, are constantly published in Dublin, and circulated among the befuddled multitude. Of these Fifty Reasons, the book on the Scapular or Carmelite order, the Funiculus triplex, or triple cord of St. Francis, the revelations of father John Murphy the traitor, hanged at Tullow, stand foremost.

Another of these confessions of faith was found at Carlow; one was dropped by a drunken priest of the name of Fitzsimons, at the house of a gentleman in the county of Meath; and another was found in the pocket of a robber, who was killed in the Liberty, in the year 1795.\*

I forgot to mention that some weeks before the rebellion broke out, popish children at Wingfield, and in the vicinity of Gorey and Arklow, and in many other places in the county of Wexford, wore red tape; and that some protestant children who did so, wishing to imitate them, were severely reprimanded by popish schoolmasters. George Taylor, in his narrative, mentions it; and tells us, what I have heard from many respectable persons, that the pretext for using it was, that all the Roman catholic children, under the age of fifteen, were to be visited by a dreadful plague; and that this piece of tape, which was endued with supernatural powers, by the benediction of a priest, would secure those, who wore it, from infection; but it was believed, that the intent of it was to discriminate popish from protestant children, when the general massacre was to take place in the month of May. The country shopkeepers brought immense quantities of it from Dublin, which they readily disposed of George Taylor, who lives near Gorey, mentions this circumstance in his narrative of the Wexford rebellion.

Captain Grogan Knox, who commanded the Castletown yeomen cavalry, and two privates in it, fell in this action. It is supposed that they advanced too far in pursuit of the enemy, after they had been driven out of the fishery, and that by doing so, they got within the range of our shot. This loyal gentleman was brother of Mr. Cornelius Grogan, who was hanged at Wexford.

\* This confession, it is believed, was composed soon after, and alluded to the massacre of 1641.

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I will now proceed to relate the principal occurrences which took place in the town of Wexford, from Wednesday the thirtieth day of May, when the rebels got possession of it, till the twenty-first day of June, when they were expelled from it. Some time after it was evacuated by the king's troops, the rebels approached it, headed by Edward Roche, a farmer, who was permanent serjeant in colonel Lehunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, and having deserted from them on Whit Sunday, became a rebel general. When they came to a place called the Spring,\* within two hundred yards of the town, they knelt down, crossed themselves, and prayed for some time. A person in the van of their army, when advanced to the middle of the town, having by chance fired a shot, the rear, who were outside, fled with precipitation, from motives of fear. As they passed through the streets, they uttered the most dreadful yells, and for three days after their arrival, they continued to plunder, every rebel gratifying his revenge against those towards whom he bore any enmity. They appointed a committee of seven, invested with supreme command, in which Bagenal Harvey was appointed president, after having been deposed, and a subordinate committee for the government of the town, which they divided into wards, in each of which they appointed and armed a company with officers of different degrees.

On entering the town, they by acclamation appointed general Keugh governor, or commandant of it, and bore him on their shoulders to the court-house. This extraordinary man, who had been

a private in his majesty's service, rose to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the 65th regiment, in which he served in America. He was about five feet nine inches high, and rather robust. His countenance was comely, his features were large, and indicative of an active intelligent mind. Joined to a very happy and persuasive manner of expressing himself, he had an engaging address, and great affability of manner. He married a widow, with whose jointure and his own private fortune, he lived very comfortably in Wexford. Proud and ambitious, he thought that his own abilities, which he appreciated too highly, were not sufficiently rewarded; and envying those who were his superiors in rank and fortune, he hoped to rise in that chaotic scene which a revolution would elude. In clubs and coffee-houses, he constantly censured the form of our constitution, and said it might be meliorated;

\* See note VI. P.

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but under the mask of a reformist, he concealed the dark designs of a rebel. His disaffection became at last so conspicuous, that the lord chancellor deprived him of the commission of the peace in the year 1796,

The rebels chose certain persons to distribute provisions, and for that purpose to give tickets to the inhabitants to entitle them to a rateable proportion of them, according to the number of inhabitants in each house. The habitations of all the protestants who made their escape were plundered, many of them were demolished, and but few of those who remained in the town were spared. All the protestant men were immediately committed to prison, except a few leaders who were really attached to their cause, or who affected to be so, to save their lives, or those who concealed themselves.

The day they entered the town, Mr. John Boyd, brother of Mr. B. member for the town, Thomas Sparrow, and one Hadden, a porter, were massacred, Henry Box, a shoemaker, and a man of the name of Cook, contiguous to it.

Those who could obtain written protections from the popish clergy, whose influence was unbounded, or from the rebel leaders, were not molested.

The perfidious and cruel conduct of the rebel captains and failors to their protestant passengers, who paid them large sums of money to convey them to Wales, will ever remain a stain on human nature. As soon as the rebels entered the town, a large green flag was hoisted on the barrack,\* which is on an eminence; but those who had put to sea before it appeared, were so fortunate as to escape.

I give an extract from the letter of a protestant clergyman, Mr. Hancock, (part of which I already quoted,) who retreated with his family from Enniscorthy, to shew the perilous and disastrous fate of the protestant fugitives. "On the morning of the thirtieth of May, the day after our arrival at Wexford, in compliance with the earnest and irrefragable adjuration of my wife, I determined on going to sea, carelessly whither; but so traitorous were the boatmen, and so resolved (as appeared in many instances after) to deliver up the gentry to the rebels, that after bargaining with several of them for a boat to Waterford or Dublin, or a sloop to Wales,

\* See Plate VI. A. B.

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and being in the most ruffianly manner insulted by the boatmen, and pelted with stones from the shore, I could not prevail on one of them to put off, until with a pistol in each hand, and desperation in my heart, they saw me hesitating, whether to blow out their brains or my own.\*\*

The treatment of a party of gentlemen and ladies, who embarked on board a large floop, belonging to the bloody Thomas Dixon, the thirtieth of May, will fhew the reader the ferocious cruelty of the rebel failors to their paffengers. After having exacted a very large fum from them, he refufed to put to fea, till the veffel was lightened, as he faid, fhe was heavily laden with coals; on which the gentlemen and their fervants affifted in throwing over board a large quantity of that article. As an excufe for further procraftination, Dixon faid, he muft go on fhore to know what fignal to hoift; as he had friends among the rebels, and no veffel but his would be fuffered to fail. Having repaired in his fmall boat to the county fide of the bridge, where the rebels were in great force, he returned in about an hour and a half, and informed them, that the united Irifhmen were in poffeffion of the town; and with the femblance of friendfhip, he advifed them to conceal their arms and their uniforms, as many of them were yeomen. He went on fhore a fecond time, and returned with two boats full of men, well armed, and who immediately deprived the paffengers of their arms. Thofe with captain Dixon then proceeded to the barrack, from whence having made a fignal, the rebel failors in the floop informed the paffengers that they were prifoners, and that their captain had obtained the command of the barrack.

Thus this party of gentlemen and ladies, obnoxious for their loyalty, wete betrayed into the hands of the ferocious rebels, after having been defrauded of their money. They were landed, and lodged at the poftoffice, where they remained till the firft of June.

Mr. Crump, Mr. Bland, and Mr. Kellet, and their wives, who were of the party, repaired to the houfe of the former, but as it had been plundered of all its furniture, and materially injured by the rebels, they could not occupy it. They therefore repaired to Clonard, the houfe of Mr. Kellet, two miles from the town, which was not in the fmalleft degree injured, becaufe he was married to a lady of the popifh perfuafion; and for that reafon they remained there unmolefted, till Monday the fourth of June, except that they daily received three or four domiciliary

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vifits from rebel parties, who faid they were fearching for orangemen.\*

On Sunday the third of June, Mr. Cornelius Grogan, of Johnftown,† within three miles of Wexford, vifited them, and afked them what part they would take in the prefent civil war? They anfwered that they would continue neuter. He told them that they would not be fuffered to remain inactive, and affured them that they would be taken to the camp if they perfifted in doing fo, and put to death if they attempted to make their efcape. He faid, that the united Irifhmen had waited on him that morning, and compelled him to take their oath: That at firft he was averfe to it; but having confulted one O'Connor a fchoolmafter on the propriety of taking it, he removed his doubts, by affuringhim that the moft loyal of his majefty's fubjects might fafely fwear it. That he was determined to go through with the bufinefs, as it was the only means of preferving his property; for, that the people had rifen in great force in different parts of the kingdom, and had been victorious in different engagements. Being invefted with the office of commiffary to the republick, he took an inventory of all the provifions at Clonard, from Mr. Kellet's fheward; and afterwards went out and examined whether it was correct. He evinced his authority by giving a protection to a woman whom Mr. Kellet was fending to Wexford for bread. This unfortunate gentleman was feized of an eftate of £8,000 a-year, in the county of Wexford, and lived at Johnftown, in a rude, but plentiful hofpitality; attended by a few parafites, who flattered his prejudices, and paid the moft obfequious deference to his opinions. From their daily exceffes at the table, Mr. Grogan was feldom free from the gout. On moft occafions he evinced the moft decided difapprobation of the meafures of the Irifh government, in which he was encouraged by his needy and dependant affociates, who hoped to acquire riches and confequence from general combuftion. In him it probably arofe from envy, becaufe, from the want of mental excellence, (for he had but mean talents) and of proper exertion in publick concerns, he did not enjoy that weight and refpect in fociety, which gentlemen of much fmaller fortunes poffeffed.

\* From whatever post the rebels occupied, they, as a matter of course, sent out bands of pikemen in quest of protestants, under the denomination of orangemen.

† See Plate III. 7

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It is scarce to be doubted, but that he was not privy to the conspiracy which ended in a rebellion, though his conduct afforded strong suspicions of it, as he was fond of the society of Keugh, Bagenal Harvey, and other disaffected persons; and his parasites were notoriously disloyal.

It is much to be feared that this unfortunate gentleman fell a sacrifice to his credulity, his avarice, and want of firmness. He retreated with the king's troops from Wexford, about two miles, and then turned off to his own house, where he was circumvented by the rebels; who either compelled or seduced him to join them. Some are of opinion, that he repaired to his house, in hopes of preserving it from being plundered; others that he imagined he could not preserve his property but by embarking in the rebel cause, which he was convinced would prevail, from the false and exaggerated accounts which he had received of their successes and their numbers.

On Monday the fourth day of June, Messrs. Bland, Crump and Kellet, were conveyed to the gaol of Wexford, by a sergeant and twelve rebels, and were committed to a long narrow passage, which was so filthy and offensive, (as numbers of protestant prisoners were crowded into it) that Mr. Bland, who had been well acquainted with general Keugh, wrote him a note, representing their deplorable situation. On his arrival in the prison Mr. Bland asked him, whether they could not be liberated on their parole? He replied, "By no means, as the wishes of the people must be indulged however he had them removed to an apartment at the other side of the gaol-yard, where there was no furniture, but a wretched bed, without clothes. When they were going out, the rebel sentinel who guarded the door, stopped them in a rude and peremptory manner; on which general Keugh said, "Do you know whom you speak to? Who placed you there?" To which the sentinel replied, in an angry tone, and with a stern look, "It was the people that placed me here." This incident affords an instructive lesson to factious demagogues, who hope to rise on the destruction of social order; as it proves, even in the outset of a rebellion, how precarious their power is over the giddy multitude, whom they hope to make the instruments of their inordinate ambition.

On Wednesday the seventh of June, they were committed to a prison-ship,\* with many other respectable gentlemen. They were surrounded

\* See Plate VI.

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by a multitude of pikemen as they marched to the quay, where they embarked. They were confined sixteen days in the hold of a small Hoop, covered with an iron grate, and had no other bed but a light covering of dirty straw, over the ballast, which consisted of stones. Six rebel guards were placed over them. Their breakfast consisted of a small barley loaf, which was almost black, and half a pint of milk: Their dinner of coarse boiled beef, with some potatoes, let down in the dirty bucket of the ship, without a knife or fork; for they were deprived of their knives as soon as they were committed. Their drink was bad beer or whiskey. Two days in the week their only food was potatoes and rancid butter, let down in the ship's bucket. Such was the barbarous treatment which a number of respectable gentlemen received, for no other reason than because they were known to be attached to the best of kings, and to the only constitution in Europe which affords any degree of rational liberty!

From the sufferings of the passengers on board a large Hoop called the Lovely Kitty, (and many of them were ladies of rank and fortune,\*) one may form some idea of what the protestant

fugitives endured from the savage spirit of the rebel sailors. Having embarked at three o'clock, in the morning of the thirtieth of May, they sailed as far as the fort of Rosslare,† where the sailors cast anchor, under the pretext of taking in ballast. In the evening they were surrounded by a number of boats, the crews of which, being well-armed, boarded them, and were so brutal and ferocious, as to fill them with serious apprehensions for their lives. Mrs. Gill, one of the passengers, imagining that they were on the point of murdering her husband, threw herself overboard, and floated to some distance from the vessel; but was pursued and saved. Having been carried on deck, she appeared lifeless for some time, and on being recovered, she exclaimed, "Ah! why did you bring me back to scenes of misery?" Mr. Stringer, who had escaped from Enniscorthy, having been asked by a ruffian how he came to burn his town, replied, "It was done by the rebels on which the sailors exclaimed, "Over with him!" and instantly threw him overboard. After swimming some time, part of the crew, more humane than the rest, followed him with the long boat, and saved his life, but he continued insane; and his wife, a beautiful young woman, was so much affected, as to be despaired of. As the vessel from,

\* Mrs. Ogle and her sister were among them. † Plate III.

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its smallness, could afford accommodation for but few of the passengers, most of them remained all night on the deck, among the sailors, who were brutally drunk, and were constantly uttering treason, blasphemy, and obscenity.

Sometimes they held swords or pistols to the breasts of the women, uttering the most horrid threats. They often ordered them on deck, during the course of the night, saying, "That they had business below with the gentlemen and they desired them not to be alarmed at pistols going off. They heard them fire many shots, and were informed afterwards, that they killed eight or ten men in the hold.

Some of the females, dreading that they would offer brutal violence to them, resolved on drowning themselves, should such an attempt be made. The sailors often declared that they would exterminate all orangemen, and that there should be but one religion.

On Thursday morning, the thirty-first of May, a party of the passengers, twenty-six in number, and all women, except six boys and girls, were conveyed to Wexford as prisoners, and lodged in the house of one Heron, a chandler, and in a very small room, where they had but one small pallet-bed to repose on, and where they suffered much from fetid air, bad food, and the want of sleep.

Heron and his wife were very kind to them, though the rebels constantly threatened that they would demolish their house, if they entertained orangemen or orangewomen, and they often searched the house for the latter.

Mrs. Pouden, of Enniscorthy, who did not disembark till the first party landed, assured me, that when she was going from the vessel into a small boat, one of the sailors shot Mr. Dowse, a passenger, close by her side, for no other reason than because he was a member of captain Richards's yeomen cavalry at Enniscorthy, and was a protestant of distinguished loyalty. The first object these ladies beheld on their landing, was the naked body of Mr. John Boyd, which lay bleeding on the quay, disfigured with many a ghastly wound, and writhing with agony of pain. When he was assassinated, a number of rebel women exclaimed with savage joy, "Well done, boys! serve all the heretics so," Mr. John Boyd was brother to Mr. James Boyd, member of the town of Wexford; and because his family were noted for their loyalty, this unfortunate gentleman was murdered as soon as he landed on the quay. He continued dying for

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above twenty hours, and often asked for a draught of water, to quench his insatiable thirst; but the rebel mob would not suffer any person to relieve him. While in that deplorable situation, a rebel lad of about fourteen years old shot him with a pistol, which increased his pain, without putting a period to his existence.

On the same day they murdered Mr. Sparrow, a yeoman, of Enniscorthy, and dragged his naked body through the streets, and tied it to one of the piers of the bridge, where it remained buoyant, (a woeful spectacle!) till the king's troops arrived.

A gentleman of great respectability, in the county of Wexford, assured me, that he was carried as a prisoner by a body of pikemen into a house, where he was confined for the night, that he found there some gentlemen to whom father Corrin, a priest, was granting protections; but he previously required that they should swear that they had not taken the Orangeman's oath; the printed form of which lay on the table. It was infamously sanguinary, containing an obligation to destroy and extirpate Roman Catholics: This gentleman offered to take the oath, to entitle him to protection; but father Corrin refused to administer the oath, having said, "We know you too well to regard what you would swear in that way", alluding to his noted zeal and activity, as a magistrate and a yeoman.

A very amiable and respectable lady\* and her children, who had embarked on board the sloop of the sanguinary Thomas Dixon, was treacherously relanded by him; and having repaired to the house of Mr. Thomas Hatchel, son-in-law of doctor Jacob, near the bridge, where, with the doctor, his family, and some other Protestants, she was protected. While the town remained in possession of the rebels, she wrote a very exact diary of every material event during that period, which I shall quote occasionally.

She tells us, "That Thomas Dixon went on shore in his small boat, and at his return declared, that no woman or child should be killed; but that no man, except three, whom he named, should escape. The savage sailors intoxicated with victory and whiskey, arrived with boats to carry them on shore, and a female heroine among them, sister of Mrs. Dixon,

\*Her name is concealed at her own desire.

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and wife to a miller at Altramount, brandished a sword, and boasting of her exploits, said, "That the passengers of no boat would be saved, except those of Thomas Dixon, as he was brother-in-law to Roche the commander of the rebel army." Another boat full of ruffians, more furious than the former, arrived, and swore they would burn the boat, if they found one gun or a man concealed under deck. More ruffians arrived drunk, and boasting of their murders, would not drink unless Mrs. ——— drank first, left, as they said, they should be poisoned.

"At dawn of day, on the thirty-first of May, Dixon returned, said many horrible things, boasted of various murders, and made her stand on deck, and see the dead body of Mr. James Boyd on shore.

"When she landed, she found the streets crowded with rebels, who were constantly firing shots. The boatman asked her, if she knew ever a Roman Catholic? and she said, she was acquainted with Mrs. Talbot; he then led her the back way to her house; but she then reembarked, having found it shut. He asked her, if she knew doctor Jacob? and having said she did, he recommended to her to go there, as it would be a safe house.\* They landed her opposite to his door, and she was well received there. The hall was full of ruffians who brought faggots to set the house on fire, but some of them humanely prevented it.

She was then without food or sleep from Sunday night the twenty-seventh, except that she got a little tea from Mrs. Dixon. She was distracted, and felt more the enthusiasm of despair than

infantry. She took her daughter by her hand, and went to Bagenal Harvey, who did not know her, being covered with coal-ashes, and convulsed with misery. She reminded him of their acquaintance; he gave her a protection, but said he had no real command, and that the rebels were a set of savages exceeding all description. She asked him, when this was to end? He answered, probably not for some time, as government would not send a force into the country till they had collected a proper one. He said, he must get the people out of the town, and form a camp, for otherwise it would be destroyed in a few hours. Shortly after, they consented to go to camp, and the few many thousands of them going there. They were

\* She took this for doctor Jacob's, but it was his son-in-law's Mr. Hatchel's; and the rebels availing themselves of the doctor's surgical skill to dress their wounded men, they showed a regard for, and protected him, and such of his friends as fought against him in Mr. Hatchel's house.

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led by many priests. They often stood prostrate, knelt down, kissed the ground, crossed themselves; and then set up the most hideous yells, and followed their priests. All that time shots were constantly fired. Small parties of them entered and searched the house. The first of June passed in the same manner.

"J. R. a Roman catholic of great humanity, came and told me with candour, how much the protestants were spoken against but said, he trusted that the women and children would be spared.

"In the evening, doctor Caulfield, the Roman catholic bishop, came, and was very kind to me, J. R. having told him who I was. The doctor said, he was cautioned in the street, to beware how he protected protestants. He gave me a protection, but like B. Harvey said, "He had no influence: That the people could not be described: That in reality, the devil was roaming at large amongst them: That their power never could hold: That they were making it a religious war, which would ruin them: That government was too strong, and must conquer: That this rebellion had been hatching four years." I think he might have given government notice of it.\*

"Second of June, the mob were constantly talking in the street of punishing protestants. Colonel Lehunte, and many others, went to the chapel, and renounced their religion, were christened; and then marched in procession through the streets.

"Third of June, they made three protestants shoot a man in the Bullring. We received constant domiciliary visits from the rebels, who we thought would murder us ere they departed.\* The rebels paraded twice a-day opposite our door, having fifes, fiddles, and drums. It was a kind of regular tumult; every one was giving his opinion. My little boy listening one day said, "Mamma, are they all kings?"

On Trinity Sunday the third of June, a sermon was preached in the chapel, to a large congregation, consisting of a numerous body of pikemen, and some protestants, who assumed the semblance of sincere converts to save their lives, and who went there to be christened for the same purpose. Father Roche, the preacher, and chaplain to the papal bishop, doctor Caulfield, inveighed from the altar against the errors of

\* This is her observation.

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protestants, whose religion he represented as an abominably heresy. He then explained and enforced the doctrines of popery, particularly that of exclusive salvation. He desired them to persevere with firmness, as they were fighting in the cause of God against heretics. When the

fermon was over, father Broe, a friar, proceeded to chriften the proteftants, in which ceremony he ufed much water, having almoft wafhed their faces.\*

Some papifts who were connected with, or attached to proteftants, ftrenuoufly urged them to change their religion, and even taught them how to crofs themfelves, and to fay popifh prayers, from a thorough conviction that the prefervation of their lives depended on their converfion.

This happened to Mr. Gibfon, while in prifon, to whom fome papifts lent mafs books, and pointed out to him the prayers which he fhould learn by heart.

The rebels, in their domiciliary vifits in fearch of orangemen, arms or ammunition, in the houfes of proteftants, never failed to carry away with them any articles of wearing apparel, or remarkable furniture, that pleafed them. The women were much more active in plundering than the men, not only in Wexford, but in the country. They conftantly entered and plundered the houfes of their proteftant neighbours, without fhame or remorfe.

The wives of the country rebels often made a fantaftick appearance, with the elegant apparel of proteftant ladies of Wexford, put over their own homely drefs. Some of them were feen mounted on horfeback, with handfome veils, having at the fame time pikes in their hands.

At firft there were ferious apprehenfions of a famine, as no provifions were carried to market, except butter and milk; and they were fold for one fourth of the ufual price, from the fcarcity of fpecie, the paucity of bidders, and the fears of the farmers that it would be feized by force for the ufe of the republick, if they were not fpeedily fold.

Officers to regulate the price of provifions were intituted in every parifh in the county. They alfo appointed armed veffels to cruize in the channel, which were to intercept fuch as they found laden with coals, or any of the neceffaries of life.

For this reafon, a committee was formed, to fupply the town with provifions,

\* Some time after the rebellion was fuppreffed, he demanded his hire from fome of thofe whom he had chriftened. See Appendix, No. XX. 27.

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and they appointed commiffaries in every parifh, who plundered the adjacent country.

William Devereux of Taghmon, commiffary of his own parifh, was folicted by a rebel to give him a pair of fhoes; and he faid, “Have. you killed a foldier?” and he anfwering in the negative, Devereux faid, “You fhall not have the fhoes till you have done fo.” This the rebel proved on Devereux’s trial at Wexford.

The governors of the newly-eftablifhed republick prohibited the circulation of bank notes, with a view of injuring the credit of government, which tended materially to diftreff the inhabitants of Wexford.

A perfon of the utmoft veracity affured me, that in his prefence a rebel, who had been concerned in the plunder of Mr. D’Arcy’s houfe, pulled out of his pocket a large quantity of bank notes, in the ftreets of Wexford, and tore them; fwearing at the fame time, with much vehemence, that he would ruin all the banks in Ireland.

The narrow efcape of Mr. Milward, an officer in the Wexford militia, and Mr. Richard Newtown King, a magiftrate of the county, will fhew the reader with what malignant zeal the rebels fearched for proteftants, whom they denominated orangemen.\* Thefe gentlemen lay concealed at the houfe of Mr. Hatchel,† fon-in-law of Dr. Jacob.

One Herring, a rebel captain, in the courfe of making domiciliary vifits in queft of orangemen, entered Mr. Hatchel’s houfe with a drawn fword, at the head of an armed band of rebels. On

finding Mr. Milward, he conveyed him to prison; but first informed Mr. Hatchel's family, that he would burn the house, if they concealed any more orangemen. On this Mr. King, who happened to be in the only room which they did not search, declared that no person should suffer on his account. He therefore retreated backwards to another house at some distance, and in doing so, was obliged to scale some walls, and to wade through a small stream, much swollen with the tide. He lay concealed some days in a wretched out-office, not better than a pig-fly, and was supplied with food by Mrs. Jacob. His wife, though she lodged near him, would not venture to approach him, lest the place of his retreat should be discovered. At length, the rebels who were active and incessant in their researches, discovered and committed him.

\* See James Beaghan's confession in Appendix, No. XIX. 8, † See Plate VI.

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These two gentlemen were on the point of being massacred the twentieth of June, on the bridge of Wexford, when Mr. Emond Kyan, a rebel chieftain, saved their lives, by telling the rebel bloodhounds, that the king's troops must finally succeed, and that they would gain ample vengeance of them for putting so many protestants to death in cold blood, and without any provocation whatever.

Emond Kyan, who was wounded at the battle of Arklow, was coming to Wexford to get medical assistance, and happened to be crossing the bridge when the massacre was going forward.

Those who obtained a certain quantity of provisions from the committee who distributed it, expected to have the exclusive enjoyment of it; yet the rebels would enter their houses, and take it out of their pot and carry it off", or sit down at their table and eat share of it; and while sitting at the tables of protestants, they would often say, "That they loved liberty and equality, and that they liked to see masters and servants associate together."

"They led their wild desires to woods and caves,  
And thought that all but savages were slaves."

On Trinity Sunday the third of June, a man of the name of Murphy, of the popish persuasion, was shot in a small place, formerly called the Bull-ring, now Fountain-square,† for having prosecuted a priest of the name of Dixon, for being an united Irishman. Mr. Middleton Robson, a ganger, and Messrs. Pligott and Julian, surveyors of excise, all protestants, and prisoners in the gaol, were brought forth and compelled to shoot him. By way of increasing the ignominy of his death, they had him executed by hereticks. Previous to the execution the rebel pikemen, who acted as guards, crossed themselves, knelt down and prayed sometime for his soul. As soon as the victim fell, the bloody Thomas Dixon, first cousin of the priest, drew his sword, ran it through his body, and having held it up to public view, reeking with blood, exclaimed, "Behold! the blood of a traitor†", and then he ordered the surrounding pikemen to plunge their pikes into the body. Dixon the priest, convicted on his evidence, was condemned to be transported. This execution took place soon after the celebration of mass, at the public chapel; and previous to it, father Gorrin, the parish priest, administered the rites of

† Plate VI. K.

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his church to him; and yet he, or any of the priests in Wexford, could have saved the life of Murphy without any difficulty. These facts were proved on the trial of Michael McDaniel, one of the assassins, held at Wexford the eighteenth of June, 1799.

On Monday morning the fourth of June, another man of the name of Murphy, a papist, was shot for having given information against rebels. His executioners were three protestant prisoners,

Charles Jackfon, Jonas Gurley, and Kennet Matthewfon,§ Edward Fraine, a man of some opulence, and who was supposed to gain £300 a year as a tanner, was officer of the guard. When the executioners were brought into the yard, Fraine addressed Charles Jackfon, and had the following conversation with him: "Mr. Jackfon, I believe you know what we want of you." He answered, "Yes; I suppose I am going to die. He then fell upon his knees, and begged that he might be allowed to go to see his wife and child. Fraine swore he should not, and informed him, that a man was to die that evening at six o'clock, and that he did not know any more proper persons to execute him, than he and the two others. He added, that he supposed he could have no objection to the business, as the culprit was a Roman catholic. Jackfon replied, "Sir, should I have no objection to commit murder?" Fraine said, "You need not talk about murder; if you make any objections, you shall be put to death in ten minutes; but if you do your business properly, you may live two or three days longer; so I expect you will be ready this evening at six o'clock." Another rebel captain insultingly addressed him in the following manner: "If you could get a few orange ribands to tie round your neck during the execution, it would, I think, have a pretty appearance." The executioners were remanded to their cells, where they remained praying till six o'clock in the evening, when they were brought again into the gaol yard, where they found the prisoner Murphy surrounded by about a thousand armed rebels.

The procession to the place of execution, which was about a mile and a half off, at the other side of the bridge, was in the following order: A large body of pikemen, who formed a hollow square; a black flag;

§ These men were much esteemed in Wexford. Gurley and Matthews were afterwards murdered by the rebels on the twentieth of June.

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the drum and fifes; Murphy, the condemned man next, followed by Jackfon, with Gurley and Matthewfon behind him. When this arrangement took place, the dead march was struck up, and beat till they arrived at the spot where the victim was to fall a sacrifice to their fanatical vengeance. He was placed on his knees, close to the river, and with his back to it. Previous to the execution, the rebels knelt down and prayed for about five minutes; which ceremony was adopted as in the former instance. The rebels were ordered to form a semi-circle, with an opening towards the water. Charles Jackfon asked permission to tie his cravat about the poor man's eyes; but they desired him not to be nice about 'such' matters, as it would be his own case in a few minutes. When the muskets were called for, it was suggested, that if they gave three at once to the executioners, they might turn about and fire at them. It was therefore resolved, that they should fire one at a time. Matthewfon, the first person appointed to shoot, missed fire three times. They gave him another musket, with which he shot Murphy in the arm. Jackfon was next called upon; and as they suspected that he would turn and fire on them, two men advanced at each side of him, with cocked pistols, and two men with cavalry swords were placed behind him, who threatened him with instant death if he missed the mark. He fired, and the poor man instantly fell dead; after which Gurley was obliged to fire at the body, while prostrate on the ground. It was then proposed that Jackfon should wash his hands in his blood, but it was overruled, as some of the rebels said he had done his business well. A ring was then formed round the body, and a song in honour of the Irish republick was sung to the tune of, "God save the king."

This dreadful business took up about three hours, after which the executioners were marched back to prison. These circumstances relating to it are to be found in Charles Jackfon's narrative, and they were confirmed by the evidence given on the trial of Matthew Greene of Wexford, who was tried, condemned, and executed there, for having acted as a rebel officer at this atrocious scene.

Charles Jackson informs us, and I have been assured by different persons of veracity, that protestants were frequently taken out of the Wexford prisons, and conveyed to the different camps, and in particular to Vinegar-hill, to be executed there. This was done whenever they were

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at a loss to supply the sacrifice of protestant victims, which was daily made, as a regale to the rebels when on parade.

James Lett, chandler, Richard Leech, master shoemaker, William Mooney, who kept the Fox-inn at Enniscorthy, and John Hawkins, were taken from Wexford, by a rebel guard, who was to convey them to the grand slaughter-house. Vinegar-hill. Finding that they were to die near their own homes, they prevailed on a rebel, who was attached to them, to go before them with speed, and to prevail on their neighbours to come forward, and to use their friendly intercession for preserving their lives. The rebel guard, dreading that they might possibly escape through the humane interference of their friends, dispatched them at a place called Lacken, threw them into one grave, and covered them lightly with fods. They were all, except Hawkins, half alive, when buried, and groaned and struggled a great deal while the rebels were interring them.

On the morning of the twentieth of June, four protestants, of the names of Cavenagh, Willis, Furlong, and Prifcott, were conveyed from the gaol of Wexford to Vinegar-hill, and shot there.

The defeat of the rebels at Ross sublimated their vengeance against protestants in most parts of the county, but particularly at Scullabogue, Vinegar-hill, and Wexford. Charles Jackson tells us, that on the day it was announced, fifteen of the Wexford, and ten of the Enniscorthy people were ordered out of the gaol, to revenge the loss which the rebels had sustained at Ross. He says, "When this notice was given, I ran into my cell, got upon my knees in a dark corner, and pulled some straw over me; but a man of the name of Prendergast\* came in, and drew me out, uttering shocking threats against me. He dragged me into the yard, where I found my unhappy comrades on their knees. One of them who had been a protestant, but had become a catholic, and who was now imprisoned on a charge of being an orangeman, requested to have the priest with him before he died. This was immediately granted; and a messenger was sent to father Corrin, the Roman catholic priest of Wexford. He presently came; and to give effect to his admonition and intercession, had dressed himself in his cowl, and

\* An opulent shopkeeper and maltster, who was hanged.

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bore his crucifix in his hand: He held up the crucifix, and all present fell on their knees: He exhorted them in the most earnest manner: He conjured them, as they hoped for mercy, to shew it. He made every possible exertion to save all the prisoners; but it was in vain: He said he could witness that the Wexford people had never fired upon them, or done them any injury; and that he could not say mass to them, if they persisted in their cruel resolutions. At last he influenced them so far, as to prevail upon them to return into the gaol the fifteen Wexford men; but for those from Enniscorthy, he could obtain no remission." They were conveyed to Vinegar-hill, and executed there.

It will reflect eternal shame and dishonour on the papish priests of the county of Wexford, of whom numbers were constantly in the town, besides those who resided there, for having suffered such atrocities to be committed by their sanguinary flock, over whom they had unbounded influence, and by whom they were not only revered as men, but adored as Gods. The savage pikemen never met them in the streets, without bowing low to them with their hats off, and continued so while they were in their fight; and they never met doctor Caulfield, the papish bishop, without falling on their knees, and receiving his benediction.

Now it will appear by the following protection, that doctor Caulfield, the popish bishop, could protect the Enniscorthy as easily as the Wexford people, however odious they were. Two persons of the former were confined in the gaol of Wexford, and dreading that they might be massacred, applied to two priests of Enniscorthy to protect them; and having obtained a recommendation from them to doctor Caulfield, he gave them a protection, in consequence of which they were liberated, and were never afterwards molested. I give the reader an exact copy of the recommendation and protection.

Reverend Doctor Caulfield, Wexford.

“My Lord!

“If possible you’ll have the Messrs. liberated, or removed to some more comfortable lodging: They are well disposed, and have never injured any one individual. Your compliance will oblige your affectionate friend,

Enniscorthy, June 15th, 1798. JOHN SUTTON, priest.”\*

\* He constantly visited the camp at Vinegar-hill.

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“The Messrs. — , I am sure, are free from any party business, orange, or any thing inimical to any society of people, as is mentioned above. I remain, my lord,

Yours most sincerely,

WM. SYNNOTT, P. P.”

“From the excellent characters of the above gentlemen, I beg leave, in the name of Jesus Christ, to recommend them to be protected.

Wexford, June 15th, 1798. JAMES CAULFIELD.”

Richard Grandy, though a protestant, obtained a pass from a priest, merely because he was supposed to have some surgical knowledge; and the rebel magistrates who presided at Taghmon, viz. John Breen, James Harper, Joseph and Matthew Commons, gave it as their opinion, that Grandy would be perfectly safe in passing through the country with such a protection, and accordingly he never was molested, though he traversed a great part of it.\*

“Mr. Richard Grandy is hereby allowed to pass and repass, to and from any part of this district, whenever he thinks proper; and will be of great use in the neighbourhood, to dress the wounds of any neighbour who may be wounded.

EDWARD MURPHY, parish priest of Bannow and Ballymutty, &c. To the different guards of Ballymutty and Bannow, &c.”

This priest anticipates the wounds that his neighbours, whom he knew to be rebels, might eventually receive; and he addresses the rebel guards, conscious of his influence over them. Father Collins granted the following pass to the same person:

“Pray allow the bearer, Mr. Richard Grandy, to pass.

JAMES COLLINS, parish priest of Duncormuck.”

On the trial of general Edward Roche, at Wexford, Mr. Goodall, a yeoman, who had been led to execution on the bridge, declared upon oath, that no persons but the priests could have prevented the effusion of blood.

The following certificate was given by father Broe, a friar, to a person whom he had christened, in order to save his life:

\* See his affidavit containing this pafs, and the exhortation of father Murphy to extirpate hereticks, Appendix, No. XX. 7.

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“I hereby certify, that A. B. of C. in the parifh of D. has done his duty, and proved himfelf a catholick. F. JOHN BROE.”

Dated Wexford, “June 21ft, 1798.

Mr. Meadows, who was a prifoner in the gaol, informed me of the following incident which occurred while he was there: A papift who had been committed in a miftake, fent for a prieft, and remonftrated to him on the injuftice of confining him: “For,” faid he, “you know as well as I do, that we are fighting for the mafs, the crofs, and the lamb. It was I that led on the Ballaghkeene men at the battle of Oulart.” On faying this, the prieft had him releafed.\*

It was refolved at the rebel camp near Rofs, immediately after the victory obtained by the king’s troops, to put all the proteftants to death. Mr. Meadows was at that time in the prifon-fhip in the harbour of Wexford. A rebel, who had a warm regard for him, having made his efcape from the camp, repaired to Wexford, and told Mr. Meadows’s brother, who was not in confinement, that the prifon-ship would probably be funk that night; and he urged him to prevail on Mr. Corrin, the prieft, who, he faid, had -more influence than any other individual in the town, to have his brother releafed.

As the taking and captivity of lord Kingborough, now the earl of Kingfton, by the rebels, is an important and interefting incident, I will give a circumflantial relation of it. The head quarters of the North Cork regiment, which he commanded, was at Wexford, and on the breaking out of the rebellion, he refolved to join them. From Dublin to Arklow,† he travelled by land, but as the roads were infefted by a rebellious banditti, he took a boat there, manned by failors of approved fidelity, who had been recommended by the reverend Mr. Bayly of Lamberton. Having stopped at Courtown, on the coaft, to get fome refreshment, it is believed that fome difaffected perfons there conveyed intelligence of his lordfhip’s intention to the rebels at Wexford. At Ballynalkar, about three or four miles from the harbour’s mouth, they perceived a number of armed men on an eminence, from whence one of them having fired a mufquet, the

\* A refpectable and loyal Roman catholick of Waterford, who was there while it was in poffeffion of the rebels, affured the late lord mayor, (now aldemian Thomas Fleming) and me, that the priefts could have prevented the effufion of blood by a turn of their finger.

† Plate II. 1.

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ball paffed over their heads. When they arrived at the entrance of the bay, they were met by a veffel failing faft before the wind, the paffengers in which they took for women; but when they clofed each other, fifty rebels varioufly armed†, started up and threatened to fhoot them if they did not furrender. They at the fame time hoifted a green flag, with a harp, but without a crown. They wore white bands round their hats with Unity and Liberty infcribed on them. They made prifoners lord Kingborough, captain O’Hea, lieutenant Bourke, of his own regiment, and the boat’s crew. Generals Keugh and Harvey were ready to receive them on the quay where they landed. For two days his lordfhip was lodged at the houfe of general Keugh; he was then removed to an inferior kind of inn, called the Cape of Good Hope, thence to the prifon-fhip, where he remained but eight hours, having been afterwards lodged in a private houfe, where a guard was placed over him. Keugh afked him, how he thought government would treat him and his party, if they had them in their power? Lord Kingborough replied, That they would hang every one of them.” On which Keugh obferved, “We know that we fight with halters round our necks.” The day of his lordfhip’s arrival, Bagenal Harvey fet out for the camp at Carrickbyrne,

where the rebel, army that attacked Rofs was ftationed. Keugh told lord Kingborough, "That he would permit him to write to lord Caftlereagh, the lord lieutenant's fecretary; but faid, "He expected he would inform him how well he and his fellow-prifoners were treated and he added, "That he expected his friends Meffrs. Sheares, Bond, Emmett, Jackfon, M'Cann, &c, would receive fimilar treatment." He informed lord Kingborough, that the members of the Irifh union had no confidence in the oppofition party in the Irifh parliament, becaufe they confidered them as infincere; and that they had propounded catholick emancipation, and reform of parli?-. nent, merely to promote their own ambitious defigns.

Mrs. Snowe, the wife of captain Snowe of the North Cork regiment,; informed me, that lord Kingborough afked her foon after his capture, "Whether fhe thought the rebel chieftains would have put him to death?" She replied, "She was fure they would not, becaufe they regarded him as a very good hoflage, fhould they enter into any ftipulations for their, own fafety; and that by preferving his life, they might conciliate him, and obtain his influence and intereft to fecure their own and to fuch motives, I am forry to fay, we muft impute the fafety of lord Kingborough.

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This lady heard general Keugh upbraid his lordfhip for not having treated doctor Caulfield with fufficient refspect, when he waited on him; and to make an atonement for it, he, with the permiffion of lord Kingborough, wrote a note to the doctor, to requeft he would call on him again; and he affured him of the neceffity of conciliating him, as his countenance and protection were abfolutely neceffary for the fafety of his perfon; and in compliance with Keugh's request, doctor Caulfield waited again on lord Kingborough. Keugh was folicitous of obtaining the doctor's protection for his lordfhip, becaufe he was convinced of the perilous fituation in which he ftood, from the following event: "After Murphy had been fhoot in the Bull-ring, on the third of June, Thomas Dixon who had prefided at the execution, proceeded to Keugh's houfe, at the head of a band of favage pikemen, and clamoroufly infifted on having the bloody orangeman, lord Kingborough, delivered up to him. Keugh fuccefsfully oppofed his atrocious defign, but not without confiderable difficulty. Keugh affured lord Kingborough, that the attention which he fhewed his lordfhip, and the zeal which he difplayed for his prefervation, had leffened his authority fo much among the people, that he could no longer be accountable for his fafety if he remained in his houfe, for which reafon he left it. Keugh feverely rebuked lord Kingborough for having received a vifit from the officers wives of his own regiment. Robert Carthy, a rebel of fome property and confiderable influence, happened to enter his lordfhip's lodgings while the ladies were there; and declared, in oppofition to Keugh, that they fhould go there as often as they chofe, and that Keugh had no right to interfere. On which Keugh faid, "I am governor of the town." Carthy. "Who appointed you?" Keugh. "The people." Carthy. "No, they would not truft fuch a fellow; I am one of them, and I never gave my confent." He then grappled at Keugh, but lord Kingborough interfered, and put an end to the altercation; however Carthy, on retiring, challenged Keugh to fight. Some days before the king's troops arrived at Wexford, he affured a lady of my acquaintance that his life was confantly in imminent danger, as he had loft all his authority, and there was no fubordination among the rebel foldiers: That one day while he attended the committee,\* the bloody Thomas Dixon, attended

\* It was proved on the court-martial that tried him, that he was prefident of it; but that his engagements as governor prevented his regular attendance.

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attended by two fufileers, went to the door of the committee-room, and fent in for Keugh, under the pretext of having fome bufinefs to tranfact with him; but very fortunately for him, he could not go to them, having an indifpenfable engagement; and having been afterwards affured, that

they meant to affaffinate him, he accused the fufileers of it, who declared that they bore him no ill-will, but that they were perfuaded to murder him by Thomas Dixon.

Dixon and his wife were two fanguinary monfters, who were inceffantly endeavouring to incite the people to acts of violence and bloodfhed. He kept an inferior kind of inn in the town of Wexford, which was very much reforted to by rebels, who held their clubs and confpiracies there. He was proprietor of two large floops, and was bred to the fea, which gave him very great influence among the failors, whom he frequently infligated to commit carnage and plunder.

At one time the rebel foldiers threatened Keugh's life in the ftreets; and to appeafe them, he gave them the moft folemn affurance, that he had been warmly attached to their caufe fix years, and their fworn friend more than three.\* A few days before the king's troops expelled the rebels from Wexford, Keugh found a party of them going to put a pitch-cap on lord Kingfborough, and afterwards to affaffinate him. He was fo fortunate as to prevent them from perpetrating their nefarious defign, but not without very great danger, as a ruffian prefented a mufket at him, and was with difficulty refrained from firing it. I have heard from the concurrent teftimony of different perfons, who refided in Wexford at that time, that nothing but the humane and active interference of generals Keugh and Harvey, prevented that indiscriminate flaughter of proteftants there, which took place in many other parts of the county, particularly at Vinegar-hill; but when they loft their authority, the bloody work began. When that was completely loft, Keugh invented and told the rebels the following ftory, in order to check their thirft for blood; "That twenty-five thoufand northern prefbyterians were armed and embodied, under a Scots general, and would march to the fouth immediately, and take ample vengeance of them, if they maffacred any more proteftants." At one time, the rebel foldiers inflited on bringing him to trial. Some days before the town was relieved by the king's troops, he told a

\* This was proved on his trial.

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refpectable gentleman of my acquaintance, then refident at Wexford, that his life was in imminent danger; and that though he might efcape affaffination, the anxiety and agitation of his mind would foon put a period to his exiftence.

Some of the gentlemen confined in the prifon-fhip, affured me, that the rebel guards frequently inveighed againft Keugh, and vowed vengeance againft him, becaufe he would not indulge the people, that is, becaufe he did his utmoft to refrain their defire for carnage; to fuch a deplorable ftate was that unfortunate man reduced in a very few days, after he had attained the height of his ambition, and by that very rabble who had faluted him unanimoufly, and by acclamation, to be governor of the town!

Soon after he was arrefted by the king's troops, on the twenty-firft of June, he told an officer of my acquaintance, that he was convinced, the period of his life could not exceed forty-eight hours, even if his party had gained the afcendancy; and if the king's troops fucceeded and entered the town, his fate would, be determined in twenty-four.

