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THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

ROBERT EMMET.

BY

R. R. MADDEN, M.D., M.R.I.A.

Author of "The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen," &c.

"Let my motives rest in obscurity and peace, my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done."—*Speech on Sentence (See Page 201).*

GLASGOW:

CAMERON, FERGUSON & CO.,

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MEMOIR

OF

ROBERT EMMET.

"His memory be green."

—*Shakespeare.*

CHAPTER I.

It is now forty years since Robert Emmet pronounced that memorable speech, wherein he said—"I have but few words more to say—I am going to my cold and silent grave—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished—I have parted with everything that was dear to me in this life for my country's cause; with the idol of my soul, the object of my affections: my race is run, the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom!

"I have but one request to make at my departure from this world—*it is the charity of its silence.* Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man, who knows my motives, dare now vindicate them, let not prejudice nor ignorance asperse them. Let them rest in obscurity and peace! Let my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times, and other men, can do justice to my character; when my country takes her place among the nations of the earth—then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done."

With this solemn appeal at his departure from this world, for "the charity of its silence"—till other times, and other men, could vindicate his motives, and do justice to his character—a man must be truly insensible, and unfeeling, and inconsiderate in his conduct,

who could think of approaching this subject without the fullest sense of the solemnity of the injunction.

Forty-one years have passed away since that appeal was made, and yet it sounds in our ears like the last words of a martyr, which are not to be forgotten or disobeyed. Has the time arrived when the motives of Robert Emmet can be vindicated? Is the writer of those pages qualified to undertake the task of writing the life of Robert Emmet? These are questions that will arise in every reader's mind the moment he sets his eyes on the name that is prefixed to the memoir.

The time, in my opinion, has arrived—not the period which Robert Emmet imagined could alone serve for telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, in regard to him and his proceedings, but the time when an honest man may dare to speak, in England, on any subject, his honest sentiments, in an honest manner. There is a stage in civilisation, an elevation in the power of public opinion, when it is possible to defeat any form of oppression, any force of tyranny, by persevering in the employment of moral means of resistance. This great truth has been taught, preached, and practically demonstrated in our days; I do not say that Government had felt the influence of the humanising spirit which marks that stage of civilisation I have referred to, or that public opinion had the requisite power to act on the former, in the days of Robert Emmet; but, in ours, the new doctrine has been taught, and tested, and has effected a mighty revolution in the ideas of politicians; that doctrine is now firmly established, and is not likely to be overturned; there is little danger, then, that a similar attempt, to that of Robert Emmet, will be made in Ireland. Consequently the story of his life may be told, not only without detriment, but with signal advantage to the interests of a good Government.

The other question that suggests itself must be answered, but not by me. This much it is proper I should say, it would be a miserable affectation of humility to pretend that I felt myself utterly incompetent for the task I have undertaken. If I set forth such a pretence my undertaking would contradict me. My only hope for its success is that it may be judged, not by the amount of literary ability, but of labour and research that I have brought to the performance. Its sole value consists in the documentary information which will be found in it. The authenticity of that

information, therefore, it is incumbent on me to place in the clearest point of view.

Since the publication of the former series of this work I received from Mr. Robert Emmet, of New York (the eldest son of Mr. T. A. Emmet), all the letters and other documents in his possession that were calculated to throw any light on the public character and career of his father and his uncle. These papers have reference chiefly to the residence of T. A. Emmet on the Continent subsequent to his liberation. Circumstances over which I had no control prevented my receiving the latter papers in time to avail myself of them in the memoir of T. A. Emmet. Little disadvantage to this work, however, has thereby arisen. The greater portion of the matter appertains to the subject which is specially treated of in this memoir. A small portion of it, in a letter of Emmet's to Lord Hope, refers to the breach of faith with the State prisoners, on the part of Government, which led to the renewed communications with the French Government on the liberation of the prisoners. The introduction of that letter into this memoir will not be found misplaced, for that breach of faith was the plea for the renewed communications of Emmet and his associates with the French Government. These documents will be found the most valuable of any of the materials of these volumes. If I felt at liberty to prefix to them the communication which accompanied them I might do more to serve the work than I could accomplish by any other reference to my labours. There are times when it is not only pardonable for a man, but obligatory on him, to do justice to his pursuits, even though he has to uphold them in his own productions. The possession of the documents I have referred to, and the permission of the nearest living relative of Robert Emmet to make use of them in the furtherance of this portion of my work, afford me advantages and a sanction which, I presume, are sufficient to justify an undertaking which I feel to be of great—I might say of awful responsibility.

Robert Emmet, the youngest son of Dr. Robert Emmet, was born in Dublin in the year 1778.* He was sent at an early age to Oswald's School, in Dopping's Court, off Golden Lane, near Bride Street, a rather celebrated school at that day for mathematics.

*In 1771 Dr. Emmet commenced practice in Molesworth Street, Dublin. In 1779 he removed to 110 Stephen's Green, the site of the house now numbered 120.

Subsequently he was placed at the well-known school of Samuel White, of Grafton Street, and was afterwards under the care of the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Camden Street. He entered Trinity College the 7th of October, 1793, at the age of fifteen years, according to the entry in the college book of admission. His tutor was the Rev. Mr. Graves; his college course, like that of his brothers, was brilliant. He obtained several prizes, and went through his studies with great *eclat*. He showed in early life great aptitude for the exact sciences, and his predilection for mathematics and chemistry continued during his life. He was in the habit of making chemical experiments in his father's house, and on one occasion nearly fell a victim to his ardour in his favourite pursuit. Mr. Patten, the brother-in-law of T. A. Emmet, had been staying at his father's, and on the occasion referred to had assisted Robert in his experiments. After Mr. Patten had retired the former applied himself to the solution of a very difficult problem in Friend's Algebra. A habit which he never relinquished when deeply engaged in thought, that of biting his nails, was the cause of an accident which proved nearly fatal to him on the occasion in question. He was seized with most violent inward pains; these pains were the effects of poison. He had been manipulating corrosive sublimate, and had, unconsciously, on putting his fingers to his mouth, taken internally some portion of the poison. Though fully aware of the cause of his sufferings, and of the danger he was in, he abstained from disturbing his father, but proceeded to his library and took down a volume of an Encyclopædia which was in the room. Having referred to the article "poisons," he found that chalk was recommended as a prophylactic in cases of poisoning from corrosive sublimate. He then called to mind that Mr. Patten had been using chalk with a turning lathe in the coach-house; he went out, broke open the coach-house door, and succeeded in finding the chalk, which he made use of, and then set to work again at the puzzling question which had before baffled his endeavours to solve. In the morning, when he presented himself at the breakfast table, his countenance, to use the language of my informant (who was present), "looked as small and as yellow as an orange." He acknowledged to this gentleman that he had suffered all night excruciating tortures, and yet he employed his mind in the solution of that question, which the author of the work acknowledged was one of extraordinary difficulty, and he succeeded in his efforts.

Robert Emmet's connection with the Historical and Debating Societies of Trinity College is well known. I have conversed with many persons who have heard him speak in these societies, some of them of very decided Tory politics, and I never heard but one opinion expressed of the transcendent oratorical powers he displayed there.

The Rev. Dr. Macartney, Vicar of Belfast, informed me that he had known Robert Emmet; he was present in the early part of 1798 at a debate of the Historical Society, got up expressly for the *debut* of Robert Emmet. The question was—"Is a Complete Freedom of Discussion Essential to the Wellbeing of a Good and Virtuous Government?" By the rules of the society, Dr. Macartney states, all allusion to modern politics was forbidden. Robert Emmet, in this his maiden speech, adroitly kept within the terms of the rule; he showed the necessity and advantage of this liberty of discussion to all communities, and the encouragement it deserved from a good Government. He then proceeded to portray the evil effects of the despotism and tyranny of the Governments of antiquity, and most eloquently depicted those of the Governments of Greece and Rome. He was replied to by the present Judge Lefroy, and his argument was rebutted at considerable length. Robert Emmet delivered a speech in reply, evidently unpremeditated, and showed extraordinary ability in his answer to the objections started by his opponent. He said, in conclusion—"If a Government were vicious enough to put down the freedom of discussion, it would be the duty of the people to deliberate on the errors of their rulers, to consider well the wrongs they inflicted, and what the right course would be for their subjects to take, and having done so, *it then would be their duty to draw practical conclusions.*"

The substance of the passage referred to by Dr. Macartney, he said, was conveyed in the above words, but to attempt to give an idea of the eloquence or animation of the speaker was impossible.

Mr. Moore, in his "Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," speaks of his young friend and fellow-student in the following terms:—

"Were I to number, indeed, the men among all I have ever known, who appeared to me to combine in the greatest degree pure moral worth with intellectual power, I should, among the highest of the few, place Robert Emmet. Wholly free from the follies and

frailties of youth—though how capable he was of the most devoted passion events afterwards proved—the pursuit of science, in which he eminently distinguished himself, seemed at this time the only object that at all divided his thoughts with that enthusiasm for Irish freedom, which in him was a hereditary as well as national feeling—himself being the second martyr his father had given to the cause. Simple in all his habits, and with a repose of look and manner indicating but little movement within, it was only when the spring was touched that set his feelings, and, through them, his intellect in motion, that he at all rose above the level of ordinary men. On no occasion was this more particularly striking than in those displays of oratory with which, both in the Debating and Historical Society, he so often enchained the attention and sympathy of his young audience. No two individuals, indeed, could be much more unlike to each other than was the same youth to himself before rising to speak and after—the brow that had appeared inanimate, and almost drooping, at once elevating itself to all the consciousness of power, and the whole countenance and figure of the speaker assuming a change as of one suddenly inspired. Of his oratory, it must be recollected, I speak from youthful impressions; but I have heard little since that appeared to me of a loftier, or what is a far more rare quality in Irish eloquence, purer character. And the effects it produced, as well from its own exciting power as from the susceptibility with which his audience caught up every allusion to passing events, was such as to attract at last the serious attention of the fellows; and, by their desire, one of the scholars, a man of advanced standing and reputation for oratory, came to attend our debates expressly for the purpose of answering Emmet, and endeavouring to neutralise the impressions of his fervid eloquence. Such in heart and mind was another of those devoted men who, with gifts that would have made the ornaments and supports of a well-regulated community, were driven to live the lives of conspirators, and die the death of traitors, by a system of government which it would be difficult even to think of with patience did we not gather a hope from the present aspect of the whole civilised world that such a system of bigotry and misrule can never exist again."*

The peculiar character of Emmet's oratory is well described in a

* Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Vol. I., p. 219, American Edition.

very remarkable article in the London and Dublin Magazine of 1825, entitled "Robert Emmet and His Contemporaries." That article, from the striking analogy in many passages of it to those on the same topic, namely, "The Capabilities of Ireland in a Military Point of View," I believe to have been written by the reputed author of "Roche Fermoy's Commentaries on Theobald Wolf Tone's Memoirs," the late Judge Johnston.

"During these harangues," says the writer of the article referred to, "Emmet's fine, manly countenance glowed with an enthusiastic ardour, and he delivered himself with as much animated fervour as if he were addressing a numerous, but distracted, assembly which he wished to persuade. His words flowed with a graceful fluency, and he combined his arguments with all the ease of a man accustomed to abstract discussions."

Robert Emmet, in the spring of 1798, was about twenty years of age. His brother, in the month of March of that year, had been arrested; many of his fellow-students were members of the Society of United Irishmen, and several of his brother's most intimate friends and associates were then his companions in misfortune. Whether Robert was a sworn member of the society I have not been able to ascertain, but that he had adopted its principles early in that year, and had been freely communicated with on subjects connected with its affairs by persons implicated in the latter, there is no doubt. In the month of February the Lord Chancellor's visitation at the college—which terminated in the expulsion of several students charged with treasonable practices in the college—took place. The particulars of this proceeding are detailed in the memoir of William Corbet.

When several of the students had been called before the Chancellor, and examined upon oath, Robert Emmet, on being summoned, wrote a letter to the members of the Board of Fellows, denouncing the act of demanding, on oath, information from the students, tending to inculpate their fellow-students, and requiring of them to disclose the names of such of their associates as were members of the Society of United Irishmen, and desiring to have his name taken off the books of College. Before the letter was forwarded to the Board, he showed it to his father, and it met with his father's entire approbation. This circumstance has not been referred to in any account that has been given of the transaction; it is now stated on the authority of Mr. P——, the friend of Robert

Emmet, and previously an inmate of his father's house. The name of Robert Emmet, however, without any reference to this proceeding, appeared, I believe, in the list of expelled students.

Whatever the nature of the plans were into which some of the imprisoned leaders had been entrapped, who were confined in Newgate, when the faith of Government was broken with them, Robert Emmet was cognisant of them and had been employed as a messenger on some occasions, when the affairs in hand were deemed of importance. After the removal of the State prisoners to Scotland, he visited his brother at Fort George, in 1800, and, immediately after this interview, it is stated that he set out for the Continent. It is by no means probable that amusement was the main object of his visit; whatever the nature of it was, he remained on the Continent, made a tour in Switzerland, Holland, and several parts of France, and, subsequently, I have been informed, he had visited Cadiz, in company with Mr. John Allen, under the name of Captain Brown, who had been tried at Maidstone, along with Arthur O'Connor and Coigly, and was acquitted, and with Dowdall, one of the liberated State prisoners, who had refused to sign the compact with Government, and was not precluded, like the other, from returning to Great Britain, or his own country.

CHAPTER II.

Among the papers of Thomas Addis Emmet there are a few letters, addressed to him while in imprisonment, or exile, from which the following extracts are taken, as tending to show the estimation in which he was held by both his parents, and to afford, also, in a slight degree, an insight into their own respective characters. An apology is hardly requisite for their introduction in the memoir of his brother; the extracts are from the letters of the parents of both, and matters are referred to in them which bear on the movements of Robert Emmet.

A Letter dated July 14, 1800, addressed to Thomas Addis Emmet, at Fort George, by his Mother.

"As your patience has never yet forsaken you, I hope it will not now abandon you. We feel, my dearest Tom, very sensibly

your kind solicitude about us: you have indeed filled your brother's place, to us, in every action of a most affectionate and kind son; but who can fill the present vacancies in our family? Mr. A. is truly amiable, and Mr. H. very worthy, but it is not in either of their powers to supply the places of those from whom we are separated. Your father's fortitude is equal to his affection, and I trust, in a merciful Being, that he will be re-united even in this life. No matter in what country, so we are blessed with the presence of our children.

"I rest in a humble hope that the hand of the Almighty does not lie thus heavy upon us for our transgressions against Him, and I place a confidence in His mercy that, as He does not delight in the afflictions of His creatures, He will, when His wisdom sees fit, restore happiness to us, and to all who sincerely trust in Him."

FROM HIS FATHER, DATED JANUARY 1, 1801.

"MY DEAR TOM,—The first day of the year has advanced thus far without our customary embrace and mutual expressions of heartfelt affection; but, though the form has been precluded, the essence of our sentiments remains happily unimpaired; and, separated as we are by lands and seas, our cordiality and attachment are still united, and for ever will remain so. Let us, however, preserve even the form as much as we can; and for this purpose, in the fullest effusion of my heart, I assure you of every sentiment of parental affection which a father ought to entertain for a well-deserving son. Could I express them stronger I would. Give a kiss of cordial affection to Jane, on my part, and the same to Robert, Margaret, and Elizabeth. Tell them I love them as well as if they were at Casino,* but I should like Casino much better if they were at it. Whatever is, however, is perhaps the best; and the true wisdom of man would be, perhaps, always to think so—at least to act as if he thought so—and, consequently, to factor every moment of time to the comfort and pleasing enjoyment of the present. 'Carpe horam' was Horace's advice, 'Vive la bagatelle,' that of Swift, and since what is past cannot be recalled, and what is to come may never reach, our prudence would seem to be the cheerful enjoyment of the present. May you and yours enjoy it in its fullest, best extent.

* The name of his country residence.

"What a period, my dear Tom, for abstract thought and philosophic contemplation, the eighteenth century closed—but the Temple of Janus not shut; on the contrary, every portal thrown open, and Bellona issuing forth with redoubled rage and augmented fury! When will it end? Long had I hoped that ere this a general peace would have secured tranquillity for the commencing century, consequently that I should have had the happiness of clasping you to my heart and closing my course of years in the same land, if not in the same house with you, as my substitute and guardian to the dear connections I should quit; but that prospect is now over, or, at least, too far removed to be reasoned upon with probability. But no more of this 'cheerful enjoyment of the present' I have stated to you is probably the best proof of human wisdom, and I am resolved to adopt the practice. Thanks to the Supreme Disposer of all things, I have a very competent share of health and wealth. The proper disposal of them depends on myself, and, if I can, 'æquum mihi animum ipse parabo.' There is not anything new or important within my sphere of information which merits being communicated to you. The vicissitudes of human life are too frequent to be a subject of news, and the objects frequently too insignificant to be of any importance. Such you may, perhaps, consider . . .

"I have made what provision I could against the worst, and rely on God's goodness with hopeful expectations of the best. That thought, my dear Tom, takes in your return and settlement at Casino, which wants but that one circumstance to make it to me a most happy residence.

"Adieu! May the Almighty take you into most special protection; may He bless you and yours with prosperity and many returns of happy years, and may the next new year, at worst, restore you to the embrace of

"Your affectionate Father,

"ROBERT EMMET."

FROM HIS MOTHER.

"MY DEAREST TOM,—Though it is not exactly the time for writing, nor my turn for holding the family pen, I could not forbear committing an usurpation upon Kitty's right, as I wished to express the very great pleasure which we have all felt at the

happy recovery of our dear Jane, whose situation it was kind in you to conceal from us, as it would undoubtedly have occasioned great anxiety to us all; to you it must have given serious alarm, and I well know what you must have felt, nor am I much surprised at the agitation which caused it—her apprehensions did not exceed the reality, had you been brought over. I am assured that the intention was to make your confinement very rigorous. You would not have been allowed any intercourse from without; you would have been denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, and I apprehend that neither Jane nor the children would have been suffered to continue with you; all this, I am sure, she foresaw and felt deeply; it was, therefore, no wonder that she was affected in the manner that she has been. I most sincerely wish her to guard in future against such acute feelings; she is young, and with so long a life as I hope she has before her, she must not expect (even after her present trials cease) that, as a wife and mother, she shall not always be subject to anxieties of various kinds. You will say, and with justice, that, like most advisers, I recommend what I do not practise, but I am in some measure warranted by experience in what I now say. Solicitude has, through life, stuck to me like an inner garment, and I find that it exceeds even those of the children of Israel; it is a habit that, instead of wearing away by time, grows stronger by constant use. I would not, however, have you conclude from hence that I am ungrateful; be assured that I feel all my blessings with a thankful heart, and that I wish to discern and adore the healing hand which has been held out to me in the midst of trials and distresses, and without which my natural infirmities must have sunk under the scenes I have gone through; but let me not tire you with egotism. I have still the same pleasing account, as when I wrote last, to give you of your father and the children. The kindness which you say you have received is, indeed, very gratifying to us, as well as to you; instances of the kind exalt human nature, and we are thereby made to feel very sensibly our relationship to our species. Where you and Jane are known, I doubt not but you will always meet such conduct, but it is not common for persons in your situation to meet such from strangers, etc. . . .

"We find that all we do only excites a fond and fruitless wish that we could enjoy all our comforts in the midst of our entire family. Adieu, my dearest Tom! I have scarce left myself room to

assure you that I am, with the tenderest regards to Jane and the children,

"Your truly affectionate Mother,

"ELIZABETH EMMET.

"May 10, 1801."

FROM HIS MOTHER.

"MY DEAREST TOM,—At this time you will not be surprised at my having superseded your other correspondents here, nor will you, I hope, be displeased that I should impart to you the various feelings of my mind, so fully occupied with what relates to you, your amiable wife, and your children.

"When I wrote last I was under the first impulse of very ardent feelings (my first impulses are, I confess, much too ardent); since then I have reflected, and have been able to think of, and to look at the worst, and find myself more composed since I have done so.

"Some of your friends say that, supposing you were permitted to reside in England or Wales, you ought rather to go to America, as it would tend more to the advantage of your family. Of this, however, I think you are the best judge, and your father and I both unite in desiring you to act as if we were out of the question, consulting only what you think will be most likely to make you and them most happy. We are sure of what your inclinations would lead you to, but, for my own part, I declare to you that I should not feel happy, even in your society, if I caused in any respect sacrifices of your interests, your peace of mind, or your security. I speak of myself as the weaker vessel; of your father's firmness you can have no doubt.

"One point, however, I must entreat that you will weigh well before you decide in favour of America, and that is the disadvantage of the climate, which, by everything I can hear, is not congenial to European constitutions. Captain Palmer mentioned to us that, independent of the yellow fever, he had perceived, and it was, he said, a general observation in America, that after the first two years Europeans generally declined in health. Do not call this a prejudice of mine. It has been mentioned to us that in America you could follow your profession, but upon this head you will recollect what Sir Grenville Temple said when he was last here, that a lawyer there would not, by the profits of his profession, pay for the expenses of his books. Add

to this that a prohibitory law did exist (which may, perhaps, have been since repealed) that any stranger intending to profess the law must, previous to his doing so, be a resident for five years in the country. I have now said everything which I mean to say upon the subject until you have taken your final determination. That it may tend to your happiness, and the advantage of your family, I shall never cease to wish and pray, and, whatever our feelings may be, we shall have the consolation of having them unmixed with self-reproach. I mentioned in my last the great amendment in your father's health, which, I thank God, still continues, and has been in the last fortnight beyond what we could expect. Your children are all well. Your father and the entire family desire to be most cordially remembered to you, to Jane, and the dear children; they are all warmly interested in what may be the event of the present period, but we must all practise patience, that virtue so necessary to mankind in general, and particularly so to

"Your truly affectionate Mother,

"ELIZABETH EMMET.

"October 15, 1801."

FROM HIS MOTHER.

"MY DEAREST TOM,—I have received your last letter in due course, the contents of which did not surprise me, and you will see by my last, previous to the receipt of yours, that I am prepared for the worst. I have long foreseen what your determination would be, and ever since Jefferson has been chosen I have expected that in America you would reside. From some hints which John's soothing disposition threw out, with a wish of administering balm to my mind, I was fondly led to hope that perhaps you would think Wales an eligible place to live in, but this vision I had dismissed even before your last letter came. My consolation I must derive from your having adopted a measure in itself right. I have never entertained a hope that you would, in the event of a peace, return to this country, and I have never cherished a wish that you should live dishonoured in this, or any other. With these sentiments, you need not have any uneasiness about my feelings; be assured that they are such as will not hurt me, and they shall not cast a gloom around me. I know that, however feeble my support is in itself, it is nevertheless deemed important by your father, and he shall have it to the utmost in my power, and though we are to

be separated from the first prop of our age, the polar star by which I, at least (who often want direction and support), wished to steer for the remainder of my life; yet, though your light will be denied to us, I trust in the just God, whom you have so truly served, that He will cause you to shine to advantage in another hemisphere; but you cannot expect that I shall not remember that between you and us there will be a gulph over which we cannot pass. I have only to add with respect to your three dear children now under this roof, I am sure you will not, and I think you ought not, to separate them from your others; but, admitting that you would, I love them too well to withhold them from the benefit of their minds being formed and educated by you; no, not even a Temple Emmet would I wish to retain under such circumstances. I have very little doubt but leave would be given to you to come over for the purpose of seeing your father, and settling your affairs here, but I am not so sure that you will avail yourself of such a permission; this point, however, like all others, must be decided by you alone. The pleasure we should have in seeing Jane, though very great, would, I am sure, be more than overbalanced by the pain we should feel at parting with her; yet, as I am sure Mrs. Patten wished it very much, she ought to be gratified, and I hope that you will think it right that she and the dear children should come over and spend as much time here as she can before your final departure. Under this roof she will meet a warmth of affection, and an admiration of her conduct very little, if at all, short of what she can receive from her mother. You know your father, and you judge rightly of him; he feels with extreme tenderness, but he bears the evils which have fallen upon him with truly practical Christian patience.

"I therefore need only say of him, that the great return of health, strength, and cheerfulness, which he had within this last month, still continues, even under the certainty of your future destination; his affection for you I have no need to inform you of, but you are not a more careful guardian of your unsullied honour and fame than he is. The reason why we did not inform you of the real state of his health during the summer was, that we did not think it necessary to add to the gloom of a prison. I have now said all that I can say, and I shall not write for some time, lest anything should issue from my pen that might cause emotion, or any kind of uneasiness to you. Your children are all very well;

your friends most cordially interested and affectionate towards you, Jane, and the children.

"I am, dearest Tom, most truly,

"Your affectionate Mother,

"ELIZABETH EMMET.

"Oct. 26, 1801."

I shall conclude these extracts, so exclusively relating to domestic matters, with one from a letter written by Mr. E. to his mother upon hearing of the death of his father in 1802, while at Brussels.

"The first comforts you can feel must spring up within yourself from your reflection and religion, from your calling to memory that my father's active and vigorous mind was always occupied in doing good to others; that his seventy-five years were unostentatiously, but inestimably, filled with perpetual services to his fellow-creatures; that although he was tried (and that severely) with some of those calamities from which we cannot be exempted, yet he enjoyed an uncommon portion of tranquillity and happiness, for, by his firmness and understanding, he was enabled to bear like a man the vicissitudes of external misfortune; and from within no troubled conscience, or compunctions of self-reproach ever disturbed his peace."

[In his father's character his own has been drawn.]

I have already alluded to a letter of T. A. Emmet to his friend and fellow-student in Edinburgh, the Lord-Advocate of Scotland, the subject of which is the breach of faith on the part of the Government in respect to the State prisoners then confined in Fort George; and it is worthy of attention, inasmuch as that violation of faith furnished (in the opinion of the majority of those persons) a justification of the renewal of their efforts, on their arrival in France, for the accomplishment of their designs.

The draft of the following letter, written by T. A. Emmet when at Fort George, was found among his papers. It was addressed to Lord Hope, then Lord-Advocate of Scotland:—

"Fort George, Dec. 14, 1801.

"My Dear Lord,—I am obliged again to trouble you in consequence of Mrs. Emmet's uneasiness from a paragraph which

she read in a public paper, reporting that we were to be sent to Botany Bay. If you have reason to believe that the report is without foundation you will, of course, take no further notice of the contents of this letter than what your kindness may lead you to do by enabling me to set Mrs. Emmet's mind at ease. If you entertain a different opinion of that rumour you will be so good as to read the following detail, and make such use of it as you may think called for by your sense of national honour and public faith. I will not add to these motives any claims of private friendship, but leave them entirely to your own feelings.

"After the insurrection had lasted for some time in Ireland a negotiation was set on foot by some of the State prisoners with the Government to stop the further effusion of blood on the scaffold and in the field. In the course of that business a proposal was made by Government, in a letter from Mr. Secretary Cooke to Mr. Dobbs (who was the organ between both parties), that the prisoners should consent to go to such country as should be pointed out to them. This, with the other parts of the proposal, was rejected by the prisoners, who, however, in the hope that matters might still be adjusted, appointed deputies to communicate directly with the Government. Of these I was one.

"In our interview with Lord Castlereagh, the Chancellor, and Mr. Cooke, we again objected to the proposal, because it gave us no negative upon the country to which we might be sent; and added that it might be construed as if Government could send us to Botany Bay. At the mention of that place Lord Castlereagh expressed the utmost abhorrence of the idea, and assured us that when Government made the proposal it had no worse place in contemplation than the United States of America. To remove, however, all such apprehensions it consented at once to give us the negative we required.

"There was an expression used by Lord Clare at that interview which will never be effaced from my mind. When we were expressing some doubts about the entire execution of the agreement on the part of the Government, as our part of it was to be first performed, his lordship said—'Gentlemen, it comes to this, a Government that broke its faith with you could not stand, and ought not to be allowed to stand.'