On the evening of the fourteenth of June, a party of the rebels rufhed into the committee or council-room, and nearly killed Keugh. The charge againft him was his being an orangeman. The rell of the members who were Roman catholicks, refcued him: but he, and al' the proteftant leaders embraced that religion, and went regularly to mafes, at the head of the rebels: but they never could forget their having been proteftants, and they treated them accordingly. She heard Tome of the rebels fay, all their policy and chriftianity fhall not fave them: and it was at laft avowed, that no proteftant fhould live, much lefs command them."\*

On Sunday the tenth of June, while the rebels were on parade, at the cuftom-houfe quay, governor Keugh informed them, that doctor Caulfield the popifh bifhop had ordered a fermon to

be preached that morning from the altar, suited to the times, and that they must repair to the chapel to hear it. They accordingly marched thither, with fife, and drums playing. After mass was celebrated, the reverend father Roche, chaplain to doctor Caulfield, pronounced the following discourse from the altar:

“I am very much displeas'd at seeing a practice among you of trying to convert the protestants to our communion, because their conversion cannot be sincere, and arises merely from a hope of saving their lives.

\* Lady's diary.

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Let there be no more of it, as they never will become true catholics.” After a discourse of some length, to his own flock, he address'd the protestants who were in the gallery, in the following words: “You are come here under the impressions of fear, to profess yourselves catholics; you are not so in your hearts: You do it to save your lives. Now, I tell you, my good people, don't deceive yourselves; if you are not sincere in what you profess, I tell you you will all be murdered. I tell you to a certainty you will all be murdered!” This was repeated several times, with long pauses, and great emphasis. Then address'ing himself to the pikemen, he pointed out to them the grievances they and their ancestors had groan'd under, for a hundred years past, by the oppression and cruelty of the protestants; and after having wrought them up to the highest pitch of religious phrenzy, he said, “Notwithstanding the variety of ill treatment you have received from the protestants, and are still suffering, avoid the spilling of blood. I recommend to you, to be merciful to these poor people, as you hope yourselves for mercy: For God's sake, be merciful to them. You are contending for your holy religion and your rights. The glorious success which you have obtained shews, that you are under the protection of the Almighty, in whose cause you are fighting. Continue your spirited exertions then. You have put your hands to the plough, and you must not look back. Be assur'd that you will all be murdered unless you succeed and get the upper hand.” This priest was very active at the battle of Foulkes's-mill, in exhorting and stimulating the rebels to enter into the action; nay, he was seen horse-whipping those who betook themselves to flight.

On the same day that this sermon was preached, a proclamation was read from the altar,\* requiring all persons to apprehend and convey to the gaol of Wexford the following gentlemen, because they had been active magistrates: and zealous loyalists: James Boyd, representative for Wexford, Hawtrey White, Archibald H. Jacob, and Hunter Gowan. Printed copies of it were dispersed in most parts of the county.

George Taylor, a printer at Wexford, was compelled, though a protestant and a loyal subject, to print all the proclamations, orders and edicts, of the republick, which commonly ended with these words, “God save the people.” I am well inform'd that he was oblig'd to put up a label in his shop, announcing him printer to the republick.

\* See Appendix, No. XX. 17.

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On Sunday the seventeenth day of June, notice was given from the altar, that the following Saturday was to be observ'd as a fast, for the success of the war,

A gentleman of the utmost veracity assur'd me, that father Murphy wrote on many doors in Wexford, a latin inscription, with his name, and the sign of the cross annex'd to it. This, it is suppos'd, was some mark of religious distinction.

A party of respectable ladies, who lived together in a house, to which the rebels frequently paid domiciliary visits, and under whose windows they often assembled and convers'd, heard them

make the following observations: One said, (while they were drinking whiskey in their parlour,) "This is a religious war;" another, "I say it is not." At last, they grew warm, and gave the lie to each other; on which a third rebel interfered, and said, "Sure we received orders not to say it was a religious war, lest we should bring down upon us the vengeance of the Northerners," meaning the Presbyterians. They frequently boasted of their barbarities, and said, "They would not suffer any person to live who was not of their faith, as there was only one true religion."

They often said, when the successes of the king's troops began to make them despond, that the failure of their cause arose from having Protestants at the head of their armies, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of their fort were in their ranks.

The following circumstances occurred to a party of respectable female Protestants, who resided in the same house. They daily received three or four domiciliary visits from the pikemen, who treated them with brutal insolence. They frequently presented pistols at them, and sometimes pressed the muzzle of them against their breast, or their side, with so much violence, as to give them exquisite pain; saying, at the same time, with fanatical fury in their countenance, "You must die!" and on being asked, why they treated them so cruelly, they replied, "You are Orangewomen, and bigots to your religion." They would then ask them, "Were we ever known to wrong or offend any person? Have we not given to the poor as much as we can afford? and in the distribution of alms have we ever made any difference between the members of your church and our own?" "That is all true; but you are Orangewomen."

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You have the drop\* in you. For generations in your family, you cannot name on either side, a single Catholic. One branch of your family came to Ireland with Cromwell; the other with King William, and therefore you must die."

The 13th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Bradshaw, was quartered for above a year at Wexford, where he and his lady were very much esteemed and respected. They marched to Waterford a short time before the rebellion broke out, and left their first-born child at nurse with the wife of one Wreck, who lived within a mile of Wexford. The rebels often threatened to burn his house, unless he would put the young heretic to death; but he, with becoming fortitude, mingled with humanity, resisted their menaces; and he was confirmed in this generous resolution by the respectable females whom I have now mentioned, and who often visited the child.

The rebels frequently attempted to force the gaol, and to murder the prisoners; but the guards, influenced by their officers, successfully opposed them.

A number of Protestant prisoners were marched from Gorey, and committed to the gaol of Wexford, on the fourteenth day of June. As they marched through the town, the houses were hung with green emblems, and the mob expressed their savage joy by shouting aloud. The rebels tripped the prisoners almost naked, and put pitched caps on their heads before they left Gorey,

The reverend Roger Owen, a Protestant clergyman and rector of Camolin, was among them, without shoes, and having a little ragged jacket.†

A respectable lady, who saw from a window the prisoners passing through the streets, assured me, that the wife of Thomas Dixon, so remarkable for the ferocity of her disposition, headed the rebels who escorted them; and said, with much violence, mingled with contempt, and pointing to Mr. Owen, who was barefooted, "There's a Protestant clergyman! behold the Protestant clergyman!"

The sufferings of Mr. Lehunte, a respectable gentleman of large landed property, who lived at Artramont,|| near Wexford, merit a circumstantial

\* This was a common expression among the rebels, meaning of protestant blood.

† See Appendix, No. XXI. 2, 3. || See Plate III. 5..

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relation. He commanded the Shelmalier corps of yeomen cavalry, who amounted to fifty-two, of which twenty-four were papists; and of that number twenty deserted to the enemy at Oulart; and two were dismissed, because they gave strong indications of disaffection. It was remarkable that numbers of Roman catholics showed great zeal to join that and other corps in the county of Wexford, a short time before the rebellion broke out; though they had previously shown a great repugnance to do so. Mr. Lehunte, on the evacuation of Wexford, was too late to get on shipboard, and therefore fell into the hands of the rebels. Being a gentleman of a mild and humane disposition, he was allowed to remain in a private lodging at first.

Thomas Dixon and his wife, whose thirst for protestant blood was insatiable, contrived the following device to incite the rabble to assassinate him. They repaired to Artramont, about two miles from Wexford, and at their return, proclaimed in the streets that there was an apartment there furnished with orange colour, in which plots and conspiracies had been formed by orangemen, for the extirpation of the Roman catholics. He also produced a fire-screen, which had been innocently decorated with orange ribands, and on which there were many curious devices, the work of female ingenuity. He displayed it through the streets as a flag, and stop ping now and then, he, with a loud voice, put the following malignant construction on the figures which it contained, to a numerous body of sailors and pikemen: That Hope, resting on an anchor, was emblematic of a sailor burning on it, as the orangemen would heat it for that purpose: That Hebe and the Eagle indicated that they would give the children of Roman catholics to birds of prey to be devoured: That the lance of Minerva was such an instrument as they would use for their destruction. By such tortuous and malignant suggestions he wound the populace to such a pitch of frenzy [sic], that, headed by Dixon, they flew to Mr. Lehunte's lodgings, forced him with violence into the street, and dragged him to the gaol, where they committed him to a condemned cell; on which Dixon informed him, that he should have but fifteen minutes to live.\* In his progress to the gaol they buffeted him very much, tore his hair, and gave him two flight wounds.

\* See in Appendix, No. XX. 2. Taylor's affidavit who was in gaol.

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They would instantly have put him to death, but that Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan, and Keugh, informed the populace who surrounded him, that the observations of Dixon were false and groundless; but their authority, being protestants, did not continue long.

The artillery men, whom the rebels took when a detachment of the Meath regiment was defeated, on the thirtieth of May, were imprisoned in separate cells in the gaol of Wexford, where they were almost starved from the bad quality and the scantiness of their food;

Andrew Sheppard, a protestant, and a corporal of that corps, was taken into a small court, within the gaol, to be shot. The executioner having burned priming four times at him, father Murphy, who had entered the gaol, cried out, "he has longer days to live; let the heathen go back to prison;" having imputed his escape to the Divine interference.

While these men were in prison, many attempts were made by the rebel guards to force it, and put the prisoners to death, having said, that they would not stand guard over heretics.†

General Roche, the layman, and Thomas Dixon, urged them to serve in their army as artillery men, having promised them commissions, and in some time estates, if they would comply. As they had no other means of making their escape, they consented, and were led first to Gorey, and thence to the battle of Arklow, where they served as artillery men.

A Roman catholic of the utmost veracity, who resided in Wexford assured me, that the rebel soldiers began to be envious of their superiors, and to express the warmest indignation against the council and the committee, for living in great luxury and abundance, while they were wretchedly fed; and he was decidedly of opinion, that they would have massacred them, if the republic had lasted a few days longer.

A short time before the king's troops were victorious, and entered the town, the committee intended to have made a requisition of plate, and to have instituted a mint.

To animate the rebels, reports were constantly propagated by their leaders, that -Dublin was in possession of their friends; and when they were undeceived, they assured them that it was blockaded by five republican camps, and that it must soon surrender, as the inhabitants were labouring under the pressure of famine.

† See Appendix, No, XX. i.

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From the very great scarcity of provisions which took place in consequence of the wasteful consumption of so many savages, the embryo republic must soon have fallen to the ground, if the king's troops had not put an end to it.

So completely deluded and deceived were the rebels in Wexford, that it was universally said, and believed there, that they were constantly successful; and that the very days that they were beaten, they frequently huzzed in the streets, to express their joy on the taking of Ross; and one man rode with speed into the town, waving a pistol, and crying out, "Ross is taken!"

Mr. William Hughes, a respectable inhabitant of Wexford, of the protestant religion, and a rigid loyalist, generously entertained in his house some of the wives of the officers of the North Cork regiment, after their husbands had retreated. Governor Keogh frequently pressed him to join his party, but he peremptorily refused. One day he said to him, "Though your wife is nearly related to mine, and to Bagenal Harvey, and though you have protections, you cannot expect to escape, unless you enrol yourself in one of our corps but he sternly refused. Keogh said, "I will give you two days to consider of it and he replied, "If you gave me seven years, I would give you the same answer." And this in the presence of his wife and six children. Mrs. Snowe, one of the officer's wives, who was present, said to Mr. Hughes, "Consider seriously what you are about, for your life belongs to your wife and your six children whose presence were sufficient to shake his firm resolution, and inspire him with a love of life; but he continued steady in his principles.

A priest sometimes attended Mr. Hughes's house, and urged the officers wives to embrace his religion, assuring them, that no person could be saved who was not within its pale, but he could not succeed.

Before I describe the massacre at Wexford, and the evacuation of it by the rebels, it will be necessary to give the reader an account of the battle of Vinegar-hill, and the very judicious disposition which general Lake made of the troops, who were to attack that strong post, which was the citadel and the grand rendezvous of the rebels, as the victory obtained there preceded that dreadful event.

The movements of the different columns who were to attack it, will be best explained by the instructions issued by general Lake, the sixteenth of June, 1798, to the general officers who commanded them.

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General Dundas, will be directed to move on the seventeenth to Hacketstown, and to issue his orders to general Loftus at Tullow,\* to unite his force with him on the eighteenth at Carnew.†

General Needham, to move at three o'clock, A. M. on the nineteenth to Gorey; general Dundas having sent a strong patrol under general Loftus from Carnw, at six o'clock on the same morning to Grove's-bridge; † four or five miles on the road to Gorey, § to support general Needham, in case he should meet with resistance at Limerick-hill or at Gorey, and to communicate to general Dundas general Needham's situation.

General Johnfon, on the nineteenth, at four o'clock, A. M. to move to Old Rofs, § and unite with general Moore in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne-hill. \*\* He will take up his position that day near Old Rofs, and send a strong patrol to scour the country towards the Black-ftair mountains, †† in junction with Sir James Duff. This movement will require a very particularly concerted arrangement between general Johnfon and Sir James Duff. The patrols to return to their respective corps on the same day.

Sir Charles Apgill, on the eighteenth, will occupy Grove's-bridge, Borris|| and Graigenamana, §§ and will remain in those positions until the twentieth, three P. M. when he will return, unless he shall receive orders to the contrary.

Lieutenant-general Dundas, on the twentieth, will march to Ballycarney-bridge, \*\*\* keeping the east-side of the Slaney to Scarawalhbridge, ††† to arrive there at twelve at noon.

Sir James Duff will also move on the twentieth, by the road on the west-side of the Slaney to Scarawalh-bridge, where he will arrive at twelve o'clock.

General Needham, on the twentieth, will move from Gorey to Oulart, ||||| to be there at twelve o'clock.

General Loftus. The corps from Grove's-bridge, will move on the twentieth, through Camolin and Ferns, §§§ and unite with general Dundas at Scarawalh-bridge, at twelve o'clock.

### 3 P General

\* Plate II. I. a. † Ibid. 4. ‡ Ibid. || Ibid. § Plate III. 5. \*\* Plate III. 5. †† Ibid. 2 |||| Plate II. 6, 7. §§ Ibid. 8. \*\*\*Plate II. 7. ††† Ibid. ||||| Plate III. 2. §§§ Plate II. 6, 7.

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General Moore, to land on the eighteenth at Ballyhack-ferry, and on the nineteenth, he will move at three o'clock, A. M. to Foulkes's-mill,\* and unite with general Johnfon in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne-hill. He will take up his position that night at Foulkes's-mill, securing the escape of the rebels between that and Clomines. †

General Johnfon, on the twentieth, will move with his column to Ballymacus-bridge, | either to unite in the attack on Enniforthy, if necessary, or prevent their escape in that direction.

Should the rebels have evacuated Enniforthy and Vinegar-hill, the columns under general Dundas and Sir James Duff will take up their position that day in front of Enniforthy; and general Johnfon will at the same time receive orders to take a position on the great road from Enniforthy to Taghmon.

General Moore, in this case, on the twentieth, will move from Foulkes's-mill, and take post at Taghmon, still securing the country between Taghmon|| and Clomines.

But should the enemy maintain their position at Enniforthy, § the attack will be made on the twenty-first at day-light, by the columns under general Dundas and Sir James Duff, and general Needham moving from Oulart.

The general forward movement and investment of Wexford will take place on the twenty-first, when the several columns will be so united as to receive directions as circumstances may point out.

Gun-boats. Orders are to be sent to the naval commanders to station their gun-boats and armed vessels in Wexford harbour early in the morning of the twenty-first, to co-operate in such manner as may be necessary for the attack of the town, with the gun-boats from Waterford, which will be directed to support general Moore and the corps at Clomines on the nineteenth.

Such was the judicious arrangement made by general Lake, for surrounding the rebels on Vinegar-hill, for retaking Enniscorthy and Wexford; and in short, for putting down the rebellion in that county: But before I proceed to describe the grand attack, it will be necessary to relate some events which took place previous to it in the north of that county.

\* Plate III. 7 †Ibid. J. ‡Ibid. 1. || Ibid. 6. § Ibid.4.

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After the defeat at Arklow, the enemy took their station on Limerick hill,\* to the north of Gorey, in great force, and continued to spread devastation over the adjacent country, murdering such protestants as fell into their hands, and burning the houses of those who were so fortunate as to make their escape, till the eighteenth of June, when generals Dundas and Loftus marched against them, according to a preconcerted plan.

As Kileavin-hill,† from its declivity, afforded a much stronger post than Limerick-hill, the rebels took post on it about eight o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth of June, as soon as our two columns made their appearance. General Dundas's column moved from Baltinglaff, by Hacketstown and Tinnahely.‡ General Loftus marched by Shillela.|| A general action seemed unavoidable. General Dundas having resolved to move round Kikavin-hill, sent orders to general Loftus to march on the Carnew§ road, and to begin the attack by that town; but the following circumstance frustrated their design: When general Dundas had advanced a considerable way towards the point where he was to begin his attack, he suddenly found himself in a deep hollow road, with strong fences on each side. He perceived also, that he must have proceeded some time in it, before he could have extricated himself, and recollecting the fate of colonel Walpole, he very prudently ordered the column to countermarch; and at the same time sent orders to general Loftus to take such a position as to cover this retrograde movement. By this unexpected event, the two columns became united, and the rebels had a clear country to the north, the east, and the south-east, and were so strongly posted, that the main object of the generals was to protect themselves on the west side, where the position of the enemy was so well secured by a ravine in front, by large banks and high hedge-rows, that general Lake, who arrived at this time with his whole staff, thought it prudent to defer the attack till the reinforcements joined them. A brisk cannonade was maintained for some time, but without any material effect. At length, general Lake ordered the troops to march to Carnew, where they remained that night. Two rebel spies who entered that town were shot. Green sashes and cockades were found in their pockets.

\* Plate II. 3, 3. † Ibid. 3, 4 | Ibid. i. || Ibid. a. § Ibid, 4.

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On the nineteenth of June, major-general Sir James Duff joined the army with his brigade from Newtown-barry,\* and general Needham was moving on the road from Arklow to Gorey.† The troops at Carnew were under arms. A general attack was instantly to have taken place, and from the number of our troops, and the excellent disposition made by general Lake, there could not be a doubt of its successful issue; but at daybreak it was discovered that the enemy had fled. Fearing to be cut off from their favourite position at Vinegar-hill, they retreated through Moneyfield and by Gorey. Instead of taking this step, had they pushed forward with that celerity with which their movements were usually made, in consequence of having but little baggage or equipment to transport, they might have seized on the important post of Rathdrum, the key to the

city of Dublin, from which they would have derived infinitely more advantage than from their retreat to cover Wexford and Ennifcorthy; because our army must have pursued them, and then the excellent and well-digested plan formed by general Lake for surrounding them, would probably have been defeated.

I have already described this in the orders issued by him; and they were exactly fulfilled by the respective general officers to whom they were directed, except by generals Needham and Moore, who were prevented by unforeseen and fortuitous circumstances, which I shall hereafter explain.

General Johnson took a position near Ennifcorthy,§ for the purpose of driving the rebels from that town, in which they were strongly posted. Lieutenant-general Lake and the entire staff remained with general Dundas, who, as I before observed, marched to Scarawalh-bridge.¶

Lieutenant-generals Lake and Dundas, and major-general Wilford, with their staff, and the first brigade of light infantry under the command of colonel Campbell, remained all the night of the twentieth of June upon their arms, at Sollborough,|| with a large body of cavalry, within two miles of Vinegar-hill. About one o'clock in the morning, general Johnson reported his arrival on the other side of the Slaney, near Ennifcorthy. General Needham's column lay about half a mile off, on the left of general Lake's army, whither he had marched from Oulart by general Lake's orders.

\* Plate II. 5 † Ibid. 4, J. § Ibid. III. 1. ‡ Ibid. II. 7, 8 || Plate III. 1

## THE RETAKING OF VINEGAR HILL AND ENNIFCORTHY

Plate V: View of Vinegar Hill from the north-east side [facing p.476]

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General Duff, with his guns, advanced on the Ferns road, on the east side of the Slaney,† having that river on his right flank, and firing on the rebel lines on the hills, and throwing howitzers into them as he advanced. In this movement he was supported on each flank by the light infantry, under the command of general Loftus.

When they had arrived at the beginning of the ascent of Vinegar-hill, general Loftus was detached by general Duff to occupy a green hill in a park enclosed with stone walls, which was on the side, and composed a part of Vinegar-hill; General Loftus surprised the rebels by the celerity of this movement, because the hill was steep; and the ground which he occupied there was divided by stone walls; but by breaking open gaps, he had two guns carried over at first, and soon after four more, by having untackled them from the horses. From this position he was able to fire into the lower line of the enemy, rather on his left, with such effect that eighty-five of them were afterwards found in their trenches killed with grape-shot. General Loftus made his movement by a narrow road on the left, diverging from the main one, and then rapidly ascended the hill. At the same time, generals Lake, Dundas and Wilford, with colonel Campbell's light infantry, were advancing up the hill|| on the south-east; side, and were firmly opposed by the rebels, who maintained a very brisk fire on them, retreating at the same time from one hedge to another, till they were driven over the hill. On that occasion general Lake had a horse shot under him. The movements of the two columns were so well timed, that they met at the same moment on the top of the hill.§

At that time, and not before, general Lake perceived how actively general Johnson had been employed, and how ably he had supported him on the side of Ennifcorthy. From the numbers of

the enemy, the height and the steepness of the hill, and its being intersected in many parts with enclosures, formed by high clay banks, with fosses behind them, the rebels were completely protected from our fire. It is astonishing that our troops did not suffer more, and that the rebel army were so quickly dislodged, and driven from so strong a position. They had no less than

† See Plate IV. 8. ‡ Ibid. 6, 7. ||Ibid. 10, 11.

§ In plate V. the reader will see an exact outline of Vinegar-hill, with the movement of the troops, which, though a flight sketch, represents it with precision.

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thirteen pieces of ordnance, and their infantry must have been well supplied with ammunition, as they maintained a very heavy fire. I shall refer the reader to general Lake's letter to lord Castlereagh, for an account of the action.\*

Father Clinch, an Enniscorthy priest, fell in this engagement. Being of a huge stature, with a scymitar and broad cross belts, and mounted on a large white horse, with long pistols, he made so conspicuous a figure on the hill, during the action, and the day preceding it, as to attract the notice of our troops, particularly as he seemed to be constantly employed in reconnoitring them. The earl of Roden having singled him out among the fugitives, overtook him after a mile's pursuit, and received his fire, which his lordship returned, and wounded him in the neck. He then discharged his second pistol at lord Roden, on which an officer of his regiment rode up and shot him. He wore his vestments under his clothes; he had near forty pounds in his pocket, a gold watch, and a remarkable snuff box; all which, it is presumed, he acquired by plunder. He had been as active in the cabinet as the field, having constantly sat at the committee at Enniscorthy; and mounted on his charger, and fully accoutred, he daily visited the camp.

As general Needham's column did not occupy the post allotted to it in the first arrangement for surrounding Vinegar-hill, on the fourth-east side of it leading to Wexford, I think it right to explain the circumstances which prevented it. He advanced on the twentieth instant to Oulart, an inconsiderable village to the east of Vinegar-hill, and within six miles of that part of it where he was to take post. On that evening, when the troops had taken up their ground, and driven back some advanced piquets of the enemy, and made a proper disposition for protecting four hundred carriages laden with provisions and ammunition, for the army which attended them, general Needham received an order from general Lake, about half an hour after eight o'clock, signed by the adjutant-general, desiring him to march immediately with the troops under his command, to join general Lake at Solborough, the seat of Mr. Richards, where he had taken up his headquarters. The harnessing and arranging in the proper order of march such a number of carriages, occupied a good deal

\* See Appendix, No. XXI. 1.

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of time. Thus incumbered, the movement of the column was slow; particularly as it passed through deep and narrow roads, with high and thick fences on each side, and in a country so much enclosed as to render it impossible to fend off flanking parties; though from their proximity to the enemy, there was every reason to expect an attack, which, had it been made, might have proved fatal. However the column proceeded unmolested, and arrived at Solborough, about half past three o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-first of July.

Major-general Needham, on reporting his arrival to general Lake, was informed, that he must immediately occupy the position first allotted to him, in the general orders. Thus, after a most fatiguing march, without having had any refreshment for his troops from the time he left Gorey, he was obliged to repair to the post he was to occupy by a circuitous route, of eight miles.

General Needham, seeing the impossibility of reaching the hill in proper time, sent to request general Lake would defer the attack, but this was positively refused. General Needham therefore pushed forward with his cavalry, and destroyed many of the fugitives from the hill; having pursued them as far as the nature of the country would admit. It is much to be lamented, that general Needham's line of march to his position, was changed; as had he been suffered to repose his troops at Oulart on the night of the twentieth, and to have proceeded next morning to his destination, very few of the rebels would have escaped.\* General Lake refused to defer the attack, in conformity to general Needham's request, for the following very good reason: General Johnson was engaged with a numerous body of rebels who defended Enniscorthy; and they would probably have been assisted by their main body on Vinegar-hill, if general Lake had not immediately made a diversion.

An immense column of the rebels which retreated from Vinegar-hill, "by the position which general Needham was to have occupied, marched by the east side of the Slaney, first to Carrick-bridge,† but commonly called Carrick-ferry, within three miles of Wexford, headed by the following generals: Father John Murphy, father Kearns the priest, Anthony Perry, Edward Fitzgerald, and John Hay. After passing Carrick-bridge,

\* His orders were to attack at three o'clock.

† Plate III 5, 6.

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one column entered Wexford, under Murphy, Kearns and Perry, where they remained about two hours, threatening the destruction of the town, and a general massacre of the remaining protestants, without distinction of (age, sex, or condition; but they were partly prevented by the combination and the determined resistance of the inhabitants of the town, who feared the loss of their property, and they dreaded the approach of general Moore's army.

Having left the town, they retreated over the bridge, headed by Edmund Kyan, Edward Fitzgerald, Perry and Kearns, and took the high and direct road to the county of Wicklow; which, and the north part of the county of Wexford, they continued for some time to desolate.

The protestants who had fled from Gorey and its vicinity to Wicklow, on the defeat of colonel Walpole, on the fourth of June, thinking that the victory at Vinegar-hill had restored peace and good order, were attempting to return to their respective homes, but were met by a large party of the rebels, who were retreating after their defeat, and who killed thirty-six of them. For a specimen of their barbarity on that occasion, I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XX. 20, 21. It happened in Friday the twenty-second of June, which is now called in that country bloody Friday.

The other column, headed by priest Roche, John Hay and Murphy, proceeded from Carrick-bridge to the mountain of Forth, where they remained for about three hours, holding a council of war, in which as Roche and John Hay differed in opinion, they left them, and were taken in a day or two after, and hanged at Wexford. Father John Murphy, and another priest of the same name, then led the column by a circuitous route through the barony of Forth, by Maglas,\* the moor of Mulrankin, and the Scar pass of Barrettown,† over the Scallogh-gap,‡ into the county of Kilkenny, spreading desolation in their progress, having plundered and burnt the town of Cattlecomer, and the superb mansion of lady Ormond; and massacred such protestants as they could lay their hands on.

As the part which general Johnson took in the attack on Vinegar-hill was by far the most perilous and brilliant, I shall give the reader a more circumstantial relation of it. In his march from New Ross, he met a rebel armed with a pike, who, on being informed, that he deserved to be hanged for having appeared in arms against the king, replied, "You

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may hurt my body, but you cannot injure my soul, as father Roche has taken care of it.”

The evening before the attack on Enniscorthy, he marched to Ballymacus,\* about four miles from it; but wishing to have his men fresh for the onset next morning, he moved forward to Daphne, within a mile and a half of it. Soon after his arrival there, a large body of rebels, marching in columns and intermediate lines, advanced within half a mile of his army, and seemed determined to attack it; on which the general prepared to receive them; but they sent forward their sharpshooters, who maintained a very smart fire on his line, till he brought up his cannon and dislodged them with it.

The main body which marched from the town to attack him, occupied an eminence, on which three or four shots from twelve-pounders were fired; and when the balls lodged on the hill, numbers of the rebels emulously vied with each other to lay hold of them. After that some shells having been thrown on it, and a great body of them having surrounded them for the same purpose, they exploded, and blew them to atoms.

Next morning, after having driven the rebels from the high ground into the town, which could not be effected without much danger and difficulty, as the rebels disputed every inch of ground, firing from behind the hedges, each of which afforded a strong post; he kept that position for about an hour, during which he and the rebel army continued to cannonade each other; and he had the greater part of the Vinegarhill army to contend with, as general Lake did not begin to attack them for some time.

In driving the rebels into the town, they made a most obstinate resistance, by their pikemen in the streets, and their musketeers, who were excellent marksmen, from the windows.

Having advanced with one gun, to an open space, where the courthouse† lies, a numerous body of pikemen rushed from that building, with enthusiastic vehemence, and seized and kept it for a few minutes, having overpowered the party which attended it; but it was soon retaken by a fresh column of troops, who killed most of the rebels concerned in that

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furious onset. The general then ordered the light infantry to charge over the bridge, and up the hill, which were occupied by a numerous body of rebels; but they having shewn an unwillingness to do so, he called on the county of Dublin regiment to perform that service, on which they gave three cheers, and led on by colonel Vesey and lord Blaney, in conjunction with the light infantry, forced the bridge, and marched up the steepest part of the hill, driving the rebels before them.

Major-general Eustace, who acted on this occasion with general Johnson, displayed great spirit and gallantry.

That side of the hill which general Johnson ascended is by far the steepest, and commands the town.

As the army commanded by general Johnson lost more men in killed and wounded than all the other troops that attacked Vinegar-hill, we may conceive the difficulties and the opposition which he must have encountered.

He sustained the following loss: Two field officers wounded, two captains killed, two subalterns killed and two wounded, two serjeants, one wounded, one missing, fifteen rank and file killed, sixty-two wounded, five missing.

The arrival of general Moore's army at Foulkes's mill occasioned a very great alarm at Wexford and the Three-rock camp.\* On the evening of the nineteenth, the drums beat to arms, and the church bell was rung. Keugh and Harvey were very bulky, but seemed much dismayed. They sent all the rebel soldiers in town to the Three-rock camp. For three miles, the distance from it to the town, each side of the road was crowded with old men, women and children, on their knees, praying for their success, as they marched by. When they advanced about two miles, they met on horseback father Keane, commonly called the blessed priest of Bannow. The rabble had uncommon veneration for him, because they believed, from his superior sanctity, that he was more expert in working miracles, and had more supernatural powers, than any other priest. He was a little old grey-headed man. The rebels flocked to him with great eagerness, to obtain his benediction, which he gave, by laying his hand on their heads, and muttering a few words.

• Having given the reader a description of the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill, I shall give him that on the mountain of Forth, in Appendix, No. XXI. 3.

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This priest having been guilty of some irregularities, soon after he was priested, retired to Newfoundland, where he exercised, for some years, his sacred function, and at the same time the apostolical pursuit of a fisherman. A boat, in which he served as a sailor, having caught great quantities of cod fish, in a harbour where it had been fought for in vain some years before, this sudden change was imputed to his benediction bestowed on it. He returned to his native country, with the title of the blessed priest of Bannow, which is his native place. During the rebellion he distributed many thousand scapulars\* among the rebels; and to numbers he gave two, one to protect them in advancing, the other in retreating. He assured the wearers of this sacred symbol, that a ball from a heretick gun could do them no more injury than a pea. He constantly visited the rebel camps, particularly that on the mountain of Forth; and a poney which he rode, was led by two men, who cried out, with a loud voice, "Make way for the blessed priest; of Bannow!" I have been assured that he refused his blessing to some rebels, unless they brought him the head of Mr. Goff, of Horetown, a quaker, who was justly and universally esteemed; and it is said, that he would most certainly have been assassinated, but for the victory of general Moore, which struck terror into the rebels.

A party of them took possession of Mr. Goff's house, under the command of one Monk, and they were attended by father Byrne, a priest, who was purveyor to the party; and he compelled the Miss Goffs, young and amiable women, to bake bread, and do every other menial office to supply the rebels. A party of them one day asked his benediction, having knelt down for that purpose; but he refused to give it but to such as produced their pikes stained with the blood of hereticks.

It was mentioned before that general Moore was to take post at Foulkes's mill, ten miles from Wexford, to prevent the rebels in their flight from Vinegar-hill, from escaping by Clomines. He remained in the demelne of Mr. Sutton, of Longraige,† which is quite close to it, on the evening of the nineteenth of June.

Next morning, general Moore had a smart action with the rebels, which is described by him in a letter to general Lake.‡

\* See in the Index, under the title of scapular, a full explanation of this religious emblem; and in Plate V. a figure of one. † Plate III. C. 7. ‡ Appendix, No. XXI. 2.

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I have been assured by persons well acquainted with the designs of the rebel general that this action was brought on in the following manner:

That general Roche intended to have taken possession of Ross, when general Johnson had left it; that he sent one party to Horetown, to watch the motions and engage the attention of general Moore, while the main body proceeded to Ross; that the former suddenly and unexpectedly came on general Moore's army, and had a skirmish with them.

The main body having heard the firing, went to their assistance, which brought on a general action.

Roche, after being defeated, meant to have kept one division of his army in the woods of Horetown, to the north, the other in those of Rossigarland, to the south; and to have renewed the attack in the night, when aided by the darkness, which would have been favourable to the charge of his pikemen, and relying on the superiority of his numbers,\* he entertained strong hopes of success; but the arrival of the 29th and the Queen's regiment as a reinforcement to general Moore baffled his expectations.

There were many priests in the rebel army, exhorting their troops, and often horsewhipping, and even threatening the run-aways with swords and pistols, to compel them to return to their ranks.

Having mentioned the occurrences which preceded and occasioned the evacuation of Wexford, I shall now relate that event, and the dreadful massacre of protestants which took place the day before, and which has cast such an indelible stain on that county, that every Irishman who feels for the honour of his native country, should wish that its very name was expunged from the map of Ireland. From the sanguinary spirit which the rebels manifested on all occasions during the rebellion towards that set of christians, there is not a doubt but that they meant to extirpate them as soon as they had obtained a decided superiority over the government; and their leaders never failed to practise every artifice they could devise, to make them believe they were in a fair way of attaining it. But when their delusions were removed, and they saw a very numerous and well-appointed army march into the county of Wexford, they

\* He had at least fifteen thousand. General Moore had not more than one thousand two hundred.

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were flung with despair, and resolved to indulge their fanatical hatred against protestants, by murdering such of them as were their prisoners.

Joseph Gladwin, the gaoler of Wexford, an Englishman, and reputed a man of veracity and humanity, has declared that Thomas Dixon proposed to get rid of the protestant prisoners at once, by setting fire to the gaol; but Gladwin said, that it would be impossible to accomplish it, as the floors in every story were arched. He then proposed to burn them in the street; on which Gladwin flung backwards, and related the infamous design of Dixon to Bagenal Harvey, who expressed great horror at it; and said, he did not think that matters would ever have proceeded to that dreadful excess, and that he did not know how soon it might be his own case.

I shall give the reader an account of this tragical affair, as related to me by some respectable persons who resided in Mr. Hatchel's house,\* very near the bridge, where it was perpetrated, and were eye-witnesses of it,

“Between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock on the morning of the twentieth of June, we saw a body of rebels coming over the bridge, bearing a black flag, with a cross, and the letters M W S inscribed on it in white; which was supposed to mean murder without mercy; and on the other side a red cross. After having made a procession through part of the town, they fixed that woeful harbinger of death on the custom-house quay, near the fatal spot where so much blood was soon after shed; and where it remained flying for about two hours before the butchery began.‡

“Soon after they arrived on the quay, they seemed to disperse; however many of them remained there, and repaired to one particular place, where drink was given to them; and where a priest

was very busy in distributing it, and who, they believed, remained there till they left the quay, shouting, "To the gaol! to the gaol!" when they all disappeared, but returned about four o'clock to the bridge, with a number of prisoners, whom they massacred. They thus continued till about seven o'clock to convey parties of prisoners from ten to twenty, from the gaol and the

\* Plate VI.

‡ Some respectable protestant ladies, prisoners at that time, assured me, that at that awful moment, they were informed, and with apparent sorrow, by some popish women, in whose houses they lodged, that the hour was come, when every person in Wexford of their religion, would be put to death. Others received this melancholy intelligence the evening of the preceding day.

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market-house, where many of them were confined, to the bridge, where they butchered them. Every procession was preceded by the black flag, and the prisoners were surrounded by ruthless pikemen, as guards, who often insultingly desired them to bless themselves.†

"The mob, consisting of more women than men, expressed their savage joy on the immolation of each of the victims, by loud huzzas.

"The manner, in general, of putting them to death, was thus: Two rebels pushed their pikes into the breast of the victim, and two into his back; and in that state (writhing with torture) they held him suspended, till dead, and then threw him over the bridge into the water.

"After they had massacred ninety-seven prisoners in that manner, and before they could proceed further in the business, an express rode up in great haste, and bid them beat to arms, as Vinegar-hill was beset, and reinforcements were wanting. There was immediately a cry, "To camp! to camp!" The rebels fell in such confusion, that the massacre was discontinued.

"In the moment of confusion, the reverend Mr. Corrin, parish priest of Wexford, arrived on the bridge, to divert them from their sanguinary designs, and which, it is said, he did to the utmost of his power. Soon after his arrival, he knelt down on the very spot where the blood had been spilled, and said some prayers. After which the rebels rose from their knees, and exclaimed, Come on, boys, in the name of God, to the camp! Thank God, we have sent these fiends to hell!" They then accordingly set out for the camp.

"It is remarkable that the savage pikemen knelt down, lifted up their hands, and prayed apparently with devotion, before they proceeded to commit any of the murders."

A lady, who was in Mr. Hatchel's house, near the bridge, where this sanguinary scene took place, describes it thus in her diary, which I quoted before: "About three o'clock, captain Dixon came to the quay, calling out, "To the gaol!" He was followed up the custom-house lane by numbers. They returned some time after to the bridge. I thought some alarm induced them to leave the town, and sat eagerly watching, till I beheld, yes, I saw, absolutely saw, a poor fellow cry for life, and was then most barbarously murdered.

† See Appendix, No. XX. 2.

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To give an account of this hellish scene is beyond my strength, nor could any person desire to hear it. No savages ever put their prisoners to more deliberate torture. I saw a boat go to the prison ship, and bring my friends and acquaintances (who on landing passed by our door) to torture and death. I saw the horrid wretches kneel on the quay, lift up their hands, seeming to pray with the greatest devotion, then rise and join, or take place of other murderers. Their yells of delight at the sufferings of their victims will ever, I believe, found in my ears.

“To describe what we all suffered, would be impossible. I never shed a tear, but felt all over in the most bodily pain. We expected life only till the prison and the ship\* were emptied; when an express came, to say the army were marching against Vinegar-hill camp, and that if they did not reinforce it immediately, all was lost. The town priests then, and not till then, made their appearance. The leader of the murderers called to his men, in these words, which I distinctly heard, “Come, my lads! we will now go; blessed be God we have sent some of their souls to hell!” They went off really as if they had been performing a praiseworthy and religious action.”

Mr. James Goodall, who had been taken out of the prison ship, and conveyed to the bridge, to be murdered, but was saved by the interference of Roche, the lay-general, declared upon oath on his trial, “That the affairs on the bridge were like a pack of starving hounds ruffing on their game.”

Mr. Corrin had slept the preceding night at Clonard, two miles off, to christen a child for Mr. Kellett, who was in the prison-ship, and whose wife was of the popish persuasion. She, Mrs. Bland and Mrs. Crump earnestly entreated him to save the lives of their husbands, who were in the prison-ship, and he faithfully promised to do so. This I heard from one of these ladies.

Previous to his departure, he seemed so much agitated by fear, as the king’s frigates and gun-boats appeared outside the harbour, that he could scarce go through the ceremony of baptizing the child; and he piteously besought them to protect him, as he would protect their husbands.

When they had put to death on the bridge between thirty and forty of the prisoners confined in the gaol, they sent a boat to the prison-ship,\* and called for Messrs. Cox and Turner. After having plunged two pikes

\* It was but twenty-five tons burden, and twenty-two gentlemen were confined three weeks in its hold.

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into the bosom of the former, he jumped into the water from the bridge, but was shot as soon as he rose.\*

Mr. Turner, a magistrate, who beheld this woeful spectacle, was next brought forward. They consulted about raising his body on their pikes, and carrying it through the streets, as they harboured the most insatiable revenge against him, because he was an active justice of the peace, and a zealous loyalist. His own postillion, Thomas Cleary,† insisted on having the gratification of shedding his blood; but the intemperate eagerness of the pikemen for carnage operated like mercy towards him, for a number of them joined him in perforating his body with pikes, and threw it over the bridge.

Mr. Lehunte was next sent for to the prison-ship, but he fortunately happened to be in the gaol, where he eluded their search in the corner of a cell. Their mistake, and the delay occasioned by it, very fortunately saved his life, as the express arrived, and the alarm took place in the mean time.

Mr. Hore, of Harper’s-town, nephew to the earl of Courtown, a most amiable inoffensive gentleman, and Mr. Kellett, were next brought from the prison-ship. The former was asked, Whether he had any person who could speak in his favour? He said, he had not, but requested time to find a person who could do so. He was then asked, Whether he was not connected with Mr. Boyd, member for the town? He answered, by saying, that Mr. Boyd was married to his sister; to which the rebels replied, that is enough; and having immediately massacred him with their pikes, they threw his body into the river. §

Mr. Edwards, taken out of the prison-ship, was saved, because he was married to a popish wife. It was asked by one rebel, whether he had ever prevented his wife from going to mass? Another,

who was friendly to him, answered in the negative, and said, he had often attended his wife to the chapel, and had gone for her when mass was over; on which he was discharged.

\* He commanded the Taghmon cavalry, had been a captain in the 5th regiment of foot, and had retired on half-pay. He was taken at Coolcliffe.

† See Cleary's confession in Appendix, No. XX. 21.

§ As Mr. Boyd's family were zealous loyalists, they, and every person connected with them, were peculiarly the objects of rebel vengeance.

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Mr. Samuel Atkin, married to a protestant, was murdered.

Another person of the same name, and his two sons, were saved, because, it was believed, the father was married to a popish wife.

The bloody Thomas Dixon, and his wife, were present at, and superintended this dreadful scene of carnage on horseback.

When the rebels retreated from the bridge, on the alarm given by general Roche, Dixon and his wife attempted to follow them; but their horses started at the immense quantity of blood which was shed on the bridge, and refused to pass through it; on which they dismounted, and led their horses over the bridge; she, at the same time, holding up her riding habit, lest it should be stained with blood. She was heard to desire the rebels not to waste their ammunition, but to give the prisoners plenty of piking.

It will reflect indelible disgrace on the popish priests of Wexford, of whom there were no less than fifteen or sixteen in the town during the perpetration of these massacres, that none of them, except father Corrin, ever interfered to prevent them. They evinced the most unbounded influence on all occasions; for no protestant was ever injured who had been so fortunate as to obtain a protection from one of them. It has been said in defence of the priests, that they were totally ignorant of the massacres till Mr. Kellett sent to father Corrin.

It was well known, at an early hour, that the rebels meditated these scenes of savage cruelty, and their intention was announced by the procession which they made with a black flag. The affinations began at the gaol about two, on the bridge between three and four, and ended between seven and eight. At different times, the prisoners were conveyed in numbers of from ten to twenty, surrounded by ferocious pikemen, and preceded by that ensign of death, through the principal part of the town.

When every person of humanity in Wexford was petrified with horror at such tragic scenes, which continued for five hours, could the priests alone have remained ignorant of them in so small a town as Wexford? The idea is too absurd.

I have been informed, that a young man from Ross, who acted with the rebels, but who had more humanity than most of them, went to doctor Caulfield, informed him of the massacres which were going forward,

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and besought him to prevent them; but he refused to interfere himself, but said he would send father Roche, his chaplain, who was present, for that purpose; but he never was known to exert himself. The person who gave this notice to doctor Caulfield, with whom father Corrin had dined, related it to many persons who assured me of it.

Mr. George Taylor, a man of great veracity, wrote a history of the rebellion in the county of Wexford, of which he is a native; and he tells us, "That while this work was going on, a rebel captain, being flocking at the cries of the victims, ran to the popish bishop, who was then drinking wine with the utmost composure after dinner; and knowing that he could stop the

maffacre fooner than any other perfon, entreated him, for the mercy of God, to come and fave the prifoners. He in a very unconcerned manner replied, “It was no affair of his and requested the captain would fit down and take a glafs of wine with him; adding, “That the people muft be gratified.” The captain refufed the bifhop’s invitation; and, filled with abhorrence and diftreffs of mind, walked filently away.

Mrs. O’Neil went to the doctor to complain of the murder of her nephew, Mr. Turner, on the bridge: He was one of the firft perfons taken out of the prifon-fhip, yet doctor Caulfield did not interfere, nor did Mr. Corrin, though he was prefent, till Mr. Kellett fent a meffenger for him; and there were many perfons maffacred in the interval between Mrs. O’Neil’s complaint and the deliverance of Mr. Kellett.

While they were difpatching Mr. Hore, of Harper’s-town, Mr. Kellett, who was the next intended victim, fent a perfon in the crowd, who had formerly lived with him as fervant, for Mr. Corrin, who dined at doctor Caulfield’s, the popifh bifhop, to let him know his perilous fituation; and he infantly repaired to the bridge, threw himfelf between Mr. Kellett and the pikemen, faying that they fhould not kill him, without firft butchering him. Having thus refcued him, he firft led him to his own houfe, and afterwards to Clonard, about two miles off, the feat of Mr. Kellett, who kept Mr. Corrin at his houfe till next day, to protect him from the military, who were expected in Wexford. It was univerfally believed, that father Corrin’s interference did not proceed from pure motives of humanity, but from a preconcerted agreement with Mr. Kellett, for the following reafons; He did not approach the bridge, or ufe any exertion,

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till he received Mr. Kellett’s meffage at the bifhop’s; and when he led him away under his protection, he left the other prifoners on their knees in the hands of the ruthlefs pikemen, without offering to interfere for their prefervation.

The following circumflance tends ftrongly to confirm this opinion: A gentleman of very great refpectability, who was on board the prifonfhip, affured me, that on the morning of the maffacre, a fervant of Mr. Crump, went on board, and from the general tenor of his converfation, they could infer, that Meffrs. Crump, Kellett and Bland, would be faved at all events; which we may fuppofe was in confequence of the promife made to their wives by Mr. Corrin the evening before.

Charles Jackfon, an Englifhman, who had practifed the trade of a carver and gilder at Wexford, was among the laft party of prifoners fuppofed to have been faved by Mr. Corrin. He publifhed a narrative of his fufferings, and of the events which occurred at Wexford during the rebellion. The popifh clergy of that town have relied much on his veracity; and it is moft certain that his relation of the events of which he was an eye-witnefs is ftrictly true.

A popifh prieft of Wexford wrote a pamphlet under the fignature of Veritas, with the affiftance, and under the direction of doctor Caulfield, merely for the purpofe of vindicating the conduct of the Romifh clergy,† in which he often quoted Jackfon’s narrative, which gives a faithful representation of the events which occurred, except while he was in prifon; and his account of them during that period was erroneous, for the following very obvious reafon: They were communicated to him by his wife, who being a rigid papift, was completely under the influence of the priefts.

He gives the following account of the efcape of himfelf and his fellow prifoners on the bridge:

“General Roche rode up in great hafte, and bid them beat to arras; faying, “That Vinegar-hill camp was befet, and that reinforcements were wanting that this operated like lightning on the rebels, who infantly quitted the bridge, and left Jackfon and the other victims on their knees. That the mob, (confifting of more women than men,) who had been fpeftators, alfo infantly

dispersed in every direction, supposing the king's troops were at hand: That the prisoners, stupified with horror, remained

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some time on their knees, without making any effort to escape: That the rebel guard soon returned, took them back to gaol, telling them, that they should not escape any longer than the next day, when neither man, woman or child of the protestants should be left alive."

Different persons at that time in Wexford, and some who lived near the bridge, have unanimously concurred with Jackson's relation of it.

A person of the utmost veracity, who was led out to execution, and narrowly escaped, has positively asserted, that he believes father Corrin would not have interfered at all, but that he imagined there was a complete reverse of fortune, in consequence of the alarm occasioned by the arrival of the messenger from Vinegar-hill; but this person was ignorant of the secret compact which he had made with Mrs. Kellett.

As strong suspicions were entertained, and insinuations were thrown out, soon after the massacre at the bridge, that the popish priests in Wexford had more influence than any other persons there, and that they could have protected those whom they chose; father Corrin went to Mr. George Taylor, one of the prisoners who escaped, when Mr. Kellett was rescued, and asked him to sign a paper, containing a contradiction of it, and a general approbation of the conduct of the priesthood in Wexford during the rebellion. He refused to do so, but at his instance gave him the following certificate:

"I do hereby certify, that the reverend John Corrin, by his humane exertion, has been the instrument in the hands of God, in saving my life, and even others of my fellow-prisoners, the twentieth of June, being the day of the general massacre on the bridge of Wexford.

Ballywalter, GEORGE TAYLOR."

August 28th, 1798.

Mr. Taylor, on giving Mr. Corrin this certificate, asked him, "What use he meant to make of it?" he answered, "To employ it in my defence." The reader will draw but one inference from this anticipated defence against an accusation which was not at that time even thought of. As Messrs. Taylor and Jackson, who escaped from the massacre on the bridge, differed from each other in the relation of this dreadful event, I shall endeavour to account for their apparent contradiction.

Taylor imputes their preservation solely to the interference of Mr. Corrin: Jackson to the alarm and confusion occasioned by the arrival of the

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expresses, in which every one concurs with him except George Taylor. The former says, they were led away from the bridge by Mr. Corrin. The latter, that they were left in the hands of the pikemen. I should give greater credit to the relation of Jackson, than that of Taylor, for the following reasons: Mr. Kellett personally assured me, that Mr. Corrin led him away from the bridge; and it is most certain, that the remainder of the prisoners were led back to the gaol by the pikemen, where they remained until the king's troops entered the town. If Mr. Corrin had influence enough over the mob to check the massacre, and to rescue Mr. Kellett, why did he leave the remainder of the prisoners in the hands of the ferocious rebels, who might have butchered them after his departure? In the state of stupefaction to which the prisoners were reduced by terror, as Jackson observes, it is very possible that Taylor might have mistaken the real cause of their preservation. They were surrounded by an immense mob, besides the pikemen; and as many spectators in the house of Mr. Hatchell, near the bridge, have unanimously agreed, that the alarm and dispersion of the rebels took place rather before the

arrival of Mr. Corrin, it is possible that Mr. Taylor might have mistaken the real cause of it, particularly, as he could not have seen Mr. Corrin until the multitude dispersed; besides he is uncommonly near-sighted. I shall not pretend to dispute his veracity, but I really believe he was mistaken.

The following occurrence must diminish our belief of father Corrin's having acted from pure motives of humanity: Mrs. Margaret Lett, the wife of a brewer of Enniscorthy, having been examined as a witness on the trial of Thomas Clooney on the fifth of July, 1799, at Wexford, deposed: That she had the protection of father Corrin; that her husband was a prisoner in the gaol of Wexford; that Clooney wrote on the back of the protection, that he would go bail for Mr. Lett's good behaviour, and that he would not leave Wexford, if Mr. Corrin would *allow him*\* to be taken out of gaol; and that she went with the paper to Mr. Corrin, but he would not allow him to be liberated; that Clooney

\* This shews that Mr. Corrin was considered as a person of great influence over the rebels, which he exerted on this occasion, and not for a humane purpose.

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afterwards went to the prison, took him out, and left him at her lodgings.

In this manner they put ninety-seven protestants to death, at Wexford, on the twentieth of June. Some persons have said that the number did not exceed ninety-five; but the bloody calendar of all the protestant prisoners there, which I have in my possession, puts this beyond a doubt.

On the trials of Peter Byrne and Ignatius Roffiter, at Wexford, the former the fourteenth of June, 1799, the latter the twentieth of February, 1800, two members of the bloody committee that sat in the gaol, the following facts were proved upon oath: Kenneth Mathewson, John Atkin, Richard and Joseph Ganford, protestants, and prisoners in the gaol, were led before that sanguinary tribunal to be tried. One of the prisoners having asked Roffiter, "What they meant to do with them?" he replied, that "They were on the black list." Peter Byrne, member of the committee, had a pistol in his hand, and on seeing the prisoners, exclaimed in a rage, "It is not by two or three that you are to let us have the prisoners, (meaning to execute) for if you do not let us have them by the dozen, by J—s, I will blow up the gaol in two minutes." John Roffiter, another member of the committee, shewed John Atkin the form of an oath which he said the committee had taken, and the instructions which they had received to regulate the manner of proceeding;\* that early on that day, a man went to him where he was confined, and shewed him a list which he said was the black list, which he had got from the committee fitting below stairs. The prisoners were then led to the committee-room door, but were kept outside it. The man who first accused Mathewson, rushed into the room with a party of the rebels, who dragged him out. When the bloody committee were going out to see Mathewson put to death, John Roffiter having a regard for Atkin, and wishing to save his life, put him into the committee-room, desired him to shut himself in, and not to appear at the windows, lest he should be shot.\* He entered the room, and saw Mathewson shot and butchered with pikes in the street. There was a table in the committee-room, on which there were

\* It is evident that the members who composed the bloody committee were guided and governed by some superior power; that they took an oath to proceed in the bloody business, and had written instructions how to act.

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pens, ink, and paper, and a green book, which, having put into his pocket, he crept under a bed, where he lay concealed, till John Roffiter afterwards, when the committee had adjourned, led him back to his cell, where he concealed the book, containing a calendar of all the protestants at that time prisoners in Wexford; the committee were much incensed at the loss of their book,\*

but could not account for it. The reader may well conceive the perturbation of John Atkin, who lay concealed under the bed, while the members of the committee were vowing vengeance against the person who carried off their book.

The amiable lady, whose diary I have quoted, says in it, "Mr. R——, † a Roman catholic, and one of the committee for provisions, came to us the evening of the day the massacre was committed. He was like ourselves, half dead with horror, and declared that he entreated the priests to come down with their crucifixes, and prevent the massacre; but they all refused to do so. We told him that father Broe said he had saved nineteen prisoners.

This Mr. R—— denied, and said, it was the expenses that saved them.

He told us, that the black flag meant that every one of that party had taken the black theft oath. He said, that a man went into a shop where he was, and asked another to give him the black theft oath. This was refused, and the person he asked left the shop; on which the man who wanted to take the oath, said, "That fellow shall be one of the first I will kill; but as to the oath, I don't care, for another will give it to me." This oath is to be found at the end of Appendix, No. XX. 7. and was found in various places, and on different rebels who were killed."

In many instances it has appeared, that the Roman catholics even in the meanest situation, could save protestants. The following is a notable proof of it:

John Tate, a protestant, but carrying a gun among the rebels for the preservation of his life, addressed himself to a common man, a rebel in their camp at Little Limerick, saying, "There is a brother-in-law of mine in prison at Wexford, I shall be obliged to you, when you go there

\* See a copy of it, Appendix, No. XX. 44.

† As he is no more, I may tell the reader that this was Mr. Pat. Redmond, a man of humanity, who filled his situation with reluctance.

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to take him out and set him at liberty." This man, whose name is James Murphy, never thought of the request made by Tate, until the day and instant they were murdering the prisoners on the bridge; when recollecting that the name of the man he wished to liberate was Isaac Stephens, he searched the different prisons until he found him among a great number in the market-house of Wexford, and not only brought him with him and preserved him, but two more loyal yeomen who were in the same prison, and begged of him, for God's sake, to save them. He brought out these three men in the midst of near one hundred pikemen who guarded the door, and saved them. Their names were, Isaac Stephens, cooper, at Castle-bridge, Samuel Maud, farmer, and John Stedman, weaver.

The confession of James Beaghan,\* one of the murderers of the reverend Mr. Hayden in the streets of Enniscorthy, clearly proves what part the popish priests took in the conspiracy and rebellion; and that the name of Orangemen was fabricated merely to make the publick believe that the sanguinary spirit of the rebels was not directed against protestants in general, but merely against such of them as were members of that political sed.

The evidence upon oath of doctor McNevin, a member of the Irish directory, before a secret committee of the house of lords, dated the thirtieth of August, 1798, proves that they were deeply concerned in it. His words are, "That the catholic priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were well affected to the cause; that some of them had rendered great service in propagating with discreet zeal † the system of the Irish union."

Many persons of undoubted veracity assured me, that the popish bishop, doctor Caulfield, gave his benediction to the savage pikemen as they proceeded to the massacre on the bridge; yet I

should not think of inserting it in this history, if it were not authenticated On the oath of a respectable gentlewoman who beheld it; because, however sanguine the doctor might have been in the cause, I could not have supposed that he would have been so void of discretion. Mrs. Crane, sister to judge Chamberlain, made this affidavit.‡

\* See Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

† He puts those who acted with discreet zeal in contradistinction to those who appeared without disguise and in a military capacity. ‡ See Appendix, No. XX. 23.

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I shall not take upon me to say, whether the doctor on this occasion acted in obedience to the councils of Lateran, Constance, Toledo or Trent, all which are mandatory on persons of his persuasion to extirpate heretics; or whether he acted according to his oath of inauguration, which requires that he should, to the utmost of his power, persecute and impugn all heretics, schismatics, and rebels, against his sovereign lord the pope; but in writing a history of the rebellion, I thought that I could not leave so extraordinary a transaction unrecorded.

On Monday the nineteenth of March, 1800, doctor Caulfield wrote a letter to Bryan Murphy, a priest of Taghmon, reproving him for having presumed to give absolution for sin, without having obtained a faculty for that purpose. This letter, and two more on the same subject, one from said Murphy to a protestant clergyman, and the other from father Kelly, parish priest of Taghmon, to doctor Caulfield, the reader will find in Appendix, No. XX. 23. Bryan Murphy is the person alluded to in Michael Aikin's affidavit relative to Scullabogue, Appendix, No. XX. 9.

It is most certain, that a respectable inhabitant of Wexford sent a message to the friary near the chapel, to request the friars would order the rebels to desist from the massacres; but they said, that they would advise but not order them to do so.

A protestant clergyman of Wexford assured me of the following fact: About six o'clock on the morning after the massacre, one of the friars expressed great joy to him on the prospect of peace, (as the defeat of the rebels at Foulkes's mill was known); and he expressed great concern that the priests happened to be out of the way, and were ignorant of the massacre, for otherwise they could have stopped it, but soon after he said, "We knew from the talk of the people in the morning, that we could not have saved Mr. Turner."

The black flag was carried in procession again on the morning of the twenty-first of June by Thomas Dixon, and his band of assassins, as a signal to murder the rest of the protestant prisoners; but the large army which had surrounded Vinegar-hill the day before, and the victory obtained by general Moore the preceding evening at Foulkes's mill, had intimidated the bloodhounds so much, that they fearing lest they

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might provoke the vengeance of the royal army, resolved to sue for mercy.

Doctor Jacob and his family, were not molested for the following reason: Being a gentleman of great medical skill, not only as a physician, but as a surgeon, and as the rebels compelled him to take care of their sick and wounded men, as before-mentioned, they were not only anxious to preserve his life, but shewed considerable respect for him and his family who were lodged in Mr. Hatchel's house.

The news of the victory at Foulkes's-mill having been received at Wexford the same evening it was gained, a number of rebel leaders, who had been present at the massacre, assembled at governor Keugh's house, and concerted measures of conciliation, in hopes of procuring an amnesty. Next morning they waited on lord Kingborough, requesting that he would be their mediator, and write to the different general officers to spare the inhabitants of Wexford and their

property, on laying down their arms, and returning to their allegiance; which he agreed to do, on their investing him with the military command of the town, and reinstating the civil magistrates.

During this negotiation, the bloody Thomas Dixon, and many other rebel officers and privates, flocked to his lodgings, and implored his protection in consideration of their humane conduct in having saved the lives of many protestants.

General Keugh and his friends having acceded to lord Kingborough's desires, his lordship agreed to forward the following proposals made by them to the different general officers:

"That captain McManus\* shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart,† accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided their persons and property are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce

\* Captain McManus of the Antrim, was a prisoner. E. Hay, was a rebel leader, who went to protect him.

† Plate III. 2.

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the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms, we hope, captain McManus will be able to procure.

Signed by order of the inhabitants of Wexford,  
MATT. KEUGH."

Captain McManus was to have gone to general Needham to Oulart but finding that he had changed his position, he repaired directly to general Lake at Enniscorthy, where he found captain O'Hea of the North Cork, and captain Burke of the Mayo, who were sent on the same errand, the former to general Lake, and the latter to, general Moore.

Soon after the departure of captain McManus, the rebel leaders being uneasy left the victorious army of general Moore should arrive before their terms had been accepted by general Lake, urged lord Kingborough to send a second messenger to general Moore, to request he would encamp at Carrick-bridge,\* before he advanced to the town. His lordship employed for that purpose ensign Harman of his own regiment, who was attended by one Carthy, a rebel captain.

Soon after he left the town, he was met by father John Murphy, and one Whelan his aid-de-camp, who were leading a large rebel column from Vinegar-hill. Murphy asked Harman, (who unfortunately was in full uniform,) whither he was going? he answered, to propose terms to general Moore on the part of the people of Wexford. Murphy said, in a great rage, "I will hear of no terms. Then addressing his aid-de-camp, and pointing to Harman, he said, "That fellow ought to die, for he has been condemned by a committee" on which Whelan drew a pistol, and shot Mr. Harman through the head.

As captain O'Hea met one of the rebel columns retreating from Vinegar-hill, I give the reader his description of it He was accompanied by two rebel captains, one of the name of Clooney, as guides and protectors. The column which he met was very numerous, and many of the men who formed it were well armed with muskets, pistols, and blunderbusses, and the remainder with pikes. General Edward Fitzgerald, who commanded, and rode at the head of the column, on seeing captain O'Hea in his regimentals, halted it; and after a cool salute, demanded his dispatches, which he read and returned, with an appearance of dissatisfaction. Many of the rebels cheered him, and seemed much pleased with the idea of peace; and but a few cursed the idea, and said, they would

\* Plate III, 5, 6, now called Carrickferry.

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fill fight. At the rear of the column he met Edward Roche, the lay-general, who saluted him, and suffered him to pass, when Clooney had explained the purport of his embassy.

General Lake gave the following answer to Keugh's letter:

"Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign; while they so remain, he must use the force entrusted to him, with the utmost energy, for their destruction.

"To the deluded multitude, he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

Enniscorthy, 22d June, 1798.  
G. LAKE."

The inhabitants of Wexford, who saw this rebel column advancing at a great distance, were very much alarmed, dreading that they would plunder and burn the town.

When lord Kingborough was invested with the command of it, he sent a note to Scallion,\* who was on board the prison-ship, to desire he would bring Mr. Solomon Richards of Solborough to him, as he wanted his advice and assistance, in the critical situation in which he then stood. The rebels attempted to sink the boat in which he went, as he passed under the bridge, which was very high, by darting their pikes through it; and would have effected it, but that they were prevented by Scallion.

Soon after Mr. Richards waited on lord Kingborough, the rebel column entered the town, headed by father Murphy, who advanced to his lordship's lodgings, mounted on a fine horse fully caparisoned, having a case of pistols and a broadsword. Lord Kingborough addressed him from his window, and told him he would endeavour to obtain favourable terms for him and his friends, provided they conducted themselves properly; and said, he hoped he was coming to give up his arms: On which, the sacerdotal hero, in a paroxysm of rage, dismounted, and ascending to his lordship's apartment, asked him, with much rudeness and petulance, who he was? and on being informed, he said, with great indignation, "I had you tried and condemned this morning at the camp at Vinegar-hill, and I'll have you taken out and executed this night."

\* He was created an admiral by the republick, for having taken his lordship prisoner.

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Doctor Caulfield, the titular bishop, who had just arrived, began to expostulate with him; on which lord Kingborough desired him to respect his bishop; but Murphy flourished his hand over the bishop's head, saying, "I was once your priest; but I am now a general." However, when his anger cooled, he knelt down, kissed his hand, and acknowledged his superiority.

Whelan, Murphy's aid-de-camp, who was present, had a large whiskey bottle in his pocket, and a pistol in his hand; and he boasted that he had just shot his officer outside the town, alluding to the murder of ensign Harman. He also said, he would shoot lord Kingborough; on which his lordship cocked his pistol, presented it at his breast, and declared he would shoot him, if he moved his hand, which prevented the perpetration of his sanguinary design.

Mrs. Richards, her sister, and some officers wives, had sought an asylum at his lordship's lodgings at this critical and alarming moment; and fearing that they should all be massacred if lord Kingborough shot Murphy, or his aid-de-camp, one was in hysterics, another fainted, and another fell on her knees to deprecate his lordship's anger.

While they were in this state of perturbation. Perry the rebel general entered his lordship's apartment, and carried Murphy and Whelan off; and soon after he led the band of rebel affairs out of town, but left his two aid-de-camps, who were wounded, with lord Kingborough, who had them taken care of.

The sudden flight of the rebels is principally to be imputed to their fear of the king's troops, who were advancing; and the sudden arrival of a few brave yeomen, which I shall describe, and whom they took for the advanced guard of our army, occasioned their precipitate retreat.

It is certain that doctor Caulfield used every means in his power, and succeeded in preventing the rebels from murdering lord Kingborough; partly by his spiritual authority, and partly by telling them that he was a valuable hostage; and that by preserving his life, and conciliating him, he would probably obtain favourable terms for them and their friends, and prevent the soldiers from despoiling the town and the country.

When general Moore's army was within about two miles of Wexford they perceived the house of a protestant in the suburbs on fire, from which they concluded, that the rebels were burning the town, Mr. John Boyd,

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representative for the town, who commanded the Wexford cavalry, trembling for the fate of his wife and children, asked permission of the general for him and as many of the yeomen cavalry as would accompany him, to push forward to the town, and to make a desperate effort to save their families and their property. The following persons, with great magnanimity, volunteered in that perilous service, and ran a risk of devoting their own lives to save the property and lives of the protestant inhabitants who remained in the town; they were all members of the corps but one. Captain James Boyd, member of parliament, lieutenant Perceval, high sheriff for the county, corporal John Stetham, corporal William Hughes, A. H. Jacob, of the Enniscorthy corps; and the following privates, John Tench, Joseph Sutton, Archer Bayly, Marcus Doyle, Abraham Howlin, John Byrne, and William M'Cabe, Mr. Boyd's servant. Christopher Irwine, permanent sergeant of the troop, followed them rapidly on foot, his horse having been shot. They dashed into the town with a degree of valour bordering on despair, and announced with a loud voice, that the army was at their heels. This gave the rebels such an electric shock, that, panick struck, they fled in all directions, some over the bridge, others to the barony of Forth. Their consternation was so great, that very few of them attempted on their flight to injure the inhabitants of the town. One rebel fixed at Messrs. Jacob and Rudd, but the latter soon dispatched him. A rebel fired at lord Kingborough in the street, for which another person, a loyalist, instantly shot him.

During this scene of confusion which their flight occasioned, the bloody Thomas Dixon, mounted on a very fine horse which he had taken from Mr. Cadwallader Edwards, rode through the streets, with a broadsword drawn, and upbraided the rebels for their timidity and their dilatoriness; and said, "If you had followed my advice in putting all the heretics to death three or four days ago, it would not have come to this pass[?]", Mrs. Dixon, who accompanied him on horseback, with a sword and a case of pistols, clapped the rebels on the back, and encouraged them, by saying, "We must conquer: I know we must conquer and she exclaimed repeatedly, "My Saviour tells me we must conquer!"

They repaired to the bridge to stop the retreat of the rebels, but in vain, though Mrs. Dixon drew a pistol, and swore vehemently that she would shoot any one of them who would refuse to return with her to put

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the remainder of the hereticks to death. They endeavoured to raise the portcullis of the bridge, to prevent their retreat, but were unable to do so.

Governor Keugh came into the street, and cried aloud, "Gentlemen, fly to the camp at the mountain of Forth; you have nothing else for it. Go there and defend yourselves." Some of them as they were retreating (but particularly young M'Gauley, of Oulart, who was afterwards hanged) cried out, "Let us set fire to the town!" but they had not time to do so, for in a few minutes there was not a rebel in it.

A very respectable lady informed me, that father Roche, the general, "on horseback, and with a drawn sword, harangued the rebels in the street, and endeavoured to inspire them with courage, before her window. He told them, "That they were of the only true faith, which was the faith of Jesus Christ; and that if they would support him in the extirpation of hereticks, they would soon have but one religion but they were deaf to his exhortations, and some of them said, "By my soul, father Roche, we have stood by you too long; we are sorry we ever came to you, for you have deceived and ruined us!" I have already quoted the journal of a respectable lady, who resided near the bridge. I shall now give the reader her observations on the events which took place the day that the town was evacuated. She mentioned before that the black flag had been carried about in procession to announce that the massacre was to be renewed.

"About four o'clock Mr. R——, and doctor Jacob came to us. They had been fired at in the street. The doctor was as composed as I am now; but I really never saw such firmness of mind as he possessed on all occasions. Mr. R said, "The general massacre is going to begin, and that he came to save us, or rather to share our fate, for he feared we could not escape however he had got a boat, with men on whom he thought he could rely, to the end of our house, that we should try to get into it, stand the fire of the rebels from the quay and in passing under the bridge; and if we got clear, throw ourselves on the mercy of the gun-boats. This was truly desperate: I walked upstairs, and went to a window; the rebels were setting themselves as before, on the bridge, and sending a boat to the prison-ship; when, conceive my astonishment, I saw them all begin to run. I flew down stairs, doubting my senses,

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to tell doctor Jacob. He came to the window. It was no illusion: Ran they did, in such confusion, that I was amazed numbers were not trampled to death. A general cry, "The army are come, they are in the town," explained their flight. Wretches ran out of the infirmary in their shirts. In an incredible short space of time the streets were almost clear. Above fifty armed rebels rushed into our house, tore out their green cockades, threw their arms under the beds; and hoped to escape by being found under doctor Jacob's roof. He put on his regimentals, and went into the street. A villain that was going off, turned about, and fired at him, but missed him.

"Mr. Perceval, the sheriff, galloped down the quay to our door, and said, "Here are twelve thousand foldiers with us." Imagine, if you can, our feelings! I never shall forget Elizabeth's countenance as she came down stairs and took us by the hand. The boat that was sent to bring them\* to torture and to death, brought them to liberty and to rapture. Several came to us. No kind of decorum was observed. Nothing but kissing and embracing. Most of the men cried violently. I saw above five thousand men fly from one horseman. It was supposed that four thousand of them fled from one end of the town. My bridge acquaintances are those who, under the command of Perry and Fitzgerald, have since spread misery and destruction over the counties of Wexford and Wicklow. We never learned what became of Dixon. None of us saw him go over the bridge; and as he is a very large man, and rode a tall white horse, he could hardly escape the observation of twelve of us who were anxious to see him depart. Mrs. Boyd told me, that she and lady Ann Hore were sitting in their lodgings, expecting the entrance of the murderers, when they heard a horse gallop and stop at their door."

The lady whose journal I quote, and many others who were in Wexford at that time, have declared, that the profanation of the town and protestant inhabitants can be imputed to nothing but the determination of the rebels to murder lord Kingborough, to whose lodgings they repaired with father Murphy, and that that object diverted them from their nefarious design, till the alarm, which I have mentioned, occasioned their general dispersion and flight.

\* The prisoners from the prison-house.

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About eight o'clock in the morning of the twenty-first, the day of their deliverance, father Broe the friar having visited the prison-house, and recommended to the prisoners to be christened, as he said it might be the means of saving them from the rage of the rabble, about fifteen of them consented. He gave those who submitted to that ceremony the following certificate:

"I hereby certify that A. of B. in the parish of C. has done his duty, and proved himself a Roman catholic, and has made a voluntary oath that he never was an orangeman, nor took the orange oath. Dated Wexford, June twenty-first, 1798.

F. JOHN BROE."

This unquestionably proves that father Broe knew that a second massacre was intended; and that there was no salvation for any person but a Roman catholic.

As the rebels were retreating over the bridge, one of them fired at the gentlemen on the deck of the prison-house, but the ball passed over their heads.

General Moore having sent the Queen's regiment into Wexford, between eight and nine o'clock, encamped that night about two miles from it, on the south of the Slaney. The army under generals Lake and Dundas encamped on the north side of the Slaney, between Temple-hill\* and Carrickferry.† As they were encamping, they found in the hedges about fifty rebels, with their pikes, who had fled from Vinegar-hill, whom they shot; which induced them to search some brushwood which was contiguous, and they found there many more, whom they also put to death.

General Johnson remained on the south side of the Slaney, and not far from general Moore. General Lake entered Wexford on the morning of the twenty-second of June, and established his staff in Keogh's house, where he, as governor of the town, and a rebel general, had held his staff a few hours before.

As many false and scandalous reports were propagated by the disaffected, that several wanton and barbarous outrages were committed by the king's troops on their entering Wexford, that many persons were immediately and without any criminal process put to death, I think it right to say, that such

\* See Plate III. 4, 5. † Ibid., 6.

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infamous calumnies were perfectly groundless; that peace and good order were preserved there, and that none but those who took a very active part in the rebellion were punished. I give the reader in Appendix, No. XXI. 4. a list of the delinquents who suffered there.

To palliate the atrocities committed in Wexford by the rebels, it has been falsely insinuated, that they were provoked to perpetrate them by lord Kingborough's having violated the terms which he had made with them, but this is totally without foundation.

Keogh on his trial made a very able and manly defence, during the whole of which he was cool and deliberate, and so eloquent and pathetic, as to excite the most tender emotions in the

breasts of his auditors. Lord Kingborough, Mr. Lehunte, and other respectable witnesses, proved that he acted on all occasions with singular humanity, and endeavoured to prevent the effusion of blood; and that they owed their lives to his active interference. He said, “That after the massacre on the evening of the twentieth of June, he was sitting in his own house, when he received the following message from the commander in chief, Roche, the priest, by Thomas Dixon, that as he was leaving town, on particular business, he ordered him under pain of death, on the next morning before twelve o’clock, to put to death one hundred more of the prisoners\* in the same manner that ninety-seven had suffered that day.[”] He then stated that his brother, who had lived many years in his house, and had long served the king with reputation as an officer,† was as noted for his loyalty, as for every moral virtue: That on hearing the sanguinary mandate of Roche, delivered by Dixon, he ordered himself to be put to bed, as, from feebleness and decrepitude, he had not been able for many years, to move from one place to another: That next morning he crept, all fours, to the governor’s apartment, in his absence, where having found a cache of pistols, he blew out his brains. He was frequently interrupted in the course of this doleful narration, by crying and sobbing. He declared that his only object was to reform and improve the constitution; but that popish fanaticism had defeated his designs, and borne down every thing. He lamented that he had totally neglected the cultivation of the

\* This shows that the massacre intended next morning, which was announced by a second procession with the black flag, was a deliberate act, and planned by the rebel leaders.

† He was regarded as a very amiable old man, and was very loyal.

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protestant religion in which he had been bred; however, he was attended in his last moments by a protestant clergyman. After having prayed devoutly on his knees, he rose and then prayed aloud and fervently for the king and royal family, and that his majesty might long sit upon the throne, and that the constitution in church and state might never be overthrown. His pathetic eloquence and strength of argument on his trial moved the audience so much, that a general officer, who was present ran hastily to general Lake, and requested that he might be reprieved; but he assured him, that he found among his papers sufficient indications of his guilt. See in Appendix, No. XXI. 5. a list of rebel leaders found among them. Roche, the priest and the commander in chief, one Fenlon a schoolmaster, and two obscure persons were executed at the same time with Keogh. The former, about forty years old, was tall and corpulent, and had a ferocious countenance. While Keogh and the other prisoners were on their knees he continued motionless, and showed no appearance of devotion, except that when they were preparing for his execution, he knelt down and kissed the ground.\*

Soon after Roche was suspended, the rope broke and he fell senseless on the ground; but on recovering, he arose and exclaimed, “G—d’s blood, what are you about? why do you pull my stock so tight?” He then mounted the fatal step a second time, and was launched into eternity!

Some of our officers who conversed with him, while in prison, assured me that they thought he was born a general, from the judicious remarks which he made on some actions, particularly that of Vinegar-hill. He said, that they were very much deceived in the county of Wexford, as they imagined that the insurrection would have been general all over the kingdom, and then they must have succeeded. He allowed that the object of the Irish union was the subversion of the constitution.

John Hay, the rebel general, was taken at his own place, hiding in a shrubbery, by general Dundas’s army who encamped near it on the twenty-second of June, and was hanged next day. He was of an ancient popish family, and the son of Mr. Harvey Hay of Ballankeelee,† noted for his hospitality. He had lived a great while in France, and had served in the French army. Though

his manners were polished, and he appeared generous and liberal, he was a bigot, and displayed a most cruel and sanguinary

\* A common practice among his savage sectaries. † Plate III. 3.

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disposition during the rebellion. He was so befitted with superstition, as to wear a scapular, which was found hanging on his breast when they were going to execute him.

On the trial of general Edward Roche, Thomas Hatchell proved that he heard Mr. Hay at Vinegar-hill propose the murder of all the protestants, and that Roche opposed it. The cold-blooded murder committed by him of Gray Thomas, at the same place, was also proved on Roche's trial.\* Thomas Smithson confirmed the evidence of Thomas Hatchell.

The arrest of B. B. Harvey and John Colclough was attended with some curious circumstances, which I shall relate. On the flight of the rebels from Wexford the twenty-first of June, they retreated to the largest of the Saltee islands,† which Mr. Colclough rented from Mr. Grogan. Doctor Waddy, a physician, who served in the yeomanry, having got intelligence of their retreat, applied to general Lake for a proper party, and an armed vessel, to go in quest of them, which he readily obtained.

About three o'clock on Sunday evening the twenty-third day of June, he set sail in the Rutland cutter of ten guns, commanded by captain Willoughby, with lieutenant Turner of the Queen's, a detachment of his regiment, and a man of war's boat, with a party of sailors well armed\* The island is about six leagues from Wexford, and four or five miles from the southern coast of the county. The weather was so tempestuous, that they were obliged to reef their sails; and the wind being adverse, they did not descry the island till about four o'clock in the morning, and could not call anchor along side it till eight. When they were approaching it, they saw a small boat pass from the island to the main land.. As it is surrounded with high precipices, and is inaccessible but in one place, and as they expected to be opposed by a party of armed rebels, who it was believed had accompanied Harvey and Colclough, captain Willoughby prepared to cover their landing with the cutter's guns, and they were attended for the same purpose by the man of war's boat. On landing, they repaired to the only house on the island, occupied by one Furlong, who rented it from Mr. Colclough. They found there an excellent feather-bed, with fine sheets, which were warm, a handsome tea equipage, some genteel wearing apparel, belonging to both sexes; particularly, a pair of pantaloons,

\* See Appendix, No. XX, 9. † Plate III. 12.

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which doctor Waddy had seen on Mr. Colclough before the rebellion; and near the house some filk shoes and other articles, hid in high ferns. They searched every suspected spot in the island, particularly a place called the Otters cave, but in vain; though they had not a doubt of their having been there, as they had found, among other things, a chest of plate in a concealed place belonging to Colclough.

The doctor resolved to make another effort, by going round the island in a boat, for the purpose of reconnoitring the sides of it: In doing so, he perceived on the edge of a high precipice, one rock lighter-coloured than the adjoining ones; and as the earth near it seemed to have been recently stirred, he suspected that they had been making preparations there for their concealment. He therefore again ascended the island, and found that the approach to the place which he wished to explore was steep, serpentine, and through some crags. The light-coloured stone covered the mouth of the cave, and above it there was an aperture to let in the light.. The doctor called out to Colclough, and told him, that if he did not surrender immediately, and

without refiftance, he fhould receive no quarter. Colclough afked, "Is that doctor Waddy?" and on his faying, ""Yes," he faid he would furrender; and foon after he, at the doctor's defire, gave up his arms through the hole in the cave. The doctor threw down the precipice the ftone which covered the mouth of it, which fell with a monftrous crafh; on which Mr. and Mrs. Colclough came forth, dreffed in the meaneft habits of peafants, for the purpofe of difguifing themfelves. Then. B. Harvey came out, faying, "My God! my God!" and fo pale and weak from fatigue and anxiety of mind, that the doctor was obliged to fupport him. He alfo had a cheft of plate concealed, which he gave in charge to the doctor and his party.

They arrived in Wexford harbour about nine at night; but as the tide was out, the prifoners could not be committed till next morning.

Meffrs. Grogan and Harvey, and Patrick Prendergaf, a rich maltfter, were executed at the fame time.

The former was a weak man, who fell a facrifice to the malign influence of bafe and defigning men, who cherifhed in him difaffection to the ftate; which made him a fanguine advocate for reforming our conftitution; the various excellencies of which he was as incapable of difcerning, as an infect was the grandeur and the elegance of a magnificent edifice.

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Mr. Grogan, who was executed at the fame time, denied his guilt, and declared on his trial that he had acted by compulfion; but it was proved that he had been frequently feen with a green cockade, marching in and out of Wexford, at the head of a large body of rebels; and that as commiffary to the republick, he had feized the provifions of different people in its vicinity, fo as to leave their families quite deftitute.

Mr. Harvey, in his defence on his trial, laid, "That he became a member of the Irifh union three years before, but that he imagined the only object was to reform the conftitution; and that he did not till recently difcover that the popifh priefts were deeply concerned in it, and that the extermination of proteftants was their main defign.\* That having oppofed their fanguinary views, he was depofed, and the command was given to that infamous villain father Roche: That he was then carried to the Three-rock camp as a prifoner, where he remained a few days, and was fo far at liberty as to be allowed fo walk about; but fo clofely watched, that with every wifh to make his efcape, he found it impoffible, till the evening the rebels fled in every direction on the approach of the king's troops."

He died in a very decent manner, having been attended by a proteftant clergyman, and prayed moft fervently. A fhort time before his trial, a particular friend of his and mine, having afked him, how he came to confent to the bloody bufinefs of Scullabogue, he, very much fhocked, replied, "That it was brought about by an infamous fanguinary popifh faction."

Mr. Harvey wrote the following letter to lord Kingfborough, a fhort time before his execution. It was the laft grafp for life, and fhews manifef, t figns of perturbation:

"My lord,

"I take the liberty of requefting your lordfhip will let me have an opportunity of feeing your lordfhip before you leave Wexford. You cannot but recolle, t how repeatedly I wifhed to fpeak to your lordfhip alone; that I was always prevented by fear; and whenever I met you and was allowed to fpeak to you, I was ever ready to accede to propofals of reftoring order and government.

I am, with fubmiffion,  
Your lordfhip's moft obedient,  
B. B. HARVEY."

\* This was kept a profound secret from the protestant leaders.

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Mr. Harvey, in a numerous company, and at the house of a relation in Dublin, in the year 1796, began to broach some of his republican opinions, which I endeavoured to refute. At last, I said to him, with much emphasis, "Beware that your life and property do not fall a sacrifice to your absurd republican notions!"

The following fact proves that he was a man of humanity: The reverend Mr. Wilton, minister of the parish of Mulrannan, in which he lived, and such of his protestant parishioners as could not make their escape were taken prisoners, and sent to Wexford gaol, on the first of June; but Mr. Harvey ordered them home, on their taking the united Irishman's oath.

From the following incidents we may infer, that with the best military talents, and the warmest zeal in the rebel cause, his power could not have been of any duration, Mr. Solomon Richards assured me, that a priest refused to grant him a protection the day after our troops evacuated Wexford; but on applying to B. Harvey he gave him one, which afforded him liberty and security till Mr. Harvey's power began to decline, and then no respect was paid to it, and he was committed to prison.

Matthew Green, an inhabitant of Wexford, who was hanged there for being a rebel captain, and for having been concerned in the murder of Murphy on the third of June, went on board the prison-ship, and said, with an air of insolence, to Mr. Richards, "So, you would not take my advice in joining us, and in taking a command. See whether B. Harvey's advice or mine is best, and whether he or I will be the greatest man in a day or two; but mark my words, that he and all the protestant generals and prisoners will go, for we will have but one people. I doubt whether you can escape with your life."

John Colclough, of Ballyteige,\* died with much decency and firmness. He was the only person of his name who was a papist, and who was publicly accused of being a rebel. He was descended from John Colclough, who became a convert to popery about the beginning of this century, and who from his great bigotry was called the Saint. He left only one child, an infant son, who he desired might be bred a protestant; conscious, I suppose, that the religion which he professed, would have a tendency to make him a bad subject of a protestant fate. With a loud voice, and much compunction, he exhorted the bye-standers to avoid the absurd prejudices

\* Plate III.

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and opinions which had brought him to an untimely and ignominious death; and he expatiated on the extreme folly of endeavouring to overturn a regular and well-established government and he ended with these notable words, "From what I have seen these last three weeks, I am not sorry for dying." Alluding, I suppose, to the massacres.

Fanaticism had made the lower classes of people so blind to their own interest, and so insensible to danger, that some of them were convicted in Wexford, soon after the king's troops arrived there, of using seditious language, and of endeavouring to seduce them; though so many of their fellow-traitors had recently suffered capital punishment.

Some attempts of this kind were made on the Queen's regiment, the first which entered the town on the twenty-first of June; though it consisted of Englishmen. Thomas Graham, an inhabitant of Wexford, was convicted of trying to seduce John Nailor of that regiment, while a sentry on his post, a few days after the regiment had landed in Ireland.

The failors continued so disaffected, that they refused, in the autumn of the year 1798, to convey goods from Dublin to Wexford for a Roman catholic merchant of that town, because he was

notorious for his loyalty, though he had offered a very high price for the freight. This spirit of disaffection and combination was investigated, and fully proved, before a committee of the house of commons.

Soon after the massacres at Wexford, on the twentieth of June, the following sentences were carved on the rails of the portcullis of the bridge, the place where they were perpetrated; and they were legible in the month of June, 1799: "Sacred to the christian doctrine of sending orangemen to the meadows of ease, June 1798: The holy hereticks that were slain."

The rebel column, which, after the defeat at Vinegar-hill, had retreated to the north of the county of Wexford, and the county of Wicklow, were joined by a large body belonging to the latter, headed by Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, and his brother William, and continued to spread desolation there, burning the houses of protestants, and murdering such of their occupiers as fell into their hands. The first achievement which they endeavoured to perform in this new scene of action, was an attempt to destroy Hacketstown.\*

\* There was an attack made on this town the twenty-fifth of May, by a numerous body of rebels; but they were repulsed by the yeomen and a small party of the Antrim militia.

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As numbers of the people of the country were seen on the twenty-fourth of June, assembling on all the adjacent hills, no doubt for the purpose of joining the column which I have already mentioned, the garrison, consisting but of forty of the Antrim militia, commanded by lieutenant Gardner, and fifty of the Hacketstown infantry, commanded by captain Hardy, sent intelligence of it to the officers commanding yeomen corps in the neighbourhood.

At six o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fifth, captain Chamney, with thirty of his infantry, captain Hume, with thirty of the Talbotstown cavalry, and lieutenant Braddell, with twenty-four of the Shillelah cavalry, reinforced the garrison, and marched with them a short distance from the town, to meet the rebels who were thought to be thirteen thousand strong, and were commanded by generals Garret and William Byrne, Messrs. Perry, McMahan, Michael Reynolds, and Edward Fitzgerald. The garrison had got but a short distance from the town, when the rebels began to file off on each side, for the purpose of surrounding them. In consequence of this, the Talbot's-town and Shillelah cavalry were obliged to retreat, for fear of being cut off, by the road to Clonmore, and could not afterwards return to assist in defending the town.

In the retreat, captain Hardy, a brave and intelligent officer and a most amiable gentleman, and four men were killed. The infantry, about one hundred and twenty in number, took post in the barrack, part of them having lined a breast-work which the captain had raised some days before in the rear of it. The remainder defended the front.

The reverend James McGhee collected nine protestants, and with them occupied and resolved to defend a house which commanded the main street, and one side of the barrack, which was thatched, and which those inside it could not defend. The family of Mr. McGhee, all the protestant women of the town, and even the wife of general Byrne, (whom, it is said, he wished to get rid of,) took refuge in it. Mr. McGhee barricaded the lower part of the house, placed four of his men in its rear to prevent it from being burnt, and the other five in the front, not only for its defence, but to cover the side of the barrack which was exposed.

The town was soon surrounded by a prodigious number of pikemen, who set fire to it in different quarters, and one thousand and fifty musketeers commenced a heavy fire on it. In about two hours the whole

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town, except the barrack and two houses more, was in flames, which presented a terrific scene, the horrors of which were much heightened by the incessant fire which the rebels maintained, and the very thick smoke in which the town was involved, and which entered even into the house, so that its defenders could scarcely see each other. About one o'clock the houses fell in, and a wind having sprung up which dispersed the smoke, they were able again to see the rebels; who finding that they could not set fire to the barrack, which was ably defended by captain Chamney, without having burnt the house in which Mr. McGhee kept garrison, they relinquished the former, and approached the latter in great numbers, and with dreadful yells, crying, "Liberty or Death!" having their colours flying, and sounding their bugle-horns, they pushed cars before them with feather-beds in them as breast-works cover their approach. A well-directed fire from the house, for about twenty minutes, made them retreat, leaving behind them their cars, and twenty-eight men killed.

During the engagement, which lasted from six in the morning till half after three in the afternoon, the loss of the protestants was but eleven men killed and fifteen wounded. It was universally believed, that no less than five hundred of the rebels were killed. They carried off upwards of twenty cart loads of dead and wounded. When any of their men were so badly wounded as to be unfit for service, they threw them into the flames, in which they also burnt many of their killed. It was a common practice with the rebels to put their wounded men to death, lest they might turn informers.