"I have now stated facts on my own authority which, however, I am not afraid of being contradicted in any quarter. What

follows I can give you on the authority of an act of Government. We entered into an agreement, of which I send you a copy, and in which the words relating to our exile are 'to emigrate to such country as *shall be agreed on* between them and Government.' This compact Government fully authenticated by two acts. First, they sent Mr. Dobbs, accompanied by popular and influential United Irishmen, to whom they gave papers of protection, to the county of Wicklow, where the insurrection still continued, to make the insurgents acquainted with it, and to persuade them to come in under it. This gentleman and his companions accordingly repaired to the Marquis of Huntley's and General Moore's camp, from whence they went among the insurgents, and actually persuaded all but a few deserters, for whose security they would not pledge themselves, and a very few of their associates to submit. In the North, General Nugent, the commander of that district, published our agreement in a proclamation, which he issued in August, 1798, and called upon all those who chose to take advantage of it to come in accordingly. As he published it nearly verbatim, with some of the names annexed, among which was mine, it has, therefore, become a document incontestibly authenticated by Government. After these transactions, an Act of Parliament, indeed, was passed, purporting to be pursuant to our agreement, but of which I shall not permit myself to express to you what I think of its merits: suffice it to say, it was passed when we were all kept in close custody. As far as it goes beyond the agreement, it plainly contradicts the document which was transmitted by Government to General Nugent, and authenticated by his proclamation. This is also farther to be said, that those who signed the agreement have almost all (myself and my fellow-prisoners excepted) been either allowed to remain at large in Ireland, or permitted to emigrate to Germany, Portugal, or America, according to their own choice.

"This statement, I hope, you will not think too long; the inferences from it are obvious. I ask only for that for which I and my fellow-prisoners gave a very important consideration, and to which Government stands pledged, if there be such a virtue as public faith.

"I am convinced that neither Lord Pelham nor any of the English administration can be acquainted with the particulars I have detailed to you, if there be any intention of acting

towards us, or any of us, in a manner different from what I require.

"Believe me, etc.,

"T. A. EMMET."

FROM T. A. EMMET TO DR. MACNEVEN.

"Brussels, Nov. 8, 1802.

"MY DEAR MACNEVEN,—Under no circumstances must you infer, from my want of punctuality, a want of affection; and, as on the last occasion, if you had done so you would have been entirely mistaken, so you will be on any future one if you shall be tempted to draw that conclusion. The letter you wrote me from Munich to Amsterdam I never received; and what makes that the more extraordinary is, that I wrote long since to the Director of the *Poste Restante* of that city desiring all my letters to be forwarded here, and have actually received one from my sister that was lying there. Yours, however, is not the only one which I know to have miscarried; and at this very time I apprehend some such accident, as I have not heard from my family these six weeks.

"What you mention of the manner in which the impartial on the Continent are disposed to view our conduct, gives me great pleasure. That they should approve of our designs is sufficient; and it is natural that they should disapprove of our connection with France. Perhaps, when our cause shall have ultimately succeeded, we and our friends may obtain their more unqualified applause. I feel equally anxious with you that a true account should circulate, where a perverted one had been able to make so little of an injurious impression; but I do not look upon the postponement to which we have submitted as in any respect an abandonment of our original intention in that respect, and although we may each of us engage in some other work with that view, I still think that the narrative should be published and the enemy assaulted in as many ways as possible. But in looking over my papers, in consequence of your letter, I was very much surprised to find that the narrative was not among them. The account which I drew up in Kilmainham was there, but the one which we agreed upon in Fort George was not. You certainly imagined I had it, when you gave me, in Hamburgh, a paragraph to be inserted in it; but as I am certain none of the papers I

packed up on our departure from Fort George are missing, you must have the copy which did not go to Ireland; and I think I have a faint recollection of your getting it from me. My history has lately languished for want of materials, but if I get them in time I hope to publish the first part before I leave Europe. I should be very glad, like you, to make a little money by my pen; but I cannot say my expectations are very sanguine, because the booksellers in England (where it would sell best) may be afraid of meddling with it on account of the pillory. However, money or not, I rejoice that you persevere in the intention of our being neighbours, provided we leave Europe, of which the present rumours lead me to doubt. The uncertainty of peace or war, and the state of my little family here, keep me in great indecision what steps to take; but if I had made any steps to the first I would endeavour to arrange the other accordingly. Your application to Talleyrand, and your endeavour to see Bonaparte (although things, under other circumstances, I should be much inclined to disapprove), may, perhaps, give us some insight; as, if they look to war, they will scarcely treat us with neglect. It is now above a month since I have seen R., and if Lawless received a letter from him, containing many commissions, etc., he can give you many particulars of him you would wish to know. From what he has told me, and what I have heard from other quarters, I believe that besides ignorance and passion in the management of our affairs, if there was not treachery, there was, at least, great duplicity and bad faith. Some of those whom I considered as my friends before my imprisonment have grievously disappointed me, and if I go to Paris I shall not do it without violence to my feelings.

"Mrs. Emmet, Robert, etc., desire their loves to you, as I do to Lawless, and my other friends with you.

"Ever most affectionately yours,

"T. A. EMMET.

"Direct to me, Chez Lerme, Madame Tapissier, No. 995 Au petit Sablon. Beg of Lawless to send R.'s* things as soon as he can, as they are to be forwarded to him from this, with some books, etc., that are waiting for them."

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* The person referred to was his brother Robert, who, a short time before, had proceeded to Ireland by way of Holland and England.—R. R. M.

We now come to three very important letters of T. A. Emmet, addressed from Brussels to Dr. Macneven, at Paris, which immediately refer to the communications entered into with the French Government at the period of Robert Emmet's enterprise being determined on.

"Au Citoyen Macneven.

"*No. 298, Demeurant dans la Rue de la Loi, vis a vis la Porte de la Bibliotheque Nationale, a Paris.*

"My Dear Macneven,—I had yesterday the very great pleasure of receiving a few lines from you on your arrival at Paris. You are right in suspecting that I was as punctual as my promise; but Mrs. Emmet's health, and my own unsettled state, must form my apology. I was really incapacitated from writing to anyone, until all hopes of a letter reaching you at Prague were over, and after that I did not know your address. My excuse turning upon her health, you will naturally be anxious to know its present state. She is undoubtedly much better than she was, but still liable to be overset by anxiety and uneasiness of mind, and deriving so little pleasure from her residence on the Continent of Europe that she is lamenting every moment as lost that must elapse before her setting off for America. If it were possible she would gladly begin her voyage in mid-winter. This, in a good measure, answers your questions about that country. My views are more fixed on it than they were, because experience shows me how disagreeably, and, I may say, degradingly, I should spend my time elsewhere, and I rejoice to think you entertain the same ideas, though, I apprise you, Lawless will endeavour to change their current. However, as your opinion of France and America appeared by your letter to be the same as when we conversed at Hamburg, I was a good deal surprised to find you proposing to publish our narrative immediately, and in the former place. Perhaps you may have heard something in Germany that has made you change your opinion; but at present mine continues unaltered. Our first intention was to publish it as soon as we got our liberty, but when we saw the state of the press, and the country at large, we both agreed to defer it till we got to America, and then assign our reasons for the delay. In the propriety of this resolution I was more convinced by conversing with Robert, who was decided that it would be as safe to publish it in London as in

France, and quoted some expressions to me, from high authority, respecting the willingness of Government to deliver up the United Irishmen, tied neck and heels, to England. How, then, should we stand if we published now, independent of any consideration of safety? Everyone would naturally ask why we did not do it before, and could we point out any change that had made it safer or more advisable? It would look like a composition, the effect of after-thought; but if we delay it till we go to a new and more congenial place, that makes a new era, and we can obviate any such questions. If it could be published now, it could as well have been done three months ago; and if it could not, with propriety, have been done then, no one will expect it from us till our change of situation shall have done away with the objections.

"I state this independent of any real consideration of safety; but have you ascertained how that fact stands? Have you got any assurance, or even reason, to hope for security or protection? There is not much time now to elapse, I hope, before I shall be making my preparations for America; and, I take it for granted, you will not be above six months in Europe, unless some change shall take place, that would, in both cases, reverse all our calculations. Even supposing, then, that I preceded you, and published before you came out, calculating for the time of a vessel's going and returning, you would be out of the power of your enemies before they could form a wish for your arrest; or, if we gave it to the world, on our quitting Europe, the same would follow, and you could take such measures as you thought fit for giving it circulation in Germany. These are the ideas which I have formed, and I thought they were yours till yesterday.

"They have prevented me hitherto reperusing the narrative, though I should wish to do that before it went to press. As to the addresses of our friends, I suppose you know them all before this. Matthew Dowling was, by the last accounts, in Rotterdam; Sweetman is gone to Lyons, or its neighbourhood; Russell will be able to give you more particular information as to their addresses, as well as Sweeney's and Wilson's. I was very near going to Paris, but have laid that idea aside for the present. Perhaps, as you are an unincumbered traveller, you may take it into your head some holiday season to take a place in the diligence for here, and back again. I need not say how many would be happy to see you, nor how many things we could talk over in a short time. Mrs.

Emmet and all the family desire their affectionate love to you; and believe me for ever,

"Most sincerely yours,

"T. A. EMMET."

This letter is not dated; it must have been written in the beginning of October, 1803.

"Brussels, October 25, 1802.

"I know nothing of either your papers or my own; though I wrote about them, and lately sent a message, they have never been mentioned to me. I presume, however, they will not be long delayed, and think it probable they may come to Antwerp. Have you any news in Paris?—we have here strong rumours of war again. If they should turn out to be well-founded, our views would be, indeed, changed. Have any of you in Paris heard anything of Dowdall lately; and is he still in Ireland?

"William J. Macneven, Esq.,
"No. 298, Rue de la Foi, Vis a vis la Porte de
"la Bibliotheque Nationale, a Paris."

CHAPTER III.

THE preceding letters establish the fact that, in the winter of 1802, the leading United Irishmen then on the Continent, in the event of a rupture between France and England, were bent on renewing their efforts, and that they looked upon the struggle in Ireland as suspended, but not relinquished. This fact is sufficiently explanatory of the nature of Robert Emmet's mission. The following dates of the movements of his brother and himself will tend to show the connection referred to.

Thomas Addis Emmet passed the winter of 1802 at Brussels. He was visited at Amsterdam by his brother Robert, accompanied by Hugh Wilson, about the month of August the same year, and did not go to Paris until the spring of 1803. A part of the autumn of 1802 was passed in Paris by Robert Emmet, and there is evidence, in letters of his brother, that his proceedings there and his intentions were fully known to the latter. In the month of November, 1802, when Robert was in Ireland, his brother directed Robert's books and some part of his baggage, which had been left

by him in charge of Lawless at Paris, to be sent to Brussels, from which place they were to be forwarded to him by his brother. One of these books is now in my possession, for which I am indebted to the friend of his in Dublin to whom I have already referred, and to whom I feel under many obligations for valuable information on the subject of this volume. The title of the work is "Extracts from Colonel Templehoff's History of the Seven Years' War," his remarks on General Lloyd, on the subsistence of armies ; and also a "Treatise on Winter Posts," by the Hon. Colonel Lindsay, in two vols., London, 1793. The second volume is the one in my possession.

The margin throughout a large portion of this volume is filled with pencil notes in the handwriting of Robert Emmet, which one might suppose written by a person whose most intense application had been given to the subject of the work, and whose closest attention had been bestowed on every line. The marginal notings, under-scoring of passages, interlining of words, bracketting of sentences, are, in fact, such as are to be found in the books of students "reading up" for some important examination. The notes have chiefly reference to operations in mountainous countries; placing of post; defending of approaches; sending out of patrols; objects to be accomplished, and conduct to be observed by patrols; disposition of troops; rendering quarters defensible; and, particularly, the great advantages in the general system of defensive war which, in a position in a mountainous country, may be derived from an experienced eye, a quick perception of the nature of surrounding obstacles, and favourable local circumstances in the placing of every particular post. This volume has evidently been pored over by one who had bestowed anxious days and sleepless nights on its perusal.

The Attorney-General, on Robert Emmet's trial, made mention of a volume of a work on military tactics that had been found in the depôt in Thomas Street. That volume was probably the first of Colonel Templehoff's work, the second of which is in my possession.

Dr. Macneven arrived in Paris from his tour in Germany and Switzerland in October, 1802. In the latter part of that month we find by Emmet's letter he had been in communication with Talleyrand, and had sought an interview with Bonaparte. Thus, while France was at peace with England, Talleyrand was in

communication with the enemies of the latter. Of the object of that communication there can be no doubt, and it is no less evident that a rupture with England was then in contemplation. Under such circumstances, Emmet "was much inclined to disapprove of the communication." His own views, however, in the event of war, are plainly shown in the passage in his letter of the 8th November, 1802, referring to certain rumours, being of a nature that might decide his movements. In his former letter of the 25th of October he speaks of "making his preparations for America, and his expectation of being joined there by Macneven, unless some change shall take place that would, in both cases, reverse all their calculations." In that letter, alluding to their intention of quitting France, he apprises Macneven "that Lawless will endeavour to change their current." It is, then, evident that Lawless was likewise one of the leaders whose views were directed to a renewal of their efforts; and it is needless to say that, unless they had well-grounded expectations of a rupture between France and England, they could have no co-operation on the part of the former.

There is an inquiry at the conclusion of T. A. Emmet's letter to Macneven, of the 25th of October, which, I believe, has a reference to the movements of a very important actor in the affairs of 1803—"Have any of you in Paris heard anything of Dowdall lately; and is he still in Ireland?" Dowdall was connected with Colonel Despard's conspiracy, and had been sent to Ireland in the capacity of his agent to ascertain the feelings of the people and the state of things in Dublin, with a view to the extension of his plans there. Dowdall, while in Dublin, acted with extreme imprudence. In a mixed company at table he spoke undisguisedly of Despard's plans. One of the persons present was known to be a retainer in some subordinate capacity of Government, and by that person the Government, it was said, was informed of Despard's and Dowdall's movements; but they were already in possession of them through another channel. The day after Dowdall had thus spoken, James H——, having been informed of what had passed, called on Dowdall, and warned him of the danger he stood in from his extreme imprudence. Despard was written to, anonymously, informing him of the conduct of his agent.

In the course of two or three weeks the news of Despard's arrest reached Dublin, when Dowdall fled, and was next heard of in France.

The well-known English resident in Paris, Mr. Lewis Goldsmith,

the father-in-law of Lord Lyndhurst, was then editor of the *Argus*, an anti-English paper, published in Paris (an organ of the French Government in 1802, set up immediately before the arrival of Lord Whitworth in Paris). This versatile gentleman had previously written a Jacobin book abusing kings and aristocrats, called "The Crimes of Cabinets;" and when Talleyrand had him dismissed from the office of editor of the Bonapartist paper, he returned, after a couple of years of further residence in France (the object of which is not very clearly set forth in his work) to his own country, where he published, in 1810, another work called "The Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte," abusing his former idol, and, in an especial manner, his old patron Talleyrand, and revealing many of the secrets of the prison-house of Bonaparte's press, and of the Canaille connected with it and Fouche's department, of whom Mr. Goldsmith's account is curious, as that of a competent witness having an intimate acquaintance with his subject. Mr. Goldsmith, in the preface to his latter work, says—"He does not retract one syllable of the principles he displayed in his former work; he glories in them, and shall ever maintain them in the abstract. The question is, as to their application to circumstances as they arose." "Liberty having been for some centuries on the wane in Europe," it appears that Mr. Goldsmith went to see "the glorious sun rising above the horizon in France, which would, in time, illuminate the earth." "He thought," he says, "that France was the cradle out of which the mighty Hercules was to spring to clear the earth of monsters; but experience had taught him that not a Hercules, but a Hydra, had been the offspring of that convulsion." Mr. Goldsmith truly, I have no doubt, says—"He does not retract one syllable of the principles he formerly displayed." In glorying in them, it was only his modesty which prevented him from saying, with the apostle, that he gloried in nothing but for maintaining his principles—free, of course, and as attenuated as "the circumambient air." In the abstract the merit is not so obvious, for it is evident the maintenance, board, lodging, and white-washing included of the gentleman's political principles would not cost more than the subsistence of a slender air-crammed chameleon, or a real Barney Kavanagh, or a young lady in love, who feeds on the same delicate dish, which is the most opposite in its nature to that of a crammed fowl, a sirloin of beef, or a haunch of mutton.

The new editor of the *Argus*, on the dismissal of Mr. Goldsmith, published the following notice of that occurrence in the paper :— "Some time ago an English paper was established here entitled the *Argus*. The editor was a disaffected man, and, not having ceased to insert libels against his King and country, the French Government have thought proper to prevent his continuing to be the editor of that paper."

Mr. Goldsmith states that he was turned out of his French employment as editor of the *Argus* because he refused to insert articles that were libels on the King of England and the Princes. He admits, however, that as editor of the *Argus*, after resisting for some time, he did admit articles into that paper (two in particular) which, he observed to Mr. Talleyrand, were sufficient grounds for the British Government to declare war against France ; to which the other (Talleyrand) replied—"Je suis de votre avis c'est une chose, a desirer meme en ce moment."

One of these, "a most virulent article, was sent from Talleyrand's office, asserting in plain terms that Irishmen owed no allegiance to the King of Great Britain," which article, he states, was written by Mr. Russell.

The other article was written by an Italian of the name of Badini, the object of which was to excite a mutiny in our navy.* Badini, he says, had been more than forty years in England engaged in newspapers, and when sent out of England, under the Alien Act, was in the pay of France at the time, and was editor of Bell's *Weekly Messenger*.

Mr. Lewis Goldsmith, at page 270 of his work, in the correspondence between the two Governments, says—"It appears that France proposed to the ministers of England that if they would send Georges, and the other French emigrants who are enemies to France, out of this country, the French would offer a reciprocity ! Now, what does the reciprocity mean but to deliver up all the United Irishmen in the same manner that he did the Italians."

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* It would seem that the efforts of Mons. Badini, or of some other such person, were not unsuccessful in inveigling unfortunate men into their designs. January 12, 1802, thirteen mutineers of Admiral Campbell's squadron were tried and sentenced to death. On the 15th of the same month six of the mutineers were executed at Portsmouth. On the 16th six more of the mutineers were sentenced to death, and five executed. On the 19th five more of the mutineers were executed at Portsmouth.

The fact stated by Mr. Goldsmith is perfectly true; Robert Emmet's information to his brother on this subject was not erroneous.

Mr. Goldsmith states that numerous spies and agents of Bonaparte were sent over to England, but that "the mission of Colonel Beauvoisin was the most important of all. He was sent over to engage persons to assassinate His Majesty, and to organise a plan for the destruction of our naval arsenals at Portsmouth and Plymouth. He was also sent to 'surveiller' the Count d'Artois, who then resided at Edinburgh. That Colonel Beauvoisin had frequent conferences with Despard. *I am convinced he told it to Tallrin* in my presence, and that Despard was urged to commit the crime of regicide, by Bonaparte, in times of profound peace, will never be doubted, after some facts which I can communicate on that subject. About three months before Despard was apprehended I was sitting in a coffee-room with two English gentlemen, one of whom is now in London (a Mr. J. F——t), and ready to confirm this statement. The other is still in France, and therefore I cannot refer to him. A Frenchman came up and told me, in the presence of those two gentlemen, that the French Government had laid a plan to have the King of England assassinated, and that he was to be shot in the park. When this man quitted us, I observed that it would be proper to inform the British minister in Paris of what we had heard; one of the gentlemen said he would communicate it to Mr. Fox, or to some of his friends, who were then in Paris, with whom he was intimate. I do not know that he did make such communication, but, if he did, I am certain that it was disregarded, as those gentlemen, from the magnanimity of their own nature, could not suppose that a man placed in the high situation of Napoleon Bonaparte could instigate or promote assassination."

When the news arrived in Paris of Despard having been apprehended, Mr. Goldsmith says he was sent for by Talleyrand late in the evening (it was on the evening when the paper was to be published).* Mr. Talleyrand appeared very much agitated, and asked him if he had heard any news. He replied he had not. Talleyrand then went into an inner room, and brought out a packet of English newspapers; he gave the editor one, and pointed out the article which gave the particulars of Despard's apprehension.

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*The Cabinet of Bonaparte, p. 253.

Talleyrand was visibly agitated; he asked the editor if he knew Despard, "si c'etoit un homme sur, and if he was intimate with ——." The editor observed that he knew very little indeed of him, and, so far from being "un homme sur," he was in general regarded as a madman by those who knew him.*

It was past midnight when the editor left him; at five in the morning Talleyrand sent his carriage for him, and the editor learned from the servants that the minister had just returned from St. Cloud. When the editor saw le citoyen minister, he gave him an article, tout fait, for insertion, which ran thus:—"All Paris, and the First Consul in particular, learned with horror and indignation, the atrocious attempt which has been made upon the life of His Britannic Majesty, by a desperate Jacobin of the name of Despard. The feelings manifested on this occasion by the First Consul were very different to those expressed by the King of England when he heard it rumoured that General Bonaparte had been assassinated in Egypt." The next day Colonel Despard's character was vilified in all the minor French papers.

With respect to the passage regarding Colonel Despard, it must be observed that Lord Hawkesbury, in his circular note to the ministers of Foreign Courts resident at the Court of London, dated Downing Street, April 30, 1804, explanatory of the conduct of the British Government in reference to "atrocious and utterly unfounded calumny, that the Government of His Majesty have been a party to plans of assassination," said the accusation "had been already made with equal falsehood and calumny, by the same authority, against the members of His Majesty's Government during the last war; an accusation incompatible with the honour of His Majesty, and the known character of the British nation." His lordship, in his recriminatory comments on several alleged violations of the laws of national honour on the part of the First Consul, never makes the slightest allusion to the attempt of Colonel Despard, and most assuredly his lordship must have known the facts, if such existed, of Bonaparte's connection with that alleged intention of assassinating His Majesty, and, if this were known, they would not have been withheld on such an occasion.

February 7, 1803, Colonel Despard was tried at the Surrey Assizes, before Lord Ellenborough, on a charge of high treason,

* The Cabinet of Bonaparte, p. 265.

conspiring to assassinate the King, etc. When the names of the jury were called over Colonel Despard rose, and "begged that the Court would grant him permission to say a few words, in order to do away, from the minds of the jurors, with any unfavourable impressions which might have been made upon them by those vile publications which, at various times since his arrest, had appeared against his character." The Lord Chief-Justice interposed, and said that was not the proper time to urge anything material to his defence. Colonel Despard replied, "I am sorry for it, my lord."

The Attorney-General, Mr. Spencer Percival, stated the case to the jury at considerable length, and in a very different spirit to the Attorney-General who appeared for the Crown on the trial of John Horne Tooke and his associates. At the conclusion of the statement of the case the ordinary recommendation of the Crown prosecutors, to give due consideration to any part of the evidence that might be favourable to the prisoner, and the benefit to him of anything doubtful in it, was entirely dispensed with, and one of a very different character was given expression to.

"*I do not see, gentlemen, that in this case you should have any extraordinary anxious feelings to extricate the prisoner.* The crime is one of the blackest and most mischievous in the catalogue of guilt, and society cannot exist if it go unpunished. To the last he is entitled to justice. He is tried by the English law, before English judges and an English jury, but if you permit your inclination to mercy to exceed the limits of reason you will do what the prisoner has no right to expect, and what I most solemnly protest against on the part of the public."

The first witness, Stafford, swore to his having been sent by the magistrates of Union Hall with a number of police officers, on the 15th November, 1802, to the Oakley Arms public-house, in Lambeth. They went upstairs and entered a room, where Colonel Despard and about thirty persons were assembled. All except Colonel Despard were of the lower orders of the people. One or two wore red jackets. Colonel Despard refused to be searched. He asked by what authority the officers came there. He insisted on seeing the warrant, and the signatures to it were shown to him. He was then searched, and was very indignant. Nothing was found upon him. Some printed papers were found on the floor, and on some of the persons present. The arrests took place the evening of the day Parliament met, but the King did not go down

to the House that day. A man of the name of Thomas Windsor presented himself to witness below stairs, and volunteered some communications. The printed papers were then produced. They were to the following effect:—"Constitution, the independence of Great Britain and Ireland; an equalisation of civil, political, and religious rights; an ample provision for the families of the heroes who shall fall in the contest; a liberal reward for distinguished merit. These are the objects for which we contend. We swear to be united in the awful presence of God."

The form of the oath:—"I, A. B., do voluntarily declare that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects of this Union, namely, to recover those rights I have lost which the Supreme Being, in His infinite bounty, has given to all men. That neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishment shall ever induce me to give any information, directly or indirectly, concerning the business or of any member of this or any similar society, so help me God."

Charles Bacon, a Bow Street officer, deposed that when the officers entered the room some of the people jumped up, and Colonel Despard cried out, "One and all follow me." The patrol was then called, and the prisoners were secured.

Thomas Windsor, sworn, said he was a private in the Guards. In March, 1802, John Francis, one of the prisoners, showed him some printed papers, which he afterwards showed to Mr. Bonus, an army agent and officer in the Transport Office. He left one of the papers with him; he told Mr. Bonus the object of those concerned with him was to overturn the Government, to get arms, and unite in different companies. Shortly after, he attended a meeting at Giles's where he was sworn by Francis. After this he attended several meetings of from sixteen to twenty-five persons, Irishmen of the lowest class. A Mr. Macnamara took a leading part at those meetings. Their object was to overturn the Government and destroy the Royal family.

The society was divided into several divisions; each company consisted of ten, and was headed by a captain. There was a division in the Borough, one in Marylebone, one in Spitalfields, one in Blackwall. The oldest captain took the command of five companies, and was there called colonel. At a meeting of the Flying Horse, at Newington, he first saw Colonel Despard. A regular organisation was proposed for London, but Colonel

Despard said—"No! regular organisation in London would be dangerous, because the place is so much under the eye of Government." He said a regular organisation was necessary in the country, and he believed it was general. The people, he said, were everywhere ripe, and were anxious for the moment of attack, particularly in Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and all the great towns. The colonel said he had walked twenty miles that day, and, wherever he had been, the people were ripe. He said the attack was to be made the day the King went to Parliament, and that His Majesty must be put to death. He observed, at the same time, "I have weighed the matter well; my heart is callous." After the destruction of the King, *the mail coaches were to be stopped, as a signal to the people in the country* that the revolt had taken place in town. He made a proposal to Windsor about a meeting at Tower Hill, to consult on the best means of taking the Tower and securing the arms. That meeting took place. The colonel said, on that occasion—"We have been deceived as to the number of arms in the bank; there are only six hundred stand there, and they have taken the hammers out to render them useless, as they must have been apprised of our intentions." The 24th of November was the day fixed for the attack on the King. The colonel said he would himself undertake it with what force he had, if he could get no assistance on that side of the water. The same day, a man named Wood said "*that when the King was going to the house, he would post himself as sentry over the great gun in the park, and that he would load it, and fire at His Majesty's coach as he passed through the park. Wood might, in the course of his duty, be sometimes placed over that gun.*" On his cross examination he said he became a member of the society in *May or June*, 1802. "He had brought many men to those meetings, and swore them in." In the report of the trial in the *Hibernian Magazine*, the concluding words of this man's evidence are—"Witness said he acted under the advice of Mr. Bonus, who recommended him to keep an eye on those people, and to put himself forward."* Eight other witnesses were called in corroboration of various parts of Windsor's evidence.

Mr. Serjeant Best and Mr. Gurney addressed the jury on the part of the prisoner. No evidence was brought forward to

* These words are omitted in the report of the *London Chronicle*.

contradict the Crown witnesses; but to the character of the prisoner, Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clerk, George Long, Esq., and Sir Evan Nepeau appeared, and each of them gave the highest character it was possible for men to give, relative to the conduct, courage, and military talents of the prisoner, at the period of the acquaintance of each with Colonel Despard in foreign countries.

The prisoner, on being asked if he had anything to add to what had been said by his counsel, said "his counsel had acquitted themselves so entirely to his satisfaction he had no wish to say anything."

After the Solicitor-General had replied on the part of the Crown, the Chief-Justice charged the jury. His lordship observed that it was admitted that a traitorous conspiracy did exist, but it was denied that it was the prisoner's. The principal evidence was that of accomplices who had become approvers. It was for the jury to consider its value, and the corroboration of it by other witnesses.

The jury withdrew for about half an hour, and on their return the foreman pronounced the prisoner "Guilty," adding, "but we most earnestly recommend the prisoner to mercy, on account of his former good character and the services he had rendered his country." Colonel Despard heard the fatal verdict pronounced with the utmost composure and firmness.

On the 9th of February, twelve of the persons arrested on the 16th November, 1802, were tried, and nine of them were found guilty, and sentenced to death. When Colonel Despard was asked if he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he said—"My lord, I have only to say that after the charge was brought against me, of which I have not the most distant idea; and since my committal, I have had no time to consult my solicitor on the means of refuting that charge, or of destroying the credit of the witnesses produced. I have, therefore, nothing to say now but what I said when first brought to the bar, that I am not guilty."

At the conclusion of the address of the Chief-Justice, Colonel Despard said—"I beg to say a few words in consequence of something that has fallen from his lordship. The seduction of the unhappy men involved in my fate has been imputed to me, but I do not conceive that anything appeared in the course of the trial, or evidence, to justify such an imputation."

Macnamara said—"I am now under sentence of death, and will

shortly be under another judgment; and may God never receive my soul if ever I spoke to Windsor till I came to this place."

The warrant for the execution of Colonel Despard and six of his associates reached the governor of the new prison in the Borough on the 19th of February. Colonel Despard received the dreadful intelligence with his wonted firmness. He had entertained some expectation of mercy, and manifested a momentary disappointment. He said—"The time was short."

Mrs. Despard had been constantly with her husband from the time of his conviction. She remained with him the whole of Saturday night. All the prisoners attended chapel on Sunday, with the exception of Colonel Despard and Macnamara; the latter had the assistance of a Roman Catholic clergyman. At four o'clock on Sunday evening Mrs. Despard, accompanied by another lady, a relative to the latter, had a parting interview with her husband. The composure of Colonel Despard seemed to sustain his lady, though the grief of her companion was not to be subdued. She was removed in a state of distraction. Mrs. Despard parted with her husband with an extraordinary display of fortitude, but had not long left the prison when she returned and made an attempt to gain admission once more to her husband's cell. She implored to be again allowed to see him, but it was properly considered best to refuse her request. It is said she manifested some indignation at the refusal, and made some allusion to the cause for which her husband was about to suffer, which might have better suited a Grecian matron than an English or an Irish lady, in her unfortunate circumstances. After Mrs. Despard had parted with her husband, he continued to walk up and down his cell till evening. He slept for a short time, and on awaking spoke as if addressing one of the officers of the prison, who was placed in his cell, in these words—"Me! they shall receive no information from me. No! not for all the gifts and gold in the possession of the Crown." These expressions were supposed to have reference to some proposal that might have been recently made to him. Sir Richard Ford, of the Home Office, had been at the prison on Saturday and, it was believed, had seen Colonel Despard. The following morning at eight o'clock the prisoners were brought from their cells, and one after the other drawn in a hurdle across the courtyard of the prison. They were then conducted to the scaffold, which had been constructed as to admit

of having the seven prisoners placed in a line and executed at the same moment. A few minutes before the execution took place Colonel Despard came forward in front of the scaffold, and addressed the multitude assembled in these words :—

"Fellow-citizens, I came here, as you see, after having served my country—faithfully, honourably, and usefully served it, for thirty years and upwards—to suffer death upon a scaffold for a crime of which I protest I am not guilty. I solemnly declare that I am no more guilty of it than any of you who may be now hearing me. But though His Majesty's ministers know as well as I do that I am not guilty, yet they avail themselves of a legal pretext to destroy a man, because he has been a friend to truth, to liberty, and to justice (there was loud cheering from the populace), because he had been a friend to the poor and the oppressed. But, citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate, and the fate of those who no doubt will soon follow me, that the principles of freedom, of humanity, and of justice will finally triumph over falsehood, tyranny, and delusion, and every principle hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have little more to add" (he paused a moment), "I have little more to add, except to wish you health, happiness, and freedom, which I have endeavoured, as far as was in my power, to procure for you and mankind in general."

When the other prisoners were brought from their cells they conducted themselves with propriety, and displayed the utmost composure. Five of them confessed "they had done wrong, but not to the extent charged against them in the evidence." A fifth, Graham, said he was ignorant of the crimes he was charged with, but had attended a meeting to which he had been brought by the approver Emblyn. So here were seven men on the verge of the grave declaring they were not guilty of the offences laid to their charge, to the extent of the evidence against them ; in fact, that the approvers and main witnesses had given false evidence against them. The witness Windsor was made acquainted with the object of the treasonable society in March, 1802. He communicated his knowledge of them to a Government officer belonging to the Transport Office, Mr. Bonus, and was instructed, as Cockayne had been in the case of Jackson, "to put himself forward" and watch the meetings. He did so, and introduced, by his own admission, a great number of unfortunate men into the society, who, in all

probability, but for his solicitation, would never have joined it or any other seditious association. The society was then, with the full knowledge of Mr. Bonus, the agent of transports—and it may, in justice to that gentleman, be inferred of Government itself—suffered to exist, to ramify, to increase in numbers, from the month of March, 1802, till the 15th of November the same year—namely, for a term of eight months!

Every man who was inveigled into that treasonable society during that period was sacrificed to a policy that no language of reprobation can sufficiently stigmatise.

There is great reason to believe that no plot whatever for the murder of the Sovereign, or of the Royal family (for the witnesses contradicted one another on this point) was contemplated. This was a police office invention. There is no question, however, but that the objects of the society were treasonable, and that the overthrow of the Constitution was contemplated; but so far from Despard having inveigled the persons who had been arrested with him into that society of which they were members, he was entrapped into its affairs by others, for the especial purpose of prosecution. That society, and its different ramifications, were composed solely of soldiers, dismissed seamen, and working men. These associations were subordinate to a secret society, composed of men of a very different class, which had been in being since the year 1795, and was called "The Secret Committee of England." It was composed of delegates from England, Ireland, and Scotland, who formed an executive directory. Despard was probably either a member of that society, or in connection with it without being formally a member. One of its members was Benjamin Pemberton Binns, brother of John Binns, of the Corresponding Society.

It was from this society the Rev. James Coigley had carried communications of great political importance, in 1796, to the French Government. It was of this society that an agent, B. P. Binns, had distributed a number of addresses among the United Irishmen, in 1797, which are spoken of in the evidence of John Hughes. There were persons said to be members of that society, of respectability, and subsequently of high standing in society and of influence in reform politics. It had an executive committee—the members of which were unknown except to three or four of the other members—like that of the United Irishmen, but more

fortunate than the latter; its members, though suspected, never were discovered or denounced on such evidence as could lead to their conviction. It has been denied by some of the State prisoners that there was any correspondence or connection between the London Corresponding Society or any other similar association in England and the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland. So far as regards the Corresponding Society such may be the fact; but with respect to the Secret Committee of England, though there might be no official communication between the executive and that of the United Irish one, there most assuredly was a great deal of communication between the leading men of both societies, and a great deal of it was carried on through the agency of Benjamin Pemberton Binns and the Rev. James Coigley.

With respect to Mr. Goldsmith's statement of Despard being employed by Bonaparte to assassinate the King, it is not entitled to the slightest credit. Mr. Goldsmith's favourite and fortunate pursuit for a great many years had been in gathering stories of assassination, of treason, and of sedition, undertaken by the orders of Bonaparte and promoted in foreign countries by his directions. There is one passage in his work illustrative of the character of his researches and of the benevolent disposition in which they were pursued, at a period subsequent to his dismissal from the anti-English organ of the First Consul—the *Paris Argus*, in 1802. In his cabinet of Bonaparte, referring to the latter, he says—"All friends of mankind will hear with pleasure that this curse of the world is epileptic; he has also scrofulous eruptions on his breast, as the French physicians say, from the itch badly cured, 'le galle rentrèe,' which he had to a very great degree when he lived in 'his garret, previous to the 13 vendimiare.'"*

So much for the statements of Mr. Goldsmith, intended to disparage the First Consul and the stories of his projected assassinations, and connection with Colonel Despard as an agent for the perpetration of one of them. The only ground for such a charge is the supposed connection of Colonel Despard with the popular societies in London at a previous period. He had been imprisoned, and discharged without trial twice previously to his last arrest.

On the 21st of December, 1798, on the second reading of the bill for the cessation of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act,

* Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte, p. 111.

Mr. Courtney read a letter from Mrs. Despard illustrative of the practical working of the late measure:—

"Some mention having been made in newspaper reports of the House of Commons, relative to the treatment of Colonel Despard in the new prison, I think it necessary to state that he was confined near seven months in a dark cell, not seven feet square, without fire, or candle, chair, table, knife, fork, a glazed window, or even a book. I made several applications in person to Mr. Wickham, and by letter to the Duke of Portland, all to no purpose. The 20th of last month he was removed into a room with fire, but not until his feet were ulcerated by the frost. For the truth of this statement I appeal to the Hon. Mr. Lawless and John Beever, Esq., who visited him in prison, and at whose intercession he was removed. The jailer will bear witness that he never made any complaint of his treatment, however severe it was. This statement of facts is without the knowledge of the colonel, who has served His Majesty thirty years, and all his family are now in the army.

(Signed) "CATHERINE DESPARD.
"Berkley Square."

Despard was known to Government as a man of Horne Tooke's politics, and therefore was in bad odour with it. Such was his position, when the charge was made by the First Consul, of harbouring, pensioning, and thus countenancing in England the notorious assassin Georges and his compeers. Intelligence was received from France, not officially, however, that French agents had been sent over to England to instigate the malcontented to assassinate the King; Despard was likewise known to have been recently in France, and therefore was suspected of communicating with its Government. On his return to England he was set by the police, dogged by spies; his friends were interrogated; his letters were examined and detained. This was ever an infallible receipt for making traitors. When Tiberius expressed some distrust of a spirited officer—in a letter to the latter, that officer, Gettulus, let him plainly see how his suspicions might be realised, when he wrote to Tiberius, "that so long as he remained unsuspected his loyalty would continue uncontaminated." Despard was at length inveigled into assemblies, where it was possible to establish charges against him which could not otherwise be sustained; and

in this way a man exceedingly obnoxious to the Government, and probably dangerous to it, was removed.

Arthur O'Connor states that Despard's attempt was wholly foreign to the affairs in Ireland. Until it can be shown that the objects of the Secret Committee, composed of delegates from England, Ireland, and Scotland, were wholly foreign to the affairs of Ireland, I, for one, cannot be persuaded but that Colonel Despard's supposed connection with the secret society in England was well known to the leaders of the United Irishmen, and that a popular movement, not an atrocious act of assassination, was expected, and looked for with anxiety, as affording employment for the troops in England, which would leave a better prospect for their efforts in Ireland.

In carrying into effect the sentence of Colonel Despard, that part of a barbarous remnant of the savagery of men in ages of darkness—which passed for a salutary severity, essential to the ends of justice—was dispensed with.

The following extract of the warrant for execution is worthy of attention :—"And whereas, we have thought fit to remit part of the sentence of the prisoners, viz., taking out the bowels before their faces, and dividing the bodies of Edward Marcus Despard, etc. etc., severally into four parts : our will *and pleasure* is, that execution be done upon the said E. M. Despard, etc. etc., by their being drawn and hanged, and having their heads severed from their bodies, according to the said sentence *only*, at the usual place of execution, on Monday next, the 21st of February ; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our court, at St. James's, etc. etc., by his Majesty's command.

(Signed) "PELHAM.

"From trusty and well-beloved
Sheriff of the county of
Surry, etc."

The seven unfortunate men having been placed in a line, and tied up one after the other, the signal was given, and they were all launched into eternity the same instant. Colonel Despard's body was the first taken down. The head was severed from it ; and the executioner, holding it up by the hair, held it towards the populace, and cried out in a loud voice, "This is the head of a traitor—Edward Marcus Despard."

The remains of this ill-fated gentleman were then removed by

his friends, and interred in Paddington, by his own desire, he expressed some days previously to his execution, to a friend, to whom he said, "he believed the remains of many of his countrymen were buried there."

The following particulars of the early history and military career of Colonel Despard are taken from a "Memoir of the late Colonel Edward Marcus Despard. By James Bannantine, his secretary, when Superintendent of His Majesty's affairs at Honduras." Published in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, March, 1803, page 129:—

"He was born in 1750 or 1751, and descended from a very ancient and respectable family in the Queen's County, in Ireland. He is the youngest of six brothers, all of whom, except the eldest, have served either in the army or navy. In 1766 he entered the army as an ensign, in the 50th regiment. In the same regiment he served as a lieutenant; and in the 79th, he served successively as lieutenant, quarter-master, captain, lieutenant, and captain. From his superior officers he received many marks of approbation, particularly from General Calcraft of the 50th, General Meadows, and the Duke of Northumberland. He has been for the last twenty years detached from any particular corps, and intrusted with important offices. In 1799 he was appointed chief engineer to the St. Juan expedition, and conducted himself so as to obtain distinguished attention and praise from Captain Polson, who commanded on that occasion. He also received the thanks of the council and assembly of the island of Jamaica, for the construction of public works there; and was, in consequence of these services, appointed by the governor of Jamaica to be commander-in-chief of the island of Rattan and its dependencies, and of the troops there, and to rank a lieutenant-colonel and field engineer, and commanded as such on the Spanish main, in Rattan, and on the Musquito Shore, and the Bay of Honduras.

"After this, at Cape Gracias de Dios, he put himself at the head of the inhabitants, who voluntarily solicited him to take the command, and retook from the Spaniards Black River, the principal settlement of the coasts. For this service he received the thanks of the governor, council, and assembly of Jamaica, and of the King himself. In 1783 he was promoted to the rank of colonel; in 1784 he was appointed first commissioner for settling and receiving the territory ceded to Britain, by the sixth article of the definitive treaty of peace with Spain, in 1783. He, as a colonel, so well

discharged his duty, that he was appointed superintendent of His Majesty's affairs on the coast of Honduras, which office he held, much to the advantage of the Crown of England, for he obtained from that of Spain some very important privileges. The clashing interests, however, of the inhabitants of this coast produced much discontent, and the colonel was, by a party of them, accused of various misdemeanours to His Majesty's ministers. He now came home, and demanded that his conduct should be investigated; but was, after two years' constant attendance on all the departments of Government, at last told by ministers that there was no charge against him worthy of investigation; that His Majesty had thought proper to abolish the office of superintendent at Honduras, otherwise he should have been reinstated in it: assured that his services should not be forgotten, but in due time meet their reward.

"It appears, however, that no further notice was ever taken of his past honourable and praiseworthy conduct, which, no doubt, highly irritated the colonel's susceptible and feeling mind; and it is highly probable that the designing and disaffected had taken advantage of his state of mind to detach him from loyalty, and engage his superior understanding and abilities in that mistaken cause, for which his life has now paid the forfeit.

"Soon after the commencement of the French revolution Colonel Despard was committed to prison without any cause being assigned, but was liberated after some weeks' confinement. On the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act he was again confined for a considerable time, still without any visible cause, but was at length set at liberty on his own recognisance. From this time he continued at large, till the 16th of November last, when he was again taken into custody at the Oakley Arms, Lambeth, with about thirty other persons. In consequence of the last apprehension the colonel and twelve of his associates were brought to trial, ten of whom were found guilty of high treason.

"The other unfortunate persons who were tried and suffered along with Mr. Despard were all men in humble situations of life, but of respectable characters. Broughton and Macnamara were carpenters; Graham was a master slater, and had a small yearly income from Government; Wratten was a shoemaker; Francis and Wood were soldiers."

CHAPTER IV.

THE treaty of peace between Great Britain on the one hand, and France, and Spain, and Holland on the other, was signed at Amiens, the 27th of March, 1802. It was very evident from the beginning of the negotiation for peace that there was no confidence on the part of either Government in the sincerity of the intention of the other to maintain it.

The ministry in England was pressed by public opinion, and its expression in Parliament to affect to make overtures for peace, and eventually peace itself. Bonaparte was consolidating his plans for his own aggrandisement, and required a breathing time to combine and to accomplish them. The destruction of the French fleet, moreover, rendered it necessary to make the requisite preparations to provide and to equip another. This required time; and none was certainly lost by Bonaparte; for, from the beginning of the peace, naval preparations, of considerable magnitude, were actively going on at Brest and other ports.

Similar naval preparations and military movements were on foot in England in the winter of 1802. In the spring of 1803 volunteering in England, and the raising of yeomanry corps in Ireland, were matters of public notoriety. In the *London Chronicle* of March 12, 1803, we find the following announcement:—"Mr. J. C. Beresford, M.P. for Dublin, set off on Tuesday for Ireland. His sudden return is attributed to business of a public nature." That business was officially glanced at in a circular of the Irish secretary a few days later.

"On the 26th of March Mr. E. B. Littlehales, in pursuance to directions from the Lord-Lieutenant, addressed a circular to the commanding officers of the respective corps of yeomanry, stating that in the present posture of affairs it was particularly desirable the yeomanry of Ireland should be prepared for any emergency."

Several of the corps of yeomanry, however, were already embodied.

Mr. Otto, the French minister at the Court in London, in a note to Lord Hawkesbury, dated August 17, 1802, states that he had received especial orders to solicit that the most effectual measures should be taken:—

1st.—"To put a stop to obnoxious, seditious, and unbecoming publications.

2nd.—"That certain French emigrants *shall be sent out of the island of Guernsey.*

3rd.—"That certain bishops, emigrants in England, *shall be sent away.*

4th.—"That Georges and his adherents *should be transported* to Canada.

5th.—"That the Bourbon princes *should be recommended* to repair to Warsaw.

6th.—"That French emigrants, wearing orders of the ancient regime, *should be required* to quit the British territory."

The example of the British Government, in times of public commotions, is referred to in justification of those demands. "Whatever," says Mr. Otto, "may be the protection which British laws afford to native writers, and to other subjects of His Majesty, the French Government knows that foreigners here do not enjoy the same protection, and the law, known by the title of the Alien Act, gives the ministry of His Britannic Majesty an authority which it has often exercised against those whose residence was prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain. The first clause of the Act states expressly that any order in council which requires a foreigner to quit the kingdom shall be executed under pain of transportation. There exists, therefore, in the ministry a legal and sufficient power to restrain foreigners, *without having recourse to the courts of law*, and THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, WHICH OFFERS ON THIS POINT A PERFECT RECIPROCITY, THINKS IT GIVES a new proof of *its pacific intentions* by demanding that those persons may be sent away whose machinations uniformly tend to sow discord between the people." *

The perfect reciprocity there is no mistaking. The United Irishmen in Paris stood in the same obnoxious relation to British interests which the emigreés in London did to those of France, or rather of its ruler. How was it possible for the leaders of the former, after the publication of the paper from which the preceding document is taken, to place any trust in Bonaparte's faith or friendly feelings to their cause, is indeed surprising.

It is evident, however, that Robert Emmet's information was well founded, and that his opinion of Bonaparte was not a mistaken one. Lord Hawkesbury's reply to this communication, dated

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* *London Chronicle*, May 19-21, 1803, page 483.

August 28, 1802, was a dignified refusal to transport, turn out of the kingdom, or recommend to leave it, any persons who did not infringe the laws. The intention of the Alien Act was to empower the British Government to remove foreigners suspected of being dangerous to it. But if any substantial proof was given of foreigners in England distributing proclamations in France, or enticing the people to resist its Government, His Majesty would take all the measures in his power to cause such persons to leave the country. With respect to interference with the press, "I am sure," says Lord Hawkesbury, "you must be aware that His Majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation, or any menace from a foreign power, make any concession which can be in the smallest degree dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraints upon publications of any description." No allusion whatever was made to the obliging offer of the perfect reciprocity. Altogether, the correspondence was advantageous (on the face of the published correspondence) to the character of the British minister, and damaging to that of the First Consul. But there is no doubt that Georges and his associates were suffered, unmolested, to pursue their machinations in Great Britain, and were supported and countenanced by influential people in England, among the emigrants, and that the pretence was futile, that there was no power under the Alien Act to prevent assassins from plotting against the life of the ruler of a foreign country, at peace with Great Britain, on the part of the Minister for Foreign Affairs; and no less hypocritical, with respect to the anxiety manifested for the maintenance of constitutional privileges, than the feelings of veneration expressed for the liberty of the press, and the fears professedly entertained of an interference with it.

It cannot fail to strike any reader of the official papers presented to Parliament, connected with the mission of Lord Whitworth, that the great cause of Bonaparte's irritation, greater even than the retention of Malta, was the abuse lavished on him in the English newspapers, and by several of the leading members of the Opposition in Parliament. The British Government, in affecting to remedy the grievance complained of, took the course of all others the most displeasing to Bonaparte—the most calculated to bring

him into disfavour with the Liberals and Radicals in England, namely, the prosecution of one of those editors, Peltier, which afforded an occasion to Sir James Macintosh for raking the character and career of Bonaparte, fore and aft; thus accomplishing the purpose of the Government, while apparently bent on protecting the reputation of their new ally.

Was it by mere accident that this trial came on the same day that Colonel Despard was executed? The *Moniteur*, in commenting on the views of Peltier's conviction, expressed the greatest indignation at the duplicity of the British minister, in taking a course so much opposed to the wishes of the French Government, instead of that which had been demanded by their ambassador.

Bonaparte, in a conference with Lord Whitworth, communicated to the British Government, February 21, 1803, reiterated his complaints against the British Government, in reference to the retention of Malta, in direct violation of the terms of the treaty. He said—"Of the two, he would rather see us in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine, than Malta. . . ." He complained of the protection given in England to the assassin Georges, handsomely pensioned, and of his plans being permitted to be carried into effect in France, and of two of his fellow-agents being sent into France by the emigreés to assassinate him (Bonaparte), and being then in custody. This latter part of the statement was perfectly correct. The two men he referred to were tried and convicted on their own confessions.

In regard to the abuse launched on him in the English papers and French emigrant journals published in London, he said to Lord Whitworth—"The irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him."* Lord Hawkesbury, in reply to Lord Whitworth's communication, February 18, 1803, made the following admission, for the first time explicitly and plainly expressed:—"*With regard to that article of the treaty which relates to Malta, the stipulations contained in it, owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of His Majesty to control, had not been found capable of execution.*"

In Lord Whitworth's communication (marked No. 38, dated February 21, 1803), to Lord Hawkesbury, an account is given

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* *London Chronicle*, February, 1803.

of an interview with Bonaparte, when the latter, in reference to the proofs he had given to maintain peace, said—"He wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and *that* he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the *greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea.* He talked much on the subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged there were a hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and that such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise." * He concluded by stating—"That France, with an army of 480,000 men, to be immediately completed, was ready for the most desperate enterprise; that England, with her fleet, was mistress of the seas, which he did not think he should be able to equal in ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world; but, by their strifes, might overturn it."

In the report on the situation of the French Republic, bearing the signature of the First Consul, Bonaparte, presented to the legislative body by a decree of the Government of the 21st February, 1803, the following passages occur:—"The British forces are still in Alexandria and Malta. The Government had a fair right of complaint; but it has received intelligence that the vessels which are to convey them to Europe are already in the Mediterranean. . . .

"But in England two parties maintain a contest for power; one of those parties has concluded peace, and appears desirous of maintaining it. The other has taken an oath of eternal hatred to France. . . . While this contest of parties continues, measures of precaution are what the Government are called upon to adopt. Five hundred thousand men ought to be, and shall be, ready to undertake its defence, and avenge its injuries. Strange necessity which miserable passions impose on two nations whom interest and

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* *London Chronicle*, p. 476, May 17-19, 1803.

inclination mutually prompt to the cultivation of peace. Whatever success intrigues may experience in London, no other people will be involved in new combinations. The Government says, with conscious pride, that England alone cannot maintain a struggle against France." *

Mr. Pitt, at this time out of office, was playing the invalid in the public prints, "in so precarious a state (says the *London Chronicle*, p. 207), as not to admit of his undergoing the fatigue of a regular parliamentary attendance." His organs, however, were not idle; the papers which heretofore advocated his opinions were busily employed in reviling the First Consul, and deprecating peace with him. At the very period that Mr. Pitt's health was stated in the *London Chronicle*, in February and March, 1803, to be in so precarious a state, he was more deeply engaged in public business, I was informed by his niece, Lady Hester Stanhope, who then acted as his private secretary, than he had been at any period while he was in the ministry. It is impossible to read the debates in Parliament of this period and not to believe that the Prime Minister, Adington, was more desirous of maintaining peace with France than the party that had hitherto clamoured against the war. Some of the great Whigs of that day, Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan in particular, seemed wholly bent on driving the ministry to hostile measures against France, after having for years made war on the Tory ministry for its belligerent policy. There never was greater inconsistency exhibited by public men than was at this period displayed by Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan. The whole of their patriotism at this time was devoted to efforts to influence the passions of the people of England against France, to supply means for paying the debts, and providing for the debaucheries of the Prince Regent. Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Whitbread were no parties to the war-whoop of Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan.

The appearance of a desire for peace had now been manifested by both Governments for a sufficient length of time to answer all the purposes required; the popular will had been deferred to, and no more was then necessary.

On the 9th of March, 1803, a message from the King was delivered to the Parliament, wherein His Majesty "thinks it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons that, as very con-

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* The *London Chronicle*, p. 205, February 26.

siderable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions."

In a debate in the House of Commons, on the 10th of March, 1803, Lord Hobart said there was reason to hope the disputes with France would be amicably adjusted. In the Commons, Mr. Windham attempted to throw any obloquy that might arise from unsuccessful war, in the event of a rupture, on the Opposition. Mr. Sheridan reprobated the idea that the country, by the peace, had been deprived of the means of going to war. Lord Moira repelled, with indignation, the assertion of Bonaparte, that "England was unable to contend, single-handed, with France."

Lord Whitworth, in March, by the instructions of his Government, demanded an explanation of the motives and objects of the warlike preparations in the French ports; and the reply (not official) of Mons. Talleyrand was said to have been short and not satisfactory—"It was the will of the First Consul." Bonaparte, on the other hand, on the 11th of March, at a levèe at the Tuilleries, attended by the different ambassadors and a great number of distinguished persons, on entering the grand saloon seemed violently agitated, and appeared to be conversing with his attendants, or, rather, thinking aloud, for the following words, pronounced in a very audible voice, were heard by all the persons in the audience chamber:—"Vengeance will fall on that power which will be the cause of the war." He approached the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth, and said—"You know, my lord, that a terrible storm has arisen between England and France."

Lord Whitworth said—"It was to be hoped that the storm would be dissipated without any serious consequences." Bonaparte replied—"It will be dissipated when England should have evacuated Malta; if not, the cloud would burst, and the bolt must fall. The King of England had promised, by treaty, to evacuate that place, and who was to violate the faith of treaties?"

The above account is taken from a communication, published in the *Hibernian Magazine* of April, 1803, furnished by a person who professes to speak from a personal knowledge of the circumstances related.