Next day great numbers of dead bodies were found in ditches; and immediately behind Mr. McGhee's garrison they found fifty dead men with their pikes, and thirty over whom a little clay had been thrown. That gallant party would have been unable to defend themselves for want of ammunition, had not lieutenant Fenton, of the Talbot's-town cavalry, been providentially prevented from attending his duty by a contusion, occasioned by a fall from his horse, as he sat behind a pier between two windows making cartridges; and to the immortal honour of Mrs. Fenton, she continued to go about the house, and to supply the besieged with refreshment during their laborious and perilous service; and when their stock of balls was exhausted, she broke up her pewter plates, and cast bullets of them with her own hands, which her husband made up into cartridges.

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The garrison were obliged to retreat to Tullow the evening of the action, for the following reasons; They were exhausted with fatigue; their ammunition was expended; and all the houses in the town, except three, were consumed, and the rebels returned and burned them. Thus circumstanced, had they waited for a second attack in the night, which the enemy meditated, it must have been fatal to the garrison.

This body of rebels burnt every protestant house within six miles of Hacketstown, in every direction, and murdered such of their inmates as they could seize.

Wherever they encamped, they, as usual, sent out parties in quest of protestants, whom they murdered. Mr. William Byrne, of Ballymanus, frequently was present at, and gave orders at the massacres, for which he was soon after hanged.

Isaac Langrell, a protestant, was piked near Gorey; after which, as some signs of life appeared in him, a ruffian, with a bay knife on the end of a stick, gave him a stroke across the neck, which almost severed his head from his body; on which William Byrne, who was present with a drawn sword, and seemed to command the party, ordered them to march off, saying, "For the heretic will rise no more."

The following fact was proved on a court-martial at Wexford, the nineteenth of May, 1800: Henry Hinch, a protestant, was taken from his own house, near Gorey, by a band of affians,

and conveyed to the rebel camp, where Mary Forde faw him on his knees, begging his life; when Mary Redmond, his neighbour, whom he had regarded as a friend, infifted that he fhould be killed; on which he was fhoot, and when he fell fhe ftruck his body with a ftone, and called him an orange rogue. Then a rebel of the name of Philips fired another fhoot at him. This poor man, who had lived by his induftry, left a wife and nine children.

As that column ftill continued to infeft the country contiguous to Gorey, † general Needham, on the morning of the thirtieth of June, fent Hunter Gowen, captain of the Tinahely cavalry, with a part of his corps, to reconnoitre near Moneyfeed.\* From a hill near that town, about three o'clock in the morning, he perceived the rebels in a hollow under him in very great force, having received great reinforcements fince

† Plate II. 4. \* Plate II. 3, 4.

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their flight from Vinegar-hill. He fent intelligence of it to general Needham, who ordered colonel Puleflon, of the Ancient Britons, to join him immediately with detachments from his own regiment, the 4th and 5th dragoons, the Ballaghkeene, Gorey, and Wingheld yeomen cavalry.' The latter, before the reinforcement arrived, killed eight or ten fcattered rebels, and among them one Brien, who the day before went to general Needham, pretended to return to his allegiance, furrendered a pike, and in confequence of it obtained a protection; but on that day he was armed with a mufket.

The rebels advanced to Tinahely,\* and having turned off to Wingfield, † burned the old manfion there, and then proceeded to Moneyfeed, where our troops firft got fight of them. From thence they purfued them for two miles, to a place called Ballyellis, ‡ where the rebels, being clofely preffed, placed their baggage and their cars in the road, and pofted a number of pikemen in their front. As foon as our cavalry came in fight of them, at the turn of a road, they charged them with great impetuofity; but when they were within a fhort diftance of them, the pikemen leaped over the hedges at each fide, on which the horfes in front were entangled in the cars; and thofe in their rear preffing on, them, a fhocking fcene of confufion enfued; both men and horfes were involved, and tumbled oyer each other: The rebels fired on them from behind the hedges and a park wall which was near, and while they were in this ftate of embaraffment, killed numbers of them with their mufkets, and piked fuch of them as happened to be unhorfed.

Colonel Puleflon, whofe horfe they fhoot or piked, was with difficulty faved by his men. Captain Giffard, of the Ancient Britons, and Mr. Farfons, adjutant of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, who had ferved with reputation abroad, and about fixty privates of the military and yeomen, were killed.

I have been affured, that this action would have been more fatal to the loyalifts, but that the Wingfield corps who were on the right, went through a lane to a hill which commanded the rebels, whom they put into confufion by a well-directed fire, and of whom they killed from twenty to thirty,

\* Plate II. I. † Ibid. i. ‡ Ibid. 4.

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The defign of the rebels was to furprife the town of Carnew, which was about a mile diftant, to have killed fifty yeomen, who garrifoned it, and to have burnt the few houfes which they had not deftroyed before; but the garrifon having been apprized of their defign by fome of the cavalry in their retreat, took poft in a malt-houfe, and defended the town fo well, that the rebels, unable to pafs through it, retired to Ballyellis, ‡ and in their retreat burnt a fine new houfe of Sir John Jervis White.

They then took post on Kilcavan-hill,\* near Money feed, and to the north west of Gorey, where the Wexford rebels separated from those of the county of Wicklow, who were commanded by Garret Byrne of Ballymanus; for, soon after the battle of Vinegar-hill, they had united and co-operated. This separation was occasioned by a dispute between their leaders. They repaired from Kilcavan, where they remained but an hour, to Ballyraheene-hill, which lies between Carnew and Tinahely.

In their progress they killed twelve protestants, among others a farmer of the name of Driver, and burned some houses. They were pursued by detachments of the Wingfield and Shillela cavalry, the Tinahely infantry commanded by captain Morton, the Coolatin by captain Chamney, and the Coolkenna, by captain Nixon, the whole making about one hundred and twenty. They endeavoured to gain the hill of Ballyraheene, which was high and steep, before the rebels, but could not succeed. However, though they were posted on an eminence, and behind hedges, and notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers, the brave and loyal yeomanry, with a degree of valour bordering on rashness, attacked and engaged them for three quarters of an hour; but were at last obliged to retreat, as the rebels were endeavouring to surround them. Captains Chamney and Nixon, and seventeen privates were killed, and many were wounded. Though Garret Byrne had been the particular friend of captain Chamney, he ordered his house, which was within a quarter of a mile of the action, to be burnt; but lieutenant Chimney having taken post in it with forty yeomen, defended it all night against the whole host of rebels, of whom they killed great numbers. One of them was shot in endeavouring to set fire to the hall-door, bearing a feather bed on his back for his defence. This engagement took place the second of July, two miles from Tinahely, and four from Carnew.

‡ Plate II. 4. \* Ibid. 3, 4.

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Garret and William Byrne of Ballymanus, who headed the banditti, who committed these outrages and barbarities, piqued themselves on the antiquity of their family. Garret, the eldest brother, had an estate, and was reputed a gentleman, from his birth, property, and education. Edward Fitzgerald also was a man of independent fortune, and received a good education.

On the fourth of July, general Needham, who was stationed at Gorey with a small force, received information that this body of rebels had for two nights been assembled at the White heaps,\* a very elevated spot, which had an extensive plain on the top. It is about six miles to the north of Gorey, and near the village of Coolgreney. Thinking it a very favourable opportunity for attacking them, he concerted measures for that purpose with general Sir James Duff and the marquis of Huntley; the former commanded at Carnew,‡ the latter at Arklow.||

General Duff's column was destined to cut off the retreat of the rebels by the Wicklow gap, that of the marquis of Huntley was to occupy the summit of Croghan-mountain,§ which lies to the north of Coolgreney, and to intercept their flight by that ascent.

General Needham was to make the attack. At dawn of day he approached within half a mile of the White heaps, when his advanced guard was perceived by some videttes of the rebels, posted near a farm-house, in which several of the rebel leaders had slept the preceding night. These videttes gave the alarm to the main body, and it unfortunately happened that soon after a fog arose, so thick, as to retard the movement of our troops, and to afford a cover to the rebels to escape. When general Needham arrived on the White heaps, he found very visible marks of the enemy having slept there the night before; however he met but a few stragglers, who were put to death. About twelve o'clock, the fog clearing off, he observed the rebels ascending Croghan mountain, where, meeting by surprise, the marquis of Huntley's corps, they descended rapidly, and endeavoured to escape by Wicklow-gap, which lies to the south-west of Croghan; where, approaching in the fog, close to Sir James Duff's column, a few rounds of grape shot compelled

them to change the course of their flight towards a hill near Moneyfeed, where they were closely pursued by Sir James, when, on the dispersion of the fog,

\* Plate II. 1, 2. ‡ Ibid. 4. || Ibid. i. § Ibid.

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they were perceived by general Needham, who, though at two miles distance, joined in the pursuit; and finding that his infantry could not advance with sufficient celerity, he pushed on his cavalry, which joined that of Sir James Duff. At length the rebels, after having been pursued and harassed by our cavalry, for above twelve miles, and finding themselves unable to proceed, resolved to try the issue of a contest, and for that purpose formed behind hedges, and under cover of a coppice wood, at Ballygullen, near Mount Nebo,\* and three miles from Gorey.

They waited our attack, which began by grape shot, from four six-pound curriole guns, but finding that our guns were protected by cavalry only, and the few gunners who worked them, they made many desperate efforts to take them, having maintained a very heavy fire of musketry, and advanced a numerous body of pikemen; but they were repulsed by the singular bravery and leadership of lieutenant Hemmings, who commanded the artillery, and captain Ledwell with a detachment of lord Roden's fencibles. At length the head of Sir James Duff's column arriving, the rebels were soon routed, and a vigorous pursuit was made, in which the earl of Roden,† at the head of his regiment, acted with his usual spirit and gallantry. About three hundred of the rebels were thought to have fallen. On that day the yeomen cavalry under captain White, cut off great numbers of the rebels.

Some farmers and labourers who were concerned in this affair, declared to their landlords, after an amnesty had been granted by government, that in this pursuit they threw away their clothes to lighten themselves; and that they were so much overcome with hunger and fatigue, that they wished for death. After this defeat the rebels never appeared in any part of the county of Wexford, in such force as to meet the military or the yeomen in a pitched battle; but many bands of affians continued to rob and murder. Part of those who were dispersed on this occasion, went into the counties of Kildare, Carlow and Meath, under Fitzgerald, Aylmer, Garret Byrne, Perry and Kearns, and spread desolation in their progress. The two former surrendered themselves at the castle; the two latter were hanged at Edenderry. Many of their followers died by the sword and the gibbet; others turned robbers; and but few returned to their respective homes.

• Plate II. 4.

† That gallant nobleman was in the most perilous service during the rebellion, and volunteered whenever his regiment was not on duty.

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The mountains of Wicklow continued for many months after the asylum of a desperate banditti, who, under Holt and Hacket as leaders, committed plunder and affination in all the adjacent country. That county, from the strong posts and fastnesses which its steep, craggy mountains and deep defiles afford, was the last place in Ireland in which rebellion was subdued in the reigns of Elizabeth, Charles I. and king William.

Some persons of acute discernment in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow have made the following observations to me, which proves that the war was a religious one: That no papist ever lamented, or does so to this hour, the relations they have lost in the rebellion: No wife was ever seen to shed a tear for the death of her husband, or a father or mother for the loss of a son. In one instance only, nature prevailed, and a tear started from the eye.

Another circumstance observed by the same persons proves it to have been founded in religious bigotry: That men who bore formerly very excellent moral characters, were guilty of murder, robbery, and perjury without remorse; and that numbers were persuaded, contrary to the sentiments of nature, and the obligations of true religion, not only to neglect, but to violate, all the ties of duty, friendship, gratitude and humanity, in prosecuting the war.

In the course of the rebellion, some parties were more cruel and sanguinary than others. Wherever the rebels happened to be encamped and to have the country at their devotion, they massacred protestants for some miles round them which is fully proved by the atrocities perpetrated by them in the vicinity of Carrickbyrne, Enniscorthy, and Gorey.

In the parties of Killan, Roffdroit, Clonmore, Adamstown, and Newbawn, no protestant was spared. In the former, which lies near the west-side of the Black-stair\* mountains, the rebels were on the point of committing the following barbarous act. A band of assassins was sent out to collect all the protestant women and children in it, in order to burn them in the church. They drove the victims into an out-house, belonging to a Mrs. Kelly, within gunshot of it, where they were to be kept till they could procure a sufficient number of faggots to accomplish their horrid design. The ruffians who were employed in it, frequently called the

\* See Plate III. 1.

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church the protestant pie. In this dreadful situation were these helpless and miserable women, embracing each other, and pressing to their bosoms, for a last; farewell, their innocent babes, when Providence interfered, and saved them in a most miraculous manner. The army commanded by general Johnson, in their way to Enniscorthy, drove the rebels from Lackenhill. One of them, a native of Killan, fled home in great consternation with the news, and added that the king's troops were close at his heels. The guilty keepers, fearing the just punishment of their crimes, forsook their charge and fled. A few, more brutal than the rest, detained twelve of the youngest girls all night, and forced and dreadfully abused them. Four of these assassins were afterwards convicted of these crimes at Newtown-barry, and, by the orders of general Taylor, were executed in the village of Killan, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1798, opposite to the house where they had committed that brutal act, and not far distant from the spot which gave them birth. All these circumstances were proved on the trial of these monsters by the concurrent testimony of the sufferers.

Michael M'Grath proved, by affidavit, that a few days before the action at Vinegar-hill, he saw five protestant girls, viz. Eliza and Hannah Shields, Anne and Hannah James, and Rachael Murphy, all in tears, in custody of Christopher Drohan and four other men; that he asked Drohan, where he was conducting them? that he answered to Killan prison; and that at the risk of his life, he rescued them from said persons.

Rachael Murphy, Anne and Hannah James swore on the trial of these men, that Drohan, while they were his prisoners, informed them, that their intention was (meaning himself and his party) to ravish them, viz. the said five girls, that night, and to burn them next morning; and that previous to this, their fathers had been murdered.

The following paper was found in the pocket of a rebel, who was shot near Coolgreney, by captain Hugh Moore, of the 5th dragoon-guards:

“Jefus I H S Maria  
I trust Δ Thee.

“This is measured of the wounds of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was brought from Constantinople unto the emperor Charles, within a gold chest, as a relief most precious to that effect, that no evil or any thing might take him which reads it, hears it, wears it, cannot be

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hurt by any tempest, fire, water, knife, sword, lance or bullet. Neither the devil shall hurt him; he shall be victorious, and never die an unnatural death, and shall be a sure safety to women with child.”

Many of the same purport were found in the county of Wexford during the rebellion. One of them was found on Pat. Prendergalt, a rebel in the county of Mayo, while the rebellion raged there. One of them is to be seen in doctor Bernard’s history of the siege of Drogheda.

Another piece of superstition to which the common people in Ireland of the Romish religion are much attached, is the scapular, a religious order, the mysteries of which are various and profound.† Its sectaries wear on their shoulder or breast, and next to their skin, a piece of cloth, about three inches square, with I H S. worked on it; meaning Jesus hominum Salvator. It is supposed to avert much moral and physical evil; and that it will prevent a person from dying, though shot through the heart, till he receives the rites of his church.

I mentioned before a practice of putting red tape on the necks of popish children: It prevailed much in that part of the county of Carlow bordering on the county of Wexford.

A popish schoolmaster at Tuilow inflicted a severe punishment on a protestant boy, for having worn it. A magistrate received information, that John Hannigan, parish priest of the parishes of Coolkenno and Clonmore, ordered pieces of red tape to be put on the necks of popish children, to distinguish them from protestants; and that he knew that a massacre of the protestants was to take place.

Some officers who, when on duty, traversed many parts of the county of Wexford, assured me, that they saw, in various places, the sign of the cross on the doors of some dwelling-houses; and on others, the following words: “Protection for this house.” They were inscribed on the house of Mr. Devereux, of Carrigmannon, and even on the gates leading to it; which, it is believed, was done because he was a Roman catholic.

In the neighbourhood of Gorey, the chapels of father Francis Kavenagh and some other priests, who had acted very treacherously and cruelly towards the protestants, were burnt by the latter, who compelled them to

† They are to be found in a little book called the Scapular, published by Elfaner Kelly, in Dublin. The form of one of them is to be found in Plate V.

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fly to Wexford, where they continued to receive their parochial dues. During their residence there, the priest of each parish announced, by letter, to his parishioners, that he would say mass precisely at a certain hour; and they went regularly at that hour to the walls of their respective chapels, where they prayed, and went through the ceremony of mass, at the time appointed, with as much devotion as if the priests were present, on a supposition that they were acting in uniform with them.\*

The following calculation of the inhabitants of the county of Wexford, will in a great measure shew the reader their number, and the proportion of those who were in actual rebellion against the best of kings, and the only constitution in Europe that affords its subjects any degree of rational liberty. It will also prove by induction, that the population of Ireland is much less than is generally imagined.

A hearthmoney collector, well verfed in calculation, made an exact cenfus of the people in three baronies and a half, fo late as the month of March, 1800; and He included in it the populous town of Wexford. Thefe baronies contain at leaft one-third of the population of the county, and they were lefs depopulated than any other parts of it; befides, this calculation has been made fince the rebellion.

I confider the county of Wexford, which is very populous, a good average from which to deduce the number of inhabitants in Irelarid, according to the quantity of fquare acres which it contains, in proportion to thofe in the kingdom at large; and I conceive that it is nearly a thirty-fourth part of it. The following table will in a great meafure eftablifh the pofitions which I have made:

Baronies	Population	Total	Population of the county Wexford
Wexford,	7, 405		
Forth,	5,575		
Bargy,	6,072		
Shelmaller, west of the river Slaney	3,977	23,029	69,087
Acres in the county of Wexford	Acres in Ireland	Population of Wexford	Population of Ireland
343,000	11,607,650	69,087	2,348,958
		Dublin	200,000
		Total of the population of Ireland	<u>2,548,958</u>

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On the trial of Mr. William Byrne, of Ballymanus, at Wicklow, on the twenty-fourth of July, 1799, it was proved, that he, Perry and Redmond, who were leaders, made a regular mufter of the rebel army before they marched from Gorey to attack Arklow, and that they amounted to thirty-one thoufand.

The inhabitants of the county of Wexford,		69,087
The army that attacked Arklow	31,000	
There were three large rebel camps befides, one at the mountain of Forth, one on Vinegar-hill, one on Carrickbyrne, and allowing 5000 for each,	15,000	
Allow for fmall rebel pofts	3,000	
	49,000	20,087

On the fame trial it was proved, that when the rebel army under William Byrne went to burn Tinahely in the night, they ordered fuch of the inhabitants as were Roman catholicks to put up lights in their houfes, which they did; and none of them, in confequence of it, were burnt, but that all thofe of the proteftants were. It was proved alfo, that father Toole, a prieft, faid mafs near the town, while it was in a ftate of conflagration.

It is aflonifhing how fuccefsful the rebels were in their endeavours to feduce the king's troops, and they never failed to exert themfelves for that purpofe, though they might have been quartered ever fo fhort a time in one place.

Lord Blayney affured me, that there was a dreadful mutiny in the 4th light brigade of militia under his command, at Ferns,† in the month of Auguft, 1798: That he difcovered one morning,

that they were to have risen that night, and to have murdered him and all the protestant officers and privates in the brigade; but he seasonably defeated their design, by suddenly marching them off to another camp at Scarawalh-bridge.‡ It appeared that they had been plentifully supplied with money, and had a constant and unremitting intercourse with a neighbouring priest, who lord Blayney had the strongest reason to think was active in seducing them.

The following proofs appeared of the mutinous state in which they were by the examinations of sergeant McMan, and other soldiers of the Antrim

† Plate II. 6, 7. ‡ Ibid. 8.

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regiment, sworn before Cornelius Wallace and William Moore, esquires, both magistrates, on the thirteenth of August, 1798; that there was a conspiracy in the 4th light brigade of infantry quartered at Ferns, to murder their officers and all orangemen, and that lord Blayney was to be the first murdered.

By informations sworn before colonel Hugh Clinton, it appeared, that they were to have attacked and stormed the camp at Ferns, and then to have proceeded to that of Scarawalh; and that part of the Clare, Kildare, Queen's county, Antrim, Kilkenny, and Donegal regiments, were engaged in it; and that one Dogherty, a soldier in the latter, said he must go and consult the priest about it.

Patrick McMahon, of the Clare militia, stated in his examinations, sworn before William Moore, esquire, the thirteenth of August, 1798; that Murray and Gallagher, privates in the same regiment, asked him, in the church yard of Ferns, to be sworn to be true to them and their cause, meaning an insurrection; but added at the same time, that if he had any understanding of his religion, there would be no occasion to swear him.

By a court-martial, held at Waterford, the thirteenth of November, 1798, by order of general Johnson, the mutiny of the 4th light battalion was proved in the clearest manner: That it was to have taken place the night they marched from Ferns; and that they were to have murdered their officers, and all the orangemen and protestants of the regiment.

It is surprising how similar the rebellions in Ireland have been in their origin and progress, and how uniformly destructive in their effects.

The county of Wexford was desolated in the year 1641; and the houses of the bishop of Ferns and Mr. Ram of Ramsford, were destroyed as well in the rebellion of that period as in the late one; which appears by an affidavit, sworn by Mr. Ram the twelfth of January, 1641, and lodged in Birmingham-tower.†

The rebels, who escaped from our troops after the battle of Whiteheaps, fled into the county of Kildare, under the command of Garret and William Byrne, Edward Fitzgerald, general Perry, and Kearns, a

† See it in Appendix, No. XXI.

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papist priest, having been induced to join their fellow-traitors there by Michael Reynolds, who being reinforced by them, was encouraged to undertake, what he had long meditated, an attack on the little garrison of Clonard,§ defended by a few yeomen, commanded by lieutenant Tyrrell, of Kilreny, high sheriff of the county, and of whom I made mention before.

A report having prevailed, that they had this in contemplation, lieutenant Tyrrell acted for some time on the defensive. At last, about eleven, o'clock on the morning of the eleventh of July, his

nephew Mr. Richard Allen, who was a member of his corps, galloped into the yard, and announced that he had been closely pursued by a large party of rebels, that he narrowly escaped being taken, and that he was sure they were advancing to Clonard.

It unfortunately happened that some of the guards were absent, not having the most remote suspicion that the garrison would be attacked, Lieutenant Tyrrell, notwithstanding his utmost exertions, could muster but twenty-seven men, three of whom were his own sons, the eldest not seventeen years old, the youngest but twelve. He had no sooner closed the gate of the court-yard, than the firing began.

Though lieutenant Tyrrell had never acted in any military capacity, the coolness, the skill, the good sense, and energy of mind, which he showed in this critical and perilous situation, would have done honour to a veteran. He stationed, in a turret in the garden, which commanded the road by which the rebels were expected to advance, six of his corps, including Mr. Allen and his son, only fifteen years old. After fixing some other out-posts, he retired into the barrack with the main body, of whom he selected the best marksmen, placed them at those windows from which they were most likely to annoy the enemy, and desired them not to fire without taking good aim.

The advanced guard of the rebels, consisting of about three hundred cavalry, approached towards the turret, in a full trot, without apprehending any danger. Their leader, one Farrell, was mortally wounded by the first shot fired by young Mr. Tyrrell; and the main body having been thrown into confusion by a general volley, fled out of the reach of

§ Plate I. 6, 7.

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their fire. The rebel infantry then coming up, passed by the turret under cover of a wall, and part of them having taken post behind a hedge, maintained a constant fire on it, but without effect. The remainder joined another party, who came by a cross road from a different quarter, for their object was to have surrounded the town. They then stationed a guard on the bridge, to prevent any reinforcement from arriving in that direction. The marksmen from the windows soon dispersed and put to flight that guard, after having killed about a dozen of them. This proved afterwards to be of the utmost consequence to the little garrison, as it preserved a communication with the western road.

The rebels, disappointed in their attack both on the house and the turret, resolved to make one desperate effort to storm the latter. A party of them having penetrated into the garden, rushed into the turret. The yeomen stationed there had the precaution to draw up through a trapdoor the ladder by which they ascended to the loft. The rebels endeavoured to mount to it on each other's shoulders, but were constantly killed in the attempt. Some fired through the floor, others drove their pikes through it, but without effect. The rebels persevered in the attempt with inflexible obstinacy, though twenty-seven of them lay dead on the ground-floor. At last they set fire to a large quantity of straw under the turret, which was soon in flames.

Two of the besieged, Mr. George Tyrrell and Mr. Michael Cufack, were shot in endeavouring to make their escape, by rushing through the smoke. The remainder eluded the vigilance of the rebels, and arrived safe to the main body, by leaping from a very high window, and passing under cover of a wall.

Afterwards they set fire to the toll-house, and some cabins near the bridge, and threw some of the dead bodies into the flames, for the purpose of confounding them, lest their numbers should be known.

The conflict had now lasted six hours, and the rebels seemed determined to maintain it; but very fortunately an event happened, which at the same time that it depressed their courage, inspired

the loyal garrifon with renovated valour. One of the guard, who had been excluded on the sudden shutting of the gates in the morning, fled to Kinnegad, and informed the garrifon there of the perilous situation of his friends at Clonard; on which, eleven of the Northumberland fencibles, under a

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ferjeant, and fourteen of the Kinnegad infantry, under lieutenant Houghton, marched for Clonard.

Lieutenant Tyrrell, with great gallantry sallied forth from the house, and formed a junction with them. After having posted this reinforcement in the most advantageous situation, to gall the enemy, he, with a few picked men, undertook to drive the rebels from the garden, which about four hundred of them still continued to occupy. Some of them were on a mount thickly planted with Sir trees, which afforded them a protection, and prevented them from being seen; the remainder were intrenched behind a privet hedge. Lieutenant Tyrrell, with great gallantry, dislodged the latter, who fled to their friends on the mount.

The conflict then became very warm, the rebels appearing determined to maintain this advantageous post; and the yeomen, but few in number, though six of them were badly wounded, and the remainder were overcome with fatigue, resolved to die sooner than retreat.

Mr. Richard Allen received a ball which passed through his arm, and lodged in his side.\* At last, lieutenant Tyrrell's party, after having displayed prodigies of valour, routed the party on the mount, and drove them out of the garden; and the Northumberland and Kinnegad corps killed many of them in their flight. This victory, obtained by a handful of loyalists over a numerous body of rebels, was one of the most splendid achievements performed in the course of the rebellion. No less than one hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed, and a great many wounded.

During the engagement, the rebels plundered the houses of lieutenant Tyrrell at Kilreny, and Mr. George Tyrrell at Ballinderry, and destroyed the whole of the furniture in both.

The joy which lieutenant Tyrrell and his garrifon might have felt, on gaining so splendid a victory, was lost in their great solicitude for Mrs. Tyrrell, who had gone in her chaise to her house at Kilreny that morning, about some domestic concerns; and on hearing that the rebels were approaching, she drove back, and endeavoured to arrive at Clonard before them: But she had not gone far, before she heard the noise of musketry, which convinced her of the impossibility of accomplishing it, and therefore turned back; but was soon overtaken and stopped by two

\* He died of his wounds.

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men on horseback with drawn swords, who after many oaths and imprecations, compelled the postillion to turn about, and proceed towards Clonard: They met in their way two hundred men armed with swords, pikes and muskets, who searched the carriage for arms. Then three men, armed with muskets, mounted the boot of the chaise, and three behind it, attended by the rest, compelled the servant to drive to the other end of the village of Clonard, where they had a warm altercation about the treatment which Mrs. Tyrrell should receive; some urging that she should be treated with civility, others with brutality. At last she prevailed on them to permit her to go into a cottage, where two men armed with muskets were posted over her as sentinels. She remained there, till the whole body of them, when retreating, stopped at the cottage; and one of their officers approaching her, informed her, that she must go into her carriage, and accompany them. She implored them in the most pathetic manner to let her remain behind, and as an

inducement to do so, she offered her carriage and horses to general Perry; At first he seemed obdurate, but on her falling on her knees, he granted her request. Soon after he left her, a common fellow seized her by the arm, dragged her to the door, and said, she must attend them on horseback, as some of their wounded men must go in her chaise. She addressed herself again to the officer, who had been so kind to her before; but he said, that she must go and remain with them as a hostage, till the fate of one of their general officers, a prisoner at Clonard, was determined; but added, that she would be permitted to go in her chaise.

When they had proceeded about a mile, general Perry requested to join her in the carriage: Soon after, a low fellow stopped it, and got into it, saying, "That he had a right to it, as it was he that first obtained it and notwithstanding the rank of general Perry, he could not prevent his intrusion, nor check his insolence. At last, one Kearns, a popish priest, rode up to the carriage, and as he had been kindly and hospitably entertained at different times by Mrs. Tyrrell for a week together, she implored him to interfere in obtaining her release; but he coldly answered, by saying, "Oh! yes madam!" and having retired, she saw no more of him. At last, Mrs. Tyrrell was liberated by a captain Byrne,\* and permitted to return to her family at Clonard, but on foot.

\* This was Mr. Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, who afterwards obtained his pardon on surrendering himself.

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The rebels, after their defeat, retreated to Carbery, where they got possession of lord Harberton's house, which they plundered of various articles, and passed the night in drinking what liquors they found in his lordship's cellars.

On the twelfth of July, they marched into the county of Meath, by Johnstown and the Nineteen-mile house: They were pursued by colonel Gough, who, with but sixty infantry and twenty cavalry, attacked and routed them with considerable slaughter. They were next pursued by general Myers, with detachments of the Dublin yeomanry and Buckinghamshire militia, and though he was not so fortunate as to overtake them, he drove them towards Slane, where general Meyrick encountered and killed many of them. They were afterwards attacked by different detachments of the military, who in the course of a few days cut off great numbers of them, and finally dispersed them.

Perry and Kearns made their escape into the King's county, where attempting to cross a bog near Clonballogue, they were apprehended by Messrs. Robinson and Ridgeway, of the Edenderry yeomen, who conveyed them to that town, where they were tried and executed by martial law. Perry was cheerful and communicative, acknowledged the part he had taken in the rebellion, and seemed to glory in it. Kearns was fullen and silent, except when he upbraided Perry for his candour in frankly confessing his guilt.

This reverend gentleman was at Paris in the year 1794, when in the administration of Roberfpierre [sic], the French were extirpating the Romish clergy. He was actually hung up at Paris, but the weight of his body (as he was of a huge stature) bent the iron of a lamp-post to which he was suspended so much, that his toes touched the ground, and prevented animal life from being extinguished. An Irish physician, who perceived this, had him conveyed to his house, and recovered him. Having fled to his native country, he was appointed curate of a chapel near Clonard. From the vehemence with which he unremittingly inveighed against French republican principles, and the warm encomiums which he bestowed on our constitution, he was regarded as a steady loyalist, and a good subject; in consequence of which he was well received, and even at times domesticated in the houses of some of the most respectable gentlemen in the counties of Meath, Kildare, and the King's county.

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As the defenders were at that time formidable in those counties, he was not only admitted to the conferences of the magistrates, but even assisted them in their nightly patrols against those miscreants.

It having been discovered that he betrayed the counsels of the magistrates to the rebels, he was excluded from their conferences; and positive information having been received, that he had incited some persons to commit a murder, he fled into the county of Wexford, where he became a rebel leader.

On Sunday morning the second of June, intelligence having been received, that a number of rebels had appeared in force near the Scalp and Enniskerry, in the county of Wicklow, the drums beat to arms, and in less than three hours, a large body of yeomen, consisting of detachments from the Stephen's-green and Rotunda divisions, the Lawyers and Attornies cavalry and infantry, with their usual spirit and alacrity set out to meet the insurgents, under the command of general Myers.

On June the ninth, a detachment of captain Beresford's corps patrolling near Rathfarnham, came up with a party of rebels who were on their way from Dublin to the Wicklow mountains, conveying ammunition to the banditti who infested them. They were armed, and had a green flag and green cockades in their hats. Three or four of them were killed, and three who had acted with singular treachery by firing after they had surrendered themselves, were hanged at Rathfarnham; five more were led into town as prisoners.

A numerous body of rebels who escaped from Vinegar-hill retreated into the county of Kilkenny, under the command of father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, by the Scullagh gap,\* and thence they proceeded to Cattlecomer, destroying the houses and property of protestants, and murdering such of their inhabitants as fell into their hands.

Lieutenant Dixon, of the Wexford regiment, was stationed at Gore's-bridge,|| a neat village on the river Barrow, and county of Kilkenny, with twenty-five of his own regiment, and a small party of the 4th dragoon guards.

On the twenty-second of June, they received intelligence that father John Murphy's column was in motion, and on that night they burned

\* Plate n. 6, 7, 8. || Ibid.

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the village of Kil Edmond. An express was sent to Sir Charles Apgill, to Kilkenny, escorted by all the dragoons quartered at Gore's-bridge, to inform him of their movements; but as the hedges at each side the road were thickly beset with rebels, who kept up a constant fire on them, they were under the necessity of returning. This was towards the morning of the twenty-third. Lieutenant Dixon being determined to protect the village of Gore's-bridge, and to prevent it from sharing the fate of Kil Edmond, stationed his men on the bridge, which crosses the river, not suspecting that the main body of the rebels were near him. He had no sooner taken his post, than he saw the adjacent hills covered with them, and at the same time saw a column, of which he could not discover the extent, move along the road from Kil Edmond. Not knowing that the river was fordable, which it happened to be in many places, he thought there might be a possibility to maintain his position till a reinforcement should arrive; but he soon perceived their intention to surround him, having crossed over the river for that purpose, and that they meant to break and embarrass his party, by driving a number of cattle against them, which they were collecting in the adjacent fields; a common expedient among the rebels. Wishing to provide against this artifice, he procured a number of cars, and made a barricade of them in his front.

But he soon perceived from the greatness of their numbers, and the smart fire the rebels kept up, that they had no other resource but to retreat. Besides, the rebels had brought a swivel to bear on the bridge, and had also planted some large pieces of cannon in a commanding situation. When they had retreated to Low Grange, they were surrounded by the rebels, who assured them, they should receive no injury if they laid down their arms. At that moment, lieutenant Dixon was so fortunate as to make his escape, having mounted behind a quartermaster of dragoons, who was retreating; and at the same time he heard the rebels exclaim, "Have we got the officer?" The rebels then proceeded to Kellymount, where they put nine of their Protestant prisoners to death, with circumstances of savage cruelty.

It appeared by the joint information of the soldiers who escaped, sworn before lieutenant-colonel Ram, that the following circumstances attended the murder of the soldiers: That Walter Devereux, who said

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he was commander in chief in the absence of the general, (meaning father John Murphy,) ordered the Protestant prisoners to be selected from the rest; and they were pointed out by one of their own soldiers, of the name of Bruton, of the Romish persuasion: They were surrounded by a circle of about eight thousand rebels, when Devereux ordered corporal Orange to be dragged out of the circle and shot, having said, insultingly to him, "Orange by name, and Orange by nature."

They proceeded in the same manner to put to death six of the Wexford regiment, and two dragoons: That they remained prisoners with them till the twenty-sixth of June, when the rebels were routed with great slaughter at Kilcomney, near Gore's-bridge, where the Wexford soldiers made their escape: That while they remained prisoners with the rebels, they had no other food but raw meat and water.

Walter Devereux had been principally concerned in the massacre at Scullabogue, and yet he remained unnoticed till the month of November, 1798, when being on the point of embarking on board a ship at the Cove of Cork, to sail for America, he was fortunately recognized by some of the Wexford soldiers, who had been his prisoners, was apprehended, and afterwards hanged. When arrested, he had the protections of five general officers.

The rebels, in their progress to Castletown,\* massacred two more of the Wexford soldiers.

The prisoners declared, that they received the most savage treatment from this band of traitors. Half starved, and overcome with fatigue, they were hurried on precipitately without rest, except when their priests stopped for a few minutes to say mass; which they frequently did, for the purpose of kindling fanaticism in them, as their courage emanated from no other source, and as it never failed to animate them, even when overcome with the want of food and sleep.

On Saturday morning the twenty-third of June, a man arrived at Kilkenny, and informed Sir Charles Apgill, that he had been taken prisoner by the rebels at Gorey, and had been obliged to repair with them to their camp at Vinegar-hill; that he had been compelled to attend a numerous body of them, thirty thousand in number, as he believed, who had fled from thence, and who under the command of father John Murphy had marched into the county of Kilkenny, through the Scullagh-gap, and that he was

\* Plate I. 8, 9.

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detained by them till that morning, when he made his escape; on which Sir Charles Apgill ordered the garrison under arms, and marched from Kilkenny in pursuit of the rebels, between eight and nine o'clock; and having proceeded about three miles, in the line where the rebels were supposed to be, he halted, and called the honourable viscount Loftus and the honourable

colonel Howard, whose regiments were on that service, and conferred with them and the other field officers on the plan which he intended to adopt.

On deliberation, they concluded it would be imprudent to proceed farther, without knowing the number of the enemy, and the route they had taken, as Sir Charles had left in Kilkenny a large quantity of ammunition, and had well-grounded apprehensions that its disaffected inhabitants only waited for an opportunity of rising; besides, should he miss the rebels in pursuing them, they might have slipped by him and come to Kilkenny, and have plundered and burnt it in his absence. He had sent, in the mean time, major Lawder, a gallant and intelligent officer, with a party of dragoons across the country towards Leighlin-bridge, to reconnoitre the rebels, and bring intelligence of their movements. Just before he returned, the wives of some of the men who had been taken by the rebels at Gore's-bridge, and had escaped, arrived, and informed him of their position, and of their numbers, which appeared to have been much less than he imagined; and soon after major Lawder arrived, and confirmed their account. On this he ordered the troops to move forward to Kellymount, but they had quitted it, and proceeded towards Castletomer.

As the troops had been fighting and under arms all day, he returned to Kilkenny, after he had sent a large detachment of the cavalry to reconnoitre them; and they having approached very near the rebels, would have attacked them, but that a bog happened to intervene.

I shall now proceed to describe the progress of the Wexford rebels, who found in the county of Kilkenny the popish multitude as much disaffected as themselves. The town of Castletomer being contiguous to extensive collieries, it was to be apprehended that the persons who worked in them would be very susceptible of being infected with the doctrines of united Irishmen, as they are under little or no control of their employers, as they are led, from the nature of their laborious occupations, to use strong

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liquors, and they are more prone to turbulence, discontent, and combination, than any other set of men.

#### ATROCITIES COMMITTED AT CASTLECOMER AND IN ITS VICINITY.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, the colliers first appeared in arms, and attacked the barrack of Doonane, (about three miles from Castletomer,) in which there was a company of the Waterford militia. The object of the rebels was, it is said, after taking the barrack, and putting all the loyalists to death, to march to Carlow, and join the body destined for the attack of that town. It unfortunately happened, that most of the Waterford were billeted through the village of Doonane; however, the few that were in the barrack, though taken by surprise, completely beat the rebels off, consisting of at least seven hundred men. Several of the soldiers turned out of the barrack in their shirts, and kept up a smart fire for a few minutes, when the rebels fled precipitately. As they carried with them their killed and wounded, it never was ascertained how many fell in that action.

The honourable James Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond, who commanded the Faffaghdineen yeomen cavalry, as soon as he got intelligence of the attack on Doonane, collected as many of his corps as were near the town of Castletomer; and, together with a detachment of the Waterford militia then quartered in the town, marched with the utmost speed to the relief of Doonane; however, too late to come up with the rebels, who by that time had gained the mountains, and were dispersing.

It providentially happened, that the protestants of Castletomer were not attacked that night, while the garrison had marched to Doonane; as they must have inevitably fallen a sacrifice to

their savage fury. Had they succeeded in the attempt on the barrack of Doonane, they would unquestionably have afterwards attacked the town.

On the twenty-fourth of May, captain Butler's yeoman corps was ordered on permanent duty; and the day after a troop of the 5th, or Royal Irish dragoons, under the command of captain Green, marched in, to strengthen the garrison. With this reinforcement, they conceived themselves tolerably secure.

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Early in the month of June, Sir Charles Apgill received information against several of the Faffaghdineen cavalry, as rebels, and in consequence seven of them, all papists, were lodged in Kilkenny gaol. The people of the neighbourhood continued to give up their pikes, and to take oaths of allegiance, in order to lull the magistrates and protestant inhabitants into a false and fatal security.

They were frequently alarmed by reports of the rebels coming to attack them, and the garrison were several nights under arms; but those reports were generally occasioned by ill-grounded apprehensions. The minds of the people were in such a state, that any unusual noise at night occasioned infinite alarm. However, at length they heard that a body of rebels, who escaped from Wexford, were making their way to that country, in order to join the colliers, and then proceed to attack Kilkenny.

In the course of Saturday the twenty-third, several loyalists from the mountains, between Cattlecomer and Leighlin-bridge, brought intelligence, that the rebels were bending their course that way. They still remained in heedless security. They had often been alarmed by false reports, that they would not now believe the approaching danger, though each successive express strengthened the former; and though a poor man who was most dreadfully mangled and left for dead by the rebel advance-guard was brought into the town, to have his wounds dressed. It is impossible to describe the distressing scene which on that evening presented itself, all the protestants with their families flying from the mountains and the colliery. For several hours the roads were crowded with those unfortunate fugitives, with infancy and decrepitude in their train, dreading the spirit of fanaticism.

On Saturday night the garrison was reinforced by a troop of the 4th dragoons, a company of the Waterford militia from Doonane, a company of the Downshire, twenty of the Cullinagh infantry, and forty of the Cullinagh cavalry, so that the whole might consist of nearly three hundred, but being mostly cavalry, they were not at all calculated for that country, where the ground is much broken up with colliery pits. That night, the rebels fled to a place about five miles from Cattlecomer, on a ridge of mountains, near Leighlin-bridge.

Among the loyalists who fled from the colliery and the adjacent country, there were about one hundred who had arms, but very little ammunition.

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They were ordered out in different parties, to watch the movements of the rebels, many of them with not more than six rounds of cartridge. The whole force was drawn separate on the bridge, and in the main street; and a reconnoitring party, consisting of one hundred men, were sent out about four o'clock in the morning, to watch the rebels' motions. There was such an immense fog early on Sunday morning, that it was utterly impossible to discern objects at twenty yards distance.

About four o'clock, the rebels arrived at a place called Gurteen, near three miles from Cattlecomer,\* where they heard mass. It being St. John's day, they had prayers again about two miles off, where they halted. They had proceeded under cover of the fog, so that the troops who

were sent to reconnoitre, were fired on before they could see them. At length the fog began to disperse a little, which opened to the astonished troops a view of not less than from eight to ten thousand rebels, those armed with muskets in the front, the pikemen in the rear. The main body had halted on the road, and two wings were extending themselves on each side; the whole formed a crescent. In order to understand the perilous situation of our troops, it is necessary to observe, that for nearly two miles of the road to the town of Castletown there is a long range of wall on each side; and about half a mile of it is planted. While the fog was so thick, the troops could not perceive that the wings of the rebel army had considerably spread themselves, and were advancing in a smart trot, to surround the town, while the main body remained stationed in the road; so that when captain Green, judging from their numbers that all resistance was fruitless, ordered a retreat; and the rebels who had got before them, and lined the walls, kept up a smart fire on them. The retreat was very disorderly; and many of the infantry were overturned by the cavalry, and left exposed to the rebels fire.

An instance of uncommon audacity occurred within a few paces of the town: A rebel captain, with a green sash, rushed out from a bye road on horseback, and accosting captain Butler, at the head of his corps, desired him to surrender, and that he, his men, and the town should be saved. Captain Butley missing fire at him, the rebel wheeled about, fired without effect, and was shot by a yeoman within a few yards of the rebel army.

Plate I. 8, 9,

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The retreat of our troops had not been so precipitate, but that many of the rebels had rushed to the bridge, almost as soon as the soldiers; but with such a confused rapidity did the retreating party gallop into the town, overturning every thing before them, that the rest of our force that was posted on the bridge joined the throng, and fled up the street. A very few of the Waterford and Downshire militia kept their ground on the bridge for a few minutes, killed several rebels, and gave the whole a check. At length they took refuge in four houses which were next to, and completely flanked the bridge and, together with a few loyalists of the town, kept up a warm fire from the houses. The right wing of the rebels forded the river above the town, and being joined by the traitorous inhabitants, set fire to the suburbs.