Of the interview referred to, Lord Whitworth, in communication to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated the 14th of

March, 1803, says—"At Court, which was held at the Tuilleries on that day, Sunday, he (the First Consul) accosted me, evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him I had received letters from your lordship two days ago. He immediately said—'And so you are determined to go to war?' 'No,' I replied, 'we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.' 'Nous avons,' said he, 'deja fait la guerre pendant quinze ans.' As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed only, 'C'en est deja trop.' 'Mais,' said he, 'vous voulez le faire encore quinze annees et vous m'y forcez.' I told him that was very far from His Majesty's intentions. He then proceeded to Count Marcow and Chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them—'Les Anglais veulent la guerre, mais s' ils sont les premier a tirer, l'epee je serai le dernier a le remettre. Ils ne respectent pas les traites. Il faut dornevant les couvrir de crepe noir.' He then went his round. . In a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it may be called, by something personally civil to me; and after some observations about the armaments in England, he said, in reply to Lord Whitworth's remark that England desired to live, 'En bonne intelligence avec elle (la France). Il faut donc respecter les Traites malheur, a ceux qui ne respectent pas les Traites, ils en seront responsable a tout l'Europe.'"*

The manifesto of the French Republic, at the appearance of hostilities, bearing the signature of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Talleyrand, was issued on the 15th of May. In this document it is stated that the British Minister on the 7th of April manifested an intention to violate the treaty, and to refuse to evacuate Malta. The intimation was not listened to. Two new *projects* of convention followed; one that Malta should continue under the sovereignty of England, and England would consent to recognise everything that had taken place in Europe since the treaty of Amiens. To which proposal M. Talleyrand replied that no change had taken place in Europe since the treaty was made, *except the organisation of the German Empire*, in which the King of England had concurred, as Elector of Hanover, by his vote—a necessary consequence of the treaty of Luneville, which existed long before the treaty of Amiens;

* Woodfall's *London Chronicle*, p. 478. May 17th, 18th, 1803.

that the events in Piedmont, Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian Republics had their date previous to the treaty of Amiens; that with respect to the Batavian Republic, it had been recognised by the King of England, and that by treaty between that Republic and France, the last division of the French troops would evacuate Holland on the complete execution of the treaty of Amiens. With respect to Malta, the independence of the order of its knights and of the island was provided for by an especial article of the treaty of Amiens. The independence of the island had been guaranteed by the Emperor of Germany; the independence of the knights had been guaranteed by the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, in consequence of the conjoint solicitation of England and France. When Lord Whitworth demanded his passports, France, anxious still for peace, had consented that Malta should be guaranteed by one of the guaranteeing powers, Austria, Russia, or Prussia. Lord Whitworth suspended his departure, and referred the proposal to his Government. On the 11th of May Lord Whitworth returned the answer of his Government, stating that Russia had refused the request made to her on that subject. Talleyrand affirms there was not time for the application to have been made to Russia and replied to. A courier, however, had arrived at Paris from Russia with despatches from the Emperor, manifesting the greatest concern at the intelligence of the intention of England to retain possession of Malta, renewing the assurances of his guarantee, and announcing his compliance with the request of the First Consul to become the mediator between the two powers, with their consent. This communication was made known to Lord Whitworth on the 12th of May. On the same day his lordship informed Mons. Talleyrand that he had orders to depart in thirty-six hours after the delivery of his last note. The manifesto terminates with "a repetition of the proposition to place Malta in the hands of one of the three guaranteeing powers; and for all other objects foreign to the treaty of Amiens, renews its declaration to open a negotiation with respect to them."

On the 15th of May, 1803, His Britannic Majesty sent a message to Parliament announcing the recall of the British ambassador from Paris, and the departure of the French ambassador from London. The declaration of hostilities with France was published in the *Gazette* of May 18, 1803.

Mr. Pitt made his appearance in the House of Commons on the

23rd of May, when an amendment of Mr. Grey's, in the address to His Majesty, pledging the House to support His Majesty in the prosecution of the war, came to be discussed in that House. During the continuance of peace Mr. Pitt was ill—ill at ease, and ill pleased at the unsuccessful result of all his efforts to maintain his war policy. His indisposition suffered him only to indulge in rural and military recreations—in learning the musket and broadsword exercise, by way of bracing his nerves, and seeing his regiment of volunteers put through their facings, with a view of enlivening the dulness of his retirement. But like the worthy cardinal who had waxed sickly and infirm before the Pope's election, Mr. Pitt, before the question came to be discussed of peace or war, was a political invalid rumoured to be unable to attend to his Parliamentary duties, and so broken down with the labours of his past career as to excite general apprehension for his safety. But the night of the 23rd Mr. Pitt was found in his place in Parliament, and it is hardly necessary to add that his "voice was still for war." Perhaps greater vigour of mind or body was never exhibited by him than on that occasion. The ex-minister was himself again—war was about to be let loose on the world, and all the principles of evil seemed concentrated in the unholy exultation with which the prospects of war was hailed on this occasion. In the madness of hate, and in the inebriety of eloquence itself, he spoke of the First Consul as "a sea of liquid fire which destroyed everything which was fortunate enough to come in contact with it." It now only remained for hon. members to express a hope that "the only man in the Empire qualified to conduct the war to a successful issue" should be recalled to the councils of his sovereign. Mr. Pitt played his part to perfection, and there is nothing more wonderful than the impunity which his duplicity and mischievous artifice on that occasion met with at the hands of the Whig party.

The result of these negotiations was war, a new devastation of the fairest portion of Europe for the space of eleven years—a further carnage of some millions of the human race—an increased burden of public debt to the extent of some hundreds of millions of pounds sterling in Great Britain.*

* The National Debt in 1803 was £601,411,080 sterling. In 1814, at the end of the war, it was £943,195,951, having been increased by these eleven years of war upwards of £341,000,000.—*Colquhoun's Wealth and Resources of the British Empire.*

Divesting these negotiations of all their concomitant feints and fencings, wiles and ambushes, mysticisms of meaning and hiding of purposes, the skilful skirmishes, criminations and recriminations, avowals of fair intentions, and imputations of bad faith, we come to the bare bone of contention—an island in the Mediterranean and a colony in Africa, which belonged to neither of the parties in dispute.

France wanted a navy, which it would require ten years to equip. England wanted Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, which she was then in a position to retain, but was not in so good a condition to maintain when the treaty of Amiens was entered into. Bonaparte was well aware of these facts, and his political morality did not stand in the way of his State interests. He regarded the treaty of Amiens as a truce, believing it was so regarded by his new ally, yet willing to maintain it as long as possible for the sake of its bearings on his interests, not on account of its obligations on his honour, and desirous, whenever it was broken, that the ostensible cause of the rupture should be a violation of an important article of that treaty on the part of the wary ally, he never ceased to account, and, perhaps, with reason, a watchful enemy.

The consideration of this subject is not foreign to the subject of the unfortunate enterprise of Robert Emmet. Its origin and failure were unquestionably connected with the expected result of those negotiations, and the preparations for that result which had been already begun in the northern seaports of France when he set out on his fatal mission. Previous to his departure he had an interview with Bonaparte; the nature of it was such as to leave no doubt on his mind that peace was destined to be of short continuance, that hostilities would commence before the month of August, 1803, and that the invasion of England would take place in the course of that month.

He told one of his most intimate friends in Ireland, a gentleman whose veracity can be relied on, that his interview had left an unfavourable impression on his mind of the character of the First Consul; that he had been referred by Bonaparte to Talleyrand, and had several interviews with the latter, of whose intentions towards Ireland he thought not more favourably than of those of his master, and of whose knowledge of the state of things there he could say but little to its advantage. He thought, however, that Talleyrand rather desired the establishment of an independent Republic in Ireland, and that Bonaparte did not. His only object

was to aggrandise France and to damage England, and so far as that object went, to wish well to any effort in Ireland that might be ancillary to his purpose. He thought, however, that Bonaparte, seeing that war was inevitable, was sincere in the purpose he expressed of making a descent on England the earliest possible moment after war had been declared, and that event he was led to believe was likely to take place within eight or nine months.

Both countries, from the middle of March, 1803, were busily engaged in preparations for war. It was not, however, till the 10th of May that acts of hostility were committed on the merchant vessels of both countries on the coast of France and England. A number of intercepted English letters found on board the East Indiaman, *Admiral Aplin*, captured by the French, and published in the *Moniteur* by the Government, afford abundant proof of the panic which prevailed in England from the month of March, and of the expectation of invasion that was general in the months of June, July, and August. The *London Chronicle* of March, April, and May is full of the preparations in progress to repel aggression. The militia was embodied in several counties in England in March. Lord Castlereagh was playing at soldiers in a yeomanry corps in Westminster. Mr. Pitt was down at the Cinque Ports raising his own regiment at Walmsey. The whole nation was filled with apprehensions of invasion and ideas of a military character. A few people, not amongst the ministers however, or the Opposition, who understood the character of Bonaparte, and reflected on his obvious policy, gave him credit for too much wisdom to believe that he would stake all his power, his resources, and his fame, on an achievement of very doubtful success, and believed that he kept up the idea of invasion—by the preparation of his flotilla of gun-boats at Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkerque, his naval armament at Brest, his armèe d'Angleterre encamped on the French coast, his gunpowder articles in the *Moniteur*—with the sole view of obliging the people of England to keep up an enormous military force, and thus to make an effective war on its finances. But a very different opinion was entertained by the majority, and very serious apprehensions were expressed in high quarters of the results of an invasion in Ireland. It was stated in the month of August, in a letter of Lord Charles Bentick to his brother, Lord William Bentick, Governor of Madras, "if Ireland be not attended to it will be lost; these rascals" (an endearing, familiar, gentleman-like

way of calling the people of Ireland) "are as ripe as ever for rebellion."

In an extract of a letter to General Clinton, of the 2nd of June, we find the following passage :—"I have learned from them (Irish people in England), with regret, that the lower classes of men in Ireland were more disaffected than ever, even more than during the last rebellion, and that if the French could escape from our fleet, and land their troops in the north of Ireland, they would be received with satisfaction, and joined by a great number."*

In a letter of Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Wellesley, dated the 12th of July, 1803, we find the following passage:—"I am not certain whether the event of the war which our wise ministers have at last declared may not have induced them to beg you to continue your stay in India some time longer. I hope nothing, however, will prevent me from having the pleasure of seeing you next year, *supposing at that period that you have still a country to revisit.*"†

Letter from Mr. Finers to General Lake, 14th July:—"The invasion which has been so long the favourite project of the First Consul will certainly take place."

Letter from one of the directors of the East India Company, Thomas Faulder, to Mr. J. Ferguson Smith. Calcutta, 3rd August: —"I have heard from the first authority that if the French can land in Ireland with some troops they will be immediately joined by some 100,000 Irish."‡

Several of these letters have in their style and tone evident marks of authenticity, and an appropriateness and similarity in the opinions expressed to those which the writers were known to entertain, that it would be difficult to simulate.

The reader is requested to observe that the date of Lord Grenville's letter was July 12, the letter to General Clinton is dated the 2nd of June, the letter to General Lake is dated the 14th of July. In the first the apprehension of invasion and the doubt of his friend having a country to revisit the next year is obvious enough. In the letter to General Clinton the spirit of disaffection and

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* Intercepted letters found in the captured ship *Aplin*, published in the *Moniteur*, p. 41. Pam. Dub., 1804.

† Ibid., p. 13.

‡ Ibid., p. 43.

certainty of the troops joining the invaders is plainly stated. In the letter to General Lake the favourite project of the First Consul, it is said, will certainly take place. Now, all these letters were previous to the attempt of Robert Emmet, which was made on the 23rd of July.

These letters were evidently written by persons connected with Government, or with persons holding high situations under the Government, and we see that they entertained the opinion which has been hitherto set down as a chimerical one, that on which Robert Emmet acted, namely, that there would be an invasion of some part of Great Britain or Ireland, and that the people of Ireland would take advantage of the opportunity. Unquestionably, this opinion did prevail in high quarters, and it did not originate with the individuals to whom it has been ascribed, and who are consequently looked upon as mere dreamers or enthusiasts.

Arthur O'Connor, in speaking of some of the United Irish leaders who were in Paris in 1802-3, says:—"These were persons who were opposed to him (O'Connor), who had communications with France, and this party was reorganised at Paris in 1803. Their plans were connected with Robert Emmet's plot but were not communicated to him; they were divulged to him by the French Government. The person in this party, in Paris, who had most influence was Russell. Bonaparte, in conversing with General O'Connor, expressed himself unfavourably of the attempt and of those engaged in it."* The United Irishmen, it must be added, who had been in communication with him, expressed themselves no less unfavourably of him.

CHAPTER V.

Robert Emmet's design was then based on the expectation of a speedy rupture of the amicable relations between Great Britain and France, on the knowledge of extensive naval preparations in the northern seaports of France, and the impression left on his mind by his interview with Bonaparte and his frequent communications with Talleyrand, that those preparations were for an invasion of England, which was likely to be attempted in August, 1803; on the

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* The United Irishmen, second series, Vol. II., p. 295.

knowledge, communicated to him by Dowdall, of a popular movement being determined on by the Secret Society of England, with which Colonel Despard was connected; on the assurance of support and pecuniary assistance from very influential persons in Ireland; and, lastly, on the concurrence of several of the most devoted of the Irish leaders in Paris.

A gentleman, still living, well known to his countrymen and deservedly respected by them, dined in company with Robert Emmet and Surgeon Lawless the day before the departure of the latter for Ireland. "Emmet spoke of his plans with extreme enthusiasm; his features glowed with excitement, the perspiration burst through the pores and ran down his forehead." Lawless was thoroughly acquainted with his intentions and thought favourably of them; but the gentleman I refer to considered the plans impracticable and was opposed to them. Dr. Macneven, Hugh Wilson, Thomas Russell, William and Thomas Corbett, Hamilton, and Sweeney, were intimate and confidential friends of Robert Emmet, as well as of his brother; several of them, there is positive proof, concurred in the attempt. All of them, it may be supposed, were cognisant of it. All their surviving friends are agreed on one point—that the project did not originate with Robert Emmet. He set out for Ireland, by the way of Holland, in the beginning of October, 1802, and arrived in Dublin in the course of the same month. His brother, Thomas Addis, was then in Brussels. One of his letters is dated from that city, in November of that year. In the spring of 1803 he was in Paris with his family, and when hostilities had broken out, in the month of May, was in communication with Talleyrand, and soon after with Bonaparte.

While many of the United Irishmen were in France and in other parts of the Continent, after their release from Fort George, it would seem that some apprehensions were entertained by T. A. Emmet and others as to the nature and extent of the assistance to be received and accepted from the French, the former wishing that none other should be accepted than such as was extended to the United States of America, and that Ireland should enjoy her freedom as a separate nation, while others of the United Irishmen seemed desirous of forming a more intimate political connection, even to the extent of not only separating Ireland from England, but of uniting her to the kingdom of France. The First Consul seemed also to favour this plan and its advocates. That this

difference of opinion did, in a degree, weaken and impair that confidence and good fellowship which had before mutually existed among the United Irishmen in France there is no question. It certainly produced a caution and reserve in the conduct of some which resembled, and may have been mistaken for, a jealousy or suspicion as to the real motives which actuated the conduct of others of their body, and it, no doubt, has likewise given rise to the opinion, sometimes expressed, that, after leaving Fort George, many of the prisoners quarrelled and disagreed among themselves. Be that as it may, there is certainly no instance in history where a body of men were engaged in a similar enterprise, and which, resulting in defeat, produced so little of jealousy, recrimination, or enmity among themselves as existed among the chiefs of the United Irishmen.

The events connected with this communication, being of a later date than the period of the departure of Robert Emmet for Ireland, might be more regularly noticed in that part of the memoir which treats of the career of Robert Emmet at the period in question. Nevertheless, it seems to me the correspondence of T. A. Emmet, detailing the nature of his communications with Bonaparte and Talleyrand, his own views of the results of a connection with France, though the date of it is some months later than the period of Robert Emmet's departure, can be introduced in this place with most advantage to the subject and made to afford an unbroken view of the subject of the communication of the United Irishmen in Paris with the French Government in 1802 and 1803. The following valuable papers bring the history of these communications to an end.

In the autumn of 1803 T. A. Emmet had an interview with the First Consul. On the 13th November he addressed a memorial to him, and on the 13th of December following Bonaparte replied to this communication, declaring his intention to set on foot preparations for an expedition to secure the independence of Ireland.

In 1803 many of the United Irishmen who had gone to France formed themselves into an Irish battalion, or legion, under the command of General M'Sheehy, and, there is no doubt, most of them would have returned to Ireland with an invading expedition, which they were led to believe was then actually fitting out at Brest and elsewhere. Under these circumstances, T. A. Emmet drew up and presented the memorial referred to on behalf of the

United Irishmen. No copy of this memorial is to be found among Mr. Emmet's papers, and the copy of the First Consul's answer to the memorial, sent with Mr. Emmet's letters to the author, was found among Dr. Macneven's papers.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM T. A. EMMET, AT PARIS, DIRECTED—"A MONSIEUR MACNEVEN, OFFICIER DU BATTALION IRLANDOIS A MORLAISE," AND DATED—

"1*st Pluviose*, 1804 (21*st Jan.*).

"MY DEAR MACNEVEN,—I have received Gallagher's, Sweeney's, and your letters, all which I acknowledge with very sincere love to the respective parties. But the length and nature of this letter, with my having at this moment a great press of business, will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for my not writing to them at present. As to the conjecture you make in your letter about the time before which matters will not be ready, I am clear you are well founded, though not, perhaps, for the reasons you have assigned, as I perceive your traveller did not give you an *exact* account of what was in Brest, and none at all of what was in the neighbouring ports; but your conclusion nevertheless is true. At the end of that time (if any faith can be placed in assurance) it is intended to attempt something. I am not seaman enough to calculate the chances of success; but this I know, that similar things were done in August; and further, none of us know what combinations of plans may be used to facilitate the measure, even in an unfavourable time. So much for that. Now for what will perhaps surprise and please you, as it has done me. I presented the memoir I was writing at your departure on the 13th Nivose; on the 27th I received the annexed answer.

"When Dalton delivered me this he stated the readiness of the minister to confirm it by word of mouth whenever I pleased. As the latter paragraph afforded ample room for reflection, and for consulting my friends, I would willingly have avoided the interview for some time, and professed myself perfectly satisfied as to the authenticity of the answer; but by his eagerness in pressing the matter I quickly perceived that the minister's 'readiness to confirm' was, in fact, a *desire* to see me on the subject. After I had read the answer through, Dalton subjoined—'I have to add that it is the First Consul's wish that you and Mr. O'Connor should be of that committee; and I have directions to present him a copy of this

answer, leaving out the first sentence. When that committee is formed it will give the present Government the means of communicating at once with all parties of United Irishmen, and give them the certainty, that whatever may be offered in their behalf, will not be contradictory, and drawing in different directions.'

"He added a great deal more, etc. We took leave, he in a great hurry to procure me an interview with the minister, and I in none. One reason for this disposition, besides what I already stated, was, that I apprehended very strongly, as the American mediation is not yet ended, the proclamations of the committee might be an engine for terrifying England into terms; and I wished, and still wish, to waste time, until I have reason to hope that the best exertions of the committee may not be turned into a cause of mischief to our country. I therefore postponed, but was yesterday obliged to have the interview, of which I shall speak directly. You may be assured, I lost no time in consulting Sweetman, M'D., and my other friends here, who all agreed that, as the Consul made a point of it, it could not be avoided; and they even saw considerable advantage from it, provided it acts with caution.

"Before I saw the minister, yesterday, I had a long conversation with Dalton, the greatest part of which turned on the best mode of appointing the committee. The mode he contemplated, and with him, the Government, was, that O'C. and I should each name whom we thought fit; that Government should add to us some person or persons, if we should omit any it thought important. I said—'If I were of the committee, I certainly should not object to any persons of whom I thought sufficiently well, and whose presence Government thought of importance; but that, for myself, I wished to be sanctioned by the approbation of my countrymen, which could be easily had, as they are collected at Morlaix.' Against this he remonstrated with a good deal of energy, and, in truth, it made the principal part of our conversation. I was free to make whatever proposal I pleased; but as a friend, and in confidence, he advised me against that. He added some observations, in no respect disreputable to our countrymen, but which I don't consider myself free to repeat; and said I, at least, had no occasion for any such scruples, as it was well known I had already the approbation of my countrymen for acting alone and, *a fortiori*, for acting with others.

"At length I saw the minister, who confirmed, in the fullest

manner, Dalton's paper, and assured me it was what the Consul intended to abide by; and asked me if I had thought of the committee, and who would be the most proper members? On my part, I expressed the utmost gratitude to the Consul for his assurances and intentions. As to the committee, I said 'there was one peculiarity in the situation of most of us, which was probably unknown to the Consul, but which made the formation of that committee a matter of some difficulty—though our persons were free, the property, and almost every man who might be thought eligible, was in the power of the English Government; and if they did anything that could be taken hold of, that property would certainly be confiscated. This was a great consideration for fathers of families; and although, under certain circumstances, when men had a full assurance that matters were come to a crisis they might run risks, they could not feel warranted in doing so under uncertainties.' To this he answered, among other things, that we should not be required to run any risks we did not think fit.

"'Form your committee, give Government the body with which it wants to communicate, and manage your own affairs as you may think fit; publish your proclamations without any names, and if you think your countrymen will give sufficient credit to them, keep your names secret but from the committee.'

"A good deal more was said, that, perhaps, ought not to be repeated. Thus, however, matters stand. I will not throw any impediment in the way, but I do not intend to break my neck in trying to bring about what I do not perfectly understand the drift of. I wish you were here, and I think it probable you may be called for; but you need not fear being left behind, as the commander-in-chief of the Irish will be here also. Sweeney was very right not to offer to go to Ireland on Augereau's invitation. Let him consider if he should be asked whether he would go on any other condition different from what he has already offered. As I know there is an anxiety of transmitting the substance of the Consul's answer to me, you will see how much discretion is necessary with respect to the foregoing parts of his letter.

"You will, no doubt, be rejoiced to hear that the First Consul himself has taken the trouble of dictating the device for your colours. They are to be green in the centre; a tri-coloured circle, with R.I. The legend on the colours is to be, 'L'independence de l'Irelande—Liberté de Conscience.' You are also aware that

your uniform is somewhat changed on the demand of M'Sheehy; the amarinth is exploded, and yellow, the second national colour, substituted in its place."

"*Copy of the First Consul's answer to my Memoire of 13th Nivose, delivered to me 27th Nivose:—**

"Le Premier Consul a lu avec la plus grande attention, la memoire qui lui a été adressé par M. Emmet le 13 Nivose.

"Il desire que les Irlandais Unis soyent bien convaincus que son intention est d'assurer l'independence de l'Irlande, et de donner protection entière et efficace à tous ceux d'entre eux, qui prendront part à l'expedition, ou qui se joindront aux armées Françaises.

"Le Gouvernement Français ne peut faire aucune proclamation avant d'avoir touché le territoire Irlandais. Mais le général qui commandera l'expedition sera muni de lettres scellées, par lesquelles la Premier Consul declarera qu'il ne fera point le paix avec l'Angleterre, sans stipuler pour l'independence de l'Irlande, dans le cas, cependant, où l'armée aurait été jointe par un corps considerable d'Irlandais Unis.

"L'Irlande sera en tout traitée comme l'a eté l'Amérique dans la guerre passée.

"Tout individu qui s'embarquera avec l'armée Française destinée pour l'expedition, sera commissioné comme Français, s'il était arrêté, et qu'il ne fut pas traité comme prisonnier de guerre la represaille s'exercera sur les prisonniers Anglais.

"Tout corps formé an nom des Irlandais Unis sera consideré comme faisant parti de l'armée Française. Enfin, si l'expedition ne reussissait pas et que les Irlandais fussent obligés de revenir en France, la France entretiendra un certain nombre de brigades Irlandaises, et fera des pensions, à tout individu qui aurait fait partie du Gouvernement ou des autorités du pays.

"Les pensions pourraient été assimilées à celles qui sont accordées en France aux titulaires de grade ou d'emplois correspondant, qui ne sont pas en activité.

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* The reply of the First Consul to Mr. Emmet's Memoir was published in the second volume of the 2nd series of this work, at page 123. In the fifth paragraph, however, on comparing it with the copy sent me with Mr. Emmet's papers, I find an omission of eight words, which renders it desirable to give the corrected document in its integrity; and with this view it is presented in this Memoir.

"Le Premier Consul desire qu'il se forme un comité d'Irlandais Unis. Il ne voit pas d'inconvenant à ce que les membres de ce comité fassent des proclamations, et instruissent leurs compatriotes de l'état de choses.

"Ces proclamations seront inserés dan l'Argus et dans les differens journaux de l'Europe, à fin d'eclairer les Irlandais, sur la parti qu'ils ont à suivre, et sur les esperances qu'ils doivent conçevoir. Si la comité veut faire un relation des actes de tyrannie exercées contre l'Irlande par la Gouvernement Anglais, on l'inserera dans le Moniteur."

It was in consequence of this answer from the First Consul, and under the full conviction that an invasion of Ireland was shortly to take place, that Dr. Macneven wrote a proclamation which was found among his papers, from which the following passages are extracted:—

"Friends and Countrymen,—The hour of your emancipation is at length arrived. We announce to you allies and arms which will enable you to throw off the English yoke. An auxiliary force of —— thousand of those illustrious warriors who have repeatedly triumphed over our enemies, with arms to equip —— thousand Irishmen, as valiant as even those warriors. These are the ample means that are offered to you for redressing the wrongs and asserting the independence of your country. United brethren who have maintained, even in servitude, the dignity of freemen by gallant though unsuccessful struggle against the tyranny of George III., we do not at this day presume to inflame your valour. Could courage alone give independence to our country you would long since have made it free, but when virtue was unavailing to break its fetters, it was at least preserved, by your magnanimous daring, from dishonour. Placed in the dreadful alternative of resigning yourselves to despotism or contending with its power, you proved to the world that the most intolerable evil to Irishmen is slavery.

"A consolatory task awaits you now—you will meet the foe with advantage equal to his own? On the ruins of what he acquired by oppression, rapine, and bloodshed you will establish the happiness of millions, and you will rescue from provincial degradation the exalted character of your country.

"Cited to the field by your wrongs and by your sufferings, by

the forlorn exile of your friends and by the unexpiated murder of your relations, with the sword of liberty in your hands and the spirit of independence in your hearts, what can your enemies avail against your sacred cause and ardent enthusiasm? Another effort of national energy, made in conjunction with our victorious allies, will annihilate a calamitous domination and establish for ever the glory and welfare of Ireland.

"Countrymen of all descriptions! where has England triumphed that ye have not bled for her victory, where is she famed that you partake of her renown? The French army comes with positive orders to act as an auxiliary force to the Irish nation, its Government; but what is stronger than every other pledge, you are called on, countrymen, to embody without delay an Irish army, under the command of Irish officers who shall be commissioned by the Irish Government, and thus to take into your own hands your fate, your honour, and your country."

The sincerity of the First Consul as to this expedition seems not to have been doubted by Mr. Emmet until about the month of April following. What may have taken place I have no means of ascertaining, but from that period he seems to have given up all expectation of assistance.

Under date of April 19, 1804, he writes as follows:—

"My Dear Macneven,—By yours of the 6th, as well as by one of Sweeney's which came to-day, I find that my postscript to Mrs. G.'s letter has led you all into a very great mistake. I certainly never said, nor did I mean to insinuate, that any offer had been made to me. I had reason to conclude from two different quarters that something was in contemplation, and therefore I wished to anticipate the necessity of deciding by asking your advice beforehand, but, so far from any offer, if I were to draw any conclusion from continued, I must say, marked and obstinate silence, I should say none was ever intended.

"You may remember I once mentioned that you would probably meet a General at Morlaix; why you did not will, perhaps, one day become in our own country matter of investigation, but the person to whom I alluded has since requested me to make some applications, which I have done, but without receiving an answer. I enclosed M'Sheehy's memorial on the subject of your being considered as French citizens to the minister on

Saturday last, with a very civil note requesting an interview, in order to take his instructions, but no answer as yet.

"Under all those circumstances, I am not so foolish as to flatter myself with any very sanguine expectations. I adhere to my original plan of going to America, and do not think it probable that anything will occur to prevent me. Suppose, however, an offer should be made, I do not entirely agree with you. If I do not exceedingly alter my opinion, I will not accept either of the situations you have advised, and for reasons that, with your knowledge of my politics, you can be at no loss to guess. I am an Irishman, and, until necessity forces me to contract ties of allegiance elsewhere, I will hold no situation that is not Irish, or obviously directed to the emancipation of that country.

"If I am to contract a new allegiance, and to undertake civil duties not connected with my native land, let not the latter part of my political life be at variance with its beginning. What, then, can I accept? Nothing but what is Irish in all its objects, and if nothing of that kind can be found or created, I am too old, too poor, and too heavily laden, to await the issue of reiterated procrastinations. You will judge then what chance there is of my wintering in Europe.