The perilous situation of the loyal few in those houses already mentioned, can be better imagined than described; the bridge crowded with rebels, yelling with rage, crying out for blood, and not a soldier to oppose them: the back-houses all on fire. Here, amidst surrounding flames, and to the very breasts of the rebels, might be seen the gallant captain Butler, single and unsupported, riding down the street, within a few yards of the rebels, endeavouring to rally the scattered force, calling them back in words that would animate the dead. Amidst balls thick as hail, twice did he ride up and down the street, with an heroic intrepidity, as laudable as it was unavailing. And now commenced a very sharp, but ill-directed fire from the rebels on the bridge, which was as warmly and more effectually answered from the houses; for three hours and a half this fire was kept up, and not a rebel was suffered to cross the bridge alive. At length when their ammunition was almost expended, general father Murphy, who had kept aloof from the heat of the action, near the church, where they tried their prisoners, sent a black servant of the countess of Ormond, whom they had taken prisoner, to inform those who fired from the houses, "That if they marched out with their hats on the top of their guns, their lives should be saved; that it was in vain to resist any longer, as he expected a reinforcement from Ballyragget immediately." They detained his ambassador for some time, and at length sent the reverend general word, that they would submit if he would, by the same messenger, send them a written assurance of mercy. This they did to gain time; and soon after they observed the troops from Kilkenny lining the

hills, and taking their positions to attack the rebels. General Sir Charles Apgill with nine hundred men, went to their relief, and a few rounds of grape-shot soon dislodged the rebels, who retreated the way they came, in a slow pace, and in, an irregular manner.

When Sir Charles arrived near the town, he sent a detachment of the Wexford, under lieutenant-colonel Ram, (which were soon joined by the grenadiers of the Wicklow) and a party of cavalry, to take post on a bridge contiguous to it, and on the Doonane side of it; and after firing a few rounds of grape into Caillecomer, they marched into it. At that time the rebels, a few stragglers excepted, had abandoned it; but two of them, who remained under the bridge, fired up the street several times, and wounded two of the Wicklow regiment. Lady Ormond's mansion, and several other houses in the town were then in a blaze; and the heat was so great, that the bombardier of the Wicklow regiment requested that Sir Charles would change his position, as he was afraid that the guns might go off; upon which he took post on an eminence which commanded the town.

The family of Mr. Kane, agent to lady Ormond, had been in a deplorable state. The females had been prisoners in their own house, which the rebels locked up and set on fire; and they retired to the cellar to avoid the flames, but the troops arrived and liberated them before it was consumed. They had taken Mr. Kane prisoner, and carried him before father Murphy, who continued in the body of the church, trying, as orangemen, such protestants as they had taken prisoners; and two of whom they massacred before Sir Charles arrived. He tried and would have had Mr. Kane put to death as an orangeman, but that some poor women of the colliery by their tears and entreaties (as he is a gentleman of great humanity); prevailed on the reverend general to let him escape.

Sir Charles, having taken an elevated position, pointed his guns so as to rake the woods, in which he killed a good many of the rebels, who composed the rear guard of the main body, at that time two miles out of the town, and supposed to be between six and seven thousand men.

As Sir Charles Apgill returned to Kilkenny without leaving a soldier in Caillecomer, the protestants were obliged to desert their houses, and leave them and their property to the mercy of those, of whom they soon found they had formed but too just suspicions. To remain in the town,

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without military protection or ammunition, would surely have been madmen; for at the time of the general's orders to return, the rear of the rebel army was still in view.

I shall not attempt, for I could not describe, the heart-breaking sight of all the protestants quitting their homes. The whole road, from Caillecomer to Kilkenny, was one continued and melancholy train of fugitives, men, women and children, who but a few hours before were possessed of peace and comfort, now outcasts from their houses, seeking an asylum among strangers, from the merciless hands of their popish neighbours. That evening the rebels of the town burned every loyalist's house; infuriated with the plunder of lady Ormond's cellar, they committed every excess. From Sunday to Thursday those savages rioted in the pillage of the town, when at length Sir Charles Apgill, on the twenty-eighth of June, sent a party of the Glangary fencibles and the Faffaghineen cavalry, who surprised them in the midst of their excesses, and killed about twenty-four and took several prisoners, from whose confession it appeared, that a party of Caillecomer rebels, all Roman catholics, had gone to meet the Wexford army, on Friday the twenty-second, and induced them to come on to attack it. Most of these have since been hanged or transported.

It would be tedious to mention the several instances of atrocity which occurred at that time in Caillecomer and its vicinity: I shall, however, subjoin a few undoubted facts, which are well known.

On Sunday morning the twenty-fourth of June, James Anderfon, who was a vidette in the colliery, was met by the advance-guard of the rebels, as he was returning from his watch, not fufpecting that the rebels were in the neighbourhood. They afked him if he was a *chriitian*; on anfwering that he was, they defired him to *blefs himfelf* as a proof of it. This he could not do; they then dragged him into a houfe on the road fide, drove a pike through him, under his arms, raifed him up from the ground on their pikes, and ftabbing him under the ear, bled him like a pig, in a crock which had milk in it. He was a quiet, inoffenfive man. He was not an orangeman, but, what is the fame in the eyes of the rebels, a proteftant.

An inftance occurred, which very ftrongly marks the defigns and fentiments of the rebels: A poor man of the name of Coogan, was purfued by a party of rebels through lady Ormond's plantation; he

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was overtaken, and moft miferably mangled with pikes; when almoft expiring, he begged of them to fend for the prieft. They curfed him for a ftupid vagabond, that he did not tell them at firft he was a chriitian,\* and they would not have ufed him fo. This poor man luckily furvived to tell the ftory.

Arthur Williams, a quiet induftrious tradefman, was taken prifoner in Mr. Kane's houfe in Caftlecomer, and was brought to the church, and then was on the point of being fhot, when the army appearing in view, they took him with them to Wolf's-hill, where his diftrafted wife followed him, and endeavoured to have him faved by the interference of a rebel captain; but as father Murphy was not then on the fpot, he could not be releafed.

The Downfhire militia from Maryborough appearing at a diftance, the whole rebel army moved off about feven o'clock in the evening (Sunday) to Doonane, and thence to the Ridge, bringing Williams along with them. Here they put him on his knees, and in the act of prayer, they run him through with pikes, and then fhot his face almoft off. This happened on Monday morning; his wife could not find him till Saturday after, when fhe difcovered him in a lonely part of the mountain, two miles off the road, fo diffigured, that fhe could fcarce recognife him: He was not an orangeman.

Two men of the name of Conn and Salter, having taken refuge in Caftlecomer the night before the attack, brought their families with them. In the buftle and confufion of the engagement they were feperated from their wives and children: When the action was over, anxiously looking for their families, they met a man who had been a fervant for many years to the former, (Conn,) who told them that he would fhew them where their wives and children were; when bringing them about two miles from the town, collecting near twenty rebels, and fnatching a gun from his old mafter's hand, he fhot him almoft in the prefence of his wife, and then they piked both him and Salter: They buried them immediately; the latter not quite dead: They then took the bodies up, fcooped out Salter's eyes, and buried them in a place where they could never fince be found.

\* Meaning thereby a papift.

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William Bradley, his daughter Catherine Nesbitt, and nephew David Leycock, going from their houfe on Wednefday the twenty-feventh of June acrofs the hills, in order to reach Kilkenny, were purfued by a party of Caftlecomer rebels, robbed and barbaroufly murdered: The woman was pregnant. Their bodies were not difcovered until the Chriftmas after. Neither Bradley or Leycock were orangemen.

The county of Wexford rebels, after having burned Cattlecomer, encamped within four miles of Athy, intending to attack it next morning, and thence to have joined Doorly, the traitorous yeoman and affaffin of Rathangan, and William Aylmer at Prosperous.

General Dunn, at that time quartered at Monaftereven, hearing the perilous situation of Athy,\* with that spirit which he displayed on all occasions, flew to its assistance, with a six-pounder and one hundred of the city of Cork militia. His arrival gave such spirit to the yeomanry, that they only wished to be led against their enemies. The general selected one hundred of the yeomen, in addition to the city of Cork detachment, and conscious of the goodness of his cause, at twelve o'clock at night marched to the attack of the rebel camp. His intentions, were frustrated, as the moment he arrived at Athy, the reverend Mr. K——, a popish priest, was seen posting to the rebel camp with great expedition, to inform them of the intended attack.

When the general arrived there, he found it had been deserted at an early hour in the night, and that they had retraced their steps. He pursued them for many miles without any success, except that in flying from him, they fell into the track of the gallant major Mathews of the Downshire, who, with four hundred men, pursued them; and having apprised Sir Charles Apgill of it, he joined in the pursuit, overtook them at Kilcomney, near Gore's-bridge, and completely defeated them.

A body of troops having marched from Maryborough, on the twenty-fourth of June, by order of Sir Charles Apgill, for the purpose of cooperating with, him, proceeded towards the collieries of Cattlecomer and Doonane, and on the road they saw Cattlecomer on fire, after Sir Charles Apgill had retreated from it to Kilkenny; they consisted of four hundred of the Royal Downshire militia, commanded by major Mathews, captain Poole, with the Ballyfin yeomen cavalry, and captain Gore, with the Maryborough corps.

\* Plate I. 8.

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As soon as they arrived at Moyad, they saw the rebels under father Murphy in great force, on the high grounds above Doonane. As it was late in the day, they resolved on retiring to Timohoe, and to attack them early next morning. Soon after they received an express from Sir Charles Apgill, desiring them to return to Maryborough; but they answered, by proposing to him to attack the rebels next morning on the Doonane side, and that they would attack them on the road from Timohoe in the opposite direction: Sir Charles answered them next morning, at seven o'clock, by saying that his troops were too much fatigued to co-operate with them, but that they might engage the rebels, should circumstances prove favourable for that purpose.

They then returned to Moyad, with an intention of attacking the rebels next day; but the cavalry who were sent out to reconnoitre, having brought intelligence that the rebels had retreated to the bridge of Old Leighlin, they again pursued them, but were disappointed in their design of bringing them to action, as they had marched to Gore's-bridge. The cavalry having proceeded to Old Leighlin,\* captain Poole sent an express to Sir Charles Apgill of the enemy's motions, and of their intention of attacking them the first opportunity that offered. At Old Leighlin they met Mr. Vigors, an active and intelligent officer, who had retired from the service; and he supplied them with a number of cars to carry their men, as some of them were overcome with hunger and excess of fatigue; and he also accompanied them to the scene of action, giving them at the same time his advice, and every assistance in his power.

About twelve o'clock at night, they arrived at Leighlin-bridge, and in two hours after received an express from Sir Charles Apgill, desiring them to meet him at Gore's-bridge, at five o'clock in the morning. They instantly marched in pursuit of the rebels; but soon after, major Mathews having received intelligence that they had bent their course towards the mountains, changed his

route for the purpose of intercepting them; and sent intelligence of his design to Sir Charles Afgill, by Mr. Moore, colonel of Leighlin, who, with his brother, Mr. Pierce Moore, attended them, and to whose advice and assistance major Mathews attributed their having intercepted and overtaken the enemy.

After a march of three hours, they came in fight of the rebels posted in Kilcomney-hill, near Gore's-bridge,<sup>‡</sup> and fired some cannon shot at

\* Plate II. 3, 4.   ‡ibid. 6.

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them, on which they retired about a mile and a half, to form their line. Our troops followed them in column, with the cannon in front, and the cavalry in the rear. They no sooner formed, than they heard Sir Charles Afgill's cannon on the other side of the hill. After a few discharges of our artillery, the rebels were broken and fled, and our troops continued to pursue them for six miles with great slaughter.

All their cannon, baggage, horses, stores and provisions, fell into our hands, and some unfortunate soldiers and Protestants, who happened to be their prisoners, were retaken. The remainder of the rebels fled into the county of Wexford, through the Scullagh-gap.

Father John Murphy, a priest, who acted as aid-de-camp to the great sacerdotal hero John Murphy, of Boulavogue, and who had accompanied him from Vinegar-hill, fell in this action. He had a dove and a crucifix on his buttons; and letters directed to him were found in his pocket, recommending to him proper places for encamping.

Father John Murphy, the commander in chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken at an alehouse by three yeomen, one of them, of the name of McCabe, and was led a prisoner to Tullow,\* the headquarters of Sir James Duff. He was introduced into a room where the general, his aid-de-camps, colonels Foster and Pigot, the earl of Roden, captain McClintock, and in all about twenty officers were sitting. Major Hall having asked him some questions which gave him offence, he in a violent rage made a blow of his fist at the major, which would have knocked him down, but that he warded it off with his arm, on which he received a severe contusion. On searching him, they found in his pockets his vestments, and some letters from Mrs. Richards and other ladies prisoners at Wexford, imploring him to save the lives of their husbands and relations. He was hanged on the same day. His body was burned, and his head was fixed on the market-house of Tullow. He was about, forty-five years old, light complexioned, bald-pated, and about five feet nine inches high; He was well made, uniting strength and agility: He was irascible, and when in a passion, had somewhat the aspect of a tiger. His pipe, his oil flask, and a small crucifix were found in his pocket.

In order to do away in some degree the stain which his infamous conduct might bring on the Irish priesthood, it has been sedulously propagated that he was excommunicated; but this is absolutely false, for he

\* Plate II. 1, 2.

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continued to exercise his clerical function, and was regarded as a pious and learned priest, till the breaking-out of the rebellion; when,

“He did so ill translate himself,  
Out of the speech of peace that bears such grace,  
Into the harsh and boisterous tongue of war,  
Turning his books to glaives, his ink to blood,

His pens to lances; and his tongue divine  
To a loud trumpet, and a point of war.”

—Shakspeare

It is no less singular than true, that the lower classes of Irish papists never think that their priests can suffer any stain or contamination from the commission of crimes, how heinous soever; just as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego remained uninjured from the flames.

Father Nicholas Sheehy is added to the bead roll of their saints; and I need not give any other proof of the reverence in which the memory of that famous sacerdotal hero, John Murphy, is held, than the following:

A piece of superstitious trumpery is now printed by William Jones, No. 75, Thomas-street, Dublin, entitled, “Revelations revealed to saint Augustine, saint Bridget, and saint Anne, by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” The second part of it is said to explain the twelve golden Fridays in the year; and the devotions, together with some solitary acts, by the late reverend father John Murphy, D.D. In this he points out the number of pater naves that are to be said each golden Friday, and on certain holy days; and it is stated in it, “That what man or woman soever shall carry it about them, shall be not only free from our enemies, but also from a sudden and unprovided death; and if any woman travelling with child, shall wear it about her, she shall be not only safely delivered, but likewise be free from the fear of death in child-bed; and what house or place it is kept in, shall be free from evil spirits; to him or her who shall carry it about them, the blessed Virgin shall appear to forewarn them of their future blessed fate: The devil shall have no power over them at their last hour: They shall see our blessed Saviour nailed to the crosses, (in the same manner as he suffered for our redemption,) before their death.”

This curious piece is in the hands of the popular multitude in the county of Wexford, who regard this church militant hero as a martyr in the cause of French republican liberty and religion.

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#### EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

1. Where the rebel columns from Ballyclare and Templepatrick joined.
2. The rebels in close column with a six-pounder in front, when the curried guns under lieutenant Neville opened their fire on them.
3. Lieutenant Neville, with two six-pounders, flanked by the yeomanry and dragoons under colonel Lumley firing on the rebels.
4. Colonel Lumley charging the rebels after passing the church-yard.
5. The church-yard lined with rebels, who are represented by the dotted lines, firing on the dragoons, charging as they passed, and among whom they did great execution.
6. The guns under lieutenant Neville, after retreating from No. 3, firing on the second column of the rebels advancing up Bow-lane.
7. The second rebel column.
8. The dragoons, after charging, drawn up under the dead wall of lord Maffareene's garden, and covered on their left flank by a demi bastion.
9. The yeomanry firing over the wall on the rebels who attempted to get possession of the guns at No. 6, after the artillery had abandoned them, and the dragoons had retreated across the river.
10. The watering-place over which the dragoons retreated.
11. The entrance to lord Maflareene's court, the dotted lines from it, represent the road the yeomanry retreated to take post in the garden where they could only be attacked by the narrow walk through which they got in.
12. Lord Maflareene's castle.
13. Lord Maflareene's domain.
14. Lord Maflareene's walled garden.
15. The Six-mile water.

16. Colonel Durham with the Monaghan militia, and captain Coulfon of the artillery, firing on the rebels retreating by the Ballymena road.
17. The light battalion from Blaris camp under colonel Clavering drawn up.
18. Distillery.
19. Barracks.
20. Doctor Macartney's.
21. Flour-mills.
22. Market-house with the prisoners.
23. Little guard-house, behind which lord O'Neil was killed.
34. The rebel reserve column under colonel Orr.

A Map of the Town of Antrim [folding map, facing p.546].

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### THE BATTLE OF ANTRIM.

The conspiracy had been more alarming in the north than in any other part of the kingdom, as numbers of presbyterians concerned in it there had more improved intellects, more courage, and knew better the life of arms, than the inhabitants of Leinster and Munster; but the conciliatory measures used by government had detached numbers from the union, and the salutary coercion used by the general officers in disarming the multitude, abated the spirit of the conspirators, by diminishing their hopes of success.

For these reasons we may suppose, the conspiracy did not break out in the North for some days after it exploded in the province of Leinster. Though the detention of the mail coaches had been the signal for a general insurrection, the presbyterians, wary and cautious, hesitated to rise, till they had heard that their friends in the south were actually in arms, and yet had made preparations for that purpose; but in Leinster, the war being purely religious, and the people being blinded by fanaticism; and impelled by the irresistible influence of their priests, rushed into action on the night of the twenty-third of May, appointed for the general rising.

Lord O'Neil, who resided at Shane's-castle in the county of Antrim, having received certain intelligence that an insurrection was shortly intended, as governor of the county, summoned by public notice the magistrates of it, to meet at Antrim, on the seventh of June, 1798, for the purpose of concerting measures to prevent it. To counteract his design, the leaders of the conspiracy resolved to bring forward the rising on that day, to attack the town of Antrim, to seize his lordship and the magistrates, and to keep them as hostages; and they intended at the same time to have seized a quantity of arms surrendered at different times, which were deposited in that town.

General Nugent, having received intelligence of their intentions, sent orders to Blaris camp for the second light battalion, consisting of the 64th regiment, and the light companies of the Kerry, Dublin, Tipperary, Armagh, and Monaghan militia, and one hundred and fifty of the 22d light dragoons, with two currie six-pounders, and two five and a half inch howitzers, to march to Antrim with all possible dispatch; and two hundred

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and fifty of the Monaghan militia, a troop of the 22d light dragoons, and the Belfast cavalry, under the command of colonel Durham, to march to Antrim, by Carmoney and Templepatrick; and the light battalion from Blaris, commanded by colonel Clavering, and the dragoons by the honourable colonel Lumley. He also dispatched orderly sergeants to major Seddon at Antrim, to inform him of the intended attack, and of the reinforcements which were going to his assistance.

The orderlies arrived at Antrim at nine o'clock, but did not perceive any extraordinary movement in the country, or any indication of insurrection. However, the drums immediately beat to arms, the yeomanry assembled in a short time, and the inhabitants of the town were called on to turn out in its defence. In sending the summons through the town, it was discovered that all the notorious united Irishmen had left it early in the morning, which convinced major Seddon that general Nugent's information was well founded. Of four hundred men, capable of bearing arms, two hundred turned out on the occasion; but they could be supplied with no more than eighty stand of arms, as there were no more serviceable; and there was so great a scarcity of ammunition, that after borrowing eight hundred rounds from major Seddon, the yeomanry had but twelve rounds a man, and those who volunteered but five.

About ten o'clock, many persons came in from different parts of the country, with intelligence that the rebels were forcing great numbers to join them, and that the minds of the people were in motion.

At twelve o'clock, James Stewart Moore, esquire, captain of the Dunfavourick cavalry, and Mr. Gamble, lieutenant of the same, with fifteen men, came into Antrim from Ballymena, after having cut their way through about two hundred rebels near Kells: Both these gentlemen were magistrates.

Lord O'Neil fled at Hillborough the night of the sixth of June, on his way from Dublin to Antrim, and passed through Lifford at ten o'clock in the morning of the seventh, without being known, and got to Antrim at half past twelve. He did not perceive any movement in the country, though his servants, who were about ten minutes after him, were robbed of their arms by the rebels. Had lord O'Neil been known in Lifford, he would have been prevented from proceeding, as general Nugent had sent

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orders to have the intended rising communicated to all the magistrates in that neighbourhood, and to prevent them from going to Antrim.

The plan of the rebels was, to advance with four columns, one from the district between Antrim and Belfast, and to enter the town by the Belfast road;\* the second from Ballynure, Ballyclare and Doagh, to enter by the Carrickfergus road, and join the Belfast column at the end of the Scotch quarter; a third from Connor, Kells, and Ballymena, and to enter it by Paty's-lane; a fourth from Shane's-castle, Randalstown, and Dunoilty, to enter by Bow-lane. The three first columns were to make their attack at half past two o'clock; and at the same moment, the fourth, under the command of colonel Samuel Orr, brother to the famous William Orr, was to make its attack a few minutes after. The two first columns reached the end of the Scots quarter, just as the advanced guard of our second battalion was coming over the bridge from Lifford, which is at right angles with the main street, and nearly the centre of the town.

The advanced guard was commanded by the honourable colonel Lumley, and consisted of one hundred of the 22d light dragoons, and two carriage guns, which opened with great shot from the centre of the main street, opposite the bridge, and were flanked by the yeomanry. The cavalry were drawn up in the rear.

The town of Antrim is nearly a mile long, and that space from the Scotch quarter to the market-house, is about two-thirds of its length, and nearly a straight line. The main street is a continuation of the Scots quarter\* and is at right angles with the wall of lord Maffareene's garden, which is about forty yards from the market-house, and lies nearly in the centre of the street. The wall of the garden completely commands the main street, and the entrance to the market-house, which is a square building, supported by stone pillars, and very difficult to set fire to. The guard-house was there, and a number of prisoners confined in it. There was a second

wall at right angles with the garden wall, which flanks it, and commands Bow-lane. The two walls are joined with each other, and with one part of an old fortification. The wall is about fifteen feet high towards the street, and being but four feet high on the garden side, forms a good parapet or breast-work. The church is about half way between the market-house and the end of the Scots quarter. It is built on a rising ground, and is

\* See Plate IX.

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surrounded by a wall, which is about eight feet high Towards the street, and four on the inside. The church is nearly in a line with the houses on one side of the Scots quarter, and part of the wall is parallel to the houses at the opposite side, and the distance between it and the houses is about twelve yards.

The church is about seventy yards from Maffareene-bridge, where the guns began to play on the rebels, who were at that time about seventy yards above the church, advancing from the upper part of the Scots quarter, in a close column of about twenty-two in front, and about four thousand strong. Their front was composed of about eight hundred musketeers, who were excellent marksmen. Whenever, they came within fight of the dragoons and yeomanry, they commenced street firing, and by the time they came within one hundred and fifty yards; of the army, they filed to the rear. Their six-pounder\* was then in front; with which they fired two rounds of grape shot, and did great execution, having killed and wounded three yeomen, two artillery men, and four or five dragoons. The recoil of the second shot disabled the gun so much, that they could not fire any more. The first shot from our carriage guns; did such great execution, that the rebels perceived. they could not advance without immense loss. However, their musketeers pressed on, and got possession of the churchyard, from whence they maintained a heavy fire.

The greater part of the pikemen went across the fields, and formed in ' Bow-lane, to take our army in the rear, which being perceived, the gunners were ordered to retreat under lord Maffareene's wall, where the guns could play on the rebels advancing up that lane; and at the same time the dragoons were ordered to charge, in order to cover the retreat of the guns: but before they could reach the rebel column, they had to pass the church-yard, within four or five yards of the rebel musketry, planted in. very close behind, the wall. About eighty dragoons, headed by the honourable colonel Lumley, having, made the charge, near twenty of them were killed and

\* They brought this gun from Temple-patrick, where they had it and another brass six- pounder, concealed under one of the seats of the dissenting meeting-house. They cut a tree, of which they made a trail, and they mounted the gun on the wheels of Mr. M'Vickar's carriage, lord Templeton's agent, and had wedges to elevate and depress it. It was formerly, attached to the Belfast volunteers, but lay concealed for six years. They had originally eight, which also lay concealed, but six of them were discovered by general Nugent about a week before.

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wounded. However, they bravely cut their way through, totally broke the rebel column, returned and renewed the charge by the church-yard wall, after leaving seventeen men dead in the street, about thirty wounded, and forty horses killed, all in the space of about two minutes. The officers who made that charge, were colonel Lumley, major Seddon, captain Baker, cornet Dunn, cornet Reid, and Mr. Gamble of the yeomanry, of which, cornet Dunn and Mr. Gamble were killed; the former killed through the heart, the latter had his horse shot under him, and was afterwards perforated with pikes. Colonel Lumley, major Seddon, and cornet Reid, were wounded; the two latter with pikes. The former was shot through the ankle bone. Quarter-master Simpson was likewise killed. The yeomanry retreated, and took possession of lord Maffareene's garden, from

whence they could command the main street and Bow-lane, and in some degree protect the guns, which were under the wall along with the dragoons. Lord O'Neil and the reverend doctor Macartney, of Antrim, had remained in the street, with a party of dragoons, during the whole of the action.

When the rebels came within the range of the cafe shot in Bow-lane, they were warmly received. However, they continued to advance with great intrepidity; on which, colonel Lumley, who was wounded, seeing the loss he had sustained in the charge, ordered a retreat, and the guns to be abandoned. The former retreated across the river, and proceeding by the shore of the lake, to the Lifford road, joined the second battalion of our troops which were within two miles of the town. Lord O'Neil's horse having been wounded, became restive and refused to advance. Doctor Macartney staid with him a considerable time, after the dragoons had retreated, endeavouring to get him to proceed with him; but finding it impossible, he galloped his horse through the rebels; and being unable to overtake the dragoons, he joined Mr. Staples, member for the county, and got with him into a boat, rowed across to the county of Tyrone, and informed general Knox, at Dungannon, of the events which had taken place at Antrim, and of which he had been ignorant until that moment. The general immediately assembled all the yeomanry of the country, marched to Toome with one thousand five hundred of them, and prevented the county of Derry rebels from rising, and joining the other insurgents.

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Lord O'Neil, while endeavouring to get his horse forward, was knocked down by a pikeman, and then mortally wounded, within thirty yards of the yeomanry behind the wall. His lordship shot one of the men who attacked him, and the yeomanry two more; but the man who had given him the mortal wound escaped.

On the retreat of the dragoons, the rebels, flushed with success, rushed on with a horrid yell, and seized the curriole guns; but every man of that party was killed by the yeomen, and the remainder retreated into the houses and bye lanes of the town. On that, Mr. John Macartney,\* lieutenant of the Antrim yeomanry, assisted by his brother, Mr. Arthur Macartney, lieutenant of the Royal Irish Artillery, who volunteered on the occasion, made a sally from the garden, with twenty of the Antrim corps, and drew up, in the midst of the rebel fire, the guns and the ammunition cart; and having planted them on the garden wall, they dislodged the rebels by a few discharges of round shot; however, they assembled again in several places round the town, to renew the attack; but colonel Orr, frightened on hearing the cannon, marched his column, which was one thousand five hundred strong, back to Randalstown.

Before the rebels had arranged matters for a second attack, the reinforcement from Blaris and Belfast arrived, on which they fled in all directions. But a great many of them were killed by the dragoons and the light companies of the Armagh and Monaghan militia, who were detached across the fields to cut off stragglers. Colonel Durham on arriving over the town, was informed that the rebels were in possession of it; and therefore opened his guns on it with round shot, and was on the point of doing much mischief before he found his mistake. The rebels left about one hundred and fifty dead in the town, , and nearly two hundred

\* At that time this young gentleman was little more than sixteen years old, and his brother was but in his eighteenth year. The courage and the loyalty of these amiable gentlemen render them an honour to their parents and their country. Mr. Arthur Macartney displayed great spirit and patriotism, in detecting and opposing the base designs of some traitors who had insinuated themselves into the university of Dublin. Their father, the reverend doctor Macartney, a gentleman highly respectable, was the first person who gave any important information to government on the alarming state of the conspiracy in the North. It consists of papers inserted in the report of the secret committee of the house of commons, under the head of papers seized by a magistrate in a distant part of the county of Antrim.

were killed in the pursuit, in which lieutenant Murphy of the dragoons was severely wounded with a pike.

It has been since discovered, that a considerable number of rebels had got into the town previous to the action in small parties, through lanes and the back doors of the houses. About one o'clock, and before the rebels arrived, several pikes were discovered in a garden in the Scots quarter: in consequence of which the house to which the garden belonged was set on fire, and the flames communicated to seven more, which were consumed. The rebels having perceived the fire as they were marching towards the town, halted for near half an hour, doubtful if they should make the attack, not knowing the real cause of the fire. During that delay, there arose a dispute among the Roman Catholics and Protestants of Orr's column; the former insisting on putting the Orangemen in Antrim to death, but were opposed by the latter, who declared they would not consent to any act of cruelty.

The attack upon Antrim was made a quarter before three o'clock. The reinforcements arrived at four. If the rebels had not halted on seeing the fire, they would have been in Antrim before Colonel Lumley arrived; and of course would have taken the town.

Nearly one half of the rebel force which attacked Antrim was compelled to join them by terror. In their flight they left behind them about three thousand pikes and muskets; and as they could not mount the two six-pounders at Templepatrick, they fell into the hands of our army on the ninth of June.

The rebels attacked Randalstown at half past one on the seventh of June, and got possession of the lower part of the market-house, in which there were fifty of the Toome yeomanry, and set fire to it; on which they surrendered, and were taken out of the windows by ladders.

Colonel Clavering and Colonel Durham marched to Shane's castle the evening of the seventh. The rebels evacuated Randalstown at ten that night, and marched to Toome, where they remained two days; and on seeing general Knox advancing towards them, they broke down the bridge to prevent him from crossing the Bann. The rebels went from Antrim\* to Ballymena and Donegore hill, where they remained till Monday the eleventh, when Colonel Clavering granted them an amnesty, on surrendering their arms, and promising to return to their allegiance. The

\* See Plate I. 3.

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rebels posted at Ballymena, said to be ten thousand strong, attacked Larne on the morning of the seventh, but were repulsed by a detachment of the Tay fencibles, aided by the yeomanry, and the loyal inhabitants.

The death of Lord O'Neil was universally and deservedly lamented, as he possessed in a very eminent degree every good and amiable quality. He was generous and humane, warm and steady in friendship, and so mild and beneficent, that he was ever ready to forgive injuries. He had such innate goodness and philanthropy, that he could scarce be induced to think ill of others, and he had such fine feelings, that he never heard a tale of woe without sympathizing with the sufferer, and wishing to administer to his relief. It might be truly said, that,

“He had a tear for pity, and a hand  
“Open as day for melting charity.”

As a report prevailed on the ninth of June, that there was a rising at Newtownards\* in the county of Down, colonel Stapleton marched with a detachment of the York fencibles, and some yeomen cavalry and infantry, and two pieces of cannon, towards Saintfield, and was informed between Comber and that town, that there was no appearance whatever of a rising. The main body of the rebels lay in ambush, in a hollow way, through which he was to pass, within a quarter of a mile of Saintfield. The hedges on each side were very high and numerous, and the rebels who were concealed behind them and in some plantations^ having suffered the principal part of colonel Stapleton's party to pass unmolested, opened a very heavy fire on their rear, confining of the yeomen cavalry, whom they threw into confusion; as they were exposed to the enemy in a narrow road, where they could not deploy, or make any movement for their defence. The reverend Mr. Mortimer, vicar of Fortaferry, his nephew, and seven or eight yeomen, who had just joined them, were instantly killed. Those who attempted to cross into the fields to form, were butchered with pikes. At last, colonel Stapleton, with the most cool intrepidity, dismounted, went into the fields, and formed the grenadiers there. Captain Chetwynd, lieutenant Unit and ensign Sparks, in attempting to follow him, were killed. Colonel Stapleton having attacked the insurgents with the grenadiers and the cannon which he brought to bear upon them, repulsed and killed three hundred and fifty of them.

\* See Plate I. 3.

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The rebels having retreated towards Newtownards attacked, next day, a small party, consisting mostly of invalids and old men, who were posted in the market-house there, to guard a quantity of baggage and ammunition, and who repulsed them; but, expecting next day to be attacked by a much larger party, they capitulated, evacuated the town, and marched to Belfast, eight miles off.

The rebels, flushed with their success, and with the acquisition of a considerable quantity of ammunition, formed a committee, and having laid a plan for their future operations, sent horsemen round the country, to summon their friends, and by force compelled those to join them who shewed an unwillingness to do so.

In consequence of this, a large body having assembled, they, on Sunday, entered the town of Bangor, where they compelled great numbers to join them, and plundered Mr. Ward's house of arms. The reverend James Clewlow, with laudable fortitude, and in the most pathetic manner, represented to them the fatal consequences of their conduct, and advised them to lay down their arms; but could not succeed. They then repaired to a hill near Newtownards, where, having disagreed, the Bangor people quitted them, returned and restored Mr. Ward's arms to Mr. Clewlow, in hopes of his getting for them a protection from general Nugent to obtain which, he repaired to Belfast; but before he could return, two presbyterian clergymen, Messrs. Townsend and Hull, abused them as cowards and traitors to their cause, compelled them to re-assume their arms, and marched them to a hill called Scrabo, near Newtown, and thence to Saintfield, where they took possession of the houses of Messrs. Price and Clewlow, which they plundered. They sent a party from Saintfield to the house of a farmer in the neighbourhood, and having set fire to it, he and his whole family perished in the flames. He was obnoxious to them, because he had professed some united Irishmen. He, at first, with very great bravery, beat off a party of about twenty, but was overpowered by a large reinforcement. Though old, he displayed great spirit, having been seen firing at them in the midst of the flames.

A numerous body of rebels kept possession of Saintfield, till Monday the eleventh of June, when they marched to Ballynahinch, and joined the main body, who were posted in what they called a camp, on the lawn before lord Moira's house, which was a favourable position, on a

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commanding eminence, and skirted with thick wood. The commander in chief was general Henry Munroe, a linen draper, and inhabitant of Lifford, who had been formerly adjutant to a volunteer company, and acquired some reputation for military knowledge.

On the morning of the twelfth of June, general Nugent marched against them from Belfast, with the Monaghan regiment of militia, part of the 22d dragoons, and some yeomen infantry and cavalry; and was joined by lieutenant-colonel Stewart, near Ballynahinch, with his party from Downpatrick, making in all about one thousand five hundred men. Information having been received at the rebel camp, that general Nugent was on his march to attack them, a party of five hundred was detached by Munroe, under the command of one Johnson, to annoy the general, and retard his progress. They advanced near four miles to Creevy rocks, at the Ballynahinch fide of Saintfield, but were dispersed by the flanking parties of the army, and did not return to their friends at Ballynahinch.

A numerous body of the rebels were posted on the Windmill hill, about a quarter of a mile from the town, but were soon driven from their position by the discharge of the artillery, and joined the camp at Lord Moira's house. On that occasion, one M'Culloch, a rebel colonel, was taken prisoner, and immediately hanged. General Nugent and his party then occupied the Windmill hill, where he halted that night, and made proper dispositions for attacking them next morning.

A council was held in the rebel camp, in which the expediency of an immediate attack was debated with some warmth. Munroe advised them to wait till morning, and his recommendation ultimately prevailed.

Between two and three o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth, colonel Leslie and the Monaghan militia marched into the town, and were vigorously attacked by a detachment of the rebels, and obliged to fall back. They, however, immediately rallied, and repulsed them with considerable slaughter. The rebels were so furious in their charge as to lay their hands on the carriages of the battalion guns, and some of them were almost burnt to a coal by their explosion.

The detachment under lieutenant general Stewart, consisting of a part of the Argyleshire fencibles, and some of the 22d dragoons, and some yeomanry corps, were likewise attacked; but they defeated the rebels, and killed a great number of them. The dispersion now became general,

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and though the retreat was made in a confused and irregular manner, it was much favoured by the woods and the nature of the country, which prevented the cavalry from any long or effectual pursuit. Near five hundred rebels are said to have been killed. The town of Ballynahinch was burned by the military.

Munroe fled towards the mountains without any guard or escort, and was afterwards accidentally discovered and taken by three orangemen, as he lay concealed in a potatoe furrow, under some litter, in an open field, about six miles from Ballynahinch. He offered them forty guineas to let him escape; but the loyalty of his captors was not to be corrupted. They brought him to Hillborough, together with a young man of the name of Kane, taken with him in the same furrow, and who was formerly employed as a clerk in the office of the Belfast Northern Star. They were sent under a guard to Lifford, where Munroe was tried by a court-martial, and executed opposite to his own door. His head was fixed on a pike, and placed on the market-house. Just before he was suspended, he said that he wished to settle an account with a neighbour, to whom he was indebted. He accordingly got a pen and ink, and adjusted it with all the coolness of deliberation.

The rebel-army at Ballynahinch chiefly consisted of presbyterians, and other denominations of protestant dissenters, with few, if any, Roman catholics, as they deserted the night before the battle, which inflamed the presbyterians very much against them.

On the night of the ninth, and the morning of the tenth, the infurrection from Newtownards to Portaferry was general; and a body of rebels, to the number of one thousand, attacked the latter about four o'clock in the afternoon. They were said to be chiefly under the direction of one Warwick, a presbyterian probationer, since hanged; and they were headed by one McMullin, of Portaferry, a shopkeeper, and two farmers in its vicinity. The town was gallantly defended by that brave veteran, captain Charles Mathews, and the Portaferry yeomanry, who took post in the market-house, and converted it into a garriſon.

Captain Mathews having received intelligence in the morning, that the town was to be attacked, had the arches of the building filled up with a dry temporary wall, to prevent the rebels from setting fire to the loft, which their leaders had resolved to do. Captain Hopkins being in

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the river, with the revenue cruiser which he commanded, rendered the most important service on the occasion with his guns. The loss of the rebels was considerable, while not a single yeoman was hurt. Three volunteer loyalists, who worked two fire-works outside the market-house, having no cover, were killed.

The event of this action was of the utmost consequence, for had the rebels succeeded in it, they were to have crossed the lake at Strangford; and the rebels in the barony of Lecale, who were numerous, were to have joined them.\* Downpatrick must have fallen, and an immense force, thus prevented, would have increased the army of Ballynahinch.

The boldness and courage which the insurgents in the North displayed during the very short period that the rebellion existed, prove how dangerous and terrific it would have been, but that government very wisely and seasonably averted the horrors of it, partly by conciliatory measures, and partly by coercion; and the dreadful and cold-blooded massacres of protestants perpetrated in the south, having convinced the northern rebels of the cruelty and treachery of their Roman catholic confederates, and that their own destruction would be involved in that of the constitution, detached them from the union, and completely extinguished the flame of rebellion in the north.

Dickey, a rebel leader, who was hanged at Belfast, declared a short time before his execution, that the presbyterians of the north perceived, too late, that, if they had succeeded in subverting the constitution, they would ultimately have to contend with the Roman catholics.

Some respectable gentlemen of the county of Donegal have assured me that the presbyterians and Roman catholics of a large and populous district in it, called Fanet, were so jealous and suspicious of each other, as soon as the massacres in the south were known, that they continued for some time watching each other, without going to bed at night; the former dreading the fate of the protestants in Leinster, and the latter fearing that the presbyterians would be revenged of them for the massacre of their brethren. Numbers of presbyterians who had been united, deserted their associates, joined the yeomanry, and became orangemen.

The judicious disposition and active exertions of lord Henry Murray, under lord Cavan, from Coleraine, in June, 1798, aided by the yeomanry

\* See Plate I. 1.

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of that town, and the like conduct on the part of colonel Leith, aided by the Londonderry and Beagh corps of cavalry, not only checked the designs of the ill-affected in the country which they occupied, but completely checked the progress of the Antrim rebels, and kept them at the Antrim side of the Bann; all the bridges of that river having been well secured, and the boats drawn on shore to the Derry side.

The maffacres of the fourth alarmed and animated many thousand proteftants, who fuddenly volunteered, armed themfelves, and joined general Knox, whofe approach from Moneymore, towards Toome, convinced the Antrim rebels, that they had no bufinefs to quit their own country; and he would have given them a complete overthrow, and have extinguiſhed, for a century, a difpofition to rebellion in that county, but that colonel Clavering, who had made terms with them at Ballymena, went exprefs to Hop the general's approach.

The amneſty granted to the rebels by colonel Clavering, though it was done with the beſt intentions, has been condemned by many northern gentlemen of very good ſenſe, as it was ſaid to have fed the flame of rebellion in the county of Antrim for many months after it took place, as much as general Dundas's negotiation did in the county of Kildare.

It ſhould be remembered with the liveliſt ſenſe of gratitude by the loyal ſubjects of Ireland, that ſome regiments of Engliſh militia, feeling for their danger and diſtreſs, voluntarily offered to go to their relief and affiſtance; that ſome of them went there ſo early as the month of June, 1798, and that no leſs than thirteen of them arrived there in that year.

It will reflect immortal honour on the marquis of Hertford and the marquis of Buckingham, that they firſt ſet the example, and arrived in Dublin early in the month of June, at the head of their reſpective regiments.

Plate 10 [Folding map of Leitrim and Roscommon, facing p.559]. NB: The Lord Lieutenant's march is marked thus [===] General Lake's thus ---- and the French thus .....

#### THE REBELLION IN THE COUNTIES OF MAYO AND SLIGO.

The gentlemen and landholders in the province of Connaught, piqued themſelves on the peaceable demeanour, and a reſpect for the laws, which the lower claſs of the people there continued to evince, when moſt other parts of the kingdom were diſturbed by the united Irifhmen. But it has ſince appeared, that the maſs of the people were univerſally infected with their malignant doctrines, though they had not broken out into acts of

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open outrage; for at a provincial committee held at Dungannon,\* the fourteenth of September, 1797, it was ſtated, that the province of Connaught was in a tolerable ſtate of organization; that a great number of united Irifhmen had been made there, and more ſince the proclamation. §

In the beginning of the year 1798, a number of fugitive families arrived in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, from the north of Ireland; who, as they alleged, fought for protection from the orangemen, who were perfecuting them on account of their religion. They were all Roman catholicks, and from their appearance of decency and induſtry, the plauſibility with which they repreſented their ſufferings, and the knowledge which they poſſeſſed of the linen manufacture, they readily obtained an aſylum from the gentlemen of the country, and were conſidered as a great acquiſition in it. They had alſo an apparent ſolemnity and ſincerity in their manners, and ſhewed ſuch attention to the duties of their religion, as procured them the eſteem, not only of perſons of their own perſuaſion, but excited the pity of proteſtants, who conſidered them as an innocent perfecuted people.

This was the general idea entertained of them; but ſome gentlemen, who conceived that their improper conduct muſt have been the cauſe of their perfecution and expulſion, were not inclined to encourage or protect them. Nevertheleſs, ſome hundred families of them ſpread themſelves over the country, particularly near the ſea-coaſt, and for ſome time demeaned themſelves in a peaceable and induſtrious manner.

But it was ſoon diſcovered, that they were much addicted to ſpeculate on politicks; that they held clubs and meetings, where newspapers, for which they ſubſcribed, were conſtantly read;

and that they were perfectly well verified in all the political subjects which were then the topics of conversation. They also brought with them a number of strange and absurd prophecies, which they pretended were delivered by the ancient Irish bards and prophets, foretelling the wars and calamities which were shortly to take place in the country, and which were to prove nearly fatal: to the Catholics.‡

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p.104.

§ This alludes to the proclamation of the seventeenth of May, inviting the people to return to their allegiance, and offering an amnesty to such as should do so; and it proves the contumacy of the traitors in refusing at the benign and conciliating measures of government.

‡ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such prophecies were used during the civil wars, to rouse the people, as may be seen in Spenser, Morison, Temple, Laurence, and Harris.

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In one of these it was asserted, that the upper part of the county of Mayo, particularly the mountain of Croagh Patrick, near Westport,§ would be the safest place of refuge, whenever these calamities would commence; which induced numbers of people to repair there, some for protection, others to perform pilgrimage, and to do other pious offices, as it has been always considered as a holy place.

These prophecies|| have a very great effect on the minds of the lower classes of people, who are persuaded that the events predicted must necessarily come to pass; and they were ready to catch at every rumour which seemed to correspond with the ideas which they had inspired. They breathed nothing but death, bloodshed and devastation, painted the rivers as running crimson with blood, and a pestilence raging through the country, occasioned by the effluvia of putrid carcasses, which remained unburied; with every other horror which a dreadful civil war produces.

Such prophecies were one of the many artifices used to excite hatred in the popish multitude against Protestants, who were figured under the title of the black army, and were destined to commit those atrocities against the Catholics; and to furnish a pretext of massacring them, whenever an opportunity should present itself.

These northern families were but a short time in the county of Mayo, when a person of high respectability informed the magistrates and country gentlemen, that they were deeply concerned in the conspiracy then carried on in the north, and that most of them, conscious of their crimes, fled from a country, where they were closely watched, and dreaded the vengeance of the law, to one where, not subject to suspicion, they might easily execute their designs.

Orange societies had at that time commenced in the North, whose avowed object was, to protect themselves, and their country, from the machinations of a set of popish traitors, who had bound themselves by the most solemn ties to overturn the constitution and extirpate the Protestants; and that in so secret a manner, that many thousands were united before a discovery could be obtained. At their secret meetings, which were generally held at night, they methodized their operations, employed

§ Plate X. 6.

|| I have already mentioned that many popish families had emigrated from the county of Tyrone to Connaught, in consequence of prophecies.

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emissaries to propagate their doctrines; collected money for the purchase of arms and ammunition; laid plans for attacking the houses of Protestants, and taking away their arms; and

finally concerted the means of a general rebellion and maffacre, in conjunction with the rebels of every other part of the kingdom.

The gentlemen and magistrates of the country were well aware that such mischiefs were hatching; but found it very difficult to procure full and convincing proofs to substantiate the facts, and to bring the traitors to punishment.

It was in this critical state of things, that the spirit and promptitude of the Orangemen, alive to the interest of their country, and attached to that constitution for which their ancestors fought under king William, associated under the strongest bonds of loyalty and affection; and relying on the goodness of the cause in which they had embarked, they, without fear or restraint, hunted these traitors to their dens, developed their dark proceedings, and dragged them to punishment. By their well-timed and spirited exertions, they delivered that part of the kingdom from those horrors, which were ready to burst upon the heads of the loyal inhabitants.

This was the persecution which the disaffected so much complained of, and which afforded a plausible pretext for the outrages afterwards committed by the rebels.

The conduct of these northern families on the landing of the French proves with what malignant designs they were originally actuated; for, when that event took place, they threw off the veil of religion, and the cloak of humility, boldly assumed the iron front of war, pressed forward to receive arms and ammunition from their new deliverers, chose leaders among themselves, erected the standard of rebellion, and plundered and defolated the houses and the property of their protestant friends and benefactors.

It is very remarkable, that these men, despising the want of courage and abilities in the Connaught rebels, refused to serve promiscuously with them, but formed a separate corps, who kept together during the rebellion.

The peasantry of the counties of Mayo and Sligo, (I mean of the Roman catholic persuasion,) are savage, ignorant, and superstitious; and

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though they were organized and sworn to assist the French on their landing, yet I am convinced that they would not have had spirit or resolution enough to rise in rebellion, if that event had not taken place, however well inclined they might have been.

The gentlemen and men of landed property, with but few exceptions, were protestants of the church of England, and consequently loyal, and strongly attached to the established government. To these were added an equally loyal and very respectable protestant yeomanry, mostly freeholders, and planted rather thickly over the country. All these were tolerably expert in the use of arms, having served in the volunteer and yeomanry corps.

These two bodies, united in common interest, and roused by the danger which surrounded them, would have continued to overawe and restrain an ignorant and unarmed rabble, without men of property or consequence at their head, and stimulated to action only by some low emissaries from other countries; or by their weak and infatuated clergy, many of whom were found among the foremost in joining the enemy, and in strengthening the ranks of rebellion.

The landing of a little more than one thousand French, achieved, almost instantly, what the united Irishmen could never have effected, notwithstanding all their arts to make the popish multitude rise in rebellion.

Struck with a sudden panic at the unexpected appearance of the French, the loyalists, for the most part, abandoned their houses; the rebels, armed and encouraged by the French, elated with their first success, and animated with a desire of vengeance, and the hope of plunder, entered sword in hand into the deserted abodes of the fugitive loyalists; where, not content with pillage

and rapine, they, with the most savage barbarity, like the Goths of old, sacrificed to wanton revenge every thing valuable, which art and science had formed and collected for the comfort and delight of the virtuous and intelligent; and in a few days defaced those ornaments and improvements which human industry had been raising for a century before.

Another circumstance which contributed to promote the cause of rebellion in those counties, and to cement its votaries, by a bond still more binding than the oath of the united Irishmen, or defenders, was the

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propagation of the mysteries of the Carmelites among the Roman catholics. This was originally a religious order, which was said to have been instituted for the advancement of piety and morality, but it was now perverted to the purpose of associating men for the express purpose of committing treason, murder, sacrilege, and robbery, with every other inferior crime, which depravity might suggest, or opportunity afford.

As its malignant influence operated much stronger in Connaught than in the province of Leinster, where also it was made a vehicle of rebellion, I shall give the reader a more minute description of it. In the neighbourhood of Ballina,\* there were some mendicant friars, who were led, by the poverty of their situation, to convert the credulity of the popish multitude to their benefit, by inducing them to believe, that an admission into this fraternity would ensure them eternal happiness; and this foundation being once laid, it was not difficult afterwards to persuade them to pay a small sum of money for its attainment.

At their initiation they received a square piece of brown cloth, with the letters I. H. S. inscribed on it, meaning Jesus hominum Salvator,§ which was hung round the neck with a string, and lying on the shoulder next to the skin, was, from its situation, called a scapular. The price of it on initiation was, to the poorer classes, one shilling; to those who could afford it, higher in proportion to their ability. This distinguishing badge of the order, having received the priest's benediction, was supposed to contain the virtue of preserving the disciple, not only from outward dangers and injuries, but also from the attacks of the ghostly enemy. They ascribed to these scapulars the power of protecting a house in which one of them happened to be, from being consumed by fire, or of extinguishing one on fire, if thrown into the flames; while the sacred extinguisher would remain perfectly safe from the power of the fire, like the three Hebrews in the Babylonian furnace.

The ignorance and credulity of the popish multitude were imposed on by the following device: The cloth of which these scapulars was originally made, being composed of the Awestos, possessed a quality to resist fire; and on receiving the priest's benediction, they were committed to the flames, where, to the astonishment of the beholders, they were found

\* Plate X. 3, 4. § Jesus. the Saviour of mankind. See it in Plate V.

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to preserve themselves safe and entire; and having undergone this fiery ordeal, the supernatural power which produced it was ascribed to the priest's benediction.

Many of these were cut off the necks of the rebels when taken prisoners, and their virtue was put to the test; by exposing them to the fire, where they gave a convincing proof of their frailty, by being (as the inventors themselves have long since been) reduced to dust and ashes.

The parish priests in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, either convinced of the efficacy and utility of this order, in promoting the cause of religion, or seeing that the sale of scapulars was very profitable, procured a power from the friars before mentioned to dispose of them, and admit

candidates into this holy order. Bags of them have been often sent to fairs and markets, and sold to the credulous multitude.

The officiating priest at Ballina, curate to the popish bishop, was the person then entrusted with the distribution of this sacred symbol, a large number of which he conferred on the worthy claimants.

This soon became the signal by which those of the true faith were to know each other, and the rallying point for those devotees who carried on the crusade against the heretics; and a shop was opened soon after the landing of the French, where all the sons of Erin,\* with their pikes in their hands, were supplied with scapulars at regulated prices.

These were intended, not only to unite them more strongly against the common enemy, but to arm them with fresh courage, and protect them from danger in the hour of trial. Good God! will that day ever arrive, when a pure, a simple, a rational, and undefiled religion shall be established among the deluded natives of Ireland; when the clouds of superstition and ignorance, which so much obscure the human mind, shall be dispelled by religion and reason, those bright luminaries which the Deity has benignly afforded to erring man, to direct his wandering steps through the thorny paths of life, and to guide his feet in the ways of peace?

We may say to the popish multitude of Ireland, in the words of holy writ, "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures." Mat. xxii. 29.

The better to inflame the passions, and awaken the fanatical fury of the popish multitude against protestants, a report was universally propagated

\* The Irish for Ireland.

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in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, some months before the French landed, that the orangemen had combined, and were determined to massacre the Roman catholics, a device which was practised in every part of Ireland.

At Balle, near Hollymount,\* in the county of Mayo, a pattern was held some time in the month of July, when the dissemination of that report had such an effect on the inhabitants of that town and its vicinity, that they remained in large bodies all night in the fields, where the leaders of rebellion organized and swore them.

An active intelligent magistrate informed me, that he expatiated on the dangerous tendency of such reports to the parish priest of Foxford,† some time in the month of July, 1798, and recommended to him to undeceive his flock, by assuring them, from the altar, that they were false and groundless; but he objected to it, alleging as an excuse, that it would offend some of his most respectable parishioners.

The leaders of rebellion had recourse to another very curious invention, to incense the minds of the Roman catholics against the protestants, and inflame them with a spirit of revenge; and though the absurdity was more likely to excite ridicule than serious attention, it had the wished-for effect on the semi-barbarous rabble.

A few days before the French landed, a report was industriously circulated, that the protestants had entered into a conspiracy to massacre the Roman catholics, and that they would not spare man, woman, or child. It was said that, for this purpose, a large quantity of combustible stuff had been introduced by the orangemen, who made a kind of black candles of it; that they were of such a quality, that they could not be extinguished when once lighted; and that in whatever house they should be burnt, they would produce the destruction of every person in it.

It was said also, that this deleterious system was to be carried into effect through the whole country in one night; and the people in the villages were cautioned not to flee in their houses, lest they should be surpris'd.<sup>‡</sup>

Multitudes, impressed with this idea, sat up all night, or slept in the fields.

\* Plate X. 7. † Ibid, 5. ‡ This imposition was practis'd in the county of Wexford.

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The magistrates, finding that this report was universally credited by the lower classes of people, posted up an advertisement at Ballina to undeceive them, and convince them of the futility and absurdity of this report; but they were taught to believe that this notice was only an artifice to lull them into security, that they might more easily become a prey to their persecutors.

As soon as the French landed, one Crohan, who served as clerk to a parish chapel, was seized in the act of proclaiming in the parish of Kilmeckfhalgan, in the county of Sligo, that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholics.

Most of the parish priests in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, to disarm the suspicion, and lull the vigilance of government and the magistrates, collected their flocks, and with them swore oaths of allegiance before magistrates, whom they solicited to administer them.

In the month of April, 1798, father O'Donnell, parish priest of Kilmeckfhalgan, asked Mr. Hillas, of Seaview, to attend him and his flock for that purpose; and they, in the presence of him and counsellor Webber, gave that test of their loyalty; yet as soon as the French landed, that same priest seized Mr. Hillas's best horse, and joined them.

The priests of different parishes, after the French landed, were heard to say to their flock, from the altar, "God help you, poor people! Pray for your souls; I cannot answer for your safety; the king's troops and the orangemen will put you all to death."

In the course of the summer of 1798, it was observed, that the petty shop-keepers, mechanics and servants, of the parish persuasion, used to hold frequent meetings at the low tippling houses in Ballina, and its vicinity, which induced well grounded suspicions that they entertained designs of a treasonable tendency; particularly as such associations were constantly attended by some of the northerners, who were alive and zealous in making profelytes to their pernicious doctrines. They also kept up a constant intercourse with their friends in the north, by means of emissaries, who passed and re-passed in the guise of hawkers and pedlars. This intelligence having been privately communicated to the reverend Mr. Neligan, of Ballina, a very active and intelligent magistrate, (whose zealous exertions on this and other occasions became a source of many future calamities to himself and his numerous family) he and a few friends, in whom

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he could confide, were constantly on the watch, in order to detect and counteract the treasonable plans of this party; but they were conducted with such secrecy, as to elude their vigilance, and prevent them from receiving any certain information of their real designs; however it had the good effect of filling them with alarm and diffidence, and of preventing them from diffusing their doctrine in as wide a circle, and with as much rapidity as before.

Mr. Neligan, ever attentive to the duties of his office and the peace of society, having learned that an idle young man of the name of Reynolds, who often frequented the town of Boyle,\* as a pedlar, was deeply concerned in the machinations of those traitors, wrote to a friend there, to have him arrested, and interrogated on the subject. On his examination, he assumed an appearance of the most perfect innocence, and denied every charge which was brought against him; but a few lashes of a cat-o'-nine-tails having been inflicted on him by order of the officer

commanding at Boyle, he discovered the whole plot, and those who were associated with him. The information having been sent to Mr. Neligan, he was astonished at the number and respectability of the persons concerned in it; however, the events which took place in the course of the rebellion, verified his allegations; for the persons whom he charged were the most dangerous and desperate in it.

From the very critical state of the country, it would have been very dangerous to attempt the arrest of so many persons of the before-mentioned description; for there was no military in the country, except a small detachment of the carabineers, a troop of yeoman cavalry, and a company of yeomen infantry; and above one half of the latter, according to Reynolds's evidence, were united Irishmen, having, regardless of their oath of allegiance, enlisted merely for the purpose of procuring arms, and joining the French when they should land; an event which was strongly and earnestly expected. It was then thought prudent to dissimulate, and conceal a knowledge of the business, and to arrest but a few of the leaders, which might cast a damp on the spirit of the party. Eight only then were taken up, and among these two of the name of Walsh, who were sent to general Taylor, at Sligo,† for examination; but they were

\* Plate X. 5. † Ibid. 2.

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discharged by the intercession of some gentlemen and magistrates of the neighbourhood, who assured him of their upright characters, their loyal and peaceable deportment, though it was declared upon oath, that they were the principal persons to whom the rebels in the barony of Tyrrawly were to look up to for advice and instruction. Two of these magistrates had soon reason to retract their opinions of their liberated friends; for the elder, dreading the punishment due to his crimes, fled to America, after having defrauded one of the magistrates at whose instance he was liberated. The younger Walsh was apprehended in the house of the other gentleman, who had been his encomiast, with a predatory party in arms, ready to establish liberty and equality, at the expence of his benefactor.

This fact affords a persuasive lesson to men of property and influence, with what caution they should interpose between the criminal and the laws of his country, particularly when their interference is intended, not to elucidate the innocence of the accused on his trial, but to rescue him before it takes place from the hands of justice.

From the following circumstances, which preceded the arrival of the French, no person can doubt but that they were expected by the rebels of Mayo and Sligo:

They had an immense quantity of pikes in readiness: To inflame the Romanists against the protestants, they spread the usual reports about orangemen and their sanguinary designs; and their priests and their congregations were very eager to take oaths of allegiance, in imitation of those of the county of Wexford, to put the magistrates off their guard, and to prevent the introduction of troops into the country.

As some of the Romish clergy and their flocks in the county of Mayo expressed a desire of testifying their allegiance by taking oaths for that purpose, doctor Stock, the bishop, and some of the magistrates, desirous of encouraging so laudable a desire in them, supposing that it would tend to keep the common people quiet and steady to the government, held a meeting at Ballina, early in the month of June, 1798, entered into resolutions, and formed a committee, for carrying, their intentions into effect.

An active and intelligent magistrate of my acquaintance entertained a very different opinion of that measure, well knowing that treason was then hatching among the people, and that it would soon burst forth into action; and therefore he absented himself from the meeting, though he had been

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appointed one of the committee, as he had strong reasons to doubt the sincerity of the Roman catholics.

According to the plan adopted, the magistrates divided the country into districts; and in order to accommodate the lower class of people, they attended at the parish chapels on successive Sundays, where the priests were directed to have their flocks assembled, and where they had the oath solemnly administered to them, beginning with the priest, and going through the whole of his congregation. By these means, (aided also by the several landlords who took care to bring their tenants forward) almost the whole of the inhabitants, clergy and laity, had the oath administered to them. The magistrate, to whom I alluded, would not attend, because he had many documents to prove, and was even informed by one of their own persuasion, that they meditated the subversion of the constitution, and that the favourite toast at their convivial meetings was, "A total extirpation of protestants!"

Similar perfidy, but still stronger, took place in a yeoman corps, commanded by captain Jones of Ballina. The magistrate whom I mentioned, received positive information, that about thirty of them, who were Roman catholics, had all been united men, and had been sworn to join the French on their landing, which he communicated to their commander, but he could not be prevailed on to give credit to it. He, however, having mentioned it to them, they felt very much hurt, and proposed that a very strong test, in addition to the oath of allegiance which they had sworn, should be framed and administered to them; and captain Jones having complied, they all took it with the greatest readiness. This served as a mask to their treachery for the present, but which they soon threw off, when an opportunity was afforded them of joining the French, which they all did, except three, adding desertion, perfidy and perjury, to their former crime of treason.

There are two priests in the neighbourhood of Ballina, who have not been taken up or put on their trial. One of these constantly visited the French and rebel generals at Killala, and gave directions and orders to them; and when an alarm was given one day, while he was celebrating mass, that the king's troops were approaching, he ordered every man who had arms, and was able to march, to repair without delay to the French standard to oppose them. The other lived in a parish the most notorious

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for disaffection in the county of Sligo, and a letter from him was discovered, written to a rebel commander at Killala, communicating the state of the country, and mentioning the necessity of sending a quantity of spirituous liquors to keep up the courage of his people, and to make them ready for service.

There were at least a dozen Romish priests who went to pay their respects to the French, and lived in habits of intimacy with them at Killala, and other places, eating, drinking, and making merry with them, on the spoils of the unfortunate protestants who had either fled or had been imprisoned; whilst none of the Romish persuasion, though reputed loyal, were known to fly the country, through apprehension of danger, or to join the king's troops, or the armed loyalists.

It was not uncommon to see some of these spiritual guides introducing into the court-yard of Killala, some of their half-naked raggamuffins, taking clothes out of the stores, which were kept there for that purpose, and: arraying them for actual service. There were two, however, of this class, who could not be induced, either through fear or promises, to partake with their flocks in the rebellion, but strongly exhorted them to continue in their allegiance, and to attend to their industry, forewarning them of the consequences of their disloyalty. One of these, was Mr. Conway, priest of Ardagh: The other, Mr. Grady, priest of Rathrea; of whom the latter was treated with great severity, and dragged from the altar by his rebellious flock, because he refused

to partake in their wickedness, and accompany them to Killala. He had even the boldness to denounce vengeance on their guilty heads, should they persevere in their treasonable schemes.

The persecution levelled against the protestant clergymen, was not confined to the imprisonment of their persons, joined to the insults and menaces offered to them, and the destruction of their houses and properties, but was extended even to the demolition of their churches, which they gutted of all the timber and carpenter's work, and most wantonly and insultingly abused, and tore the books which they found in them.

Amongst the churches most damaged, were those of Lackan, Eafky, Killmaftige, and Enniscrone, in the parish of Killglafs, and county of Sligo. Of the latter they tore up the floors, demolished the pews and the communion table, rifled the tomb with great indecency, and insulted

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the remains of the reverend Mr. Valentine, who had been vicar of, and resident in that parish, fifty-three years, and who died in the year 1765, in his ninetieth year, noted and universally revered for his humane and charitable disposition. He left £600 for the support of the widows of the clergy of the diocese, and £400 for maintaining a charity-school in the parish, and for apprenticing the children who were instructed in it. Doctor William Cecil, bishop of Killala, had a monument erected to him, on which his virtues and good qualities were inscribed, as an example to his successors.

The meeting-house belonging to the dissenting congregation of the Moy Water, near Ballina, fell a prey to their destructive rage. This was a colony brought there by Sir Arthur Gore, from the north, near one hundred years ago; and from their preserving their primitive manners and dialect, and not holding much intercourse with the common people of the country, they were more odious to the Roman catholics than the protestants of the established church, and were treated with great severity. They were distinguished by the name of Albanaugh.\*

The treatment which Mr. Little, vicar of Lackan, met with from these savages, deserves particular notice: This gentleman resided constantly at his glebe-house, and a great part of his time was employed in enquiring into, and relieving the wants of his poor parishioners, of every religious persuasion. He applied himself very much to the study of physic, and went to no small expence in purchasing medicine for their relief, which he bestowed liberally on them. The Roman catholics (who, from their numbers and poverty, were most likely to be the objects of his bounty) soon forgot the kind offices conferred on them, and requited his benevolence with unrelenting cruelty. Though he and Mrs. Little were in a very feeble and declining state of health, they forced them from their house without a horse to carry them, and scarcely clothes to cover them, and then plundered them of every thing worth taking, wantonly destroying a valuable library, and every other article which they could find no use for; and joined to all this, they demolished his church.

The reverend Mr. Neligan, of Ballina, a gentleman of elegant taste and extensive learning, and an active and intelligent magistrate, narrowly

\* This is much of the same import with Saffinagh, which signifies equally protestant and Englishman; but alludes more particularly to the Scotch.

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escaped from that town with some more loyalists; and after having passed through a country infested by banditti, who were roaming in quest of protestants,§ and after much peril and difficulty, arrived at Seaview, the seat of Mr. Hillas, in the county of Sligo. On his arrival there, some of the popish servants of Mrs. Hillas informed her, that she would run a great risk of having her house demolished by harbouring a protestant clergyman.

At length, the event so eagerly wished for by the Mayo and Sligo rebels arrived, for on the twenty-second of August, 1798, three French frigates appeared in the bay of Killala,\* a small town in the county of Mayo, which is the residence of the bishop; and as they had English colours, Messrs. Edwin and Arthur Stock, the bishop's sons, and Mr. James Rutledge, the port surveyor, were tempted to visit them, and were not undeceived, till they were made prisoners.

As the bishop held a visitation at that time, and the town afforded but very bad accommodation for strangers, his lordship had a very numerous company in his house. Soon after dinner, a messenger arrived in the utmost consternation, to announce that three hundred French troops had landed about a mile from the town, and were marching towards it.

Two carabineer officers, who dined there, rode off instantly to their quarters at Ballina, to convey intelligence of their landing, and to transmit it to Castlebar.

The prince of Wales's fencibles, and the yeomen of the town, in all about fifty, resisted them for some time; but as they would soon have been overpowered by the great superiority of numbers, they retired into the castle,† but not until Mr. Kirkwood, who commanded the yeomanry, after slaying many shots, had fallen into their hands, and two of his corps had been killed.

The reverend doctor Ellison of Castlebar, one of the bishop's guests, with great gallantry, appeared in the ranks, with a musket, and received a wound in the heel from a spent ball.

Mr. Edwin Stock, and many other prisoners, appeared at the gate, following general Humbert. The enemy entered the court yard of the

§ This practice prevailed as much in Mayo and Sligo as in Wexford. \* Plate X. 3. † The bishop's palace is so called.

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castle, and made prisoners captain Cills and a party of the prince of Wales's fencibles, but not without a very spirited resistance on the part of the captain, who wounded, in two places, the officer who led them on, and then shut the gate. After having entered the yard, they called for the bishop; and on his lordship's appearing, the general declared, that he came to give them liberty, and to free them from the English yoke.

They put in requisition all his lordship's horses, and some of his cows and sheep, saying, at the same time, that he should be paid for them by the Irish directory, which would be immediately established, in Connaught.

The French officers gave the following account of the expedition: That about eighteen days before, one thousand five hundred men, some of whom had served under Buonaparte in Italy, the rest had been of the army of the Rhine, embarked on board three frigates at Rochelle, and of a very dark night, eluded (beyond their expectation) the vigilance of the English fleet, which was close behind them. Two of them had forty-four guns, eighteen pounders, the other thirty-eight guns, twelve pounders. They said also, that they brought nine pieces of cannon, and arms, for one hundred thousand men; but this was a French garconade, as they had arms only for five thousand five hundred men, and but two four-pounders. The meager persons, and the wan and fallow countenances of these troops, whose numbers did not exceed one thousand and sixty rank and file, and seventy officers, strongly indicated the severe hardships which they must have undergone.

They hoisted a green flag in front of the castle, with the Irish words, "Erin go bragh!" inscribed on it, which signifies in English, "Ireland for ever!" and they invited the people to join them, having assured them, that they would enjoy freedom and happiness by doing so.

The first day they passed in landing their arms and ammunition; the second in clothing and arming the natives, of whom great multitudes flocked to their standard, and in granting commissions to Irish officers.

Every person endued with any degree of wisdom and virtue must lament the fate of the popish multitude, who were so perverted in principle, and blinded by fanaticism, as to join a ferocious foreign enemy against their king and country; though the paucity of their numbers precluded the most distant hope of being able, with their assistance, to subvert the government; and it is astonishing that their clergy, who had more

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improved intellects, should have incited and stimulated them to do so, as it must have terminated in their inevitable destruction.

General Humbert, commander in chief, sent captain Cills and the prince of Wales's fencibles on board ship, and detained the yeomen two days, but afterwards liberated the latter on their parole, having on all occasions made a striking difference between the native Irish and the English, from a supposition, that the former without distinction hated the latter, and wished to separate Ireland from England.

The arms taken from the fencibles were delivered to the rebels, who said, on receiving them, that they would kill every Englishman and Orangeman in Ireland.

General Humbert told the bishop, that the object of this invasion was, to rescue Ireland from the tyranny of England, and to give her a free constitution, under the protection of France, and that he had not a doubt but that it would be accomplished in the space of one month, as another very powerful armament would soon arrive from France, to second his operations.

He informed his lordship, that a directory would shortly be established in Connaught, and said, that he should be glad to avail himself of his lordship's talents and consequence, to preside over that important department; but he excused himself, by saying, that he was bound to the king by repeated oaths of allegiance, which he could by no means think of violating.

General Humbert desired the bishop to issue his edict, to have all the horses and cars in the country collected, to convey his cannon, ammunition and baggage to Castlebar. His lordship assured him, that he was but a short time resident in the country, and that he had not sufficient power and authority to effectuate his desires, but that he would do his utmost to serve him.

Next morning, Humbert finding that no cars or horses had been procured, became furious, uttered a torrent of vulgar abuse, presented a pistol at the bishop's eldest son, and declared he would punish his lordship's disobedience, by sending him to France; and accordingly he sent him off towards the shore, under a corporal's guard. When he had advanced about half a mile, the general sent an express on horseback to recall him,

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and at his return, he made him an apology, and pleaded necessity for what he had done.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of August, a small detachment of the French marched from Killala to Ballina, but meeting with a more spirited opposition than they expected, from a party of the carabineers and yeomen infantry, commanded by major Kerr, they returned the same day.

In the evening, major Kerr having received considerable reinforcements, advanced towards Killala, but was obliged to retire, after an unsuccessful skirmish, in which two dragoons were wounded, one mortally; and the reverend Mr. Fortescue, rector of Ballina, and nephew of the earl of Clermont, received a ball in his groin, of which he died in a few days, in excruciating pain.

In one point, the Irish rebels were very much disappointed, for they imagined that the invaders were to commence their career with the slaughter of the protestants, and the destruction of their property; that the popish religion was to be established with the utmost splendor, on the subversion of the established church; and that the estates which had been forfeited in former rebellions, were to be restored to the old Irish families. But their astonishment was great, on being informed by the French, that their object was to give them a new constitution similar to that of France; that they would not suffer any person to be persecuted for religious opinions; and as they considered both religions as ridiculous and absurd, they laughed at those who contended about them.

On Sunday the twenty-sixth of August, the main body marched towards Ballina, with a prodigious number of the native Irish, whom they had armed and clothed; but they left behind them two hundred privates, and six officers, for the purpose, as the general said, to protect the protestant inhabitants from the sanguinary spirit of the popish multitude; but it is presumed they had also another object in contemplation, that of guarding a large quantity of ammunition, which they left at Killala, and of securing a retreat. They took five hostages with them, of whom Mr. Edwin Stock, the bishop's son, and the reverend Mr. Nickson, were two.

When the French approached Ballina, they blindfolded the hostages, and led them to the house of colonel King, in the midst of a vast

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concourse of pikemen, who insulted and reproached them as heretics in the most opprobrious language. They passed the night under the protection of four Frenchmen, but were exposed to the invectives of some hundreds of the rebels, who threatened to force the guard, and put them to death.

As their horses could not be found next day, general Humbert at his departure permitted them to return.

On setting out for Castlebar, he left one True, a French officer, of a savage disposition and vulgar manners, to keep possession of Ballina.

Our troops, before they left that town, hanged a man of the name of Walsh, whom they found recruiting for the French, a commission from whom they found in his pocket. This was Walsh the younger, who was charged at Sligo, before general Taylor, of treasonable practices, but whom he liberated in consequence of the excellent character given of him by some magistrates and others.

The French officers having found his body suspended when they entered the town, each of them gave it the fraternal embrace, and bedewed it with tears of sympathetic civism; and after having exposed it some time in the street, to excite the indignation of the populace against the loyalists, it was carried to the Romish chapel, where it lay in state with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been the greatest hero or patriot of the age.

On the twenty-eighth of August, Mr. Richard Burke was brought a prisoner from Ballina, where he had been haranguing the populace, and inciting them to murder the protestants, which they had been but too well inclined to do before.

The French were very much astonished at finding that no protestants would join them; for not a single person in the whole country of the established church could be found to do so, except two drunken vagabonds at Killala, who in reality were destitute of all religious principle, though they passed for protestants; and they went through the ceremony of conforming to popery, and were baptized, thinking that it would recommend them to the French.

The bishop might have made his escape before the French arrived at his palace, but with laudable fortitude he resolved on remaining, by which he

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materially assisted the French officers in maintaining social order, and in preserving the lives and properties of the protestant inhabitants.

The popish priests very soon displayed an ardent zeal to promote the interest of the French. Father Thomas Munnely lived in a place called the Backs, where he officiated as curate in a parish which belongs to the popish bishop doctor Bellew: Soon after the invasion he repaired to Killala, and offered his services to the French, who gladly received them, well knowing the unbounded influence of the priests over the popish rabble.

He was employed in carrying them recruits, in equipping them with arms and clothes, and in searching for orangemen, as the protestants were indiscriminately called. Having heard that Mr. Knox of Bartra, brother to counsellor Francis Knox, a gentleman of good property, had still continued to defend his house, he voluntarily offered his service to visit him, and to carry him a prisoner to the French. His offer having been accepted, he put himself at the head of a party of armed rebels, marched to Bartra, entered it by surprise, and with a pistol in his hand, forgetful of his allegiance, and of the sacredness and respectability of the sacerdotal character, he descended to the meanings of a common robber, and obliged Mr. Knox to deliver his purse, consisting of a few guineas, and then conveyed him, tied, as a prisoner, to the quarters of his new allies.

This villain defrauded the gallows of its due, for, after absconding some time, he surrendered himself under the proclamation, and has been transported with many culprits of notoriety.

Father Sweeny lived near Westport, in the county of Mayo, and enrolled himself in the service of the French, soon after they landed. He repaired to the bishop's palace, and though uninvited, stationed himself there at bed and board, supposing that his new allies would be desirous of availing themselves of his influence over the popish rabble.

He said to the French officers, "As every thing belonging to the protestants will be confiscated, I should be obliged to monsieur Charoet, if he would let me have the bishop's library, as I am fond of reading;" but Charoet turning from him with contempt, said, "The bishop's library is as much his own now as ever it was."

This man took uncommon pains to prevail on the parishioners of Mr. Conway, a loyal priest, in the neighbourhood of Ballina, to take a part in the rebellion, in which he was strenuously opposed by the other,

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who constantly preached up the duties they owed their king and country, in which he had considerable success.

Sweeny was apprehended and tried by a court-martial at Castlebar, where he was convicted on the most unquestionable evidence; and the testimony of the before-mentioned loyal priest tended much to bring him to the shameful and well merited death which he there suffered, having been hanged for his crimes.

From the very great contempt which the French shewed for the bigotry of the common Irish papists, and the strong opposition which they gave to their desire of massacring and plundering protestants, it is astonishing that they flocked to them in such numbers. The officers were filled with amazement on hearing the Irish recruits say, when they offered their service, that they came to take arms for France and the blessed Virgin.

It is astonishing also, that the priests should have been so zealous for them, as they manifested the most striking dislike, mingled with contempt, towards them; though common policy required that they should use every art to conciliate them, as they had unbounded influence over their flocks; and as many of them had a smattering of French, they served them as interpreters.

Monfieur Charoft said, "That they had just driven the pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him so suddenly in Ireland."

James Conroy, parish priest of Adergool, in the barony of Tyrawly and county of Mayo, a few weeks before the invasion of the French, took the oath of allegiance, in his own chapel, and in the presence of some hundred of his flock, who followed his example; and he exhorted them from the altar, to be loyal to the king and obedient to the laws, in a long speech, conceived in such forcible language, that the magistrate, who administered the oath, was convinced of his sincerity; and yet, in violation of it, he repaired to Killala, which was twenty miles distant, as soon as the French landed there, embarked warmly in their interest, and was the first person who shewed them the practicability of marching to Castlebar, by Barnageehy, instead of the usual road by Foxford.\*

As his house was in their route, he entertained the French and rebel officers: He converted his chapel into a guard-house for them, his mansion

\* See Plate X. 5.

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was their banqueting-house, and the oxen which they took from his neighbours were slaughtered in one of his out-offices.

It has been since discovered, that a messenger had been dispatched to general Hutchinson, to inform him that the French were advancing towards Castlebar, by Crossmalina, instead of Foxford; but Conroy and his coadjutor stopped him, made him swear the united Irishmen's oath, and enrolled him in the rebel ranks. His name was William Burke. He was afterwards hanged at Castlebar. The stopping him was the occasion of many calamities to this kingdom.

Conroy, conscious of his guilt, and fearing that he should be arrested, kept guards constantly round his house, after the arrival of our troops at Killaia; but a party detached by general Trench surprised his vidette, killed two of them, wounded a third, and took the fourth prisoner. They were all in French arms and uniforms. They found in his house a French carbine, and some cartridges; a printed proclamation of the French, offering liberty to the people of Ireland; and the entire correspondence which had taken place between him and one Maguire of Crossmalina,\* a noted rebel leader.

He was hanged at Castlebar, without either confessing or denying his guilt; and though he was sure of eternal salvation for having opposed an heretical fate in support of the true faith, he had scarce sufficient strength to ascend the fatal step.

On the first of September, lieutenant-colonel Charoft received orders from general Humbert, to send off all the French troops to Castlebar, but that he should remain at Killala, as commander of it, with another French officer of the name of Ponson.

This intelligence filled all the protestants with the most gloomy apprehensions, left the authority of the commandant would not be sufficient to protect them from that sanguinary spirit which the lower class of people had so often manifested; and they dreaded the fate of the protestant sufferers at Wexford-bridge, Vinegar-hill, and Scullabogue.

Charoft, a man of sense and honour, and naturally benevolent, shewed great horror at the bigotry of the Romanists, sympathized most tenderly with the protestants, and used the most unremitting exertions to protect them from its baneful effects. He had two hundred Irish recruits under

\* See Plate X. 4.

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his command, but the envenomed hatred which they had already shewn towards all loyal subjects proved, that they could not place much reliance on their protection. The commandant, wishing to adopt measures for securing the lives and property of the inhabitants of the town and the adjacent country against robbers, invited them without any distinction of religion or party, to accept of arms, but on condition that they would return them when called for. The inhabitants of the town, and especially the protestants, embraced the offer with alacrity, and the distribution took place on the evening of September the first.

The rebels objected strongly against supplying the protestants with arms, as they said that they would turn them against the French and their allies, as soon as an English army appeared; and two of their officers, of the name of Mulheeran and Maguire, who were spokesmen on the occasion, became clamorous and vehement, the former having manifested his disgust so much as to lay down his arms.

The protestants, intimidated by the menaces of the rebel soldiers, resolved to surrender their arms, and to rest their defence on the fidelity of the Irish recruits.

As the rebels continued their murmurs and complaints, and harassed the protestants with domiciliary visits, in search of arms, the commandant, at the instance of the latter, issued a proclamation, requiring that no person should appear in arms, except recruits for the French service.

In addition to the terror of being deprived of their arms, the protestants were very much alarmed at the accounts which were constantly received of depredations committed on the houses of persons of the established church, in all the adjacent country. Every night some house was plundered; and scarce an hour passed, in which the bishop was not importuned to redress some grievance, or to obtain from the commandant protection for some house against the rapacity of banditti.

Deal Castle, the elegant seat of lord Tyrally, was made a perfect wreck of. The commandant, therefore, issued a proclamation for dividing the country into departments, and appointed a civil magistrate, aided by a certain number of rebel soldiers over each. Mr. James Devitt, a Roman catholic tradesman, of good sense and moderation, was appointed to preside over the town, and had one hundred and fifty men under his command.

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About twenty men mounted guard in the castle, which was considered as the head-quarters of the allied army. This institution afforded in some degree peace and protection to the town: but the most shocking depredations continued to be committed on the houses of protestants in all the adjacent country, by those very rebel guards who had been appointed to protect them.

This is not surprising, as the rebels were elate on the arrival of the French, with the hope of being allowed to indulge their sanguinary rage against protestants, and to plunder their property with impunity; and they were much vexed and disappointed when it was given out in publick orders, that any depredations committed on private property should be punished with death; and the rebel leaders submitted to such orders with the utmost reluctance, for they were in many instances little better in point of moral character than the semi-barbarous rabble whom they headed.

At Ballina, and its vicinity, any miscreant who could influence forty or fifty ruffians, became captain of a company of pikemen, and obtained a commission from True the commandant; and the first act by which he signalized himself was, by dragging in orangemen, by which they meant protestants, and by plundering their houses.

Before I proceed to describe the operations of the main body of the French army at Castlebar, I will give the reader a sketch of the characters of some of the most conspicuous rebel leaders in the neighbourhood of Ballina and Killala.

Henry O'Keon, was the son of a cow-herd of lord Tyrawly, and was born at Kilcomin, within three miles of the latter. Having acquired a smattering of Latin at a hedge school, he repaired to Nantz in France, where he studied divinity, and received holy orders, in the year 1788.\* On the abolition of his order in France, he enlisted in the service as a private soldier, and was gradually advanced to the rank of a captain of grenadiers†

The following commission found among his papers, proves that he came as an interpreter to the French, and that their expedition was intended for the place where they landed:

† His testimony was found among his papers and produced on his trial. †His commission was also produced.

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“Army of expedition Liberty! . . . . Equality!

“General Humbert, on account of the civility of citizen Henry O'Keon, has chosen him to be employed in quality of an interpreter, and he shall be considered amongst the number of the staff. Citizen O'Keon will embark on board the Franchise frigate, with adjutant-general Fontaine, and shall be admitted in the number of the staff of general Humbert, commander in chief of the expedition.

“HUMBERT.”

O'Keon, well knowing the superstitious credulity and the fanaticism of the popish multitude, assembled a vast concourse of them in the street of Ballina, and having mounted the rostrum, he related the following story to them in his native tongue, which he spoke better than French or English: “That he dreamt one night in France, that the virgin Mary visited him, and informed him that her votaries in Ireland were suffering the most grievous persecution, and she recommended to him to go to their relief. As he regarded it merely as an idle dream, she made him a second visit, and bemoaned, in the most doleful accents, the state of her friends in Ireland, and repeated her former advice; but as he shewed no regard to it, she made him a third visit, and gave him a violent box in the ear. Convinced by this that her Holiness was serious, he repaired to the French directory, and persuaded them to undertake this expedition; and he assured them that there could not be a doubt of its success, as it was undertaken by the advice, and under the sanction of the blessed virgin.” The benighted multitude persuaded of the truth of what he said, testified their joy and their approbation of it by vociferous acclamation.

O'Keon was humane, having upon all occasions opposed the bloodthirsty disposition of the popish multitude.

Father Prendergast, lived near Westport, and was of the order of mendicant friars who support themselves by the voluntary donations of such persons in their neighbourhood as can afford to exercise acts of liberality; but he, like many others of his order, extorted very large contributions from the bigotted herd of papists, who have an extraordinary superstitious reverence for their sacerdotal guides of every description.

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Such was father Prendergaft, a flout, fturdy, well fed prieft, who battened on the fat of the land, *Epicuri de grege porcus*, without giving himfelf any trouble about his fpiritual concerns, except when he could turn them to profit.

The moft fruitful fource of lucre which his vocation afforded him, was the fale of fcapulars, of which he often fold a bafket at fairs or patrons.

He alfo dealt in charms and prophecies. One of the former, of which I give the reader a copy, was found on the perfon of one Prendergaft, a farmer, who obtained it from this holy friar in the year 1798, by a very reputable magiftrate in the county of Mayo, near Weftport. I have given one of them found on a rebel in the county of Wexford, and a fimilar piece of fuperftitious trumpetry is to be found in doctor Bernard's hiftory of the fiege of Drogheda, written in the laft century.

“Jefus I. H. S. Maria  
“Truft Δ Thee.”

“This is meafured of the wounds of the fide of our lord Jefus Chrifft, which was brought from Conftantinople unto the emperor Charles, within a gold cheft, as a relief moft precious to that effect, that no evil or any thing might take him who reads it, hears it, wears it, cannot be hurted by any tempeft, fire, water, knife, fword, lance, or bullet; neither the devil fhall hurt him. He fhall be victorious and never die an untimely death, and it fhall be a fure fafety to women with child. Amen, fo be it.” To Pat. Prendergaft.

As foon as the French landed, father Prendergaft attached himfelf in the ftrongeft manner to them, and was very fuccefsful in promoting their intereft, from the great influence he had over the lower clafs of people. When the king's troops again took poffeffion of the country, he, with many others, fled to the mountains, where for fome months he endured much from want, anxiety and difeafe.

A party of the king's troops, who went in fearch of a banditti which infefted the country, found this holy friar a moft miferable inftance of the uncertainty of human affairs, lying in a wretched hut, almoft confumed by that moft dreadful and loathfome diforder called morbus pediculofus,\* of

\* The loufy diforder.

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which he died foon after; and fuch were the putrid effluvia which iffued from his body, that it was both dangerous and offenfive to approach it for the purpofe of interring it.

Father Owen Cowley was the fon of a poor peafant, who lived in the parifh of Cattleconnor, and county of Sligo, within about four miles of Ballina. At a hedge-fchool he acquired a competent fhare of Latin to read the mafs, and received holy orders, having been fancioned by the impofition of doctor Bellew's hands. One of the crimes charged againft Jeroboam was, “That he made of the loweft of the people priefts of the high places: Whofoever would, he confecrated him, and he became one of the priefts of the high places. And this became fin unto the houfe of Jeroboam, even to cut it off, and to deftroy it from the face of the earth.”\*

The fame praftice prevails among the Roman catholick bifhops of Ireland, as they commonly recruit from the loweft clafs of the people, to fill the vacancies in the ecclefiaftical ranks; and when fuch perfons are felected to preach the gofpel, it is not furprifing that vice and immorality are fo prevalent, or that the popifh clergy are found at the bottom of plots and confpiracies, and that many of them are the moft active incendiaries, and foremofth in the ranks of rebellion.

Father Cowley having finished his Irish education, repaired to France, to complete himself in humanity and divinity.

When the French republicans were exercising a cruel and sanguinary spirit against ministers of the gospel, he retired to his native country; and yet such was his disaffection to a protestant king, and a protestant state, that he offered his services to those very republicans, though they were the avowed enemies of christianity, as soon as they landed in Ireland.

True, the French commandant of Ballina, employed him as an interpreter, an office which he abused very much, having poisoned his mind against the protestants, whom he represented as pestilent heretics, and as enemies to French liberty; and he assured him, that their complete extirpation was essentially necessary for the establishment of the new constitution offered by France.

True, though savage and ferocious, refused to accede to his proposal, from motives of policy; but Cowley having represented, that they were constantly conveying secret intelligence to the king's

\* I Kings xiii. 33, 34.

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troops, he obtained permission to arrest and imprison them. He, therefore, in imitation of the Wexford rebels, sent out gangs of banditti, to search the country for protestants, and they fulfilled the most sanguine wishes of their savage employer; as they seized a great many persons of the established church, and committed them to the house of the honourable colonel King at Ballina, where father Cowley daily vilified and insulted them as heretics, and denounced death against them in various terrific forms.

At one time, he was heard to declare that he would burn them alive in a kiln; another time with tar barrels; and when he despaired of procuring them, he said, that his purpose could be effected by tying flax round their bodies, and by setting fire to it. Death was presented to their imaginations another time by the ruthless pikemen, of whom some thousands daily passed by the windows of the house where they were confined. This villain had the temerity to inform the rebels (who were panting for the blood of the protestants) that he had procured them permission to assassinate them; and his diabolical design would probably have been carried into execution that night, but for the interference of Mr. Barrett, son of doctor Barrett, of whom I shall speak in the sequel; and his discovery and communication of it to True was near proving fatal to him; for the pikemen, indignant at their disappointment, in not being allowed to riot in the blood of their heretical enemies, attempted to wreak their vengeance on Barrett's head, from which the spirit and activity of his horse alone preserved him, when surrounded by a wood of pikes.

His address to the prisoners was often in these words: "Ye damnable heretics — ye scum of hell — ye breed of the devil — your time is but short — ye have but this night to live, and tomorrow ye shall suffer for your crimes."

This happened in the time of tranquillity, when the country was in the hands of the French, without interruption; but in the hour of danger his sanguinary rage against them did not abate, for when the rebels were ordered to march towards Coloony to reinforce the French, he solicited and obtained permission to march the protestants with them, under pretext that they would escape for want of guards, but in reality with an intention of having them cut off. Thus surrounded by a numerous body of pikemen, these unfortunate people were marched off thirty miles, many

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of them barefoot, and almost naked, as the rebels when they arrested them, stripped them of their clothes, after the example of their Wexford friends.

During the engagement at Coloony, the prisoners were stationed near the church, expecting to be put to death if the king's troops were victorious; but after the battle, the guards being engaged in plundering and revelling, the prisoners made their escape, but were afterwards taken and reconducted to their former prison.