"Since I began this letter I have learned that the Minister at War has set off for the camp at St. Omer, and will not probably be back for some time. As he did not answer my note that accompanied General M'Sheehy's memorial, I presume I am to take no steps in that affair till his return, my instructions being that I should act under his directions."

"Saturday, May 12, 1804.

"My Dear Macneven,—I yesterday received a letter from Sweeney, enclosing a half sheet from you. I mean to answer both, but I put off writing to Sweeney till I can tell him all his commissions are executed. In the meantime your half sheet would afford matter for more than one very long letter if I could unbosom myself and express all I think and feel on certain subjects. As to your idea that there is no fear but that Sweeney's and the other commissions of the same date will be confirmed, I hope you are right, and my hopes are stronger than when I wrote to him, but still I am very far from having no apprehensions.

"The very day after I sent in my remonstrance against the famous paragraph in the *Argus*, I received an invitation to dinner

with Augerau, for the next day but one or two. As it was still undecided whether I should have any further connection with Government or not, I thought it right to accept the invitation, and went. It was a parade dinner—O'C., Truguet, Donzelot, etc., etc.—and I certainly experienced every attention and civility. In the course of the evening Donzelot, with whom I had before had some conversations on business, requested me to call on him again before he left town to continue the conversations. I told him of the remonstrance I had just given in, and of the intention it expressed of withdrawing from all connection with Government if I were not satisfied on the subject, but assured him that if I were satisfied I would not fail to call and give him every information in my power. I was never satisfied, and I never called. The same circumstance prevented me from consulting General Augerau, with whose reception of me I had every reason to be satisfied. Even the civilities necessary for keeping up a personal acquaintance might be considered as putting in for a confidence I affected to renounce, and as I knew that my personal acquaintance was solicited on political grounds, I felt that the former was rendered unnecessary by my declining to act on the latter if ever the opportunity occurred. I own I should be sorry Augerau knew this, that he might not attribute to ill manners a conduct that proceeded from very different motives. Now, however, my determination not to interfere further in French and Irish politics combined, whatever explanations, offers, or assurances may be given, is stronger than ever, and grows on every day's reflection.

"If you read attentively my last letter to Lawless you will divine all my reasons. I am afraid my interference, if it were to produce any effect, would be injurious to my country; I think it would be injurious to my fame, I am sure it would be repugnant to conscience, but all this is talking to the air. No motives will be held out to me to stay, and I am much mistaken if peace will not be made without any attempt at invasion. Do you think the Emperor will hazard his new title and popularity by an attempt with his fleet on one country, or his gunboats on the other, which, if it failed, would be, either in a naval or a military point of view, tremendous and irreparable, particularly as he has no opportunity of balancing the miscarriage by brilliant success in another quarter? I am determined, however, to give your proclamation as strict a scrutiny as if I thought it would be used.

"But now that I am on the subject, let me say a little more. I have not heard from the minister; but if I thought it would be useful to my countrymen, that should not delay me for an instant, and I would at once address the Consul. But what should I solicit? That they might be made French citizens, and take oaths of allegiance to the Government of this country?

"Have you learned what will be the rights and duties of French citizens under this new constitution, or what declaration you will be called on to make? When you went down you intended to be *Irishmen*, and as such to fight under the French banners in your own country, and for its freedom. Have you all determined now to become subjects of the French empire, and to follow a military life? If you only intend to procure an exemption from the droit d'aubaine, I think you are right—and I have long meditated to try and procure it for my exiled countrymen—and if my connection with Government had continued I should have sought for it long since, and independent of the procuration; but as to being a French citizen, I should neither wish myself to be one, nor to ask it for you and some other of my friends. I only need the procuration to prevent a bad use being made of your name, and to influence and to prevent your being committed in character by an act not sufficiently well considered by those among you who intend leaving France in the event of peace.

"If, however, you do, on due reflection, wish the claim to be pushed in its full extent, indeed, circumstanced as I am with Government, and decided as to my own conduct, if you wish any steps at all to be taken, I shall cheerfully make over the procuration to any person of respectability that may be marked out to me; and on your desiring me, I will write a suitable letter to Mr. Sheehy. But let me call the serious attention of you and some other friends to what you are doing in the bottom of Brittany, and by no means 'au fait' of what is going on here in the capital. You are getting a band, and incurring a thousand expenses very fit for military men by profession, or who count upon following it for a considerable time. Will you follow it in the event of a peace? Mark, I tell you, *there will be peace, and that soon*, unless England be actuated by the most insolent and foolish madness. This I say, not from my own reasoning merely, but from facts that have been told me *confidently* and *confidentially*, even since I began to write this letter.

"A change of ministry in England now appears certain; and this Government is only waiting that change to make such proposals as no English ministers ought to reject. It will make commercial arrangements; but I mention this only to our particular friends. What, then, will become of your band, your regimentals, and your rights of French citizenship, etc.? . . . Adieu."

In the summer of 1804 Mr. Emmet left Paris and went to Bordeaux for the purpose of embarking for America. The following are extracts from a letter written while at Bordeaux to Dr. Macneven:—

"My Dearest Macneven,—I expect that you and my other friends at Lisneven will be extremely angry with me for having left Paris without giving you previous information; but I did so expressly, and in order to prevent a struggle between your inclination and your duty.

"By yours and the other's letters, I perceived the intention of eluding military regulations, and going to meet me at Nantes, if I had gone there. As my destination was changed for Bordeaux, I saw you could not attempt coming without the utmost danger, and I determined to set your minds at ease, as to my self-reproaches for not having done so, by making the matter impossible.

"I wish most earnestly and anxiously to embrace you all again, but it must be on American ground; and if you wish to see me, come there.

"I do not blame the resolution you have taken, of waiting a little longer for the victory you are promised; but I am much mistaken if you will not be disappointed.

"I repeat it, do not let yourselves be blinded even by a temporary victory. Win it if you can; but come to America as soon as you can.

"The reception I have met with has surprised and gratified me; for it is impossible to be more civilly or cordially received, even by those who do not pretend to think as I do on politics.

"As to the time of my departure, it is not fixed, nor even the vessel, owing to the non-arrival of my baggage by the *Roulage;* but it will not be postponed beyond six days, nor, perhaps, beyond three.

"American papers are not to be had; but I will take every precaution I can against the English, or, rather, that if they

should think fit to seize me, they shall find nothing with me that could injure me.

"I do not bid you adieu, because I wish to bind you by every obligation to see me again; but I pray, may Heaven bless and prosper you.

"Accept the sincere love of Mrs. Emmet, myself, and all the little ones, who, trust me, never will forget you.

"Ever yours,

"T. A. EMMET."

Thomas A. Emmet embarked at Bordeaux for America, the 27th of September, 1804.

We have now some further data for a judgment on the character of Thomas A. Emmet. Of the circumstances which originally led to his connection with the Society of United Irishmen an account has been already given. Considering the variety and extensive course of his studies; the prominent station he had occupied in several literary and scientific societies; the enlarged views he had acquired from the study of ancient and modern history; the knowledge he had gained of the principles of two ennobling professions; the experience which travel brought with it, and the reflection, for which the condition of the inhabitants of various countries afforded an ample field, we cannot be surprised that upon his return to his native land her degraded and oppressed condition should early claim his attention. With all the qualities that distinguished a humane, just, and generous mind, he had also a bold, enterprising, active, and sanguine disposition. He knew his country's history well; its systematic misgovernment; the misery of its people; the degradation of the higher classes of its Catholic inhabitants, and he could not, in silence, brood over the wrongs, which, by his exertions, he thought might possibly be redressed. In this he had no ambition to gratify or individual advantage to obtain, but everything to risk on the troubled waters of revolution, uncertainty, and danger. He had been eminently successful in his profession. Mr. St. John Mason was informed by him, the first year he was at the bar, he had cleared £700, of which fact few similar instances had then occurred.

I am informed by Mr. St. John Mason that Councillor Robert Holmes, in 1800, drew up a noble character of Thomas Addis Emmet, which Mrs. Emmet (the Doctor's wife) said to St. John

Mason was equally honourable to both. One passage may give an idea of its merit; it stated that "Thomas Addis Emmet would not have committed what he conceived to be a dishonourable act, though secure of everlasting concealment."

A few particulars respecting his early career were likewise given to me by Mr. St. John Mason, which I did not receive in time to avail myself of in the memoir of Thomas Addis Emmet. His forbearance was shown on one occasion at college; when a student having at the examinations won the premium from Emmet, they casually met on the steps of the hall, and the successful student taunted Emmet, in the presence of a number of his companions, with his presumption in attempting to cope with him. At the next examination Emmet bore off a premium from the same competitor, and on leaving the hall encountered the latter, but instead of appearing to remember his conduct on the former occasion, he behaved to him with marked affability.

When Horne Tooke was candidate for Westminster, Thomas Addis Emmet constantly attended him on the hustings, whereby he acquired the name of Moses, Horne Tooke being the vicar. At the close of the contest, when Horne Tooke was losing ground, Thomas Addis Emmet, in crossing the river, observed the waterman regarding him attentively, and when Emmet had landed, the man said to him, with a broad grin—"Well, sir, I think you are now Moses in the bulrushes."

The first professional business in which he stood prominently forward was slightly noticed in the memoir of his life. The following particulars throw some additional light on that extraordinary cause.

In 1794 proceedings were commenced in the King's Bench against John Fane, Earl of Westmorland, concerning a proclamation issued for the apprehension of Napper Tandy. The great object of those proceedings it was desirable to keep undiscovered in the preliminary steps; that object was to contest the validity of the Lord-Lieutenant's patent, as having been granted under the Great Seal of England, instead of that of the Chancellor of Ireland. The object, however, was disclosed to the Crown lawyers, and Tandy's advocates were obliged to bring forward the main question prematurely. On that occasion Thomas Addis Emmet, counsel for Tandy against Lord Westmorland, spoke in the following terms on the point referred to:—

"I boldly assert that there has been no legal Viceroy in Ireland for the last six hundred years, and not only the counsel for Lord Westmorland will not deny that fact, but they will not dare to let his patent come under a train of legal investigation."

Leonard M'Nally, the barrister, I am informed by Mr. St. John Mason, was the person suspected by Tandy's counsel of having betrayed his friends on that occasion by disclosing their object to the Crown lawyers, who had been previously ignorant of it.

The details of the part Thomas Addis Emmet took in the affairs of the United Irishmen in Ireland will be found elsewhere. Among his papers no trace of his opinions on that subject, or account of his connection with the events of 1798 (with the exception of the letter to Lord Hope) is to be found. "On that subject he never conversed with his family."

The foregoing letters and extracts of letters addressed to Dr. Macneven clearly show Thomas Addis Emmet's opinion of that honest man. No one entertained a higher opinion of the doctor's talents, learning, integrity, and honour, than did Mr. Emmet; and between them there existed a mutual confidence, an ardent and sincere attachment, uninterrupted from their first political connection, and only extinguished in this world by the decease of both.

There were also many others of his associates for whom Mr. Emmet always entertained the warmest friendship and esteem, and in whose truth, honour, and fidelity he placed the most unqualified reliance.

Among so many it may seem injustice to name but one, although none who may now be left of these gallant men will recall with any other feelings than those of pleasure and respect the name of their fellow-prisoner, Hugh Wilson. For him Mr. Emmet and his brother Robert always felt the sincerest friendship. He was not a chief or leader in the rebellion; but none was more devoted and true to the cause of his country, and none was more endowed with those qualities of the heart and sterling principles of justice and morality which mark, beyond a doubt, the man of true courage, fidelity, and honour, and which create at once a confiding, sincere, and enduring attachment.

If men like Thomas Addis Emmet and Dr. Macneven were for a short time imposed upon by the duplicity and artifice of the First

Consul, it is no wonder if many of their associates were likewise deluded by them. But the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this subject is, that the youngest of them all was the person the most doubtful among them of the sincerity of Bonaparte's professions, and of his fair intentions towards Ireland.

CHAPTER VI.

Robert Emmet, on his arrival in Dublin in October, 1802, was soon in communication with several of the leaders who had taken an active part in the former rebellion. He was likewise in communication with some very influential persons who were cognisant of all the proceedings of the leaders, and who promoted their views and directed their movements behind the curtain.

There is a delicacy to be observed with respect to those whose names have not transpired hitherto in connection with this subject. I am aware of it. There is, moreover, great deference to be paid to the wishes of those who were cognisant of these matters, to whom their country, on other grounds, is under deep obligations: I feel all the importance of these obligations. There is justice due to the character of Robert Emmet; and I am firmly persuaded that it behoves his biographer to give any information of an authentic kind that may be in his possession and legitimately used, tending to show that his enterprise had not been communicated only to a few desperadoes—men of no character or station in society, but had been made known to men of distinction—of cool reflection, nay, even to some men possessed of considerable wealth.

Robert Emmet dined at Mr. John Keogh's, of Mount Jerome, shortly after his arrival, in the company of his brother's friend, Mr. C——. The conversation turned on the political state of the country—on the disposition of the people with respect to a renewal of the struggle. Robert Emmet spoke with great vehemence and energy in favour of the probability of success in the event of another effort being made. John Keogh asked how many counties would rise? The question was one of facts and figures. Robert Emmet replied that nineteen counties could be relied on. He turned to C—— and said—"Would you say an attempt should not be made with less?" C——, after a momentary pause, said—"No; if there

were two counties that could be thoroughly depended on, I would think about it."

The fact of Emmet's dining at Mr. Keogh's became known to Government after the arrest of the former. Mr. Keogh one morning had all his papers brought to him, and separated several which, he said, should be destroyed. Mrs. Keogh said to him—"Why not burn them?" He looked at the grate, and said—"If they came here to examine my papers, that is one of the first places they would look at, to see if anything had been burned there lately" (it was summer time, and no fires having been used, the bars of the grate were polished). While they were conversing, some noise was heard at the gate; the separated papers were put back in the desk, and in a few minutes a well-known magistrate (accompanied with one or two attendants) was announced, with whom Mr. Keogh was acquainted. The object of the magistrate's visit was publicly communicated to Mr. Keogh. He came for the papers of the latter, and they were immediately given up to him, duly sealed, and a receipt given for them.

Mr. Keogh proceeded to the Castle and sought an interview with the Secretary, who was not visible. Mr. Keogh returned to his office and renewed his application for an interview, expressing his desire to give him the fullest information about every paper of his. He returned a third time to the office, reiterating his request to have not only his papers but himself examined. He was entreated to give himself no further concern about a mere matter of form; he had not yet seen the Secretary. He intimated his intention of returning the following day. Before he could carry his purpose into effect his papers, with the seals unbroken, were returned to Mr. Keogh. There were papers amongst them which would have compromised him gravely had they been examined.

These circumstances were communicated by Mrs. Keogh to Doctor B——, of Dublin. The fact of John Keogh's connection with the Society of United Irishmen has been noticed in the former series of this work (Vol. II., p. 37). The same sagacity to which he owed his safety in 1798 preserved him from peril in 1803.

Until the month of March, in the latter year, Emmet went into society and communicated freely with several of the known friends of the exiles then on the Continent.

No information has been hitherto published respecting the source from which the means were procured that enabled

Robert Emmet to commence and carry on his operations. Lord Castlereagh stated falsely in the House of Commons that they were entirely supplied by Emmet; that he had come into the possession of the sum of £3000 by his father's death which he had invested in his revolutionary speculation. Now, the friends of Robert Emmet state that the sum which came into his possession on the death of his father was £1500. The following statement contains the most important information on that subject that has been yet laid before the public, and I am indebted to my excellent friend, Mr. P. V. Fitzgerald, for putting me in communication with the late Mr. Fitzgerald, of Fleet Street, Dublin, my informant on the matters above referred to. Mr. Fitzgerald was a near relative of Mr. Philip Long, of Crow Street, and the person who had the chief conduct of his business in 1803. He was arrested after Emmet's failure, as was likewise Mr. Long; but the former, in consideration of his youth, was soon liberated. He was then about eighteen years of age.

Mr. Fitzgerald was a mercantile gentleman of respectability, with the clearest recollection of the events in question of any person I ever conversed with in relation to them. His knowledge of the subject was that of a person who was intimately acquainted with the origin and the proceedings of the prime mover of that conspiracy, and with every act in furtherance of it on the part of the main supporter of his enterprise. This valuable information was communicated to me at several interviews, and was written down by me at each communication. Many weeks had not passed over after procuring this information, which no other living person could afford, when Mr. Fitzgerald was seized with a paralytic stroke, which broke down his health; and in a few months this amiable gentleman was in the grave.

"Robert Emmet," says Mr. Fitzgerald, "came over from France in October, 1802. Very soon after his arrival he dined at Mr. Philip Long's in Crow Street, of the house of Roche & Co., general merchants. Long was a first cousin of Fitzgerald's, and both were intimately acquainted with Mr. Emmet. When he arrived in Dublin he professed to have come over about his private affairs and not about public matters. He went into society, and visited people of consequence; he dined occasionally at James Ryan's, of Marlborough Street (the gentleman who was styled the Duke of Marlborough), and also at Mr. George Evan's,

"The preliminary articles of peace were signed the end of October, 1801. This had put an end to any idea of attempting a new struggle at that period; but when war was declared, in March, 1803, this altered the aspect of affairs in Ireland. Then Emmet began to talk seriously of preparations. Mr. Long contributed the funds. All the money transactions between Mr. Emmet and him passed through Fitzgerald's hands. Mr. Long advanced altogether, to Emmet, about £1400, which passed through Fitzgerald's hands. The first money advanced to Mr. Emmet was in May, 1803. All the money thus advanced was lost. Mr. Long was then rich; he was always generous. He died in reduced circumstances, but not in absolute poverty.

"The 23rd of July Mr. Long came to the office in Crow Street, from the country, about twelve o'clock at mid-day. He said to Fitzgerald, 'There will be a rising to-night.' He then went to his desk, and searched among his papers for his will, which he sent to Mr. P—— to keep for him. He told Fitzgerald there were three separate attacks to be made—one on the Pigeon House, another on the Castle, and one on the Park battery. There were 1500 men to come in from Kildare; vast numbers from other parts; but most reliance was placed on the men of Kildare. The Kildare men were to be formed in Thomas Street, and marched to the Castle, which was to be attacked and seized on. This plan was objected to by Fitzgerald. He said he could not see what use there could be in parading along Thomas Street. Why not begin the attack from Palace Street, where there was a waste house close to the Castle-yard? This was, however, no time for new proposals. The expectation of the country rising generally, when the Castle was taken, was not an idle one. That day a number of strange people came to Mr. Long's. Dowdall came there six or seven times. Clarke, of Palmerstown, had been in to the Government in the course of the day, on the 23rd of July. His men had demanded their wages in the morning, instead of the evening. This caused him to suspect and to watch their movements: he was shot at, coming along the quay, by some unknown person. When he came to the Castle the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief were absent. He saw Mr. Marsden, and informed him of his suspicions; he had done so before, and Mr. Marsden treated it as a joke.

"The Privy Council was summoned. Lord Kilwarden,* living at Lyons, county of Kildare, was sent for. He got the communication at six o'clock in the evening. He started for Dublin soon after, and was passing through Thomas Street, when he was attacked about nine. When attacked, Emmet was at Corn Market, with his men in full march, without having encountered any opposition. Emmet being informed that a gentleman and lady had been attacked by the rear body, instantly halted his men, and returned to stop the work of murder. He took the lady out of the carriage, and placed her in safety near the corner of Vicker Street. He returned to his men, and by this time numbers had drawn off; and Stafford, the baker, who subsequently married John Hevey's sister, refused to let Emmet go on—'there was no use in his going on.' Stafford was taken long after, and was to have been tried, *but a flaw was discovered in the indictment.* He and *Quigley* were to be tried together, but in consequence of that flaw the indictment was quashed; they were to have been tried again, but never were. The two fittest men for the work were Stafford and Allen; the two most unfit were Emmet and Long. Emmet had no knowledge of the world. He placed trust in every man; but he was the most honest and single-minded of human beings. Mr. Long was an excellent man in council, a good speaker, a good reasoner, and a good writer, a strong-minded man; but in action he wanted nerve—he was easily frightened. He was most devotedly attached to his country and most honest to his cause—he would have made any sacrifice for it. He never went to the depôt in Thomas Street, neither did Fitzgerald nor Mr. Allen. Meighan was a fellow-clerk with Fitzgerald, in the service of Mr. Long. He was a young man of great determination, had a turn for military affairs, and subsequently entered the army. He took a deep interest in the business of the 23rd of July.

"On that night sixteen of the leaders were supping with Hevey, in St. Thomas Court, opposite Mass Lane, when the firing commenced. In fact, when they ought to have been with their men they were carousing with Hevey. While the preparations were

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* Lord Kilwarden was the nephew of the celebrated Theobald Wolfe, one of the eminent lawyers of his day, the gentleman after whom Tone was called.

going on, Allen's warehouse in College Green, opposite King William's statue, was a rendezvous for the initiated.

"At half-past seven, in the evening of the 23rd of July, Fitzgerald *walked through the Castle-yard. There were no preparations; the place was perfectly quiet and silent; the gates were wide open!*

"At half-past five in the evening he had visited the old Custom House barracks, saw General Dunn apparently employed in taking precautions, and heard him ordering some soldiers to put the women out of the barracks and to allow no men in; he then galloped off. Fitzgerald and Meighan were present when he gave the orders and rode off.

"At half-past seven a body of workmen, linked two by two, about twenty-four in number, attacked the Mansion House, seized the arms, and came away, marching down Dame Street and passing by the lower Castle-yard and the Exchange on their way to Thomas Street.

"On the 23rd of July Robert Emmet sent to Mr. Long for £500. Mr. Long sent Fitzgerald to Robert Fyan, an eminent merchant, then living on Usher's Quay, for the money, which was due by Fyan to Long. Much delay ensued in giving a draft for the amount, and when given the bank was closed—the business hours were past. Fyan knew the runners of the bank, and he went with Fitzgerald to the bank, to the runners' office, where they were accustomed to be after bank hours, to receive payment of bills before handed over to the public notary. At six o'clock precisely Fitzgerald received the money, and was just going out of the bank when one of the runners said, '*news of an intended insurrection had reached Government: the guards were doubled.*' The Castle gates, nevertheless, were wide open at half-past seven. In consequence of this intelligence the money was not taken to Emmet, and he never received it.

"The explosion of the depôt in Patrick Street took place on the 18th of July. The roof was partly blown off, one man was killed and another wounded and taken to the hospital. The day of the explosion Robert Emmet, William Dowdall, John Allen, John Hickson, John Hevey, and Mr. J. M—— were dining at Joe Alliburn's at Kilmacud. Mr. Long went to them to inform them of the explosion. All the materials saved were conveyed to John Palmer's, of Cutpurse Row, but in the removal of a bag of

flints a great number had dropped out of the bag near his door, and on the following Monday Palmer was arrested on suspicion by Justice Bell and released the day following. In one of the Orange Dublin papers some days after the explosion that affair was noticed. 'The Government,' it said, 'was sleeping over a mine—for what purpose but for insurrection were these combustibles preparing?' Government took no steps.

"Emmet's intention was not to commence for some months later, waiting till the greater part of the troops should be drawn off for the French war. He counted on the accomplishment of Bonaparte's threat to invade England. Mr. Long, after the explosion, hid himself for some time in the house of William Cole, a shoemaker, on Ormond Quay."

The proclamation, by common report assigned to Emmet, was written by Mr. Long in his own house in Crow Street; it was dictated by him to Meighan.* It was written on Friday evening the 22nd of July, and was printed at Stockdale's in Abbey Street, and the porter waited till they were struck off, and carried a basket of them over to Long's. Old John Palmer, of Cutpurse Row, was frequently employed carrying messages from Mr. Emmet to Crow Street. A great deal of money passed through his hands.†

Miss Biddy Palmer, his daughter, was a confidential agent both of Emmet's and Russell's. She was sister to young Palmer, who took a prominent part in the affairs of 1798. Biddy Palmer was a sort of Irish Madame Roland; she went about when it was dangerous for others to be seen abroad, conveying messages from Emmet, Long, Hevey, Russell, and Fitzgerald to different parties. When Russell was concealed, she came to F. and said Russell wished to see him, that he wanted money to take him off. F. sent forty guineas to him by Miss Palmer, and either that day or on the next Russell was arrested; but in the meantime Russell sent a gentleman to F., and that gentleman said that Russell had received no message from him.

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* This proclamation is a totally different document to that one headed "Manifesto of the Provisional Government."—R. R. M.

† He had been imprisoned in 1798 for three months for having a seditious pamphlet in his possession. His son John, who was drowned in Holland, had to fly the country for the part he took in 1798. The father's business was ruined by his long imprisonment from 1803 till 1806; and the daughter is now living in poverty in Cumberland Street, Curtain Road, London.

The gentlemen chiefly in Emmet's confidence were Allen, Long, Russell, Dowdall, Norris of the Coombe, J. Hevey.*

"Mr. Putnam M'Cabe came over to Ireland first in 1801. He came over again in 1802; his wife followed him over about June, 1802; he stopped about a month at Long's. There was a subscription set on foot for him. M'Cabe wanted to borrow a sum of £300 to set up a factory in France. His wife went sometimes by the name of Mrs. Maxwell and at other times by the name of Mrs. Lee; she was then young and handsome. Long gave her letters of credit on England; she drew £250, and, besides this sum, Mr. Long gave her £500 in England when he went over.

"Mr. Long was arrested three weeks after the outbreak, August 13, 1803. He was in jail two years and seven months, never having been brought to trial. He was liberated the 8th of March, 1806.

"Fitzgerald was arrested the 23rd of November, 1803, and was liberated the 1st of June, 1804. He was confined in Kilmainham, and Long likewise. Before Fitzgerald's arrest he was visiting Mr. Long in Kilmainham; when Robert Emmet was brought into the jail he seemed greatly agitated. When he noticed Fitzgerald in the passage he approached and shook hands with him, saying—'How is our friend Long? Is he here?' After that Fitzgerald visited the prison frequently, and suggested to Robert Emmet a plan for his escape. That suggestion was conveyed to him in a note describing the means to be employed. Robert Emmet returned an answer on the back of the same note—'I have another, and a better plan.' The turnkey, M'Sally, communicated to Fitzgerald his readiness to effect the escape of Emmet; he refused to listen to him, fearing treachery. The first proposition made to Emmet for a sum of money for the purpose in question was made to him by M'Sally.†

"Mr. Long died in 1814, aged 42. He was a native of Waterford, a Catholic; he was not married; his remains were buried in James's Street. Meighan indulged his military taste; he entered the British army—served with distinction on the Continent—was at the battle of Salamanca—he was wounded at Waterloo, and raised to the rank of captain."

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* A man of the name of Barrett, of Cutpurse Row, is said to have been a liberal contributor to the objects of the men of 1798 and 1803.—R. R. M.

† M'Sally was the first person who intimated to Robert Emmet the possibility of effecting his escape.—R. R. M.

CHAPTER VII.

A MONTH before the outbreak notice was given to Government by two members of the Merchants' Yeomanry Corps, Messrs. Hawkesley and Rutherford, respectable merchants, who had been deputed by their corps to wait on Lord Hardwicke to acquaint him with the intended revolt. An interview was granted, and they stated that their representations were not believed. It was no wonder if they were not, for there probably had not been a week for the last half century when the Government had not received some alarming intelligence of an intended disturbance of the peace—a tumult, a riot, a conspiracy of some kind—or an insurrection. Nevertheless, there are proofs on record that cannot be denied that the authorities did know certainly, for four months previously to the outbreak, that preparations were making for an insurrection; the papers of Major Sirr, which will be found in the Appendix, can leave no doubt on that point. The parliamentary debates in 1803-4, moreover, prove that the Government unquestionably had a knowledge of the preparations. In all probability the British Ministry had much ampler information on that subject from their agents in Paris, than Lord Hardwicke, at an early period, had in Ireland. The policy of the British minister seems to have been to allow the conspiracy to go on, of which he held the threads in his hand, and, therefore, could eventually count on its defeat in order to derive the benefit which would accrue from the suppression of an abortive insurrection, and thus to deter the people from a similar attempt at a moment more unfavourable for England to cope with it, the moment so long apprehended, of an invasion of some part of the United Kingdom.

The persons of respectability and those of influence among the middle classes in Dublin and the adjoining counties, who were known to be associated with Robert Emmet in his attempt, were the following:—Thomas Russell, formerly lieutenant of the 64th regiment of foot; John Allen, of the firm of Allen & Hickson, woollen drapers, of Dame Street, Dublin; Philip Long, a general merchant, residing at No. 4 Crow Street; Henry William Hamilton (married to Russell's niece), of Enniskillen, barrister-at-law; William Dowdall, of Mullingar (natural son of Hussey Burgh, formerly secretary to the Dublin Whig Club); M. Byrne, of Wexford; Colonel Lumm,

of the county Kildare; —— Carthy, a gentleman farmer, of Kildare; Malachy Delany, the son of a landed proprietor, county Wicklow; Thomas Wylde, cotton manufacturer, Cork Street; Thomas Trenahan, a farmer, of Crew Hill, county of Kildare; John Hevey, a tobacconist, of Thomas Street; Denis Lambert Redmond, a coal factor, of Dublin; —— Branagan, of Irishtown, timber merchant; —— Alliburn, of Kilmacud, Windy Harbour, a small land holder; Thomas Frayne, a small farmer, of Boven, county of Kildare; Nicholas Gray, an attorney at Wexford, had been B. B. Harvey's aide-de-camp at the battle of Ross. There were, moreover, several persons of respectability, some of distinction, who were cognisant of his plans and supposed to be favourably disposed towards them, but who took no active part in their execution. The persons in the humble ranks who were looked upon as confidential agents by Robert Emmet were the following:—

James Hope, a weaver, a native of Templepatrick, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Michael Quigley, a master bricklayer, of Rathcoffy, in the county of Kildare; Henry Howley, a master carpenter, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Felix Rourke, of Rathcoole, a clerk in a brewery in Dublin, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Nicholas Stafford, a working cotton manufacturer, of the county of Tyrone, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; and Michael Dwyer, the well-known Wicklow outlaw.

Dr. Emmet had a country seat near Dublin, at Clonskeagh, on the Dundrum Road, not far from Milltown, which is now in the possession of Mr. Stapleton. In this house Robert Emmet, for some time, had managed to elude the vigilance of the authorities, subsequently to his arrival from the Continent; for even then, it seems, he was an object of suspicion to the Government.

An old and faithful servant of Dr. Emmet, Michael Leonard, a gardener, informed me, in 1836, that after the doctor's death a member of the family still resided there, and Robert Emmet remained there for some time; he had made trap-doors and a passage under the boards of one of the rooms, on the ground floor, which could not be detected by anyone who was not aware of their existence, which he thought he would still be able to point out to me. I visited the house with Leonard, and found his account was, in every respect, true. In the ceiling, over the passage leading from the hall door towards the kitchen, he pointed out to me the

place where the boards overhead were sawed through ; the square portion, thus cut, was sufficiently large to allow a person to pass through when the boards were removed, which formed the trap-door, communicating from the upper part of the house to the hall. If attention had not been directed to it no one would have observed the cutting in the boards. On the ground floor, on the left-hand side of the hall, there is a small room adjoining the kitchen, which was called "Master Robert's bedroom." In this room Leonard likewise pointed out to me the place where the boards had been evidently cut through, in a similar way to the trap-door in the ceiling in the passage. This aperture, he said, led to a cavity under the parlour floor, sufficiently large to admit of a person being placed there in a sitting posture, and was intended to communicate, under the flooring, with the lawn. A servant woman of Mr. Stapleton said there were some old things in a cellar, which were said to have served for enabling Mr. Emmet to descend from the upper floor to the passage near the hall door through the aperture in the ceiling. On examining those things, they turned out to be two pullies, with ropes attached to them, nearly rotten. The house, in 1803, was inhabited by a member of the family; and a man, who was employed there as a gardener at that time, of the name of John Murray, stated the house had been visited, and searched by Major Sirr, for Mr. Emmet. The Major was unsuccessful. He was greatly disappointed, and said—"The nest is here, but the bird has flown." Major Sirr, according to Murray, was supposed to have his information from one of the servants, John Delany, of Milltown. From that time "the Delanys were badly looked on."

The house in Harold's Cross, where Robert Emmet lodged soon after his arrival in Ireland, and, a second time, after the failure in July, is situated on the left-hand side of the road, at a short distance from the Canal Bridge. The house is a small one, a little farther back from the road side than the adjoining ones, and has wooden palings in front of it. The owner of the house in 1803 was a Mrs. Palmer, whose son was a clerk in the mercantile house of the late Mr. Colville, of the Merchants' Quay. The wife of Thomas Addis Emmet was the niece of this gentleman, and first-cousin of Mr. W. C. Colville, of the Bank of Ireland.

Robert Emmet arrived in Dublin from the Continent in the month of October, 1802; where he lived immediately after his

arrival my information does not enable me to state with certainty. He was at Milltown at some period between October and the month of March following. In the latter month he was residing at Mrs. Palmer's, Harold's Cross, under the name of Hewit. He left Mrs. Palmer's in the course of the same month; and, on the 27th of April, got possession of a house in Butterfield Lane, in the vicinity of Rathfarnham, which was taken on lease in the name of Dowdall, and while Emmet remained there he went by the name of Robert Ellis. The same contrivances which poor Emmet had recourse to in his former abode were vainly put in practice at his lodgings in Harold's Cross. In the back parlour, which was his sitting-room, he made an aperture in the wall, low down, nearly on a level with the flooring, large enough to admit a man's body through this aperture. The masonry had been excavated inwards in a slanting direction; there was sufficient space thus made to enable him to draw his body in, and to place a board, painted the colour of the wainscoat, against the open aperture when he had thus drawn himself in. His active preparations commenced in the month of March, and the most authentic account of them that I have been able to obtain were communicated to me by James Hope.

"The following account," says Hope, "is designed to give you an idea of Robert Emmet's business in 1803, from the commencement to its close and discovery:—

"Mr. Emmet was not, as has been supposed, the origin of the preparations of 1803. These had been begun in Dublin to second an effort in England, expected by some Irishmen, under Colonel Despard. This information found its way from Ireland to the British Government through the imprudence of Dowdall in Dublin, who was Colonel Despard's agent, namely, that some preparation had been begun there to second the Colonel's effort. Information of Dowdall's proceedings, on the other hand, had reached the refugees in Paris, by whom Robert Emmet was sent to Dublin to ascertain the state of things then. He fell into the hands of men, by whom he was advised to go on with the necessary preparations for an effectual rising, with a solemn promise of every assistance in money and advice. Mr. Emmet came over first, Hamilton next came, and Quigley about the same time. Hamilton was sent back to Paris to bring over Russell, who came over immediately; and I soon was placed in close communication with him. Mr. Emmet, soon after his arrival, had lodgings at Harold's Cross, in the house in which

he was ultimately taken, after having quitted Butterfield Lane. Both Emmet and Russell were strongly opposed to the party called 'foreign aid men,' and I had been so from the beginning.

"Situated as the Irish exiles were in Paris, they were easily duped into a fresh struggle by the information they received from some of the higher order in Ireland, who had some suspicion of what was going on, but no precise knowledge of the design.

"Some persons in connection with Talleyrand in 1802 gave the Irish refugees to understand that Bonaparte was in treaty with the British Government to banish them from France, their residence there not being considered favourable to Bonaparte's imperial views. A fabricated letter came to the north, dated from Paris, about this time, purporting to be from a captain of a French lugger off the Giant's Causeway, having 10,000 stand of arms on board for the service of the United Irishmen. The letter was in bad English; the paper, however, was English manufacture; it was fabricated by our enemies. The fire of 1798 was not quite extinguished, it smouldered and was ready to break out anew. There were persons of distinction in the confidence of our leaders who kept up communication with them in exile, and were in league with the oligarchy at home, which Russell and Emmet, from the purity of their intentions, never suspected.

"At my first interview with Mr. Emmet, on his arrival from France, he told me that 'some of the first men of the land had invited him over.' He asked me my opinion, 'Was I for an appeal to arms?' I replied 'I was.' After some further conversation he said 'his plan was formed.'

"On my second interview with Mr. Emmet, he told me he would require my constant assistance, and said that two stores were taken, and workmen had been selected. Mr. Emmet engaged in this attempt in consequence of promises from the upper ranks of assistance to make the preparation general over the island; when money failed, however, treachery in the upper ranks began to appear, as in all former struggles. No money was forthcoming, and Mr. Emmet had no alternative but to shut the stores and discharge the men, which must be attended with the worst consequences, or go to work with what resources he had, which, if properly directed, were fully sufficient to take the City and Castle of Dublin.

"On making a remark to Mr. Emmet respecting the defection

of Colonel Plunket, he said, 'there were many who professed to serve a cause with life and fortune, but if called on to redeem their pledge would contrive to do it with the lives and fortunes of others; for my part,' said he, 'my fortune is now committed, the promises of many whose fortunes are considerable are committed likewise, but their means have not been, as yet, forthcoming. If I am defeated by their conduct the fault is not mine, even my defeat will not save the system which I oppose, but the time will come when its greatest advocates cannot live under the weight of its iniquity, until which time my reasons for the present attempt will not be fully understood, except by the few who serve, and may suffer, with me. The elements of dissolution are gathering round the system by which these three islands are governed, and the Pitt system will accelerate its fall.'

"Having been Mr. Emmet's constant attendant for some months, on our way from the depôt in Dublin to his house in Butterfield Lane many conversations of this kind have passed, and many things that I learned from him are sealed up by his last request. In conversing on the state of the country I expressed an opinion to Mr. Emmet on the subject of the rights of the people in relation to the soil, which, until they were recognised, it would be in vain to expect that the north would be unanimous. On expressing this opinion at some length to Mr. Emmet, his answer was—'I would rather die than live to witness the calamities which that course would bring on helpless families; let that be the work of others, it shall never be mine. Corruption must exhaust its means before equity can establish even its most reasonable claims.'

"Russell and Hamilton were of Mr. Emmet's opinion on that subject. 'This conspiracy,' said Russell, 'IS THE WORK OF THE ENEMY. We are now in the vortex; if we can swim ashore let it not be through innocent blood; if the people are true to themselves we have an overwhelming force; if otherwise, we fall and our lives will be a sufficieut sacrifice.' 'One grand point, said Mr. Emmet, 'at least will be gained. No leading Catholic is committed with us; we are all Protestants, and their cause will not be compromised. Shortly after the preceding conversation I was ordered to go with Russell to the north a week before the outbreak, and on the following morning Russell and I left Mr. Emmet's house before day. When I left Dublin Arthur Develin was appointed in my

place to attend Mr. Emmet. There was a gentleman from Cork, and also one from the county Meath, in Mr. Emmet's company the day before we left him.*

"Mr. Emmet's great object was to attack the Castle and make hostages of the Viceroy and officers of Government, but the Kildare men were the only men who were at hand; there was a party of Wexford men, under M—— B——, now in France, at Ringsend, or the neighbourhood of it. Mr. Emmet relied too much on the north when he sent Russell there. The man who was to supply my place, and entrusted with the arrangements between the people of Dublin and those who were expected from Wicklow, was sent to communicate with Dwyer, but that man remained at Rathfarnham, and his doing so caused all the plans to fail, for instead of the organised party which was expected, a body of stragglers only appeared in Thomas Street, who killed Lord Kilwarden and a clergyman named Wolfe (whom they should only have detained as prisoners); and Mr. Emmet seeing nothing but disorder and having no communication with any regular body, some of whom remained all night under arms, he, with a few friends, returned to Rathfarnham, and the people shifted for themselves. The reason he went to Rathfarnham was that he had despatched a messenger (Arthur Develin) to Dwyer in the Wicklow mountains and expected him by daylight, but Dwyer got no intelligence until he heard of the defeat, or rather miscarriage, of Emmet's attempts on Dublin. Arthur Develin was a relative of Dwyer's, and went with him to Botany Bay. Another man, a cousin of his, named Michael Dwyer, had been likewise sent on a message to Dwyer, and he also neglected his orders; he pretended to go, and stopped near Dublin.

"In the several depôts there were no less, to my knowledge, than forty men employed, only three or four of whom became traitors,

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* Hope says the only two persons of distinction he saw at Emmet's were Mr. F——, the brother of the K—— of G——, and a nobleman, Lord W——, the son of a Marquis, who, subsequently, in the county of Meath, offered him, through his steward, the means of leaving the country, which Hope declined to accept.

John Henry, Earl of W., born 1765, succeeded to the title of Marquis of L. May the 7th, 1805. His Lordship married the widow of D—— G——, of Castle Jordan, county of Meath, in 1805; died without issue, November 15, 1809. In 1803 the Earl of W. was 39 years of age.

and that not till their own lives were in danger. The men behaved with the greatest prudence, none seeming to wish to know more than concerned their own department; each man's duty was kept separate and secret from the other. I was first attached to the Rocket Depôt, in Patrick Street, and then had to superintend the ammunition in its making up and delivery and the transporting arms and gunpowder to the country. Barney Duggan was chiefly an outdoor emissary, employed in carrying on communications. I was in the habit of calling upon Mr. Emmet when I wanted instructions through the day and reporting progress at night. Mr. Emmet had arranged with H. Howley to take the store in Thomas Street in the name of the latter. In this store the pikes, fire-arms, and various implements of war were deposited. M'Intosh, a Scotchman, about forty years of age, took the house in Patrick Street for another store for the rockets, grenades, and a depôt for gunpowder.*

"Michael M'Daniel, a dyer by trade, who had some chemical knowledge, made the rockets. It was by his misconduct that the explosion took place in Patrick Street. He was arrested in Wicklow in November, 1803, and sent up from Rathdrum to Dublin. The depôt of Robert Emmet, Marshalsea Lane, was at the rear of the Bull Inn, kept by Mrs. Dillon (on the right-hand side of a court off Thomas Street, between the numbers 138 and 139).

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* The Dublin papers of the 4th October, 1803, state that John M'Intosh, lately convicted of high treason, was executed in Patrick Street, opposite the depôt of which he had the charge. The *London Chronicle* of October 8, 1810, states that "he made a very important communication to the Sheriff Pounden, in consequence of which Major Sirr repaired to M'Intosh's former residence (I presume the house which was the depôt in Patrick Street), where he discovered a concealed door, artfully formed by bricks built in a frame, plastered over to resemble the adjoining wall, which was covered with shelves, and turned out upon hinges and castors. Upon opening this door a tier of closet rooms appeared communicating by trap-doors and scaling ladders through the different stories of the house; they were spacious enough to conceal forty men, and were provided with air-holes communicating with the outer wall. In these rooms were found from 300 to 400 pikes of a peculiar construction, having an iron hinge at about half their length by which they doubled up, and though when extended they were six feet long, yet by this contrivance it was possible to carry one of them undiscovered under a man's coat. A quantity of sulphur was likewise found, and every appearance of much more serious preparations having gone forward in the house. Major Sirr brought away the door *as a curiosity*. It now lies at his office in the Castle."

There was a private entrance to the depôt from this inn ; the chief entrance was from Marshalsea Lane.*

"Owen Kirwan," says Hope, "was a tailor by trade, a dealer likewise in cast-off clothes, and lived in Plunket Street. Information was given against him by a neighbour, who appeared as a witness against him. When under sentence, his wife went to the jail to take leave of him. They were a very good-looking couple, and both of them devoted to the cause for which the former was then suffering imprisonment, and soon suffered on the scaffold. The wife was heard saying to her husband at parting with him, in reference probably to some proposal made to him—'Owen, dear, I hope you will never disgrace your name and your family.' The young woman was dashed away with great violence, without giving her leave to say another word. The husband stripped off his coat and threw it to his wife at the door of the cell, saying to her—'Sell that for something for our children.' He appeared at the place of execution without a coat. His body was given up to the family. His wife, by her industry, contrived to rear two daughters respectably in Dublin. I saw them both, married women, and heard since that they all went to London.

"The extent of the preparations in Dublin will never be fully known. Considerable quantities of gunpowder were sent to the country, and one stout party in particular, who had defied the power of Government for five years in the mountains of Wicklow, was amply supplied with ammunition and arms."

Bernard Duggan, one of the superintendents of the depôts, informs me that "shortly after Mr. Emmet's arrival a message came to him by one 'Jemmy Hope,' of Belfast, to call on Mr. Emmet. Quigley had come over from France at that time ; he had been one of the State prisoners in 1798. He (Duggan) is not certain whether Councillor William Henry Hamilton came over with Quigley or before him. John Mason and Thomas Wylde were sent down to the county of Kildare, to Naas, Maynooth, Kilcullen, and several other towns, to inform those whom they conceived might be depended on, that there would be a meeting of

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* There is a small room in the house which was the Bull Inn, on the ground floor, where Robert Emmet was in the habit of writing, and in that room he is said to have written his manifesto, on the eve of 23rd of July.

'the friends of Ireland' on Patrick's Day, at John Rourke's,* who then kept a public-house in Thomas Street. When the time fixed for the meeting arrived about forty or fifty persons came there, and were waiting for the business to be opened; but some of the true men to the cause, who were firmly attached to Emmet, seeing some persons there in whom they did not place implicit confidence, gave word to Emmet not to appear, and then caused it to be reported that it was all a delusion. This account was also given to several persons who came into town, and who were met in different parts of the city before they came to the house; so there was no meeting that day. Mr. Emmet began his active preparations March 21, 1803, having got several of the most confidential men of 1798 to join him, and to assist in the work carried on in the different depôts, and in other capacities. Among them were Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffy, who had surrendered in 1798, and had gone to France immediately after the peace of Amiens; Bernard Duggan, Henry Howley, Edward Condon, George and Richard Eustace, Thomas Wylde, and John Mason; occasionally Finerty, John Rourke, Christopher Nowlan, Owen Kirwan, Michael M'Daniel, Joseph White, M'Intosh, and the two Keenans. These men and many others assisted in the different depôts in constructing pikes, making ball-cartridges, and several other combustibles. There was a depôt in Marshalsea Lane, at the rear of the Bull Inn, Thomas Street. There was another depôt in Patrick Street, another in Smithfield, another in Winetavern Street (in an old building, formerly an inn, opposite Christ's Church), and another in Irishtown. There were no arms kept either in Winetavern Street or Smithfield. M'Intosh and the two Keenans, Kirwan and M'Daniel, were employed in Patrick Street; Joseph White in Thomas Street; Burke, Duggan, Condon, and Quigley visited the several depôts, as they were ordered, to see how the work went on there and elsewhere.

"Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffy, had been in 1798 in business as a master bricklayer. Quigley, after having escaped from his pursuers for a long time, was at length taken. He made a full

* This poor man, John Rourke, now a comb-maker by trade, the brother of Felix Rourke, I lately found living in the greatest distress, with a large family, in the Liberty in Dublin, in a place called Tripoli. He bears a most excellent character. He lost his little property in 1798, suffered years of imprisonment, and came out of jail a ruined man.

confession of all he knew of the affairs of 1798 and 1803. There was a stop to prosecutions, and no more innocent men suffered. He was imprisoned in Kilmainham till 1806.*

"Henry Howley was a carpenter, born in the Queen's county; had been in the 1798 rebellion. It was he who shot Cornet Brown in Bridgefoot Street. Ned Condon, of Kildare, was a cabinetmaker. He was the person who shot Mr. Darragh, a justice of the peace, living near Athy. He came alone to Mr. Darragh's hall door, mounted on horseback. †

"Joe White was a hedge carpenter, from Rathcoffy. He was not in the 1798 business, and was never taken up. John Burke was a carpenter, from Naas. He escaped to America; he had not been in the 1798 movement. —— Dunne, a carpenter, of Naas, was never taken up. George Eustace, of Dirty Lane, rollermaker, was never taken up; he was not in the business of 1798. John Walsh, of Celbridge, a shopkeeper, taken up in 1803, escaped. Dick Eustace, of Naas, a carpenter; was not in 1798. The other occasional assistants were men from Palmerstown and Prosperous. M'Daniel was usually employed in the rocket depôt in Patrick Street.

"In the afternoon of the 23rd Mr. Emmet sent a sum of sixty guineas to pay for some arms, blunderbusses and pistols, which he had bought in Dame Street, and was in immediate want of. One of Emmet's confidential men declined going, on account of fatigue;

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* Nov. 1, 1803, Quigley and Stafford, who had been arrested about the middle of October, were arraigned *pro forma*, at the court of Oyer and Terminer, Green Street. The trial was put off, and on the following day Quigley was brought before the Privy Council, "and it is believed," says the *London Chronicle*, "has given the fullest and most efficient information. He is said to have stood high in the confidence of Emmet." The *London Chronicle* of the 7th of December states that Quigley had again been examined before the Privy Council, and also a young man of the name of Daly, from the county Kilkenny.

† Mr. Darragh, of Eagle Hill, county Kildare, was one of the terrorists of the time. Musgrave, at page 193, gives an account of this atrocious act. Mr. Darragh is reported to have said he would wade ankle-deep in Popish blood. Mr. Darragh denied, on oath, having said so. In March, 1798, a man rode up to him, in front of his house, and on pretence of presenting him with a letter, drew a pistol, and shot him in the groin; then drew another, and shot him in the back. He languished for a long time, and eventually died from the effects of the wounds he then received.

and then George M'Donnell, the man who was in the Patrick Street depôt when the explosion took place, when making the fusees of the rockets (and drinking at the same time), offered to go for the arms. He took the sixty guineas, and never returned more to the depôt with the money or arms. Even this contributed to the failure.

"Pat Finerty, who turned approver, was a carpenter. After the business of 1803 he was on board the guardship at Plymouth. Subsequently he was employed at Woolwich, where I lost sight of him; but I suppose he sold the secret of making rockets to Congreve. The rockets were first tried near Irishtown by Emmet and some of his companions, where the railway now is: they went in a horizontal direction, a great distance. General Coote was the first man who employed them in India. Emmet told me this; and that he had improved on them, and another has improved on Emmet's, and Congreve has improved on both. The rockets were of the same nature as those called Congreve rockets, but not so perfect. Finerty and Condon were employed a good deal in the making of the rockets, under Mr. Emmet's orders. It was after Finerty's arrest that he turned informer. I think that he would not inform if he had not been arrested. Finerty was detained in the 'stag-house,' opposite to Kilmainham Jail, a place for housing informers. He was to give evidence on Emmet's trial, but was not called.

"At my return from Lisbon, many years after, I called to see a friend of mine that was master-of-arms in the *Salvador* guardship, in dock at Plymouth, one evening, and the first man I met in the ship was Finerty, who affected to be glad to see me. I stopped awhile with my friend and returned to dine next day; and when I came, found that Finerty had left the ship and gone, I think, to Woolwich.

"Councillor Hamilton was appointed, with one Smith, to raise the county of Fermanagh and county Cavan. Russell and James Hope were appointed to the county Down for the same purpose. Mr. Nicholas Gray, an attorney, the aide-de-camp of B. B. Harvey at the battle of New Ross, for the county Wexford; Dwyer for the county Wicklow; Mr. Athy for the county Galway; Quigley, Mahon, and Wylde for Kildare; others for different counties, all depending on the taking of Dublin. The quantity of arms and ammunition was very great; a great quantity

of ball cartridges, packed in chests, with various sorts of combustibles, about seventy thousand pikes and muskets, blunderbusses and pistols. A quantity of these were dispersed among different persons throughout the country, as well as in Dublin; combustibles of various descriptions were prepared to blow up in the streets among the troops when assembled. Most of the powder and ball was got from Mr. Hinchey's; but as for the money, I cannot tell how or where it was obtained. Mr. Hinchey was a grocer, and lived at the corner of Cuffe Street, and was licensed to sell powder; he got the balls run or cast in his own place, and a Mr. Byrne, of New Street, gave a good deal of ball.

"ALL THESE PREPARATIONS WERE KEPT A PROFOUND SECRET FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND THEIR ADHERENTS until the very day of the turn-out. On the Saturday night week previous to the turn-out an explosion of some combustible took place in the depôt of Patrick Street, which gave some alarm in the neighbourhood. Major Sirr came to examine the house; previous to his coming, our friends removed the remaining powder, arms, etc., and all matters which were movable in the place, notwithstanding some obstruction given by the watchmen. Other arms were secreted on the premises, and were not discovered until some time afterwards. It was concluded that the affair was only some chemical process which had accidentally caused the explosion.*

"This unfortunate occurrence caused a premature rising, which proved abortive. It must be here remarked that those in charge of the depôt in Patrick Street did not know or frequent the depôt in Marshalsea Lane, but those in Marshalsea Lane had recourse to the depôt in Patrick Street.†

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* The house was slightly injured by the explosion; it has been new fronted. I visited it lately; it is on the right-hand side of Patrick Street, going from Thomas Street, very nearly opposite Patrick's Church. There are very extensive vaults, and an entrance to the house, like all the depôts of Emmet's, from a dark court or narrow lane.

† The depôt at Irishtown, alluded to by Duggan, was in charge of a timber merchant, Mr. Thomas Brangan, who resided in that village. His daughter, Mrs. Martin, informs me he was very intimate with Robert Emmet, and was engaged in the business of 1803. He had under his charge the district of Sandymount, the Rock, Merrion, and Milltown, and the intended execution of the plan to take the Pigeon House. Robert Emmet was frequently at Brangan's, and on several occasions they walked across the strand when the tide was out, to take plans of the Pigeon House and make observations.

"Mr. Emmet," says Bernard Duggan, "had three plans that would effect a revolution without bloodshed, if put into execution at any period; and the reason that none of them were resorted to was the timidity of some of his own staff or advisers—the general officers of districts and counties, such as Lord Edward Fitzgerald had to contend with.

"A few evenings before the outbreak I was informed by Robert Emmet I would be called on a very important service, namely, to make a prisoner of the Commander-in-Chief, who was in the habit of walking very early every morning on the Circular Road, in the neighbourhood of Kilmainham. I was to be accompanied by another person, and six more of our associates were to be stationed at a short distance, and to be ready when called on to lend assistance to me and my companion. We were to accost the Commander-in-Chief and inform him we had a writ against him and that we were sheriff's officers, and, by compulsion or otherwise, we were to force him into a carriage and carry him off to Mr. Emmet's. Emmet's staff, from timidity, upset this plan like all his others. I was told that night, when I had made all necessary preparations, that the plan had been abandoned.