Though this wretch escaped the gallows, he suffered a more severe and painful death. Having wandered about the mountains for some months, suffering all the miseries of hunger, thirst, watching, and fear, his friends, formed a subterraneous cavern for him, under a corn field, of which the aperture was covered with a large stone, so as to elude the observation of his pursuers, who often passed close to it. His provisions were let down to him by a rope. At last, he was found dead in his den, and his death was imputed to suffocation from coals, which his friends supplied him with, to correct the humidity of his cavern. His funeral obsequies were performed at midnight by a number of priests, who, it is said, were ordered to attend them, by doctor Bellew, the papish bishop. I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XX. 7, for a proof of the brutal treatment which some of the prisoners received from this ferocious monster.

General Bellew was descended from an ancient and respectable family in the county of Galway, and was nearly allied to Sir Patrick Bellew.

He was brother to doctor Bellew, Roman catholic bishop of Killala, and when that gentleman was at Rome, studying divinity, their father sent out his second son Matthew, to have him educated for the priesthood under his brother. He submitted for some years, though reluctantly, to the course of study necessary to qualify him for the pastoral office; but being of a lively volatile disposition, and having formed an acquaintance at Rome with some Austrian officers, who encouraged him to join them, he entered into the Imperial service, and was soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant; but not finding sufficient employment for the activity of his mind and body at that time in Germany, he entered into the Russian service, where he found sufficient occupation for

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the energies of both, in the bloody war which broke out between the Russians and Turks. Here his courage and conduct were so conspicuous, that he was soon advanced to the rank of major in a regiment of infantry. His rapid career in military fame, of which he ever seemed immoderately fond, was suddenly checked by an unforeseen accident.

At the siege of Ismail the enemy sprung a mine, which blew up part of the works, and buried in their ruins our unfortunate hero and a great many Russian soldiers. Happy had he been, to have been numbered with the dead, and to have finished his life like a soldier, as he had begun it! but Providence reserved him for a more ignominious fate, and exemplified in him the uncertainty of human affairs. In his early days, he fought for glory in a foreign land, and fought with courage the battles of alien princes. In his maturer years, he incurred disgrace and infamy at home, and took up arms against his lawful sovereign and his native country. When extricated from the ruins, he had but few symptoms of life: He languished a long time under his wounds, and his intellects were so much impaired, that he was found unfit for service. It was thought advisable then to give him a long leave of absence, and to let him return to his friends, in hopes that tranquillity and his native air would restore him.

Fresh misfortunes awaited him on his return to Ireland, As he had no fortune, he lived with his friends and his brother, on whom he had great dependence; but when the glosses of novelty wore away, they grew tired of him, and manifested by their conduct that they considered him a troublesome and unwelcome guest. This drove him into low company, and a habit which he had

acquired of drinking spirits, increased his derangement, and made him disagreeable and offensive. His brother having quarrelled with him, refused to admit him into his house, and used to billet him among his priests, month about; a situation very disagreeable to him, as he disliked the principles, and was disgusted with the ignorance and vulgarity of his hosts, which in his gay hours were a subject of merriment and ridicule to him. By the death of an uncle, he became entitled to £600 which he frequently solicited, to carry him back to Ruffia; but, notwithstanding the most pressing solicitations, he could not obtain it from his brother, who transacted the affairs of the deceased. He was frequently invited to the tables of the genteel and

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respectable families at Ballina, particularly by the reverend Mr. Neligan, who was much entertained with the narrative of his adventures; but from the want of clothes and cleanliness, and the filth and squalidness of his person, he soon became unfit for society.

Being in this state of misery and wretchedness on the arrival of the French, he had not firmness and fortitude enough to resist the temptations which they offered him to enter into their service. His first offer, however, was to his king and country; and just as the enemy were about to enter Ballina, he earnestly entreated Mr. Neligan and Mr. West to supply him with arms and a horse, declaring, that he was ready to accompany them and to share their fortune. With this request, it was impossible at that time to comply: He was left then with no other resource, but to fly or to join the enemy, and he embraced the latter. The French were happy to find a man who could speak their language well, and who was likely to be useful to them, from his long experience in the military line; they therefore conferred on him the rank and dignity of general in the army of the Irish republick. But as he continued to give way to his former habits of dissipation and drunkenness, they found him rather an incumbrance than a benefit.

Injured against his brother for the indignities and flights which he had formerly received from him, he plundered his house of whatever he wanted; but the doctor having been appointed by the French commandant president of the municipal government of the town, had interest enough to get the general removed and stationed at Killala.

Mindful of former kindnesses conferred on him, he, previous to his departure from Ballina, posted a notice on the house of Mr. Neligan, denouncing vengeance upon any person who should molest it; but his authority ceasing with his preference, the demolition of it soon took place.

It was usual with him to levy small contributions on the people in the neighbourhood, to purchase whifkey and tobacco, of which he was immoderately fond; but in no other instance did he offer any violation to the persons or property of the loyalists; and contenting himself with the pleasures arising from his glass and his pipe, he seemed perfectly indifferent about the issue of the war.

At the approach of the king's troops to Killala, he refused to take up arms, or to march against them; though surrounded by a host of pikemen.

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He was taken in the town, tried next day by a court-martial, and hanged. His dejection on his trial was such, that he was incapable of making any rational defence. He was a man of quick lively parts, very shrewd in his remarks on men and manners, and had much sincerity and ingenuities in his conduct and conversation. He knew the French, Italian, German, and Slavonian languages well, and spoke the first three with fluency and accuracy. It is much to be lamented, that a man who might have been a benefit and an ornament to society, should, by a train of misfortunes, to which he was not accessory, be reduced to such a state of debasement, and be finally driven to make so ignominious an exit.

Father McGowan, a fellow of very low extraction, and a noted drunkard, lived at Crofmalina; but having a difpute with the Maguire family, who made a confpicuous figure in the rebellion, he was obliged to change his refidence. Though deeply concerned in treafon and rebellion, the loyalifts could not obtain fufficient evidence to convict him; but though he efcaped the gallows, juftice overtook him in another way. Soon after the furrender of the French at Ballynamuck, a report having reached him, that they had made another defcent, while he was revelling at a chriftening, he, elate at the pleafing intelligence, indulged in the joys of Bacchus to fuch an excefs, that returning to his own houfe at a late hour of the night, he fell from his horfe, and broke his neck within a few paces of it.

Many circumftances confpired to favour the defcent and the progrefs of the French in the county of Mayo, and to make it difficult for government to oppofe them with effect. The oaths of allegiance taken by the popifh clergy and their congregations, like thofe of Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare, for the purpofe of impofing on the government and the magiftracy, lulled the vigilance and banifhed the fufpicion of both; and the inhabitants of that county were, in appearance, but feebly organized, and did not break out into any open acts of outrage; and therefore but very fmall parties of the military were quartered in it.

There was a large army ftationed in Munfter, as an infurrection was to be apprehended there, and becaufe it was more likely to be invaded by the French than any other part of the kingdom. As the landing of the French in Ireland fuddenly occafioned a ftrong and vifible fenfation, not only in the difaffected inhabitants of Dublin, but in thofe of every

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county which had previoufly fhewn any fymptoms of difloyalty, and as ftrong indications of an intended infurrection appeared in them, it would have been very perilous to have marched the troops out of fuch diftricts.

Major-general Hutchinfon, who commanded in the province of Connaught, and who, with major-general Trench, was in the town of Galway,\* on receiving intelligence of the enemy's defcent, refolved on marching towards the counties of Mayo and Sligo, with whatever troops he could collect; but from the flender force under his command, this could not be effected without leaving the counties of Leitrim and Rofcommon, notorioufly difaffected, liable to infurrection, and the bridges on the upper part of the Shannon without protection. The troops with which he moved towards Caftlebar,† were the Kerry militia from Galway, a detachment of the Frafer fencibles from Tuam,‡ the Kilkenny militia from Loughrea, the Longford from Gort, a detachment of lord Roden's fencible dragoons, four fix-pounders, and a howitzer from Athenry.‖ Thefe troops were afterwards joined by the fkeleton of the 6th regiment, about one hundred men, from Galway; which afterwards continued to be garrifoned by a few corps of yeomanry only.

The difpofition of the country feemed at firft favourable, which was by no means the cafe in the counties of Leitrim and Rofcommon, Cavan and Weftmeath, in which there was a confiderable movement of the people, and the blackfmiths were bufily employed in making pikes.

Brigadier-general Barnet ordered the city of Limerick regiment of militia to march from Athlone§ to Carrick-on-Shannon.\*\*

In the mean time reports were received from general Dundas, who commanded in the county of Kildare, that there were ftrong apprehenfions that a general infurrection would take place there, as notices had been circulated by the difaffected, inciting the people to rife; and as many of the inhabitants had left their houfes, he was under the neceffity of detaining part of the reinforcements intended for Connaught.

The marquis of Cornwallis having received intelligence the twenty-fourth of August of the landing of the French, ordered lieutenant-general Lake to proceed to Galway, to take the command of the troops

\* Plate X. 10. † Ibid., 6. ‡ Plate X. 8. || Ibid. 10. § Plate X. 9 \*\*Ibid. 5.

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affembling in Connaught, his excellency intending in person to collect the troops that could be spared from Leinster, at Athlone, or Carrick-on-Shannon, and to act in concert with the other general officers, as circumstances should require. He arrived at Philipstown on the twenty-sixth, with the 100th regiment, the first and second battalions of light infantry, the flank companies of the Bucks and Warwick militia, and on the twenty-seventh proceeded to Kilbeggan;\* the troops having made a progress of forty-four Irish miles in two days.

Major-general Hutchinson arrived at Castlebar on the twenty-fifth, and made proper dispositions to receive the enemy. Two roads led from Ballina to Castlebar; one to the east of Loughconn, by Foxford,† a village eleven miles from Castlebar, and situated on the river Moy, which is broad and deep, and is crossed by a bridge of many arches. As this is by far the best road, general Hutchinson detached the Kerry regiment, with their battalion guns to defend that pass; and brigadier-general Taylor arrived there also, with a detachment of regular troops and yeomanry. As there is a very strong pass, called Barnageehy, on the other road,‡ to the west of Loughconn, and as it is far less practicable, and therefore much less frequented, than the road by Foxford, it was universally believed, and it was reasonable to suppose, that the French would make their approach by the latter; and it is most certain, that general Humbert, openly and sedulously announced, some hours before he marched, that he would proceed by Foxford, intelligence of which was conveyed to generals Hutchinson and Trench; and the better to deceive them, he marched part of the road towards Foxford, and then turning suddenly to the right, he proceeded by Loughconn, where a narrow pass, called Barnageehy, through the mountains of Fanogue, is so strong by nature, that one company with a battalion gun posted there, would have checked the progress of the French. But for the reasons which I have assigned, generals Hutchinson and Trench could not have the most remote suspicion that the French would advance by that road.

At the hour of three o'clock in the morning, a yeoman who had been visiting his farm near Barnageehy, arrived, and informed general Trench that he had seen a large body of men in blue clothes advancing that way;

\* Plate I. 7. † Plate X. 4, 5. ‡ Ibid.

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on which the general proceeded to reconnoitre, attended by a few dragoons; but when he had advanced about three miles from Castlebar, he was fired on by the advanced guard of the French. He then returned with the utmost speed, and marched the garrison to a rising ground outside the town, which he had fixed on the preceding day as an alarm post, should the enemy advance to attack them. It was on a hill at the north-west extremity of the town, running from east to west, and commanding a rising ground opposite to it, over which the French must necessarily pass, and at the distance of about one thousand yards.

Our line was drawn up in the following order: The Kilkenny militia, the skeleton of the 6th regiment of foot, and a subaltern's detachment of the prince of Wales's fencibles, formed the first line. The Fraser fencibles, with a small corps of Galway yeomen infantry, formed a second line; but both drawn up in irregular lines, so as to occupy the summits; of the heights they were destined to defend. The four companies of the Longford were drawn up in a valley in the rear, and a little on the left of the main body of the Kilkenny. The cavalry, consisting of the 1st fencibles, and a part of the 6th dragoon guards, were stationed in the rear of the first line, some

piquets excepted, who had been previously sent out, and some yeomen cavalry, who were posted in different quarters.

Captain Shortall, who commanded the artillery, took post with two carriage guns in front of the first line, consisting of the 6th infantry and the Kilkenny, who were a little to his right to support that flank; the two battalion guns attached to the Kilkenny militia being on his left, separated by the road, but parallel to him. He left the two other carriage guns in the centre of the town, in an open space, under lieutenant Blundel, of the artillery.

They remained in this situation till near eight o'clock, when the enemy appeared in columns, advancing over the rising ground in front. When the French general viewed our line, he covered his column deep with rebels, dressed in French uniforms, to draw the fire on them, and from his own men. A numerous rabble, who were all plunderers, attended them also.

When they had nearly gained the summit of the hill, a round shot from captain Shortall's right gun struck the head of their column, and nearly divided it in two parts. This made them fall back, seemingly in confusion;

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but in some time advancing again, a shot from the second gun struck them with the same effect as the first, with this difference, that the part of the column on the right of where the shot entered, rushed forward (about fifty yards) to the cover of a house, on which the captain found it necessary to direct his fire against the main body, and soon succeeded in driving them back. After this the enemy disappeared for a few minutes, when they advanced a third time in the same direction, but endeavouring to destroy the effect of the shot, by forcing some cattle into their front. In this attempt they were also frustrated, and obliged to retire under cover of the hill. In a short time they were perceived deploying from the centre, which was performed in a quick and masterly style, with the files very open. In this manner their line advanced, until it was parallel to (or something before) where their column had been so often obliged to retire from. Here it was, that our infantry committed a fatal mistake, in beginning a fire at so great a distance, that it could produce no effect, which the enemy imputing to panic, or the want of judgment, rushed rapidly forward, to some hedges immediately in our front, under cover of which they continued to advance in detached parties, and without preserving any regular line, and at the same time extending their wings with an evident design of outflanking us. In this situation they did not resist him sufficiently with their musketry; and in a very short time after, the detachment, which was posted for the sole purpose of supporting the guns, retired, leaving behind them the gallant major Alcock, of the Kilkenny, who was wounded.

It was still hoped, that they would have rallied in rear of the guns, when they perceived the execution made by the cannon shot; but they ran off; and captain Shortall had only time to fire three rounds, when the enemy rushed in on his right, and would certainly have put him and all his men to death, but that it is supposed their ammunition was expended. While captain Shortall was at the breach of his gun, he was clofed by a French officer, who having fired a pistol at him, and missed him, was on the point of drawing his sword, but the captain knocked him down with his fist, and then retreated.

In justice to the earls of Ormond and Longford, I think it proper to observe that they did their utmost to rally their regiments.

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The earl of Granard, major Thompson, captains Chambers and Armstrong rallied some soldiers of the Longford, and some dragoons of other corps, and covered the retreat of our troops, by maintaining, as they retired, a well-directed fire from behind hedges and walls, on the enemy as they advanced. These officers then took post on the bridge with their small party and a carriage

gun, well served and directed by corporal Gibbon of the Royal Irish artillery, and with great gallantry and good judgment defended that pass for above half an hour against the main body of the enemy. At the same time, lieutenant Blundell, with the other gun in the street, used the utmost exertion to oppose them.

The party who defended the bridge, consisting of the before-mentioned officers, some of the Longford, a few of the Kilkenny and Fraser's, suffered most severely, as it was exposed to a cross fire, both from the roads leading to it, and from the houses on each side. The men often fell back and were rallied by their officers. At length, most of the Royal Irish artillery, who worked the gun, having been killed or wounded, it became useless; and the enemy were able to push forward a body of cavalry, whose charge was however repulsed by this small party, and two of the foremost officers were killed in our ranks. By this charge, however, our numbers were much reduced, and having lost the assistance of one captain and one subaltern, who were desperately wounded, they were obliged to retreat, after having lost near one half of their party.

Captain Chambers fell, covered with wounds; and when down, a Frenchman, enraged at the spirited defence which he and his small party had made, drove a bayonet into his mouth, and the savage rebel women leaped on his body, and yet he still survives; but so impaired in his health, being completely exhausted and debilitated by the number of wounds which he received, and the great effusion of blood which ensued, as to be but the shadow of what he was: But it is to be hoped, that some substantial rewards will one day await that signal valour which he displayed in the service of his country, and which renders him an honour to it.

Many of the French officers assured me, that they never saw guns better served or more destructive than those of our artillery; and that the action would have terminated in our favour, if the infantry had stood their ground and supported them for ten minutes longer.

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The French approached the new goal to break it open: It was guarded by a highland Fraser sentinel, whom his friends had desired to retreat with them; but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was elevated, with some steps leading to it. He charged and fired five times successively, and killed a Frenchman at every shot; but before he could charge the sixth time, they rushed on him, beat out his brains, and threw him down the steps, and the sentry box on his body.

A party of French dragoons pursued our retreating army above a mile from the town, and took a piece of cannon, which they were on the point of turning on their rear, but a party of Lord Roden's fencibles rescued the gun, and killed five of them.

A respectable inhabitant of Castlebar gives the following account of five French soldiers who resided in his house, and of some other particulars: "When they entered my house, I implored them to spare the lives of me and my wife: They raised us from our knees, and said, "Vivant!" They demanded bread, beef, wine and beer, and by supplying them with those articles, as far as my purse went, I obtained their good will. The rebels who accompanied them at first plundered us of various articles; but one day when they revisited us, I alarmed my foreign inmates, who expelled and chastised them severely. One of them, by name Philip Sheers, was from Holland; I gave him my watch, but he kindly returned it; another, Bartholomew Baillie, from Paris, was mild, learned, and rather silent. He had been a priest, but on the overthrow of his order, became a soldier: He denied a future existence. One Ballifceau, a Spaniard, was as intrepid as Hannibal: Since the age of fifteen, he had followed the profession of a soldier: He had been a prisoner in Prussia, in Paris, and in London: He had been confined in a dungeon at Constantinople: He crossed the Alps with Buonaparte, and fought under him in Italy: His body, head and face were covered with wounds: He was a hard drinker, a great sweater, and mocked religion; and yet he was very fond of children, and never entered my apartment without constantly enquiring for my

wife, who was on the point of lying-in. The fourth was from Rochelle, and the fifth from Toulon.

“As soon as the French learned that lord Cornwallis was arrived at Hollymount, which was but fourteen miles off, the Parifian came to me

\* Taken prisoner when in the Imperial service.

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at midnight, and said, with distress painted in his countenance, “We must depart, for the English, headed by a great general, are approaching.”

Every person possessed of moral sentiment, must contemplate with horror mingled with pity, the depraved and degraded fate of a people in a revolutionary fate like the French; for devoid of every tie, human and divine, accustomed to idleness, and unacquainted with the arts of industry, their only occupation and resource is to plunder and desolate the territories of their neighbours.

On the night of the battle at Castlebar, bonfires were lighted on all the high grounds near it, particularly towards Westport and Newport, for the purpose of inciting the common people to rise, and which it occasioned most effectually. A numerous mob of savages entered the former, and plundered and almost demolished the houses of the protestants, but did not injure one belonging to a Roman catholic. All the loyalists were obliged to fly to Castlebar to preserve their lives.

Though lord Altamont and his family had evinced a very strong partiality for the Roman catholics, and had on all occasions given to government the warmest assurances of their loyalty, their property was not spared. They carried off his lordship's horses, cows, and sheep, drank all the liquor in his cellars, broke some of the doors and windows in his house, which they would have demolished, but that James Joseph McDonnell, who, accompanied by a French officer, took possession of it as his own mansion. They told lord Altamont's French cook that they would not injure him, as he was a Frenchman and a Roman catholic.

Mount-Browne, the house of the honourable Mr. Dennis Browne, his lordship's brother, and member for the county, they plundered and destroyed beyond precedent, where fire was not used; though on all occasions he had been unremittingly the warm advocate of the Roman catholics in parliament. They carried off all his horses, cows, and sheep, and cut down many ornamental trees in his demesne, to make pikes. In short, the savages plundered the houses of every protestant in the country which was not defended, but in no instances the property of a Roman catholic was injured.

The persons who took the lead in the rebellion in that country, were James Joseph McDonnell, a barrister, son to Mr. Joseph McDonnell, a magistrate, and a man of good property. The whole country was organized

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by him. John Gibbons, formerly agent to lord Altamont, and for whom his lordship had a very warm friendship: He was the chief director of the pike manufactory: He was far advanced in years. Thomas Gibbons, his brother, and Edward Gibbons, his son, Valentine Jordan, a very opulent farmer, the reverend Miles Prendergast, a friar, all papists. Not a single protestant was concerned in it.

The entrance of the savage natives into Castlebar was truly terrific, as they made dreadful yells, and were as rapacious and destructive as a flock of locusts. They bore flags, having on them a harp without the crown, and the words, “Erin go braugh!”]

Soon after the French had gained the town, the popish savages attacked and defiled the church, making obscene figures on some of the pews, and destroying others. They were so profane, as to posture with the greatest indecency the bible, which they called the devil's book. They urged father Egan, the parish priest, to say high mass in it, and he consulted doctor Ellison on the propriety of doing so, but he dissuaded him from it. They plundered most of the protestant houses, and whenever the French endeavoured to refrain them, they would say, "Sure it is only the house of a protestant!" supposing that the French harboured the same fanatical hatred against that sect of christians which they did.

Though lord Lucan had been always humane and charitable, and a very good landlord, they made a perfect wreck of his house, breaking the chimney pieces, and destroying every article which they could not carry off. They served the house of the reverend doctor Ellifon, his lordship's agent, in the same manner, though a gentleman universally and deservedly esteemed.

Some of the savages expressed great surprize and horror at seeing some of the French eat meat of a Friday; but they treated them with contempt mingled with irony.

They debated in lord Lucan's lawn on mauling the protestants; but the French officers opposed it vehemently, and they were joined by Bartholomew Teeling and Henry O'Kane, who, though papists, were free from the sanguinary spirit which actuated the common herd. The latter said, "Gentlemen, when you were in the power of the protestants, they did not shed your blood; and when your friends were taken in Wexford,

| Ireland for ever!

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most of them were pardoned, and but few were put to death,§ though they were in actual rebellion: You should also consider, that you yourselves may soon be in the power of the government; but if you will massacre the protestants, put me to death with them."

The French ate the best of meat and bread, drank wine, beer and coffee, and slept on good beds. They compelled the rebels to eat potatoes, drink whifkey, and sleep on straw. They beat and abused them like dogs, in the name of liberty, equality, fraternity and unity. A volume would not contain an account of the brutal actions of the rebels; and the women, who were worse than the men, carried off hides, tallow, beef, cloth and various other articles.

The following short journal of a person who travelled from the county of Galway to Castlebar, while the French were in possession of it, will shew the reader how universally the spirit of disaffection pervaded the popish multitude, and how much their minds were debased and perverted by superstition: "Left Monavea, within six miles of Tuam,\* the thirtieth of August, and found the people idling about the ditches, and eager for news respecting the fate of his majesty's forces. They rejoiced much at hearing of their defeat at Castlebar, and their retreat from it, saying, it was quite consonant to the various prophecies,† importing, that the day was come, when protestants would be completely extirpated, and that their property (a long time usurped by them) would be restored to Roman catholics, who were the only just and rightful owners of it; that it was all the work of God, who had enabled a handful of Frenchmen to beat a large army of hereticks.

"When I arrived within five miles of Hollymount,| I found the roads much crowded by people who were very inquisitive about news relative to the army, and of what form pikes should be made. I entered a house to refresh myself, and was soon after followed by a servant of Mr. L— —, and the steward of Mr. R— —, who were united Irishmen, and who said that I was a spy. They detained me as a prisoner all night. Next morning

§ See a list of them in Appendix, No. XXI, 4.      \* Plate X. 8.

†The popish priests in most places fabricated prophecies, as if made by eminent saints, some centuries before, predicting, that hereticks would be expelled from Ireland, with the aid of the French; and the popish rabble really believed that it would be accomplished at that time.

‡ Plate X. 7.

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I arrived at Newbrook, the seat of Mr. Bingham, which was completely plundered by his tenants, who carried and slaughtered all his bullocks and sheep; declaring that none of his heretick family should enjoy any part of his property, which should be given to Roman catholics, the original and rightful owners of it.”

The bishop of Killala often solicited the French to permit doctor Ellison to go to see his family at Castlebar, but they would not comply, till they had got possession of it; because, from his influence as the parish minister, and a magistrate, he might have injured them materially; but when that event took place, they permitted him to go there, accompanied by monsieur Touffaint.

The French were on the point of levying a very heavy requisition in money and provisions on the town, but the doctor dissuaded them from it, by assuring them that they would alienate those who were attached to them, and rouse the indignation of the English government, by any act of severity or oppression. On the whole he acted with singular spirit and good sense.

While the French were at Castlebar, doctor Crump, a popish physician, went to general Humbert's lodgings, at the head of a numerous party, and implored him to give the Roman catholics one hour's revenge against the protestants, for a hundred years of cruelty and oppression. Fifty-three of the Longford militia who were taken prisoners, voluntarily entered into the service of the French; but some of the carabineers, and the Galway yeomen, refused to do so though messieurs Teeling and Roche threatened them with instant death, unless they complied.

A person who joined the French at Castlebar, gave me the following account of the occurrences there: “On my arrival I was introduced to Teeling, who conducted and presented me to general Humbert, who was very inquisitive. Having informed him that I had been recently in Dublin, and had attended the trials of M'Cann, Byrne, Bond and the Sheares, he asked me many questions relative to them, and invited me to sup with him, which I accordingly did, in company with many of his officers. There was a priest there of the name of Gannon, whose ignorance could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry. He desired Teeling to make me swear whether I was a protestant and an orangeman; but on his declining, the priest swore me. Numbers of people, all Irish, were brought in

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prisoners, under a charge of committing depredations; but they excused themselves, by saying that it was only protestants that they had plundered.

Michael Gannon, a popish priest, constantly attended general Humbert and his staff, and was active and useful to the French. He had been domestic chaplain to the duke of Crillon in France, who being killed on the abolition of his order Gannon continued in the same capacity to his duchess; and he used often to boast, when he drank freely, that he was curator, not only of her soul, but her body. On the extirpation of the priesthood in France, Gannon narrowly escaped by flight, and came to his native country, where he made a most fantastical appearance, having a large fierce cocked hat, à la militaire, and silk clothes made in a curious fashion, all the property of the late duke. From the window of Humbert's lodgings, he addressed a large body of rebels, who were in the street, in the following words: “That though he wished well to their cause, he could not think of taking any military command, but that he would both pray for their success,

and march in their ranks; and at the same time pulling out his oil flask,\* he told them, that he would heal their wounds with his holy oil.”

One Roche, who was an officer in Humbert’s army, assured a person of veracity of my acquaintance, that he was sworn an united Irishman at Paris, by O’Coigly, or Quigly the priest, who was hanged at Maidstone, so early as the year 1796.

While the French were at Castlebar, Francis French of Cottage, in the county of Mayo, a Roman catholic gentleman, of an ancient and respectable family, sent a letter to one Roche, or La Roche, etat major to general Humbert, containing, among others, the following paragraphs: “The enemy are coming forward on both sides, and intend to put you between two fires; Plunket is ready with two thousand men whenever he is ordered.” La Roche, after reading the letter to Humbert, wrote in answer, “That he was surprised gentlemen should wait for orders to march, knowing they were there; that they should assist them with as many men, horses, cars, and as much ammunition and provisions as they could; and that by the co-operation of the inhabitants they would soon

\* What the popish priests carry their holy oil in.

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be able to wrest Ireland from her usurpers.” Mr. French was hanged. Plunket, to whom I refer he alluded, was his relation.

Mr. O’Doude, who was of one of the oldest families in the county of Mayo, and of the popish religion, joined the French, and was taken and hanged after the battle of Ballynamuck, when the French finally surrendered.

On the night of the third of September, general Humbert sent off his baggage and cannon, with part of his troops, towards Sligo, and about seven o’clock next morning he set out with the remainder, about four hundred in number. The French found their Irish recruits so prone to desert, that they placed a guard in their front and their rear as they marched.

The same day he sent doctor Ellison with eighty prisoners to lord Cornwallis, as they were but an incumbrance to him. The doctor in his way met colonel Crawford, with a detachment of the Homebushers, and lord Roden’s fencibles. He returned with them, and arrived at Castlebar, about nine o’clock at night, and on entering the town, he announced aloud, that lord Cornwallis was coming, and he even bespoke a bed for his excellency; which intimidated the rebels who were left in the town so much, that they fled, and the French officers immediately surrendered themselves prisoners. Soon after they arrived, they sent for Mr. Moore, whom the French had appointed president of Connaught. He was pressed to inform them of the plans of the French and what route they had taken, but he declared his ignorance of them. On which colonel Crawford ordered one of Homebush’s dragoons to draw his sword and cut his head off. Having made some flourishes over his head, as if they really meant to decapitate him, he shrieked and roared, and was in such consternation from fear, that he produced his commission of president, by which he criminated himself. He was in a state of intoxication, which alone could account for so egregious an act of folly. In extenuation of his conduct, he said, that he waited on the French, and accepted the commission of president, merely to preserve the property of his father, a Roman catholic gentleman, who had an estate of £4,000 a year, in the county of Mayo. The first act of his office was to issue assignments; I give the reader a copy of one of them:

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“No. 20.

“In the name of the French government, good for half a guinea, to be raised of the province of Connaught.

3d September, 1798.  
JOHN MOORE.”

Next morning colonel Crawford pursued the French, hung on their rear, kept them in a constant state of alarm, and killed many of them, and their rebel allies. There is not a doubt, but that general Humbert had not determined the route which he should take, till the day before his departure, because a person of the name of Jourdan, who at the instance of Mr. James Joseph M'Donnell, had acted as a spy for the French, was sent out to learn what part of the country there was the least probability of meeting our troops, and he reported that the safest and best course they could take was towards Sligo.

The French at their departure from Cattlebar were about nine hundred, including officers, and they had a great mob of rebels, who were constantly deserting, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance to prevent them. They did not halt till they arrived at Barley-field, the seat of Mr. M'Manus, whither some of the French officers went to order provisions to be sent thence for their use to Swineford.\* They arrived there about seven in the evening, halted about two hours, and refreshed the troops. General Humbert continued all the time in the field, where he ate his dinner, which had been dressed at the house of a Mr. Brabazon.

From Swineford they proceeded towards Ballahy, having halted the army about two miles from that village, to which they sent an advance-guard. Thence they proceeded towards Tubbercurry, and they halted within two miles of it.

The Corranliney and Coolavin yeomen cavalry, stationed there as a picquet, under the command of captain O'Hara, member for the county, having advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, had a skirmish with them, in which lieutenant Knott was taken prisoner, and his only son was killed.

Captain O'Hara then sent intelligence to colonel Vereker, at Sligo, that the French were advancing.

Captain Ruffel of the prince of Wales's fencibles, was taken prisoner at Tubbercurry, and though as such he was entitled to the protection of the

\* See Plate X. 5,

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French, a ruthless affair among the rebels shot him in the back, and dying a few days after, in his seventieth year, he terminated a life which had been devoted to the service of his king and country for above fifty years.

Besides the rebels which marched from Cattlebar with the French, a considerable body of them was sent from Ballina across the mountains, to meet them at Tubbercurry, with eighty protestant prisoners, whom they intended to get rid of, by putting them in the front rank, having insultingly told them so; but their distress for food was so great, that they sent them back under a rebel guard.

Those stationed at Ballina being incensed with their brethren at Killala, for not putting their heretic prisoners to death, three hundred of them set out with a design of compelling them to do so; but they were pursued by O'Keon, who prevented them, though not without difficulty.

Henry O'Keon more than once prevented the rebels from murdering their protestant prisoners.

The following practice took place in Mayo, as well as in the county of Wexford: A popish banditti was sent about in every part of it, to collect protestants, whom they imprisoned, and intended afterwards to massacre. In Wexford the rebels endeavoured to extirpate the protestants, because they had the county entirely at their devotion, and really believed that the entire

kingdom was fo; but they did not proceed to fuch lengths in Mayo, becaufe there was a large body of the king's troops in it, and their fanguinary fpirit was refrained by the French officers.

From Tubbercurry\* they proceeded to Coloony,† and in their way the pikemen plundered the houfe of Mr. Perceval, of Temple-houfe, becaufe he was a noted loyalift, and had been active againft the united Irifhmen.

I think it neceffary to defcribe here the circumftances which preceded an action which took place between the French and a detachment of the city of Limerick regiment, and a few yeomen, commanded by colonel Vereker, at Coloony, one of the moft brilliant which took place during the rebellion.

\* Plate X. 4. † Ibid. 3.

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When the French arrived at that village, which is about five miles from Sligo,\* the inhabitants of the latter, who amount to about fourteen thoufand, were in the utmoft confternation, as nobody doubted but that their defign was to have plundered it, and it contained property to the amount of at leaft £200,000; there were in its harbour a good many fhips, and twelve well furnished bleach-yards in its vicinity. The fmall force ftationed there, not more than fix hundred effective men, was ordered to evacuate it; however, colonel Vereker, with a detachment of the city of Limerick militia and a few yeomen, in the whole not exceeding two hundred and eighty-fix men, and two curricule guns, marched out, engaged the French and the rebels, and gave them fo fevere a check, notwithstanding their great fuperiority of numbers, as to deter them from approaching Sligo, and made them proceed towards Drumahair. The French had about nine hundred men, about two hundred and fifty of the Longford and Kilkenny militia who had deferted, and a numerous body of rebels. Colonel Vereker's right was covered by a rifing ground, on which he pofted a few men; his left, by a river. They outflanked and forced in his men on the hill, and attacked his rear, on which he was obliged to retreat over a river. The action began at half paft two, and lafted one hour and thirty-eight minutes. Of the French twenty-eight were killed, and a great many wounded: they left behind them at Coloony eighteen of their men, who were defperately wounded.

After the action, the grenadiers reprefented to general Humbert, that it would be ufelefs and cruel to compel them to endure the calamities of war any longer, as the rebels would not fupport them, and were deferting from them in great numbers; but the general faid, he could not think of furrendering to fo fmall an army.

About three o'clock fome difaffected people entered Sligo, and announced that our army had been beaten, and that the French were advancing; on which many proteftant women, and fome men who could not bear arms, embarked in the fhips, fearing more the popifh inhabitants than the French; but thofe who were capable of doing fo, to the number of three hundred, marched round the town in arms, and refolved to die in its defence. They were joined by a number of methodifts, finging hymns, who were headed by their preacher, Albert Bleft, a man of great piety, and noted for humanity and charity.

\* See Plate X. 2, 3.

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The king's troops, who remained behind under the command of colonel Sparrow, occupied the moft advantageous ports in the avenues leading to the town. Thus they continued under arms all night.

The fpirit of popifh difaffection and fanaticifm appeared no where fo ftrong as in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, particularly in the barony of Tireragh, fituated in the latter. It is feperated from

Ballina and Killala by the river Moy,\* which forms a bay at the latter, not three miles over; and at low water it is easily crossed by a ferry. The protestant inhabitants of that barony, dreading not only the approach of the French, but the cruelty of the rebels, and there being no forces of any kind in the line from Ballina or Killala to Sligo, they fled to the latter for protection.

Many respectable protestant farmers were seen on foot, driving their cattle and sheep before them, and conveying on carts their wives and children, their beds and their wearing apparel. All the protestant clergy were also obliged to fly precipitately.

The popish inhabitants, aided by the Mayo rebels, plundered all their houses, and even demolished some of them. The principal sufferers were Mr. Nesbitt of Scurmore, Mr. Fenton of Efky, Mr. Brown of Portland, Mr. Grove, parish minister of Kilmuckfhalgan, messieurs Charles and Robert Jones, the messieurs Woods, and in short every other gentleman, and even the lower classes of protestants, all of whom were obliged to fly to save their lives. Nothing could equal the destructive rage of the popish rabble, for they tore up the floors of Mr. Fenton's house, pulled down the ceilings [sic] of Mr. Grove's, and danced on his daughter's piano forte; in short, they destroyed in every house such furniture as they could not carry off.

Some protestants on the sea-coast, went to sea in boats, to avoid the vengeance of the rebels; and on coming on shore for food, some of them were taken prisoners and conveyed to Ballina. Some fled to the mountains, and hid in caves, others in corn fields, and were almost starved.

Conry, the domestic chaplain and bosom friend of doctor Bellew, the popish bishop, and who had recently obtained the parish of Adergold from him, father M'Donnell, of Efky, and father O'Donnell, of Kilmuckfhalgan, and Mangan, his coadjutor, made it a practice of compelling protestants to be christened by a priest, to which they submitted to save their lives and their property.

\* See Plate X. 3.

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Mr. Hillas, of Seaview, who had administered oaths of allegiance to father O'Donnell and his flock, at their particular desire, in the month of April, 1798, asked many of them how they came to violate them, and they answered, "How could we go against our priests?"

That priest used to contend on the following grounds, that the house of Brunswick had no right to the crown of England: That all monarchies were elective or hereditary: That no election could be perfect unless the majority of the people gave their assent to it: That the Roman catholics of Ireland had not consented to the accession of George I. and that he had no hereditary claim, as he descended from a younger branch of the house of Stewart.

A private in the Tireragh infantry, happened to fall into the hands of the rebels, who conveyed him to their head-quarters at Ballina, where father Cowley commanded. Being a protestant, they proceeded to try him by a court-martial, at which Cowley was president. He was accused and convicted of being an orangeman, and was to have been hanged next morning; but having insinuated to one of the French, that he was a yeoman, and that punishing him would be followed by retaliation, he was discharged.

Very great disaffection took place in the popish yeomen of the counties of Mayo and Sligo.

The scapulars a piece of superstitious trumpery, which I have before described, was found on the bodies of many rebels killed in these counties.

For about a month before the French landed, the papists shewed a great unwillingness to pay anything they owed, which proves that they expected the invasion.

Father Owen Cowley had one hundred and twenty protestant prisoners at Ballina, whom he mocked, and told insultingly that they should be executed next day; but early in the morning some of the prisoners perceived an express arrive, about whom the reverend father and some of his friends flocked, and interrogated with much earnestness. Soon after, he approached the prisoner with a dejected countenance, and, instead of contumely, he addressed the prisoners with mildness and compliance, and told them they might go wherever they chose. The intelligence

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which the reverend father received was, that our troops were victorious at Ballynamuck, and that the French had surrendered to them.

From the following circumstance, we cannot be surpris'd at the active part which the papist priests took in the rebellion in the counties of Mayo and Sligo: Captain Nicholas Ormsby, of the Tíreragh yeomen cavalry, was quartered with his corps at Esky, in the county of Sligo, soon after the French landed. Having been informed that numbers of the lower classes of people had assembled at some distance from his quarters, and had collected a large quantity of cattle for the use of the French, he proceeded to the spot where that event took place, and rescued the cattle and dispersed the people. When he was on the point of returning, a woman told him, that father Deafe, a parish priest, was at a short distance, enlisting for the French; and having advanced a little farther, he saw a great number of people ready to join them. Three of his corps were far before the main body: One of them who preceded the rest galloped by father Deafe, who snapp'd a pistol at him. The next yeoman who came up, galloped swiftly by Deafe, and fired a pistol at him, but miss'd him. Deafe was cocking his pistol to fire at the third yeoman, who was coming up, but Mr. Jeremiah Fury, a gentleman of fortune, though a private, seized his arm before he could effect it, and made a prisoner of him. When captain Ormsby arrived, they were on the point of hanging him, but as he fell on his knees, implored mercy, and promised to make a full confession of what he knew, they spared his life. He then declared, what he afterwards solemnly and deliberately confirmed by information, sworn before a magistrate, that Dr. Bellew, the titular bishop of the diocese, encouraged his diocesan clergy, at a general meeting of them, to rise on the present occasion; and that it was at his instigation that they were so active in assisting the French. The pistols which they found in Deafe's possession were French.

One Atkins, of Rathurliff, in the barony of Tíreragh, was bred a protestant, but having married a papist, he conformed to popery, and became a sanguinary fanatick. He was to have headed five hundred of his own sect, and to have massacred every protestant from Ballina to Sligo. He owned this to numbers whom he solicited to assist him in perpetrating his bloody purpose, and to his uncle and aunt, a worthy old couple, and both protestants, whom, he said, he would save; but that he could not

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protect their grand-children. He declared openly, that he would spare none, from the cradle to the crutch. The day was fixed for the massacre, but the event of the battle of Ballynamuck deterred him from his sanguinary design.

I shall now say something of the movements of our armies, between whom it was impossible to keep up any communication, but by strong patrols, as all the natives were inimical. Lieutenant-general Lake was ordered by the lord lieutenant to proceed from Tuam, on the fourth day of September, to which he had retreated after the battle of Castlebar, with the Rea fencible infantry, the Armagh militia, with their battalion guns, a detachment of the Roxborough fencible cavalry, and to take command of brigadier general Taylor's brigade, whom he joined at Ballaghdirreen.\* He sent thence the honourable lieutenant-colonel Meade, about one o'clock, P. M. N. with a party of dragoons, to learn whether the enemy had left Castlebar, and what route they had taken.

After advancing about four miles, to a place between Ballahy and Ballaghdirreen, he was informed by a rebel, taken by an advanced patrol, that the enemy had left Castlebar, and had passed through Ballahy towards Coloony, which intelligence he communicated by a dragoon to general Lake, who came to him, and ordered him to communicate it to lord Cornwallis, supposed to be at Hollymount, which he accordingly did.

When on his way, about fifteen miles from Castlebar, he perceived on the adjacent hills about three thousand rebels, of whom some were near him in a bog. Part of his dragoons charged, pursued, and killed some rebels who were on a bridge, but contrary to his orders and his wishes, as it might have brought on a conflict, and have impeded or even defeated his mission to lord Cornwallis. Having made signs to them, that he would receive them in a friendly manner, a good many of them came to him, and surrendered about sixty French muskets; and probably the remainder would have done so, if he could have remained there long enough. At Swineford,† he perceived great numbers of them in the adjacent fields. All these deluded wretches whom he met in his progress had deserted from the French. He overtook lord Cornwallis between Clare and Ballyhanis,‡; where he remained that night.

\* Plate X. 5. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. 6, 7.

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Colonel Meade was sent a second time to reconnoitre the French, whom he saw pass the Shannon at Ballintra,‡ over the bridge, which they endeavoured to make impassable, by blowing up one of the abutments.

He was sent a second time to lord Cornwallis, who was at Carrick-on-Shannon,|| to communicate the motions of the French to him.

His excellency by crossing the Shannon at Carrick kept to the south of the enemy, so as to intercept them, should general Lake, who pursued them with an army of about two thousand men, fail in overtaking or defeating them, which was a most judicious movement; and for the same reason his excellency advanced with rapidity from Carrick to St. Johnstown.§ As a further security for the capital, he ordered the brigade of guards to Mullingar\* and Kilbeggan, where they must have ultimately defeated the enemy's design of approaching it; and at the same time they were at a convenient distance from the metropolis to awe the disaffected who meditated an insurrection there.

The first day general Lake arrived at Ballinacorney; the second at Ballaghdirreen.† Thence he proceeded with these corps, united, to Ballahy, through which, he was informed, the French had passed the preceding evening, about seven o'clock, more than fourteen hours before him.

He reached Tubbercurry about seven o'clock that evening, where he encamped and remained till two o'clock next morning. He was joined there by colonel Crawford, who formed his advanced guard, General Lake marched from Tubbercurry to Coloony, about eight miles distant, heard there of the action, and found a number of French killed, and some wounded, under the care of a French surgeon.

At Coloony, a Longford deserter was recognized by some of the advanced guards, and shot; the whole army marched over his body with indifference; a strong instance of the calamities of war, and how much they obtund the feelings of humanity!

Numbers of the rebels were found all along the road dead or dying, having been killed by colonel Crawford's corps of light dragoons, who formed the advanced guard, and hanging on the enemy's rear, harassed them most effectually.

‡ Plate X. 4. || Ibid. 5. § Ibid. 5, 6. \* Plate I. 6, 7. † Plate X. 5.

Between Drumfhambo and Carrigan, he received orders from lord Cornwallis at nine o'clock, to march at that hour for Clone. He crossed the river at Ballintra, where the bridge was repaired. The enemy were so hard pressed in the pursuit, that they left two pieces of cannon on the road, about a mile from Coloony, and threw five into the river at Drumahair.

General Lake encamped on the night of the seventh at Ballintogher, between Drumahair and Coloony. He was under the necessity of constantly sending accounts of his movements and those of the enemy to lord Cornwallis, which was distressing, as it could not be effected but by strong patrols. He marched to the south of Drumfhambo, halted there about three hours, and proceeded to Cloone, four miles from Ballynamuck; where a little after sunrise, on the eighth of September, he saw the rear of the French army, whom, with about one hundred and fifty light infantry, mounted behind as many cavalry, he endeavoured to harass as much as possible.

Before day, on the eighth of September, general Lake sent major Hardy to apprise lord Cornwallis of his brigade being near the village of Cloone, where the French had halted the preceding night, and where it was intended to have surprised them, but from the darkness of the night some divisions missed their route. The French were leaving the village as major Hardy entered it, of which he informed lord Cornwallis, whom he met at Mohill, and who ordered general Lake to hang as close as possible upon their rear, and said that he would keep in a parallel direction towards Granard, near enough to afford him assistance if necessary.

He came up with them about half a mile before they reached Ballynamuck,\* when monsieur Sarrafin, who commanded them, surrendered.

General Taylor having reported to general Lake that the French army had yielded, general Craddock and admiral Pakenham rode forward to the main body of them, who were halted on the road at Ballynamuck, when a French officer informed them that they would be fired on, unless they withdrew; but before they could retreat, a volley was fired, by which general Craddock was wounded.

Previous to this, the French had posted a body of marksmen on the brow of a hill, about a quarter of a mile from whence Sarrafin had

\* Plate X. 5.

surrendered, in order to take our troops on the left flank as they passed. General Lake, whose spirit and vigilance are well known, being considerably in front of our light infantry and cavalry, very fortunately discovered them in time to prevent them from doing us any injury. He ordered the light infantry and cavalry to ascend the hill, whose top intervening, prevented them from perceiving each other till they were within a hundred yards. After a few discharges, our light infantry and cavalry charged, on which the French threw down their arms, and the rebels who attended them fled into an adjacent bog. The Frenchmen continued firing their cannon till the marksmen had surrendered, which, if they had been well served, must have done very great mischief, as our troops moved down a hill from the place where Sarrafin had surrendered, which exposed them to the enemy's fire.

The following circumstances attended the surrender of the French: The earl of Roden and colonel Crawford, who led on the advanced guard, consisting of his lordship's fencibles, perceiving an officer who seemed desirous to communicate with them, lord Roden ordered his trumpet to sound, which was answered by the French, when his lordship and the colonel advanced into the French lines. The officer politely asked them what their wishes were? they answered, to save the effusion of blood, and desired them to surrender. The officer said, that he

did not command, but that he would go to general Humbert, which he accordingly did. Humbert came up, asked the same question, and received a similar answer. He then demanded half an hour to give a final answer, which was granted, on condition that he halted his troops; to which he made no reply, but retreated with precipitation. Lord Roden then ordered his trumpet to sound the advance, and came up to the first and second brigade of the French army, who surrendered to about three hundred cavalry, under his lordship and colonel Crawford. After this they advanced with about twenty dragoons, and took possession of three French guns.

Shortly after, Humbert rallied his grenadiers, the only part of the army, except the chaffeurs, that had not surrendered, and consisted of about four hundred men, who surrounded lord Roden and his twenty dragoons. They were given in charge to the hussars. While they were their prisoners, which lasted about fifteen minutes, the French officers loaded the united Irishmen, their allies, with execrations, for having deceived and

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disappointed them, by inviting them to undertake a fruitless expedition. They also declared, that the people of Ireland were the most treacherous and cowardly they ever knew.

Lord Roden and colonel Crawford continued prisoners till his regiment of fencibles advanced in quest of their colonel, which the French hussars perceiving, requested that his lordship would desire them to halt, as they meant to surrender, and by doing so, he prevented them from being cut to pieces.

General Humbert surrendered to general Lake, and was afterwards conducted to lord Cornwallis, who was about six miles off.

Our troops made dreadful havoc among the rebels, who were mostly dressed in French uniforms. Three of their leaders were taken, among whom was Mr. Blake of Galway, a very well-looking man, who was hanged. As our army pursued the French they found all the houses on the road deserted, their inmates having joined the French.

I must not pass over in silence the spirited and zealous exertions of the army under general Lake, who advanced so rapidly in their pursuit of the French, as to overtake them, though they were fifteen hours before them; and though the farmers and peasants supplied the enemy with a great number of horses, on which the infantry rode in turn; and whenever they halted, with plenty of provisions, for which our troops were very much distressed; for their movements were so rapid, that the heavy baggage could not keep up with them. The French and rebels in their progress destroyed every kind of provisions, and our brave soldiers were obliged to scour the country for cattle, and before they could kill them and cook their meat, they were ordered to renew their march; so that potatoes, which they dug and boiled themselves, were their principal subsistence.

When the French changed their route from Coloony towards the metropolis, the most active exertions were used in all the intervening counties, viz. Leitrim, Longford, Monaghan, Roscommon, Cavan, Westmeath, and Meath, to raise the masses of the people to join them; and some considerable and alarming movements were perceived among the disaffected even in Dublin and its vicinity.

A numerous body of insurgents, supposed to be not less than six thousand, having collected near Granard, on the fifth of September, several

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yeomen corps, under the command of captain Cottingham, engaged, beat, and dispersed them, after having killed about one hundred and fifty.

Many Roman Catholics of consideration urged and headed the insurgents in the county of Longford, and a well-digested plan of co-operation had been concerted with the Monaghan

chiefs; but the latter were not to move unless the operations of their Longford brethren proved successful. At the head of these were the two Denniftons, the O'Haras, O'Connells, Farrell, and one O'Reilly, who appeared in arms on the fifth of September in 1798, and led on the attack on Granard. But the issue of that affair disconcerted the plan of the Monaghan chiefs, and prevented the Cavan leaders from attacking the different garrisons in their county, which they had meditated. The two Denniftons and Farrell were members of the Maftrim yeomen cavalry, several of whom fought with the rebels on that day. The elder Dennifton was first lieutenant of it.

The popish multitude in the county of Roscommon, universally disaffected, were on the point of rising, and waited for nothing but a hint from certain leaders in their respective districts.

A respectable magistrate of my acquaintance, who had a strong regard, for a popish gentleman who meant to have headed a numerous body of rebels, obtained a private interview with him for the purpose of dissuading him from so rash an attempt, which he assured him would terminate in the ruin of him and his family. This chieftain spurned at the advice of his friend, and expressed a downright conviction that his party must succeed, as the mass of the people in every part of Ireland were engaged in it, and as they would rise at the same time, the government must be overturned, and that such persons as resisted them would lose their lives and property; and he even went so far as to advise this magistrate to be very moderate in the part he took, lest his intemperate zeal might mark him for the vengeance of the insurgents. So sure were the disaffected that their party must succeed, though with the aid of but one thousand French!

After an interview of two hours, he left him determined to persevere in his rash design; but at the instance of another person of high rank, who used the most persuasive eloquence on the occasion, he yielded, on condition of obtaining his pardon. By the wife and reasonable exertions of this person, the property and the lives of the protestants of the county of Roscommon were preserved from the rapacity of the deluded multitude,

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who were on the point of rising, and only waited for a signal from this leader.

I think it right to mention, that this very important service was rendered by doctor Law, bishop of Elphin, who shewed great magnanimity in maintaining his post; for instead of flying to the metropolis for protection, he fortified his palace, and bid defiance to the rebels, by which he set a good example to country gentlemen.

I cannot pass over in silence the laudable fortitude of doctor Percy, bishop of Dromore, who also remained in his palace, while the rebellion existed in the counties of Down and Antrim.

On Tuesday the fourth of September, a man on horseback went about the county of Westmeath, proclaiming that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholics, and burning their houses. In consequence of it, numbers of people armed with pikes and other weapons, assembled in lord Sunderlin's park at Barontown. His lordship approached them with about twelve of his corps, and asked them, why they assembled in so hostile a manner? They answered, that they were afraid of the orangemen, who were armed and were determined to murder all the Roman catholics.\* His lordship assured them, that their fears were groundless, as no such persons ever were in the country; and he promised them protection, if they could point them out; but they persisted in feigning fears and prejudices.

About two miles farther on the road towards Mullingar, his lordship met another body of pikemen, with whom he reasoned in the same manner, but to no purpose. At last, one of them knocked down his lordship's trumpeter, and wounded him; and soon after served a yeoman and one of his servants in the same manner; on which his lordship and his few yeomen retreated to Mullingar, and in their way saw great numbers of insurgents assembling.

In the course of a few hours they collected in great numbers, and attacked Wilfon's hospital, a charitable foundation, for the purpose of

\* As Mr. George Cooper, whom I mentioned in the dedication, has uttered the vilest slander of the orangemen, I think it right to mention, that a member of the Irish directory acknowledged, while in prison, that the alarming reports about them were invented by them, merely as a device to stimulate the minds of the papists against the protestants, and that the priests eagerly adopted it for that purpose.

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seizing the arms in it and of destroying it, because it was a protestant institution, established for the purpose of maintaining old men, and educating children. They rushed into it with hideous yells, broke open some doors, and carried off arms and other articles: They gave the reverend Mr. Radcliffe, the chaplain, two wounds; however, as he showed the most undaunted courage, and seemed determined not to surrender his arms, they quitted the house; but they sent him a message about eleven o'clock at night, that they would level it next morning at three o'clock, unless he gave up his arms. But as that proposal was treated with contempt, they next day, about eight o'clock, to the number of five thousand, forcibly entered the hospital, plundered it of arms and every valuable article, provisions, and household furniture; took Mr. Radcliffe prisoner, carried him to the town of Mullingar, declaring, they would keep him till Mr. Latten Fitzgerald, confined in Mullingar, as a state prisoner, was discharged; however Mr. Radcliffe was so fortunate as to escape.

Next day they returned to the hospital, converted it into a barrack, seized the cows and sheep, and killed most of them. In short, they left the hospital a perfect wreck. After committing all these atrocities they had mass celebrated for them by a papist priest.

They had twenty-seven protestant prisoners in an office belonging to the hospital, whom they intended to have put to death, by the most cruel torture, had they not been relieved by a party of the army and yeomanry, under the command of lord Longford, who routed the rebels with considerable slaughter.

Some of the rebels proposed to put the boys (who were all protestants) to death, after having plundered them of their clothes. The labourers, and the papist servants of the hospital, were the leaders in this nefarious business, and seemed to exult in it.

A most sanguinary denunciation was posted on a church in the county of Westmeath, soon after the French left Castlebar, which the reader will see in Appendix, No. XXI. 8.

The evening before the attack on Granard, a body of rebels entered Edgeworthstown, and plundered and almost demolished every protestant house in it, except those of Mr. Edgeworth, Mr. William Bond, the captain

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of the Maftrim yeomanry, and Mr. Alexander Bond, post-master; but they did not injure the house or property of a Roman catholic.

For a day or two before, reports had been industriously propagated, that the orangemen were destroying all the neighbouring country, and had burnt the preceding night Street and some other adjacent villages. This, which was the watch word and signal for insurrection, spread like a conflagration.

A respectable gentleman, an inhabitant of Edgeworthstown, gave me the following account of his situation, and of the events which occurred there: "On my going into that village, all seemed to be alarm and confusion. The yeomanry determined, as one of their officers in person informed me, to defend at least the barracks, if attacked by the rebels; but some events occurred

in the course of the day, which induced them to evacuate the place and march to Longford. On hearing this unexpected misfortune, I immediately sent off my wife and family, and once more walked through Edgeworthstown, examining every countenance, and conversing for a few minutes with the two or three left protestants whom I met indignantly retreating. I soon returned to my house, wishing, if possible, not to desert what I deemed my post, and yet, not knowing what to do in such an emergency; but I was soon roused from this uncertainty, by intelligence from my servant, that the rebels in a very numerous body were marching to Edgeworthstown, by the Granard and not the Dublin road, which would bring them within one hundred yards of my door. Before their arrival, I concealed myself in a little plantation on my lawn, where divine Providence protected me till morning. I saw almost a forest of pikes nearly opposite my house. Some rebels on horseback passed within about thirty yards of me, and about three times that distance, a protestant, my next neighbour, who had just fought an affair in a shady part of my lawn, received a stroke of a pike in the head, which, though partially broken by the branches, cut him severely, and almost covered him with blood. I was "all ear" in my place of concealment, and stunned with the discord and confusion of martial music, firing, shouting, crashing of windows and furniture, and such clamorous exultation as might be supposed to issue from a numerous mob in so new a situation, eager to practise republican virtues. It was late in the evening, and just as the greater body of the rebels had retired, a detachment of Lord Oxmantown's yeomanry, being

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accidentally near the town, and hearing of the outrages committed by the rebels, made a rapid charge through the street, and shot a few of the fragglers without any loss on their part, except one yeoman wounded in the face with a pike. Of the particulars of this transaction I was ignorant till next morning; for only once in the night I ventured to walk by my house, and, perceiving the windows broken, I again returned to conceal myself in the firubbery till morning."

A man mounted on a white horse rode about the country contiguous to Longford, on the fourth of September, and propagated a report that the Orangemen were murdering the Roman catholics, and burning their houses from Edgeworthstown to Carrickboy. To counteract his malignant design, Lord Oxmantown, who, with his corps, was on permanent duty at Longford, rode about the country, and by his exhortations and assurances of protection to the lower classes of people, prevented the insurrection from being general, and induced numbers to return to their homes. The same attempts were made in the counties of Meath and Cavan.

The rebels shewed a disposition to rise in the country round Belturbet, in the latter county; but it abounds so much with protestants, who were well armed, that they would not venture to do so, but repaired to the mountains of Ballynamore, about six miles off, where they assembled in considerable numbers. For the same reason they did not venture to rise in the county of Fermanagh, where there were six thousand protestants well armed. From the battle of Castlebar to the surrender of the French, the blacksmiths were employed in making pikes, in the counties of Monaghan, Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, Meath, Westmeath and Dublin.

The landing of the French was known by the rebels in the county of Kildare, the Queen's county, and part of the county of Tipperary; and the minds of the people in them shewed suddenly a strong sensation, and a spirit of combination, even before the loyal subjects were acquainted with that event.

I shall now proceed to relate the defeat of the rebels at Killala, the relief of the suffering loyalists there, and some of the circumstances which preceded it.

The fourteenth of September, the commandant lost his authority so much, that little regard was paid to his protections; protestants who

had obtained them were committed, and their houses were plundered as Orangemen.

On the fifteenth of September, the French officers entertained strong fears that the town would be attacked by pikemen, and they declared that they wished for the arrival of the king's troops. The bishop and his friends who had been twenty-seven days prisoners fell into great dependency on the seventeenth of September, as they expected every night that the castle would be attacked. Twenty persons in arms slept in it, besides the ordinary guard of eighteen; but the latter being Irish recruits, were not to be depended on. There were constantly alarming reports of the sanguinary designs of the pikemen, who were encamped close to the town.

On the eighteenth of September, one of the rebel leaders came to the castle, and proposed to the commandant to imprison every protestant in the church, as hostages for their own security, should the king's army arrive; and it was discovered that they meant to have blown them up; but no other answer was given by the protestants, than that they were ready for them. The commandant generously declared that he would lead on the Irish against the king's troops, and that he would also head the protestants against the former, if any attempt was made against their persons or property. On the eighteenth, the guard and all the rebel soldiers murmured very much at a report which had prevailed, that their friends at Castlebar were in close confinement, and were used very ill; and at last they grew very vehement. To do away the ill effects of it, the bishop proposed to send dean Thompson, and one of their friends, with a flag of truce, and a letter to general French, to represent the dangerous situation of the protestants, should the rebel prisoners be ill-treated.

Dean Thompson, and one Roger Maguire set out for Castlebar, the twentieth of September: They were frequently stopped and interrogated by parties of the rebels, who would have committed violence on dean Thompson, but that he was protected by Maguire. They returned next day, with the most unquestionable testimony that their friends were treated with humanity. Mr. Bourke, of Summer-hill, with fifteen armed men, bravely defended his house against the fury and rapacity of the rebels; which enraged those at Killala so much, that they resolved to attack it; but Charost assured them, if they persisted in their design, that he would follow and fire on them.

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On the twenty-first of September, a body of pikemen having marched through the town in presence of Charost, he, with indignation, mingled with contempt, desired them to go to attend their harvest, as he had men enough to guard the town, and he would not be troubled with a pack of robbers; and Ponson, another French officer, vilified and abused them in the grossest manner. This was alarming to the protestants, as the rebels murmured and uttered some menaces against them, and complained of the strong partiality of the French for them.

Alarming accounts were received that the rebels, in spite of the French, would enter and plunder the town; and, had they done so, there is not a doubt but that they would have massacred every protestant. To encourage them in their sanguinary designs, which they had constantly manifested, a priest, of the name of M'Donnell, rode into the town on the twenty-first of September, and announced that the orangemen were massacring the Roman catholics in all the adjacent country. On the morning of that day a report of cannon and small arms was heard towards Ballina, and sometime after intelligence was received that the king's troops were within four miles of the town.

True, the French officer, and Henry O'Keon, arrived from Ballina, where the former had been commandant, and where he had a narrow escape of being taken prisoner by one of our officers. He abused, in the grossest manner, his allies, the Irish, for having fled at Croismalina, without striking a stroke.

By a preconcerted plan it was agreed between general French and lord Portarlington, that they should attack Killala at the same time; the former approaching it on the south, the latter on the north-east side. His lordship marched from Sligo on the twenty-first of September, with his own, the Queen's county regiment, a detachment of the twenty-fourth dragoons, the Tireragh yeomen infantry, commanded by captain Woods, and the Tireragh yeomen cavalry, under captain Ormfby, making in the whole, about eight hundred men, with two pieces of cannon. They halted the first night at Grange, where a number of rebels approached them, but on firing one cannon shot they dispersed. Next night they halted at Scarmore, where they were attacked by a numerous body of them, commanded by Henry O'Keon and Mr. Barret, son of doctor Barret, who were soon routed with the loss of about two hundred killed.

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In this affair we have one calamity to lament, which left the strongest sensations of grief in every loyal heart. Not far from the scene of action lies the village of Carrowcarden, where a few protestant families lived, who, from their peaceable demeanour and good conduct, possessed the regard of even the rebels; so that, partly by giving them entertainment and money as long as they were able, and partly by hiding themselves in the bogs and corn-fields, they had hitherto avoided the captivity which their brethren suffered.

On this day, a rebel party, commanded by John M'Dunnough, otherwise Pitcher, on their march to attack the king's troops, were ordered to enter the village, and to force every man who was able to carry arms to join their party. They there met with some of those poor protestants, some of them reaping their corn, others concealed in their houses, all of whom they forced along with them at the peril of their lives, and even without arms to defend themselves, and placed them in the front of the line.

When the rebel army gave way, these unfortunate men fled among the crowd towards their own homes; but having been overtaken by the advance guard, they fell in the indiscriminate slaughter of the rebels. It was in vain that they endeavoured to explain the cause of their being there, or to justify their conduct, as the troops, elate with victory, and inflamed with revenge, had not time to examine the circumstances of their situation.

The loyalists had soon after the gratification of seeing captain Pitcher taken prisoner; and having been convicted of that and other crimes, his life was forfeited to the vengeance of the law. This however was but a poor atonement to the community for the loss of so many loyal, well-behaved, and industrious men; and no consolation to the unfortunate widows and helpless orphans whom they left behind to deplore a loss which can never be retrieved.

Next day the king's troops having been joined by general Trench and his brigade, they proceeded towards Killala.

In its defence about four thousand rebels took post behind a stone wall on a hill which commanded the road leading to it; and on which the Downshire regiment advanced. Though the rebels maintained a constant

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fire on them from the time they first came in fight, the Downshire paid no regard to them, till they arrived at a bridge, which was but a short distance from them. They then began a very heavy fire on the rebels, who fled from their strong position, and joined the main body, except about forty of them, who took post in a grove, nearly forty yards from the palace, where some of them ranged themselves behind trees, and others behind a stone wall. The Downshire pursued them, and were followed by the Fraser's fencibles and the Queen's county militia. After about twenty minutes resistance the rebels gave way and ran into the town, where they were charged by the Roxborough fencible cavalry; and though the rebels in the grove kept up a constant fire

on them, their only loss was one man badly wounded, but he afterwards recovered. Mr. Arthur Stock, the bishop's son, a youth of sixteen, was in the charge, dressed in a red jacket.

After the king's troops got possession of the town, they killed great numbers of the rebels, whom they found concealed in the houses, in the gardens, or in the ditches of the adjacent fields. It was to be lamented that our soldiers plundered what had been saved from the Irish savages by the active exertion of the bishop and the French officers. In the first onset it was impossible to restrain them, when they were elated with victory, and their vengeance was roused by opposition. Sometime after, lord Cornwallis sent two commissioners to enquire into the damages committed by the king's troops at Killala, and in March following, the demands of the sufferers were discharged by an order on the bank.

Having related the events which took place in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, I shall give the reader the characters of some of the principal actors in them.

Colonel O'Doude, was descended from a very ancient family of the same name, who formerly possessed a large tract of country in the counties of Sligo and Mayo, two baronies of which, namely Tireragh and Tyrally had their names from two sons of the original chieftain of the family, who divided his estate between them. On this extensive estate they counted twenty-four castles, which were occupied by them and their adherents, and many of which are still in existence. O'Doude having been very active in the rebellion of 1641, this fine estate was confiscated, and divided amongst the followers of the conqueror; a small mountainous

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tract of land, called Bonneconclane, having been given by special favour, to one of the family, and so handed down to the late possessor James O'Doude.

The father of this man, whose name was Thady, being a younger brother, and having neither property nor employment at home, went out a volunteer to Germany at the age of twenty-five years, and in the course of time was promoted in the Hungarian service to the rank of captain, having previously married a German lady, sister to baron Wipler, of whom James was the issue. He having been born and educated in the service, found no great difficulty in arriving at the rank of lieutenant, in which station he served, when the death of his uncle David O'Doude, who possessed the family estate and died without issue, was announced to him. In consequence of this event, he left the army, came to Ireland, and took possession of the paternal property, which proved to be worth about £500 a year, and which he applied himself to the cultivation of with great attention. He soon after married a miss Fitzgerald, daughter to a gentleman of that name, and an attorney, by whom he left children. Previous to the breaking-out of the rebellion, he had become a member of the Tyrally cavalry, and was considered an attentive soldier, and very expert in the use of arms. On the landing of the French at Killala this corps was, like many others, put to flight by the enemy, and O'Doude deserted his post, and returned to his own house, where, by the felicitations of his wife, and the exertions of one Egan, a bigot, who lived with him, and who had acquired a complete ascendancy over his judgment, he was induced to declare for the cause of rebellion. Having assembled his tenants and neighbours, he mustered about one hundred men, and putting himself at their head, he marched to the French camp at Killala, where he received his commission, and arms for his followers, while his wife, mounted on a good horse, and decorated with green ribbons and cockade, attended the procession, and brought up the rear.

Their career of glory was but short, and the hopes of regaining the ancient estate soon vanished into empty air. After the defeat at Ballinamuck, he attempted to escape, but was taken prisoner, and conducted to the camp of lord Cornwallis at St. Johnstown, where, being identified, although he endeavoured to pass himself for a French officer, he was condemned and executed.

He pleaded guilty to the charges brought against him; but assured the court, that this was his first offence, and

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declared on his honour, if they would pardon this, that he never would be guilty of a similar offence; but being informed that his request could not be complied with, he begged to have a priest; but as there was not time for this ceremony, he was constrained to submit to his fate, which, he met, but not with that fortitude which might have been expected from a man who had spent so much of his life in active service, and scenes of war.

To a great weakness of judgment, this unfortunate man added a high degree of vanity and bigotry, which laid him open to the designs of interested and ill-disposed persons. Considering himself the head of the clan or family, he despised taking a christian name, and always subscribed himself, O'Doude, captain; and latterly he had the vanity to assume the title of baron, perhaps from his uncle, baron Wipler, in Germany.

He was so much under the control of the priests, that he submitted to walk barefooted, and with his head shaved, to Loughderg, in the north of Ireland, to perform penance for his sins, and became one of the order of the Scapularians. He took more pains in cultivating the friendship of this ignorant class of men, than that of gentlemen of worth or knowledge, and his table was seldom without one or more of them, on whom he never failed to lavish the best meat and wine.

The idea of recovering his hereditary estate was studiously infused into his mind by his wife and followers, who vainly imagined that a revolution would be accomplished, and that the descendants of the old Irish families would be shortly reinstated in their former possessions and honours by the French. This family have a burying-place appropriated to them in the abbey of Moyne, where may be seen the gigantic bones of some of them, who have been very remarkable for their great stature; as one of them exceeded seven feet in height.

Colonel McDonnell, a Roman catholic gentleman, was son to Joseph McDonnell, of Carnacun, in the county of Mayo, esquire, and in the neighbourhood of Castlebar. His father being a wealthy man, and able to give him a sufficiency of money to set him up in business, placed him with a merchant at Westport; but considering himself possessed of abilities sufficient to shine in a learned profession, he renounced the mercantile life, and went to the Temple, where he prosecuted his studies with tolerable application, and along with a knowledge

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of the laws of his country, he acquired the seeds of those detestable principles, which were afterwards matured and employed for the destruction of law, property and justice. There he became acquainted with the dangerous and seducing works of Paine and his disciples, and was introduced into the corresponding societies, of whose principles and practice he was a great admirer, and profited very much by their instructions. Having returned to Ireland, he was recognized as a champion for the Rights of Man, and chosen by his party as a delegate from Mayo to the catholic convention in Dublin, convened by Edward Byrne, where, by his inflammatory harangues and violent conduct in endeavouring to instigate that body to unwarrantable means for prosecuting their claims, he attracted the admiration of his friends, and at the same time strongly excited the attention and suspicion of government; inasmuch, that it was debated whether he should be allowed to be called to the bar. He was, however, soon after called to it, and sworn a barrister, which added to his consequence, and increased the influence which he was ambitious to exert among the Roman catholics in Mayo. He spared no pains in propagating his dangerous democratic principles amongst all ranks and orders of the people, and by corrupting their minds prepared them for the rebellion, which was soon to follow. The magistrates of the county beheld his conduct with a very jealous eye, and had nearly determined

to have him arrested under a warrant from the secretary of state. This, however, was deferred, through that mistaken lenity by which delinquents are too frequently suffered to escape, and by which the late Rebellion was allowed to raise his baleful head. He was permitted to proceed in his career until the invasion, when a full and fair opportunity was afforded him of displaying both his principles and actions, which he did unequivocally, as soon as the French had made themselves masters of Castlebar, whither he immediately repaired, and was appointed a colonel in their service.

He was attended by a large party of his followers, who had been taught to look for this event by his addresses and harangues, and with these he accompanied Humbert on his march to Ballinamuck, and after the surrender he and colonel Blake concealed themselves in a bog. Blake was taken prisoner, but he had the good fortune to effect his escape, and made his way from thence into the wild mountains of Cunnemara, and from

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thence embarked for Spain or France, with some other fugitives of his own description.

Doctor Barrett, a Roman catholic, was a native of Erris, in the county of Mayo, and descended from an ancient and respectable Irish family, who formerly possessed a large estate in that country, and of which he was not a little vain. Having got a competent knowledge of Latin, which he spoke tolerably correct and fluent, though in a vulgar manner, he served a regular apprenticeship to an apothecary, and carried on the business for some years with much credit to himself and utility to the country. He also attended many of the genteel families in the neighbourhood of Ballina, (where he lived,) in the light of a physician, and was so much esteemed by them, that they entered into a subscription to support him at Edinburgh, while he should study physic there in a regular manner. His wife and children were also supported in the same manner at home, while he studied in Scotland, and that exclusively by the protestant gentlemen, although he and his family were of the catholic persuasion.

In that country such acts have not been uncommon; and I am sorry to remark that the returns made to them have frequently been ungenerous and ungrateful, but were notoriously so during the late rebellion.

Doctor Barrett, having returned from his studies, commenced the practice of physic under the same auspices, in which, from his previous knowledge of medicine, and the skill he had acquired in diseases, he made such progress, as to be in the receipt of £300 a year, in a country, more noted for liberality than riches, and where he had Sir William Boyde to contend with. Before he went to Scotland, the doctor was rather bigoted to his religion, but having frequently attended the presbyterian form of worship, and conversed freely with well-informed men there, he became disgusted with the tricks and superstition of his own persuasion, of which he often spoke with much severity, and seldom, if ever, attended mass or confession from his return till his condemnation; and nothing but the prejudices which he had so strongly imbibed, when young, and his pride, (of which, in common with the old Irish families, he possessed a large share,) prevented him from abandoning entirely the catholic doctrines and worship. It is to be apprehended that his situation was similar to that of many other well-informed Roman catholics, who, unable to digest the monstrous tenets prescribed for their belief, and prevented by

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pride, shame, or prejudice, from embracing a religion more conformable to reason and good sense, suffer themselves to lapse insensibly into a state of infidelity.

As to the doctor's loyalty, before the invasion, it was unimpeachable, so far as was known to his most intimate friends; and, I firmly believe, he was totally unconnected with the leaders of

rebellion before that period. On the approach of the French army, he and his family fled for safety to an island in Lough Conn, where they continued for more than a week, but afterwards induced, partly through want of provisions, partly through promises of protection, they came into the town, where, on account of their religion, they were not only protected, but amply supplied with every article of support and comfort which the demesnes, houses and cellars of the protestant gentlemen, plundered by the rebels, could furnish.

After the retaking of the town, the doctor was found peaceably at home, and seemed very happy to find his old acquaintances and benefactors returning in triumph, many of whom, as well as the officers of different regiments, he entertained very hospitably for some weeks, and seemed perfectly secure from any danger; and, what is somewhat odd, some months elapsed before he was apprehended.

It did not appear on his trial that he ever took up arms, or accompanied the enemy in any act of hostility, or behaved with severity to the protestants who were in his power; but, on the contrary, that he shewed acts of kindness and indulgence to many of them. The chief matters which were proved against him, were, consulting and advising with the French officers; directing the guards; signing passes in his son's name, (who was a rebel colonel,); and forcing his son to take a command;

Before his trial, an offer was made to him, that he, and his whole family, would be permitted to remove themselves to America; but so confident was he, that no act of treason or rebellion could be substantiated against him, that he rejected the proposal; alleging, that if the gentlemen of the country could procure proof sufficient to condemn him, they would not make him so lenient an offer. He was tried and condemned at Castlebar, by the sentence of martial law, and sent to Ballina for execution. His reputation from an innocent, virtuous wife, and seven children, whom he was about to leave unprotected, and without the most

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remote prospect of support, was a punishment far beyond that which the sentence of the law had decreed, and produced the strongest emotions of pity in those who execrated the crime for which he was to suffer, and by which they had been such great sufferers themselves.

He walked from the public house to the fatal tree, and read, as he proceeded, a litany, attended by two priests, and met his fate with becoming propriety and without emotion, having, in a few short sentences, called God to witness, whether he had been guilty of the crimes for which he was condemned. He had many good qualities, and was a very useful member of society; but his having espoused a cause, which was calculated to destroy the lives and properties of his supporters and benefactors, leaves a stain of ingratitude behind it, which no time can efface.

Patrick Barrett, junior, a colonel in the rebel army, was son to doctor Barrett of Ballina, before mentioned, and received a tolerable school education from his father, who intended to breed him to the profession of an apothecary. Previous to the rebellion, he enrolled himself in the Tyrrawley cavalry, where he was always amongst the foremost to volunteer any duty which required spirit or activity, and never failed to acquit himself like a good soldier and a loyal subject.

On the taking of Ballina by the French troops, this corps, with some others, were ordered to fall back on Castlebar, and being badly officered, and partaking in the general panic, with which the troops of the line, as well as the yeomanry, were struck on that shameful occasion, they divided into small parties, and effected their retreat, some retiring home, others joining themselves to different parties of the king's troops, where they could find them. Unfortunately for Barrett, it was his lot to be amongst the former, and having come within a few miles of Ballina, he had an interview with his father, which ended in an acquiescence on his part of coming into the town, which was then occupied by a French commandant, and a large number

of rebels. It is asserted, that the cause of his coming into town, was an expectation of procuring some money to enable him to return and join the king's troops; but in this hope he was disappointed, and was committed a close prisoner with the protestants, where he remained until he consented to accept of a command in the rebel army, which he with great reluctance did, after his father had used all the authority of a parent, and even proceeded so far as to strike him with a

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raton, because he refused so flattering an invitation. Being invested with the honour of a colonel, his time was more occupied in restraining the excesses of his savage and violent followers, than in training them to military discipline. These sort of barbarians, having received arms from the French, or furnished themselves with pikes, were constantly employed in plundering houses, driving in cattle, imprisoning the few protestants who remained in the country, or indulging themselves in eating and drinking to excess, and then becoming unruly and riotous, so that Truc the commandant, and young Barrett were frequently called upon to exert their authority and restore peace, which was the only duty that Barrett seemed to do with a good grace; and it was often remarked of him, that he was never seen to smile after he had been promoted to the rank of colonel, and seriously requested of his friends not to offend him with that appellation. He enlarged many of the prisoners from time to time, and showed them as much indulgence and lenity as his limited and precarious situation enabled him to do. His exertions were not confined to the town, and he was frequently obliged to mount his horse and gallop out to the country to protect private property.

Mr. Knox's house at Rappa, being in danger of being plundered, he went there with a party, and conveyed into town the plate and other valuable effects, which he secured at his father's house.

The reverend Mr. Neligan's house had early attracted the notice of the rebels, and every thing valuable in it had been either taken away or demolished before Barrett came into power, except the papers and records of the registry of the diocese, which were then in Mr. Neligan's care, These, though trampled under foot, and many of them flung into the street, he carefully collected and deposited in a place of safety, by which means the original wills and other records for near one hundred years back were preserved.

His endeavours to save the protestants from the cruelty of priest Cowley were near costing him his life. That villain, who was daily plotting their destruction, pretended that he had received orders from Truc to give them up to the fury of their enemies; but Barrett, suspecting the order to be false, applied to Truc by another interpreter, and learned that his suspicions were well-founded; whereupon he publicly abused Cowley, and accused him so sharply of the falsehood, that one of his

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friends attempted with a pike to dispatch Barret, which he would have effected, had it not been for his vigilance and activity.

Notwithstanding his attention and humanity to the loyalists when in his power, he was ready to draw his sword against them when he met them in the field, and to acknowledge them, not as friends, but enemies. This he proved in two instances, the first in an attack made by him and Henry O'Keon on Castlebar, on the twelfth of September, when in the hands of the king's troops, at the head of a large body of rebels, where, by the bravery of captain Urquhart, a few of the Fraser fencibles and the protestants of the town, he was repulsed and obliged to retreat to Ballina: The second was a much bolder attempt, but attended with equally bad success. When it was at length determined by the wisdom of government, that the unfortunate inhabitants of that part of the country were to be relieved, some from their imprisonment, others from banishment, and that the few cowardly and half-armed rebels who had so long occupied the houses and the

properties of the loyalists were condemned to expulsion, two large detachments were put in motion for that purpose, the one from Castlebar, the other from Sligo. Barrett marched out to meet the latter with a motley crew of his countrymen, but was soon repulsed.

He afterwards concealed himself in the town, and although he was proclaimed, and a reward was offered for his apprehension, the recollection of his past kindness to the protestants prevented them from discovering his retreat, or bringing him to trial.

After remaining in a state of dreadful suspense for some months, he effected his escape to Sligo, where, in the disguise of a sailor, he entered on board a vessel, and sailed for America.

There were many good traits in this young man's character, which would entitle him to a better fate. He was brave and generous, humane and grateful, and his person and manners bespoke something much beyond his education and expectations in life; and it is only to be regretted that his loyalty was not sufficiently strong to enable him to resist the influence which was exerted to seduce him to join the enemies of his country.

Henry and John Sheares, two brothers, who had been arrested the twenty-first of May, were tried in Dublin the twelfth of July, on charges of high treason, and were convicted on the clearest evidence of being

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being deeply concerned in the conspiracy, and of having harboured the most sanguinary designs. They were the sons of Mr. Sheares, a banker at Cork, who was esteemed not only for his moral virtues, but respected for his mental accomplishments and intellectual powers, having written essays and dissertations on various subjects, which would not have disgraced the pen of doctor Johnson. These men were at Paris when the king and queen were put to death, and continued there during the tyranny of Robespierre [sic]; and at their return were heard to speak with delight of the scenes of carnage which they had seen there. They were executed in front of Newgate, and in their last moments displayed that perturbation of mind, and that abject fear which seldom fail to attend the guilty when they are about to depart from this life.

John McCann, clerk to Henry Jackson, was tried and convicted of the same crime on the seventeenth of the same month, and was executed on the nineteenth, when he shewed a decent composure, and acknowledged the justice of his sentence.

William M. Byrne, of the county of Wicklow, was tried and convicted of the same crime on the twentieth of July, and suffered on the twenty-first.

Oliver Bond, one of the principal leaders of the conspiracy, at whose house the Leinster delegates had been arrested on the twelfth of March, was arraigned for high treason on July the twenty-third, and his trial lasted till seven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, when he was convicted. This man, who had made a considerable fortune as a woollen-draper, was the son of a presbyterian minister of St. John's-town, nine miles from Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal. I have very good authority for saying that he was a confirmed deist, and that he had been active in disseminating the works of Tom Paine, of which he was a great admirer. I have been well assured that he was in indifferent circumstances, till he and Simon Butler were committed to Newgate by the house of lords, in the year 1793; on which occasion, being considered as a persecuted patriot, his customers increased so much, that he became opulent in the space of four or five years.

The prisoners confined for high treason in the different gaols in Dublin, perceiving from the trials of the Sheares's, McCann, Byrne and Bond, that they must fall a prey to the vengeance of the law, applied

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to counfellow Dobbs, M.P. to be their interceffor with government, hoping through his mediation to obtain the royal mercy, on making a full difcovery of the confpiracy. In confequence of his interference, the lord chancellor, lord Caftlereagh and Mr. fecretary Cooke, inclining to do every thing that was merciful on the part of government, condefcended to hold an interview with meffieurs Arthur O'Connor, counfellow Emmet, and doctor M'Nevin, whom all the fiate prifoners delegated to reprezent them. Government, whofe clemency and moderation were confpicuous on all occafions, agreed to the following terms: That the prifoners, about feventy in number, fhould exile themfelves for life to fuch country as fhould be mutually agreed upon; that Oliver Bond, who had been condemned to die fhould be fpared, and permitted to accompany them: And in return they were to difclofe the whole of the confpiracy, and their intercourfe with France; but that in doing fo, they were not to implicate any perfon whatfoever in their guilt.

As it was difcovered that the leaders in this band of traitors abufed the lenity of government, by endeavouring fecretly to foment rebellion while in prifon, the following perfons were fent to Fort George in Scotland, where the feverity of their confinement has been mitigated by the greateft indulgence on the part of government:

Samuel Neilfon,	John Chambers,
Thomas Ruffell,	Jofeph Cormick,
Arthur O'Connor,	Edward Hudfon,
Thomas Addis Emmett,	George Gumming,
William James M'Nevin,	William Dowdall,
Matthew Dowling,	Robert Hunter,
John Sweetman,	Robert Simms,
Jofeph Cuthbert,	William Tennant,
Roger O'Connor,	John Sweeny,
Hugh Wilfon,	Reverend Steele Dickfon, a prefbyterian minifter.

Another friking inftance of the clemency of the government was this: In the beginning of September, 1798, an act of general pardon, with but few exceptions was paffed, but it was not productive of as much benefit as might have been expected; for robbery and affaffination continued

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to be perpetrated, the whole of that year, and till the end of the year 1799, in many parts of Leinfter; not only in that province, but in fome parts of Munfter, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, treafonable combinations continued to be formed, and a ftrong fpirit of infurrection appeared. It is to be lamented, that at this time the popifh multitude are as much fraught with difaffection as ever; though they are ftill fmarting from the former rebellion, and though the royal mercy has been extended to them in a very extraordinary degree.

It might be faid that I have gone far in expofing the errors of popery, and have been fevere upon them; but it fhould be recollected, that the popifh clergy never ceafe to reprezent the proteftant religion as a peftilent herefy, which brings the frowns of the Almighty on its votaries in this life, and dooms them to eternal damnation hereafter; and this not only orally, but by various publications, fome of which I fhall mention.

One of them, entitled, "Fifty Reafons, why the holy Roman catholick religion ought to be preferred to all the fefts in Chriftendom," is printed by Wogan and Crofs in Bridge-ftreet; and it is annually diffeminated among the lower clafs of people by their priefts. Every page of this

wretched volume of fiction is replete with falsehood and bitter invectives against the established religion, and cannot fail of making the lower classes of people rebels to a protestant fate. I give the following extracts from it:

“Protestants cannot name so much as one person of sanctity that was of their religion, page 36.

Our adversaries will confess, that during the first five ages, there was no other religion” (meaning the popish) to which nations were converted.” Page 38. “There is little or no instruction to be found among them” (protestants) “upon points of morality, or the observance of God’s commandments; but every thing is allowed to the desires and concupiscence of depraved nature.”

“Their parsons varnish over the dangerous maxims of their own religion, and every thing that tends to the perdition of those souls that are guided by them.” Pages 96 and 97.

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“They” (protestant ministers) “are not priests, since they have not power to consecrate in the Eucharist, nor to forgive sins, which is yet the main office of priestly dignity.” Page 80.

“Heretics themselves confess, that Roman catholics may be saved; whereas these maintain there is no salvation for such as are out of the Roman catholic church. What madmen then were it for any man not to go over to the Roman catholics, who may be saved in the judgment of their adversaries!” Pages 17 and 90.

Every person endued with reason must recoil, on reading a treatise on the Scapular, a pitiful piece of superstitious nonsense, which is constantly perused by the befuddled wretches who are in that holy order; and they are very numerous.

Another piece of gross superstition and impiety published by the same bookfellers is, “Funiculus Triplex,” or the Triple Cord of St. Francis, which sets forth the great indulgences to which the votaries of that order are entitled.

What can be expected from a rabble drenched with the inebriating poison of such productions, but treason, robbery, and assassination!

A poem in four cantos, and in Hudibrastic verse, entitled, “England’s Reformation, from the time of Henry VIII. was published by Peter Hoey, a popish bookfeller in Dublin, in the year 1791. It was written by one Thomas Ward, as a satire on the reformation, and it abounds with ridicule and invention on the illustrious characters who were the chief instruments in effecting that glorious revolution. This production contains no less than 468 pages.

In the year 1790, the translation of a book entitled, “The general history of the christian church, from her birth to her final triumphant fate in heaven,” was printed in Dublin by James Mehain, a popish bookfeller. It was written originally at Rome, by a sanguinary bigot of the name of Paftorini. This writer defends and expresses his approbation of all the massacres of protestants, which ever took place in France and Ireland; and he endeavours to shew, by false and tortuous explications of the prophecies, that it has been positively decreed by the Almighty, that heretics of every kind and in every country in Europe would be extirpated about this time. This piece of blasphemy and folly, which is a large octavo volume of 502 pages, was published to encourage the mass

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of the Irish papists to join in the conspiracy which was framed so early, and in the massacre which was to succeed it in the year 1798, as if it was to be conducted under the divine sanction; and yet, from the year 1791 to that period, the popish clergy and laity frequently assembled in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Dublin, expressed their zealous and unabated

loyalty, and made publick and unequivocal renunciations of the sanguinary and intolerant principles which ever characterized their church.\*

It is most certain, that the great mildness and beneficence of the protestants of every rank towards the lower classes of papists, would soon make converts of them,§ but that their clergy never cease to inspire them with a fanatical hatred against the protestant state and their fellow subjects of that persuasion. Doctor Huffey's pastoral letter is a striking proof of this.

We may form some idea of this from an oath found on board the Gladiator, by which the Irish traitors in the fleet bound each other, in the year 1798, to carry it into Breff, "and afterwards to kill all protestants."†

It appeared also on a trial on board the Caesar, that Michael Butler, an Irish traitor, declared, that there ought to be a catholic government in Ireland; that the protestants should be expelled from it; and that he should not die easy till he swam in English blood.‡

\* See page 81 of this work.

§ The Roman catholics of a parish frequently solicit protestant gentlemen for ground to build chapels on, and I never heard of the request being refused; and in many cases, they built them at their own expence. Whenever a papist chapel is to be built by subscription, the protestants never fail, when solicited, to contribute largely to it.

† Report of the secret committee of the English house of commons, published 5th of March 1799, Appendix, No. XIX.

‡ Ibid.

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An account of the sums of money claimed by the suffering loyalists in the different counties of Ireland, for their losses sustained in the rebellion of 1798, and laid before the commissioners appointed by act of parliament for compensating them.

	£.s.d.		£. s. d.
Antrim	17,720. 3. 4.	Londonderry	17. 9. 3.
Carlow	24,854. 14. 7.	Leitrim	2,316. 19. 1
Cavan	61. 16. 9	Longford	1,046. 14. 1
Cork	2,501. 14. 11.	Mayo	120,553. 11. 4
Clare	856. 9. 11.	Meath	14,597. 9. 3
Down	12,129. 0. 8.	Queen's county	1,556. 9. 3
Dublin	25,829. 16.	Roscommon	325. 19. 7
Galway	4,814. 0. 3.	Sligo	15,769. 14. 9
Kerry	149. 4. 2.	Tipperary	1577. 9. 8.
Kildare	97,090 2. 11.	Waterford	1,321 18. 9.
Kilkenny	27,352. 8. 9.	Westmeath	2,808. 14. 4
King's county	2,461. 19. 7.	Wexford	51,519. 8. 5.
Limerick	22. 9. 6.	Wicklow	130,379. 17.
		Total	£823,517. 6. 4.

[Note: the letter 'h' appears after several of these numbers probably in lieu of 'd' for pennies.]

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