"To my knowledge," continues Duggan, "Mr. Emmet *had secret friends connected with the Government who gave him intelligence of all the movements about the Castle.* Mr. Emmet, during the preparations making in the depôt, had a house in Butterfield Lane, near Rathfarnham. The officers of the counties and several gentlemen often had interviews with him there, but none of those connected in the depôts, unless occasionally to carry a message to him, went there. Mr. Emmet went often to the head depôt; both by day and by night the writer was often called to attend him, to act as a bodyguard through the streets, walking on the other side of the way as he went along, and occasionally some men of the former were ready at a moment's notice to defend Mr. Emmet. Previous to the turn-out Mr. Emmet remained almost entirely in the depôts, continually seeing regimentals making, writing proclamations, and receiving communications from the officers of the different counties. In his expectations of assistance in the country he was totally disappointed, which was the chief cause of the failure on the night of the 23rd. It had been arranged that a number of armed men were to march in from the adjacent counties, either to join in the attack to be made that night in

Dublin or to cause a diversion by withdrawing the troops from the city, while those collected in the depôts sallied out and distributed arms to the persons gathering in from the county of Dublin and the adjacent parts of the county of Kildare. Dwyer promised to march down from the mountains with 500 at least that evening and appear near the city, likewise Mr. Nicholas Gray promised to come with a large force of Wexford men, consisting of thousands, by a different direction. All these persons failed to do so at the time appointed. In the course of the day of the 23rd it was whispered about that there was to be a general rising that night in Dublin. The alarm reached the Castle. A Mr. Clarke of Palmerstown, a manufacturer, and a Mr. Wilcock, a gentleman living between Palmerstown and Chapelizod, seeing a bustle among the workmen of the neighbourhood, and a number of men passing from other parts to Dublin, these two gentlemen rode up to the Castle and made a report of their apprehensions of some disturbance. As they were both returning home, passing along Arran Quay, Mr. Clarke was fired at and slightly wounded by some person who effected his escape. Both then went back to the Castle, or at least Mr. Clarke did, and a reward of £300 was immediately offered for information against the man who had fired at Clarke. In the course of an hour or so after Henry Howley came along in the direction of the Queen's Bridge, with one of the double coaches which were to convey Mr. Emmet and a number of his most determined followers inside the Castle-yard, as if they were entering with persons going to a party. They were to be all well armed with blunderbusses; they were to gain possession of the Castle and to seize on the Privy Council, who, it was expected, would have been sitting that evening, for Mr. Emmet had private information of that matter and of every movement going on in the Castle. When Howley was coming over the Queen's Bridge and entering Bridgefoot Street he saw a countryman and a soldier fighting; he stopped the coach to see how the battle ended, and in the meantime an officer, Cornet Brown, who was passing by chance, interfered in favour of the soldier. Henry Howley, seeing this, leapt out of the coach and cried out, 'Fairplay for the countryman.' Cornet Brown drew his sword, and Howley pulled out a pistol and shot him. Howley, observing a sergeant's guard coming over the bridge, thought it prudent to make his escape. He fled, and left the coach there, which caused a terrible disappointment to Mr. Emmet,

who was anxiously waiting for the coaches, as Howley was the person appointed to procure them. The object was to secure the Viceroy, and keep him and his family as hostages; plenty of people were ready to pour into the Castle once possession was gained of the court-yards by Emmet and his party. Howley was to bring the coaches, one after the other, from Essex Bridge stand along the quay and over the Queen's Bridge. The drivers were to be dressed in liveries. Had the Castle been seized, the country was sufficiently prepared. All depended on the Castle.

"The plan was to attack the entrance publicly, and at the same time, on the Ship Street side, from a house alongside the wall, an entrance was to be made by breaking through the wall, and a party of men were to be pushed in by this entrance. Several houses besides in that neighbourhood were secured, and were to be occupied by Mr. Emmet's people. This disappointment of the coaches, together with the failure on the part of the Wicklow and Wexford men—for Mr. Emmet counted on Dwyer's party, and also on Mr. Gray's—determined him to abandon the depôt and make the best he could of such an embarrassing situation, finding he could not conceal the business any longer. While some of the people were gathering about the depôt in Marshalsea Lane and arming themselves, one of the outposts or sentinels who was placed to watch or reconnoitre messengers or dispatches coming or going between the Royal Hospital, the different barracks, and the Castle, saw a trooper coming with dispatches from the Castle towards the Commander-in-Chief, and the trooper was shot dead by the outpost above mentioned.

"In the afternoon of the 23rd of July, when Mr. Emmet was informed that Mr. Clarke and Mr. Wilcock were on their way to the Castle to give information of the suspected proceedings, Mr. Emmet ordered me to set steady men to guard the different roads from the Castle to Island Bridge where the artillery lay, and from the adjoining barracks, and from the Royal Barracks to the Castle, so that no express could pass to either of these places from the Castle, or from the Commander-in-Chief, who resided at the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, where I remained watching the movements of the General, after placing guards on all the passes, from seven to eleven o'clock that night; and when I returned to the depôt all were gone. The place was in darkness; as the lamps were not lit up that night it looked dismal.

"I lost no time in quitting Dublin and making the best of my way to Rathcoffy, in the county of Kildare, where I joined my comrades. They had sent a message to Mr. Emmet, desiring he would come amongst them and see what could be done; but he did not then come. They remained together to the number of fifteen, his staff (as they called themselves), but after his death they separated, and went amongst their friends. In the meantime a great number of persons were arrested, tried, convicted, and put to death, the innocent as well as the guilty. Of all they hung for that business there were only four who knew anything of it, and numbers were put to death who had no hand in it. This they continued to do until Quigley was arrested, along with three others, in the county of Galway. A stop was then put to the executions.

"At all times Mr. Emmet seemed cool, tranquil, and determined, even to the last moment of my seeing him, which was at seven o'clock that evening of the 23rd of July. He appeared to be confident of success. He was never light or thoughtless in his manner, nor absent nor agitated in his mind. He talked familiarly with the men, but still with something of seriousness, nothing of jocularity. The men never received any pay for their services; they all acted for the cause and not for money—their diet and lodging, and sometimes only the latter, was their sole remuneration. The people had great confidence in him; they would venture their lives for him.

"After the failure of Robert Emmet's business, I escaped into Galway, remained there for eighteen months, came up to Dublin in 1805, and, the second day after my arrival, was arrested. I was charged with the crime of shooting at Mr. Clarke, of Palmerstown, on the afternoon of the 23rd of July, 1803. Mr. Clarke was brought to the Tower to see me, accompanied by Mr. Wilcock. Mr. Clarke said—'You fired at me in 1803, when you passed me on the quay as I was riding along with Captain Wilcock.' I said to the gentleman—'I would not have passed and fired at you, Mr. Clarke.'" *

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* Many things are recorded by me which have not my approval, and this reply is one of them.—R. R. M.

CHAPTER VIII.

The 23rd July, 1803, was fixed on by Robert Emmet for carrying his long-meditated purpose into effect. It was nine months since he had arrived in Ireland, with the design of renewing the efforts of the United Irishmen; and, however strenuously it may be denied by some amongst them that the attempted insurrection of 1803 was part and parcel of their system, Robert Emmet's attempt must be considered as the last effort of the society of the United Irishmen, and the death-blow to its objects. Emmet's active preparations had been carried on from the month of March. The Government appeared to be entirely ignorant of their existence; nevertheless, events happened which could not leave them in ignorance of machinations being in progress, the aim of which was the overthrow of the Government. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the French Revolution, bonfires were very general throughout the city: there was one on the Coal Quay, opposite the house of D. L. Redmond, and another in Kevin Street, near the fountain, where manifestations of a seditious kind were made which could not be mistaken. The imprudence of this display on the part of some of the subordinate leaders seems almost incredible; and yet, in similar times and undertakings, where engagements of secrecy are entered into to keep their designs concealed, we find men acting as if they had been already relieved from their obligations—that success was certain—that obstacles had been overcome—that their friends were all true and capable of accomplishing their objects at a moment's notice—that their enemies were frightened, or to be frightened, by a demonstration of their force, even in assemblages of a festive character, like those of the 14th of July; or in a procession on a more solemn occasion, like that of the great funeral which took place not long before the outbreak of the rebellion of 1798. The explosion which took place in the depôt in Patrick Street on the 16th of July, 1803, was another occurrence which could not fail to excite the suspicions of Government; for the premises were visited by Major Sirr, and although he did not discover the concealed store in which the greater portion of the material of the conspirators was secreted, he discovered some fragments of unfinished weapons. One of the attendants of the store, who had been

wounded, had been taken to an hospital and fell into the hands of the authorities.

Emmet's object was to defer his attempt till the month of August, when he fully expected England would be invaded. The last occurrence determined him on making an immediate effort. He had pikes in abundance, a great deal of ammunition, few fire-arms, but a variety of combustible materials, which it is painful to read of. His magazine contained the following warlike stores and implements:—45 lbs. of cannon powder in bundles; eleven boxes of fine powder; one hundred bottles filled with powder, enveloped with musket balls, and covered with canvas; two hundred and forty-six hand grenades, formed of ink bottles filled with powder and encircled with buck shot; sixty-two thousand rounds of musket ball cartridge; three bushels of musket balls; a quantity of tow mixed with tar and gunpowder, and other combustible matter for throwing against woodwork, which, when ignited would cause an instantaneous conflagration; sky rockets and other signals, etc.; and false beams filled with combustibles; with not less than eight or ten thousand pikes.

Lord Castlereagh falsely stated the number of the latter was between two and three thousand; while Lord Blaquiere, one of the persons appointed to examine the stores in the depôt, said, in reply to the former statement, the number was between eight and ten thousand.

Emmet, after the explosion, took up his abode in the depôt in Marshalsea Lane. There he lay at night on a mattress, surrounded by all the implements of death, devising plans, turning over in his mind all the fearful chances of the intended struggle, well knowing that his life was at the mercy of upwards of forty individuals, who had been or still were employed in the depôts; yet, confident of success, exaggerating its prospects, extenuating the difficulties which beset him, judging of others by himself, thinking associates honest who seemed but so, confiding in their promises, and animated, or rather inflamed, by a burning sense of the wrongs of his country and an enthusiasm in his devotion to what he considered its rightful cause—that had taken possession of all his faculties, and made what was desirable to them seem not only possible, but plausible and feasible.

The following paper was found, after the failure, in the depôt, in Emmet's handwriting:—

"I have little time to look at the thousand difficulties which still lie between me and the completion of my wishes. That those difficulties will likewise disappear, I have ardent and, I trust, rational hopes; but if it is not to be the case, I thank God for having gifted me with a sanguine disposition. To that disposition I run from reflection; and if my hopes are without foundation—if a precipice is opening under my feet from which duty will not suffer me to run back, I am grateful for that sanguine disposition, which leads me to the brink and throws me down, while my eyes are still raised to the visions of happiness that my fancy formed in the air."

The history of the world afforded him but a single example of success in an undertaking of the kind he was embarked in, and sought to be accomplished by such means as were at his disposal. That example was the successful issue of the revolution in Portugal in 1640, when about forty individuals conspired to free their country from the Spanish yoke; and these forty men, strange to say, carried on their secret conferences for several months without an act of perfidy on the part of any of them. Their plans were already in the course of accomplishment, the conspirators were already in possession of the palace, public offices, and residences of the ministers, when they were joined by the populace. They had already seized on the Vice-Queen and the Spanish authorities, and put to death the only individual of the ruling powers whose life was sacrificed in that revolution, a degenerate Portuguese, Miguel Vasconcellos, who had been the chief agent of the despotism of their foreign taskmasters. But that revolution was effected by a band of men who acted as if there was but one common mind in all, one common cause, and one hand alone which could crown their efforts with success. The night before the revolution the conspirators assembled—where? in taverns, in public-houses, or in each other's houses, to revel and carouse? No; they met in the churches of their several localities, which, by orders of the Archbishop of Lisbon, were left open for them (duly attended by approved clergymen), without being lighted up on this occasion. They met, not to conspire, but to pray to God for assistance, and each man of them that night received the sacrament. Vertot makes no mention of this extraordinary occurrence. Vertot was a Frenchman, and tinctured with the French philosophy.

It has often struck me that Robert Emmet must have been

familiar with the history of this most extraordinary of all revolutions, and that to the Abbé Vertot's work he owed his knowledge of it. All the old Portuguese authorities from which Vertot has taken his material state the fact, and one more worthy of observation, taking into consideration the cause those men were engaged in, the means of accomplishing their designs, and its result, is not to be met with in the whole range of history, ancient or modern.

The morning of the 23rd of July found Emmet and the leaders in whom he confided not of one mind; there was division in their councils, confusion in the depôts, consternation among the citizens who were cognisant of what was going on, and treachery tracking Robert Emmet's footsteps, dogging him from place to place unseen, unsuspected, but perfidy nevertheless embodied in the form of patriotism, basely employed in deluding its victims, making the most of its foul means, of betraying its unwary victims, and counting already on the ultimate reward of its treachery. Portion after portion of this plan of Robert Emmet was defeated, as he imagined, by accident or ignorance or neglect on the part of his agents, but it never occurred to him that he was betrayed, that every design of his was frustrated, every project neutralised as effectually as if a traitor had stolen into the camp of an enemy, seduced the sentinels, corrupted the guards, discovered the plans, disconcerted the projects, and then left the adversary to be forced into the field and discomfited there.

Various consultations were held on the 23rd at the depôt in Thomas Street, at Mr. Long's in Crow Street, and Mr. Allen's in College Green, and great diversity of opinion prevailed with respect to the propriety of an immediate rising or the postponement of the attempt. Emmet and Allen were in favour of the former, and, indeed, in the posture of their affairs, no other course was left except the total abandonment of their project, which it is only surprising had not been determined on. The Wicklow men under Dwyer, on whom great dependence was placed, had not arrived; the man who bore the order to him from Emmet neglected his duty and remained at Rathfarnham. The Kildare men came in and were informed, evidently by a traitor, that Emmet had postponed his attempt, and they went back at five o'clock in the afternoon. The Wexford men came in, and to the number of 200 or 300 remained in town the early part of the night to take the part assigned to them, but they received no orders. A large body of men were

assembled at the Broadstone ready to act when the rocket signal agreed upon should be given, but no such signal was made.

It is evident that Emmet to the last counted on large bodies of men being at his disposal, and that he was deceived. At eight o'clock in the evening he had eighty men nominally under his command, collected in the depôt in Marshalsea Lane. In the neighbourhood several of the leaders were assembled at Mr. John Hevey's house, 41 Thomas Court, and refreshments were not wanting, while messages were passing backwards and forwards between his house and the depôt. At a public-house in Thomas Street, kept by John Rourke, there were crowds of country people drinking and smoking in the highest spirits, cracking jokes and rallying one another as if the business they were about to enter on was a party of pleasure. Felix Rourke kept constantly passing backwards and forwards between this house and his brother's dressed in plain clothes; at no period was he dressed in the rebel uniform, as had been sworn by the approvers on his trial. About nine o'clock, when Robert Emmet was beginning to reflect on the failure of all his preparations, the holding back of the people on whom he mainly reckoned, Michael Quigley rushed into the depôt and gave an alarm, which turned out to be a false one. He said—"We are all lost; the army is coming on us." Then it was that Robert Emmet determined to meet death in the street rather than wait to be cooped up with his followers in his den, and massacred there, or captured and reserved for the scaffold. He put on his uniform, gave his orders to distribute the arms, and, after sending up a single rocket, sallied into Thomas Street with about eighty men, who were joined there, perhaps, by as many more before they were abreast of Vicker Street. The design of Emmet was to attack the Castle. The greater part of the gentlemen leaders were not with Robert Emmet, several remained at Hevey's, others were at the house of John Palmer in Cutpurse Row, and elsewhere in the immediate vicinity of the scene of action, waiting, I presume, to see if there was any prospect of success, or any occasion for their services, that was likely to make the sacrifice of their lives of any advantage to their cause.

The motley assemblage of armed men, a great number of whom were, if not intoxicated, under the evident excitement of drink, marched along Thomas Street without discipline, with their ill-

fated leader at their head, who was endeavouring to maintain order, with the assistance of Stafford, a man who appears to have remained close to him throughout this scene, and faithful to him to the last. Between the front ranks and the rear there was a considerable distance, and it was in vain that Stafford and others called on them repeatedly, and sometimes with imprecations, to close their ranks, or they would be cut to pieces by the army. They were in this state about half-past nine, when Robert Emmet, with the main body, was close to the Old Market House. The stragglers in the rear soon commenced acts of pillage and assassination; the first murderous attack committed in Thomas Street was not that made on Lord Kilwarden, as we find by the following account in the newspaper of the day:—

"A Mr. Leech, of the Custom House, was passing through Thomas Street in a hackney coach when he was stopped by the rabble. They dragged him out of the coach without any inquiry; it seemed enough that he was a respectable man. He fell on his knees, implored their mercy, but all in vain. They began the work of blood, and gave him a frightful pike wound in the groin. Their attention was then diverted from the humbler victim by the approach of Lord Kilwarden's coach. Mr. Leech then succeeded in creeping to Vicker Street watch-house, where he lay a considerable time, apparently dead from loss of blood, but happily recovered from his wound."

The carriage of Lord Kilwarden had hardly reached that part of Thomas Street which leads to Vicker Street when it was stopped and attacked. Lord Kilwarden, who was inside with his daughter and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, cried out—"It is I, Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench." A man, whose name is said to have been Shannon, rushed forward, plunged his pike into his lordship, crying out—"You are the man I want." A portmanteau was then taken out of the carriage and broken open and rifled of its contents; then his lordship, mortally wounded, was dragged out of the carriage, and several additional wounds inflicted on him. His nephew endeavoured to make his escape, but was taken and put to death. The unfortunate young lady remained in the carriage till one of the leaders rushed forward, took her from the carriage and led her through the rabble to an adjoining house; and it is worthy of observation that in the midst of this scene of sanguinary tumult no injury or insult was

offered to her, or attempted to be offered to her, by the infuriated rabble. Mr. Fitzgerald states that the person who rescued her from her dreadful situation was Robert Emmet.

Miss Wolfe, after remaining some time in the place of refuge she was placed in, proceeded on foot to the Castle, and entered the Secretary's office in a distracted state, and is said to have been the first bearer of the intelligence of her father's murder. Lord Kilwarden was found lying on the pavement dreadfully and mortally wounded. When the street was cleared of the insurgents he was carried almost lifeless to the watch-house in Vicker Street.

"On my arrival in Dublin," says James Hope, "on the first of November, 1803, I met an acquaintance who had been prisoner in Vicker Street watch-house when Lord Kilwarden was brought in after receiving his death wounds. Major Swan and some officers shortly afterwards came there, and one of these persons said, in a great rage, that he would have a gallows erected at the watch-house door to hang the villains who were then confined there. His lordship called thrice to Major Swan before he answered. 'What are you going to do, Swan?' said his lordship. 'To hang these rebels, my lord,' was the reply. His lordship said—'Let no man be put to death but by the laws of his country.' At that instant an officer appeared with a party of horse and ordered the street to be cleared of all obstruction. To Lord Kilwarden's injunction, my informant says, my friend considered he owed his life, and not only his, but every prisoner in the watch-house at that time owed his life to that good man's interference. When Lord Kilwarden," continues Hope, "was Attorney-General he had to prosecute a number of very young men who were charged with treason in 1795; they were found guilty by the jury, but Lord Kilwarden took an opportunity of representing their youth to the judge, and spoke of them as schoolboys, with a view of mitigating their punishment and having it changed to transportation. One of the young men said he would prefer death, received his sentence, and was executed; the others were transported. A near relation of the young man who suffered death, I was informed, was present when Lord Kilwarden's carriage was stopped in Thomas Street the night of the insurrection (this man's name, Mr. Curran states, was Shannon), and, hearing his name, exclaimed 'That is the man I want,' sprung forward and stabbed him with his pike, others soon followed the example of this villain. Had I been

there I would have risked my life to have saved Lord Kilwarden from hurt or harm.* I once went to Lord Kilwarden's house with a woman whose husband was in prison to solicit his liberation. After hearing her complaint he said, 'Poor woman, I will do what I can for you.' 'Then, my lord," said she, 'I have no fear for my husband's safety.' Her husband was liberated."

I have made many inquiries, of persons who were present when this barbarous act was committed, of others who, though not present, were with Robert Emmet, and had been subsequently informed of the particulars of this murder. I never met with one who said he knew the persons by whom it was committed, or, from his own knowledge, who could tell what part of the country they came from, whether they were natives of Dublin, or whether the act was one of private vengeance, of unpremeditated ferocity, or of brutal drunkenness. It has been stated that his lordship was mistaken for Lord Carlton. It is likewise stated, as we find, that the relative of a convicted prisoner who harboured malice against his lordship was the murderer. My opinion is there is no truth in these reports, but that the sacrifice of the most merciful, just, and humane judge in the land, and therefore the most popular, was carried into effect by monsters in the human form, who mixed in the ranks of the insurgents, but were not of them, for the purpose of bringing the greatest possible obloquy on the people, and doing the greatest possible mischief to the prospects of their leader and the character of his undertaking.

The murder of the innocent men in the barn of Scullabogue; the massacre of the defenceless Protestant prisoners on the bridge of Wexford; the murder of Lord Mountjoy, the strenuous supporter of the claim of the Roman Catholics; the murder of Lord O'Neil, the early advocate of the same cause; the murder of Lord Kilwarden, the most upright of the magistrates of the land, "the wisest, because the gentlest in her councils," the most humane of judges, among the most deservedly respected of the public men of his day—these are acts which are involved in mystery, which time perhaps will yet unveil. Can such acts of savagery, of wanton, profitless, bootless barbarity be reconciled with the feelings, the

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* It is a curious circumstance, and a pleasing one, to observe that the same thought, and nearly in the same words, is expressed by two men who were confidential agents of Robert Emmet.—R. R. M.

passions, the purposes, the interests of the multitude? I do not believe the murder of Lord Kilwarden was "the unpremeditated act of a ferocious rabble." I believe it was the premeditated act of wicked men in the ranks of the insurgents, for the purpose of defeating and disgracing their proceedings. Indeed we have a slight proof of this in the admission of one of the approvers, on the trial of Redmond; he swore that he was present at the attack on Lord Kilwarden, and that when Mr. Wolfe tried to make his escape, he (the witness) ordered the people to bring him back. The poor gentleman was accordingly brought back and piked to death; but this latter circumstance the approver discreetly declined to touch on. There was frightful perfidy had recourse to, in the encouragement of the hopes of the conspirators at the beginning, in the affected ignorance of their machinations, and in the character given to them at their close.

Emmet halted his party at the market-house with the view of restoring order, but tumult and insubordination prevailed. During his ineffectual efforts word was brought that Lord Kilwarden was murdered; he retraced his steps, proceeded towards the scene of barbarous outrage, and in the course of a few minutes returned to his party. From that moment he gave up all hope of effecting any national object. He saw that his attempt had merged into a work of pillage and murder. He and a few of the leaders who were about him abandoned their project and their followers. A detachment of the military made its appearance at the corner of Cutpurse Row, and commenced firing on the insurgents, who immediately fled in all directions. The rout was general in less than an hour from the time they sallied forth from the depôt. The only place where anything like resistance was made was on the Coombe, where Colonel Brown was killed, and two members of the Liberty Rangers (Messrs. Edmeston and Parker). The guard-house of the Coombe had been unsuccessfully attacked, though with great determination; a great many dead bodies were found there. The mayoralty house had been attacked and robbed of its arms.

"It now only remains to show what were the chances of success on which Robert Emmet counted, what were his plans, and what were, in his opinion, the causes of its failure. These matters can be best explained in Robert Emmet's own words. The following statement of his plans and intentions is extracted from Mr. Curran's

admirable biography of his father. The statement was drawn up by Robert Emmet, and addressed in a letter to his brother, written after his conviction. That letter was never transmitted to Thomas Addis Emmet, and the latter complained in bitter terms of its being withheld from him.*

"In a publication ascribed to the Under Secretary, Mr. Marsden, a sort of *résumé* of the State trials of 1803, it is stated, Mr. R. Emmet embraced Dr. Trevor at parting with him when going to execution, and committed to his charge two letters, one addressed to his brother and another to a person high in office (Mr. Marsden)."

ACCOUNT OF THE LATE PLAN OF INSURRECTION IN DUBLIN, AND CAUSE OF ITS FAILURE.†

"The plan was comprised under three heads:—*Points of Attack*, *Points of Check*, and *Lines of Defence*.

"The points of attack were three:—The Pigeon House, the Castle, and the Artillery Barracks at Island Bridge.

"The attack was to begin with the Pigeon House—number of men 200—the place of assembly, the strand between Irishtown and Sandymount—the time, low water—the men to divide into two bodies; one to cross by a sandbank, between the Pigeon House and lighthouse, where they were to mount the wall, the other to cross at Devonshire Wharf; both parties to detach three men with blunderbusses and three with jointed pikes concealed, who were to seize the sentries and the gates for the rest to rush in. Another plan was formed for high water, by means of pleasure or fishing boats going out in the morning, one by one, and returning in the

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* The gentleman to whom T. A. Emmet addressed those complaints had inquiries made after the detained letter of his brother. One side of the letter was discovered at the Castle by an eminent legal functionary, the late Baron Wolfe; and, strange to say, the missing portion was found in London by the gentleman to whom T. A. Emmet addressed on the subject. The authenticity of the document there is no doubt of, indeed its appearance in Mr. Curran's work is a sufficient proof of that fact.

† Annexed to the copy from which the above has been transcribed is the following memorandum in the handwriting of a gentleman who held a confidential situation under the Irish Government:—"The original of this paper was delivered by Mr. EMMET on the morning just before he was brought out to execution, in order to be forwarded to his brother, THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, at Paris."

evening to the dock at the Pigeon House, where they were to land. A rocket from this was to be the signal for the other two, viz. :—

"The Castle, the number of men 200. The place of assembly, Patrick Street depôt. A house in Ship Street was expected, also one near the gate. A hundred men to be armed with jointed pikes and blunderbusses, the rest to support them and march openly with long pikes. To begin by the entrance of two job coaches, hackney coachmen, two footmen, and six persons inside, to drive in at the upper gate into the yard ; come out of the coaches ; turn back and seize the guard (or instead of one of the job coaches, a sedan going in at the same time with two footmen, two chairmen and one inside) ; at the same moment a person was, in case of failure, to rap at Lamprey's door, seize it and let in others, to come down by a scaling ladder from a window on the top of the guard-house, while attacks were made at a public-house in Ship Street which has three windows commanding the guardhouse, a gate in Stephen Street, another at the Aungier Street end of Great George's Street leading to the Ordnance, another at the new house in George's Street leading to the riding yard, and another over a piece of a brick wall near the Palace Street gate. Scaling ladders for all these. Fire balls, if necessary, for the guardhouse of the upper gate. The *Lord-Lieutenant* and *principal officers of Government*, together with the bulk of artillery, to be sent off under an escort to the commander in Wicklow, in case of being obliged to retreat. I forgot to mention that the same was to be done with as much of the Pigeon House stores as could be. Another part with some artillery to come into town along the quays and take post at Carlisle Bridge, to act according to circumstances.

"Island Bridge, 400 men. Place of assembly, quarry hole opposite and burying-ground. Eight men with pistols and one with a blunderbuss to seize the sentry walking outside, seize the gates, some to rush in, seize the cannon opposite the gate ; the rest to mount on all sides by scaling ladders ; on seizing this, to send two cannon over the bridge facing the barrack road. Another detachment to bring cannon down James's Street, another towards Rathfarnham, as before. To each of the flank points when carried reinforcements to be sent, with horses, etc., to transport the artillery. Island Bridge only to be maintained (a false attack also thought of after the others had been made, on the rear of the barracks, and if necessary to burn the hay stores in rear).

"Three rockets to be the signal that the attack on any part was made, and afterwards a rocket of stars in case of victory, a silent one of repulse.

"Another point of attack not mentioned—Cork Street Barracks; if the officer could surprise it and set fire to it; if not, to take post in the house (I think in Earl Street, the street at the end of Cork Street, leading to Newmarket, looking down the street with musketry, two bodies of pikemen in Earl Street), to the right and left of Cork Street, and concealed from troops marching in that street. Another in (I think) Marrowbone Lane to take them in the rear. Place of assembly, fields adjacent or Fenton Fields.

"Points of Check.—The old Custom House, 300 men; gate to be seized and guard disarmed; the gate to be shut or stopped with a load of straw, to be previously in the street. The other small gate to be commanded by musketry, and the bulk of the 300 men to be distributed in Parliament Street, Crane Lane, and those streets falling into Essex Street, in order to attack them if they forced out. The jointed pikes and blunderbusses lying under great coats rendered all these surprises unsuspected; fire balls, if necessary, and a beam of rockets.

"An idea also was, if money had been got, to purchase Rafferty's cheese shop, opposite to it to make a depôt and assembly; and to mine under and blow up a part of the Custom House, and to attack them in confusion, as also the Castle. The miners would have been got also to mine from a cellar into some of the streets through which the army from the barracks must march. The assembly was at the Coal Quay.

"Mary Street Barracks, 60 men. A house-painter's house, and one equally removed on the opposite side (No. 36, I believe), whose fire commands the iron gate of the barracks without being exposed to the fire from it, to be occupied by twenty-four blunderbusses; the remainder, pikemen, to remain near Cole's Lane, or to be ready in case of rushing out, to attack them. Assembly, Cole's Lane market, or else detached from Custom House body.

"The corner house in Capel Street (it was Killy Kelly's), commanding Ormond Quay, and Dixon, the shoemaker's (or the house beyond it), which open suddenly on the flank of the army without being exposed to their fire, to be occupied by blunderbusses. Assembly detached from Custom House body.

"Lines of Defence.—Beresford Street has six issues from

Church Street, viz., Coleraine Street, King Street, Stirrup Lane, Mary's Lane, Pill Lane, and the Quay. These to be chained in the first instance, by a body of chainmen: double chains and padlocks were deposited,* and the sills of the doors marked. The blockade to be afterwards filled up; that on the Quay by bringing up the coaches from the stand and oversetting them, together with the butchers' blocks from Ormond Market. The houses over the chains to be occupied with hand-grenades, pistols, and stones. Pikemen to parade in Beresford Street, to attack instantly any person that might penetrate; the number 200. Assembly, Smithfield depôt, where were 800 pikes for reinforcements. The object was to force the troops to march towards the Castle by the other side of the water, where the bulk of the preparations and men to receive them were.

"Merchant's Quay. In case the army, after passing the Old Bridge, marched that way, Wogan's house, and a Birmingham warehouse next to it to be occupied with musketry, grenades, and stones; also, the leather crane at the other end of the quay; a beam to be before the crane, lying across the quay, to be fired at the approach of the enemy's column. A body of pikemen in Wine-tavern Street instantly to rush on them in front; another body in Cook Street to do the same by five lanes opening on their flank, and by Bride Street in their rear. Another beam in Bridge Street, in case of taking that route, and then Cook Street body to rush out instantly in front and the quay on the flank.† A beam in Dirty Lane; main body of pikemen in Thomas Street to rush on them instantly on firing the beam, the body on the quay to attack in the rear; in case of repulse, Catherine's Church, Market House, and two houses adjacent, that command that street, occupied with musketry. Two rocket batteries near the Market House, a beam before it; body of pikemen in Swift's Alley and that range to rush

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* In the original a sketch is given of these double chains.

† There was also a chain higher up in Bridge Street, as well as diagonally across John Street and across New Row, as these three issues led into the flank of the Thomas Street line of defence, which it was intended only to leave open at the other flank, as it was meant to make them pass completely through the lines of defence. Wherever there were chains, the houses over them were occupied as above, and also such as commanded them in front. For this reason the Birmingham Warehouse, looking down Bridge Street, was to be occupied if necessary. There was also to be a rocket battery at the crane on the quay and another in Bridge Street. The number of men, 300; assembly, Thomas Street depôt.

on their flank, after the beam was fired, through Thomas Court, Vicker Street, and three other issues, the corner houses of these issues to be occupied by stones and grenades ; the entire of the other side of the street to be occupied with stones, etc., the flank of this side to be protected by a chain at James's Gate, and Guinness's drays, etc.; the rear of it to be protected from Cork Street, in case their officer there failed, by chains across Rainsford Street, Crilly's Yard, Meath Street, Ashe Street, and Francis Street. The quay body to co-operate by the issues before mentioned (at the other side), the chains of which would be opened by us immediately. In case of further repulse the house at the corner of Cutpurse Row, commanding the lanes at each side of the Market House, the two houses in High Street commanding that open, and the corner houses of Castle Street commanding Skinner Row (now Christchurch Place), to be successively occupied. In case of a final retreat the routes to be three—Cork Street to Templeogue, New Street, Rathfarnham, and Camden Street department. The bridges of the Liffey to be covered six feet deep with boards full of long nails bound down by two iron bars, with spikes eighteen inches long driven through them into the pavement ; stop a column of cavalry, or even infantry.

"The whole of this plan was given up by me for the want of means except the Castle and lines of defence, for I expected three hundred Wexford, four hundred Kildare, and two hundred Wicklow men, all of whom had fought before, to begin the surprises at this side of the water and by the preparations for defence, so as to give time to the town to assemble. The county of Dublin was also to act at the instant it began—the number of Dublin people acquainted with it, I understand, to be three or four thousand. I expected two thousand to assemble at Costigan's mills—the grand place of assembly. The evening before the Wicklow men failed, through their officer. The Kildare men, who were to act particularly with me, came in, and at five o'clock went off again from the Canal Harbour, on the report from two of their officers that Dublin would not act. In Dublin itself it was given out by some treacherous and cowardly person that it was postponed till Wednesday. The time of assembly was from six till nine, and at nine, instead of two thousand, there were eighty men assembled. When we came to the Market House they were diminished to eighteen or twenty. The Wexford men did assemble, I believe, to

the amount promised, on the Coal Quay; but three hundred men, though they might be sufficient to begin on a sudden, were not so when Government had five hours' notice by express from Kildare.

"Add to this the preparations were, from an unfortunate series of disappointments in money, unfinished—scarcely any blunderbusses bought up.

"The man who was to turn the fuses and rammers for the beams forgot them and went off to Kildare to bring men, and did not return till the very day. The consequence was that all the beams were not loaded, nor mounted with wheels, nor the train bags, of course, fastened on to explode them.

"From the explosion in Patrick Street I lost the jointed pikes which were deposited there, and the day of action was fixed on before this, and could not be changed.

"I had no means for making up for their loss but by the hollow beams full of pikes, which struck me three or four days before the 23rd. From the delays in getting the materials, they were not able to set about them till the day before. The whole of that day and the next, which ought to have been spent in arrangements, was obliged to be employed in work. Even this, from the confusion occasioned by men crowding into the depôt from the country, was almost impossible.

"The person who had the management of the depôt mixed, by accident, the slow matches that were prepared with what were not, and all our labour went for nothing.

"The fuses for the grenades he had also laid by where he forgot them, and could not find them in the crowd.

"The cramp irons could not be got in time from the smiths, to whom we would not communicate the necessity of dispatch; and the scaling ladders were not finished, but one. Money came in at five o'clock, and the trusty men of the depôt, who alone knew the town, were obliged to be sent out to buy up blunderbusses, for the people refused to act without some. To change the day was impossible, for I expected the counties to act, and feared to lose the advantage of surprise. The Kildare men were coming in for three days, and after that it was impossible to draw back. Had I another week—had I one thousand pounds—had I one thousand men I would have feared nothing. There was redundancy enough in any one part to have made up, if complete, for deficiency in the rest; but there was failure in all—plan, preparation, and men.

"I would have given it the respectability of insurrection, but I did not wish uselessly to shed blood. I gave no signal for the rest, and they all escaped.

"I arrived time enough in the country to prevent that part of it, which had already gone out with one of my men, to dissuade the neighbourhood from proceeding. I found that, by a mistake of the messenger, Wicklow would not rise that night; I sent off to prevent it from doing so the next, as it intended. It offered to rise, even after the defeat, if I wished it, but I refused. Had it risen, Wexford would have done the same. It began to assemble, but its leader kept it back till he knew the fate of Dublin. In the state Kildare was in it would have done the same. I was repeatedly solicited by some of those who were with me to do so, but I constantly refused. The more remote counties did not rise for want of money to send them the signal agreed on.

"I know how men without candour will pronounce on this failure without knowing one of the circumstances that occasioned it; they will consider only that they predicted it. Whether its failure was caused by chance, or by any of the grounds on which they made their prediction, they will not care; they will make no distinction between a prediction fulfilled and justified—they will make no compromise of errors—they will not recollect that they predicted also that no system could be formed—that no secrecy nor confidence could be restored—that no preparations could be made—that no plan could be arranged—that no day could be fixed without being instantly known at the Castle—that Government only waited to let the conspiracy ripen, and crush it at their pleasure—and that on these grounds only did they predict its miscarriage. The very same men that, after success, would have flattered, will now calumniate. The very same men, that would have made an offering of unlimited sagacity at the shrine of victory, will not now be content to take back that portion that belongs of right to themselves, but would violate the sanctuary of misfortune, and strip her of that covering that candour would have left her.

"R. E."

CHAPTER IX.

I NOW proceed to give some account of the principal leaders, and the most active of the subordinate agents of Robert Emmet.

Mr. John Allen, a native of Dublin, now a colonel in the French service, was in 1803 a partner of Mr. Hickson, of 36 College Green, in the woollen drapery business. He had been tried and acquitted at Maidstone in February, 1798, on the same occasion and on the same charge as Arthur O'Connor. John Allen was the son of a respectable man in trade in the Liberty, carrying on an extensive business at No. 44 Pimlico. John Allen was the person in whom Robert Emmet appears to have reposed the most confidence; and there certainly were none of his associates more deserving of it. His subsequent career is ample proof of the truth of that assertion. Allen was acquainted with Lord W——. I am informed by Mr. Hickson that William Putnam M'Cabe was in Dublin in 1803, during the time the preparations were going on for the insurrection. Not many nights before the outbreak he called on Allen; and Mr. Hickson's impression was, from the intimate nature of his communications with his friend, that M'Cabe was concerned in Emmet's business. Dowdall frequently called, and Mr. Hickson thought favourably of him. After the failure all those who had been implicated in the business fled. Dowdall and Allen went that night to Butterfield Lane, and from that place proceeded to Alliburn's, of Windy Harbour. There they remained for some time. The yeomanry visited the house; but Allen and his companions used to conceal themselves during the day in a ditch at the rear of the house, which was covered with briars.

Allen at length came to town, and for security took up his abode within the walls of Trinity College. A friend of his, a medical man now living,* who had rooms in College, contrived to get an acquaintance of his who had likewise rooms there, to go out of town, and Allen was put into them. This "friend in need" who was "a friend indeed" to Allen, was a member of the College corps; he procured a military uniform for Allen, and made arrangements for his passage

* I had been informed that the collegian in question was Dr. James M'Cabe; but Mr. Hickson says—and his information cannot be called in question—that the fact was not so.

with the master of a vessel that was about to sail, to what port I have not been informed. Dowdall about this time came into town, and met Allen, dressed in uniform, with his friend. It was arranged that Dowdall should embark with Allen, and the necessary arrangements for that purpose were made. Preparations were made for their going on board a boat at some intermediate point between the Rock and Killiney. Allen, dressed in military uniform, and Dowdall in plain clothes, accompanied by their college friend, in his regimentals, proceeded from Windy Harbour towards the place of embarkation (by the fields), and when they approached the sea-side they observed some soldiers (two or three) coming out of their way towards them. The good effects of facing the enemy boldly were exhibited on this occasion. One of the soldiers evidently suspected the party, for he questioned them about the corps that Allen and his college friend belonged to, and eventually told them that they must go with him to his officer. The collegian interfered, and said—"My good fellow, this is carrying the joke too far; yet I would be sorry to be obliged to get your officer to punish you for your folly." There was a disposition shown on the part of the soldiers to lay hands on one of the party, but the motion of those of Allen and his friend and the corresponding expression of their features took the soldier and his comrades aback. They wished the gentlemen a good morning, and in all probability it was well for them that they did so. Allen and Dowdall got safely on board and out of the reach of their enemies.

The following account of Mr. Allen was transmitted to me by Mr. B. P. Binns, from America, communicated by a person who speaks of an intimate acquaintance with Colonel Allen, who is now residing at Caen, in Normandy—a man no less honoured for his distinguished bravery in the field than respected and esteemed for his private virtues by all who know him, and, amongst them, by some members of my own family :—

"He entered the French service on his arrival in France, and advanced from the rank of lieutenant to that of colonel solely by his services, and they were of the most daring character. It was he who led the storming party at the taking of Ciudad Roderigo, in Spain, and was severely wounded above the thigh when he had gained the wall. The reward was his colonelcy. He was taken prisoner shortly after, and confined with other French officers on an island, I should say a rock, near Corunna. Luckily for him, he had

been made a prisoner by the Spanish army. Had he fallen into the hands of the English, or had they known anything about his capture, he would have been transferred to England, though an adopted citizen of France, and made to suffer the dreadful penalties of high treason.

"He was exchanged, and with the others returned into France; his uniform held together by patching and sewing, in rags—the uniform in which he had been made prisoner; he had no other during his imprisonment and exposure on this bleak rock. He came time enough, however, for the campaign of 1813, which terminated at Leipsic; was in that retreat; in the horrible distress and night battle at Hanau; re-entered France; was at Montmirail and at Laon; had still a gleam of hope, when the news of Marmont's defection and the occupation of Paris crushed everything. He joined the Emperor Napoleon at his return, and was speedily demanded by the English Government at the second occupation of Paris; he was arrested, and conducted to the frontier.

"The Bourbons had still so much shame as not to surrender him on French ground.

"The gens d'armes who happened to conduct him had been soldiers, and he an officer; there was a long struggle between old recollection and their duty—between the memory of times past and the delivery of an old officer to the English guard waiting to receive him. This did not terminate till they were at the last station of French ground.

"They lingered on the road, and stopped for a night at a village, a league or two within the frontier. The mayor provided a strong room for the prisoner, which in their care for security they examined scrupulously, locking the door upon themselves. The night came—the last night before the old officer of the Empire, a gallant Irishman, was to be delivered to those that never spare.

"The gens d'armes asked leave to sup with him, and as they got up to conduct him to the room, one of them said—'Monsieur le Colonel, the room in which you are to be confined is strong, but one of the iron bars of the window is loose; we trust you will not escape.' It was a hint.

"At eleven at night he was in the street, with a bundle and his own sword, which they left in the room. He made for the Loire, but the army had melted away; *and, after the foreigners withdrew,*

and that France was herself again, he appeared, claimed his half-pay, and is still living.

"He has a small sum in the French funds, and thus can live; for half-pay in France is a wretched thing.

"He retired into Normandy, having sent for his two sisters, very old ladies, to live with him on their joint income and his own.

"I should say *went for*, for as one of them is blind and neither able to travel alone, he came over here to Dublin under a feigned name.

"Who could recognise a man, broken by service and years, fourteen of which were as many campaigns? Strangely enough, one of the first faces he met was that of Major Sirr, so infamously notorious during the rebellion and since as Town-Major of Dublin; but his mother could not recognise Colonel Allen to-day.

"He entered the capital with one packet and left it with the next. His sisters had notice, and were prepared.

"This was the return to his own home of the man who rose up against tyranny forty years before. He found it, as he had left it, IN THE HANDS OF STRANGERS. Everything had changed in Europe; nothing in Ireland.

(Signed) "1803."

Mr. Henry Grattan, in the life of his father, gives the following account of Dowdall:—

"There was an individual of the name of William Dowdall, a natural son of Hussey Burgh. The distinguished part that Burgh had taken on behalf of the liberties of his country at the period of the revolution in 1782 has been already stated. For him and for his memory Mr. Grattan entertained the warmest affection.

"Dowdall was a young man of pleasing figure, good address, and an interesting manner; he had been well educated, and was not deficient in information; he was ardent and enthusiastic, a great admirer of his father's principles and those also of Mr. Grattan. He used to attend the debates in Parliament and assist at the meetings of the Whig Club, and he held a situation in the office of Mr. Foster, when Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was said that Mr. Grattan, through his means, had received some papers connected with the public accounts, which he had made use of in a debate in the House of Commons. This was considered an unpardonable offence by Government, and in consequence he was dismissed from his situation. Whether this was the real cause, or

used merely as a pretext, mattered little in the opinion of Mr. Grattan, and he conceived himself bound, in honour, to allow him an annuity of forty guineas a year, hence a greater interest arose in whatever concerned Mr. Grattan. The ardour of his Liberal principles, unsubdued by his dismissal, and, perhaps, his imprudence, had caused him to be suspected, and after the trial of O'Connor at Maidstone, which he attended, he was arrested. Being confined in the same prison with Neilson, he learned from him the real statement as to the report of the Secret Committee, and he communicated it to Mr. Grattan. His letter will show what little chance of justice anyone had in those times and from those governors.

"EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM WILLIAM DOWDALL TO MR. GRATTAN.

"'*Dublin, 6th October*, 1798.

"'SIR,—Perhaps nothing can surprise you more than a line from me, as I imagine you have concluded me long since hanged, but I have the misfortune to tell you that I am still in the land of the living, to heighten my misfortune—that land, Ireland—my present residence, Newgate.

"'All the persecution and threats I have experienced for more than four months past had no terrors for me; I looked for nothing so anxiously as the accomplishment of their worse threat. To hear the progressive destruction of my country in an English dungeon, aggravated, as it was, by English relaters, you will naturally suppose, left me a heart not much at ease; but nothing, my dear Mr. Grattan, could equal what I felt from the villainous attempt I found making by your enemies to implicate you in the late unfortunate business. . . .

"'I have declined signing the conditions agreed on between Government and the other prisoners, as no consideration will ever induce me to consent to any examination, however speciously it may be pretended that I shall not be required to name persons. I entirely and completely disapprove of the compromise, and, therefore, take it for granted that I shall remain a prisoner for a long, long time if they have not a Reynolds, a Hughes, or some other well-trained hero to release me from my sufferings. . . .

(Signed) "'WILLIAM DOWDALL.'"

Dowdall was eventually liberated, and was so far more fortunate than his fellow-prisoners who had signed the compact as to be

permitted to remain in his native country. He proceeded to London, however, soon after his liberation, subsequently to Paris, and came back to Ireland in the summer of 1802. His connection with Colonel Despard has been referred to elsewhere. He again visited London, and returned to Ireland about the period of Emmet's arrival or shortly after it, and joined Robert Emmet in his undertaking.

It does not appear, however, that Dowdall was qualified for the desperate business he embarked in. He was present at a trial of rockets made by Robert Emmet by night on the strand at Irishtown; Dowdall, it is said, became alarmed at the first experiment and suddenly disappeared. He was fortunate enough to make his escape to France with Mr. Allen; but the place and time of his death I have not been able to ascertain.

Henry Howley was tried by special commission the 27th Sept., 1803. The prisoner was charged with having taken the stores in Marshalsea Lane, in Thomas Street, which had been converted into a depôt for arms by Mr. Emmet about the 24th March. Mr. Henry Coleman proved the stores had been taken from him by Howley, who stated his intention of carrying on his business there, which was that of a master carpenter. The approver in this case was Finerty, a carpenter; the first time he visited the depôt he saw the prisoner working at a wooden frame filled with bricks, which was to be inserted in a brick wall as a door, which, when shut, seemed to form part of the wall itself, and was so constructed to conceal a place in which pikes were concealed. This evidently was the door which served to conceal the secret chamber in Patrick Street of which M'Intosh had given information to Major Sirr. Witness saw Michael Quigley, who went by the name of Graham, in the depôt of Thomas Street doing the brick work of this sham door. Witness was employed and from that time worked at the depôt. Quigley seemed to act as foreman. Witness was taken up immediately after the insurrection had broken out; he was confined for five weeks and three days, *and was then liberated. He then went to work in a carpenter's shop in Pimlico, where several men worked; the prisoner was one of them*, and on the 15th of the same month Major Sirr, accompanied by some men, walked into the workshop. Howley withdrew into the back workshop, and the Major fired a pistol at him, "after *which the Major retreated*, and called for assistance;" the witness heard two shots in rapid succession, and

saw Hanlon, one of the Major's attendants, fall. *After this occurrence witness was again arrested*, and "he gave testimony that day with a hope of saving his life." The fact is, the witness was let out of prison to discover Howley's abode, and having performed his services he was again arrested to save his credit and to pass for a persecuted patriot. This was by no means an uncommon practice. Major Sirr corroborated Finerty's evidence, but he could not swear the man who shot Hanlon was the prisoner, or who withdrew into the back workshop when he (witness) came into the workshop. *He (the witness) fired at the person "he conceived* himself to be in pursuit of, seeing him armed with a pistol." That person attempted to fire at him, but he missed fire and retreated to adjust his pistol *when Hanlon advanced*, and witness heard two shots, and he saw Hanlon drop dead. The Major's care of his own body was evinced as usual; he did with Hanlon as he had done with Ryan; Howley and Lord Edward Fitzgerald were not men to be led quietly, like sheep to the slaughter-house. The Major admitted, on his cross-examination, that when he fired at the man he had no warrant against him, that he was not a civil magistrate of the city of Dublin. *The Court sanctioned Major Sirr's account of his proceedings.* It was evident a carpenter at his work, conscious of innocence, needed not to be armed with a loaded pistol.

"Henry Howley," says James Hope, "the ostensible proprietor of Mr. Emmet's store in Thomas Street, was 'set' by 'a gossip' of his own, while at work in a carpenter's shop; he had a pocket-pistol near him on a bench when Major Sirr appeared; he seized the pistol, and walked towards the back of the premises; the Major, who was in the act of following him, sprang back, exclaiming—'Take care, boys, the villain is armed.' Hanlon was then put forward, and Howley levelled his pistol and pulled the trigger, but it missed fire. Howley, with the utmost coolness, lifted a chisel and chopped the flint in time to exchange shots with Hanlon. Howley was wounded in the hand, but Hanlon was shot through the heart. Howley's gossip, who was at work with him, went to a back door to prevent his escape, but, seeing Howley lift a handsaw, he left his road and Howley got out, but was observed by a corduroy manufacturer, in a small way of business, named Holmes, going up into a hay loft; he gave information, and Howley was traced by the blood which flowed from the wound in his hand to his place of concealment. He was tried, and condemned of course. When he

was about to receive the sentence he said—'My lord, I think it right to state that I am the person who shot Colonel Brown, of the 21st Scotch Fusileers; let no other suffer for it.' The judge, Baron George, cautioned him that his admission might affect his sentence. Howley said—'I am aware of that, my lord, but I think it my duty to make this declaration in order that it may save innocent lives from being taken away on that charge; dissection has no terrors for me.'"

The statement of Hope, I believe, is perfectly correct, with the exception of the fact of Major Sirr having fired at Howley as he was walking away being omitted in his account. Howley made a similar declaration to the one mentioned by Hope at the place of execution with respect to the fate of Colonel Brown. He died with fortitude, but without any affectation of indifference; his conduct was acknowledged by the organs of Orangeism to have been becoming. Howley had taken an active part in the rebellion of 1798. He was known to have been a man that no danger could daunt; he had been wounded in some engagement with the King's troops in the Queen's county. Hanlon, the unfortunate attendant of Major Sirr, was the keeper of Birmingham Tower. At the time of his death he had charge of the State prisoners, and his conduct in that office was quite in keeping with his behaviour in his previous employment as one of the bullies who formed the bodyguard of the Major in his scouring of the streets of Dublin in the reign of terror. There is an engraved portrait of Howley extant, taken from a sketch by Petrie at the trial of the former. He is represented with his arm in a sling; the expression of his countenance is that of a man of the most daring disposition and determined character. He was about 28 or 30 years of age.

Dennis Lambert Redmond, a coal factor, was put on his trial the 5th of October, 1803, before Lord Norbury, Mr. Baron George, and Mr. Baron Daly. The evidence adduced against him established his connection with the proceedings of the principal leaders on the morning of the 23rd of July. On searching his premises, 14 Coal Quay, some hollow pieces of timber, resembling beams, had been found, each of which contained forty pikes. He fled after the failure on the night of the 23rd of July, embarked on board a Wexford vessel bound for Chester, which, in stress of weather, put into Carlingford Bay, where he was arrested by the authorities and sent to Dublin. While he was in prison he

attempted to put an end to his existence by discharging a pistol at his head; a piece of lead which had been substituted for a bullet had taken an oblique direction, glancing from the skull and lodging in the neck. He was found by the jailer lying on the ground, weltering in his blood; he was wounded severely but not mortally. When sufficiently recovered he was put on his trial. The principal witness against him was one of the conspirators, who had turned approver, Patrick M'Cabe, a calenderer by trade, who resided in Francis Street. He said that he accompanied the prisoner, Mr. Allen, and another gentleman on the morning of the 23rd of July from College Green to the Coal Quay, to Bloody Bridge, where they were to meet some other gentlemen; there they separated, and appointed to meet in a field near the second lock of the Grand Canal. Mr. Allen and witness went together. When they got to the field the subject of consultation was an intended attack on the Artillery Barracks at Island Bridge; the party present were to make that attack. Mr. Allen said arms were prepared for the purpose. Other parties were to attack the Castle, and Mr. Allen likewise said an attack was to be made on it at the lowest part of Ship Street gate. The magazine in the Park was also to be attacked by some of the Island Bridge barracks party. The attack was to be, as nearly as witness could recollect, between nine and ten. Mr. Allen, the prisoner, another gentleman, and witness breakfasted at Browne's, near the bridge. The unnamed gentleman, who seemed to know more of the matter than either of the others, made some objection to begin so soon. Allen was in favour of the immediate attempt. Witness returned to town with the prisoner. On entering the premises of the prisoner, found two men making pike handles. He called on Allen at three o'clock and made some observations about his wages, when Allen gave him a guinea and bade him not lose time about his wages. Allen desired him to call at six, which he did, and received a blunderbuss, and appointed that evening to meet him at Rainsfort Street convenient to the canal. Witness went there, but he did not see Allen; he went into a public-house, and, after some time, saw a multitude of people coming from the canal. They asked him to go along with them; he said he had no ammunition for his blunderbuss, and one of the people told him to go with them to the depôt in Marshalsea Lane, and they would get plenty there. He went there with them, and "after every

person that came helped himself to arms," they went into Thomas Street, and there, either before or after them, a carriage was stopped, a trunk was taken out, and two or three, with pikes, began breaking open the lid. Witness called out—"It is not for plunder we are looking." He saw the gentleman in the carriage make a race towards the church. *Witness said he should be brought back, and so he was*, and witness told him that no injury should be done to his property. The people then ran down Vicker Street and attacked the watch-house, then they proceeded towards Francis Street, then down Plunket Street, through Patrick Street, on to Kevin Street. They were fired on in Francis Street by the Coombe guard, which caused them to disperse: witness made his way home, and was arrested at his own door. On his cross-examination, he said he had been in the rebellion of 1798—he was still a prisoner, and came that day from the Castle.

An extract from a paper of fourteen pages, which the prisoner had written during his confinement, was given in evidence against him; it appeared to have been intended as an address to his countrymen. The last sentence of it was to the following effect:—"When any favourable opportunity occurs, which may shortly be the case, I beg you will not do as heretofore—take up arms to lay them down, like a blast of wind, and then be taken prisoners and hanged like dogs."

There were several witnesses produced who corroborated the evidence of M'Cabe. Mr. M'Nally made an able speech in his defence. Several witnesses were called, who gave him a high character for probity and general good conduct. The jury retired for five minutes and brought in a verdict of guilty. On being asked, in the usual form, if he had anything to say why judgment should not be passed, he addressed some observations to the court on the evidence of the several witnesses. He denied, in positive terms, that any pikes had been in the house, or made there. Respecting a conversation he had with Mr. Read, when he gave the health of Bonaparte and spoke favourably of his character, he said he thought there could be no impropriety in so doing, when he saw, by the public prints, that persons had been tried in England and punished for disparaging the character of that great man. "He did not hesitate to tell the court, though the halter was round his neck and the axe ready to sever his head from his body, he was placed in a high official situation, acting under the

provisional Government; he acted with that energy which he thought would promote its welfare; he acted according to the dictates of his own mind and principles. He would acknowledge that its completion and success were the full amount of his wishes. Had any of his proceedings relative to the 23rd been brought forward, he should feel ——" Here the prisoner became so agitated as to be unable to proceed for some time. After a pause of some minutes, he said—"The situation of my mind will not permit me to say anything more. I submit to the sentence."

Baron George said—"If you wish to say anything more that may ease your mind we will wait as long as you please."

The prisoner replied—"I have nothing more to say, but after I am sent to the cell that no visitors shall be allowed to see me. Let no strangers be admitted from curiosity. I wish to have a chair."

The Attorney-General said he had given directions that the prisoner should be furnished with chairs and tables.

The prisoner expressed a desire to have the use of pen, ink, and paper. "He trusted he might be permitted to write a few letters to his friends."

Mr. Baron George said—"We shall give directions as you desire." He then proceeded to pass sentence in a very impressive and feeling manner. No allusion was made on the trial to the attempt which the prisoner had made on his life.

The prisoner met his fate with firmness. He was about twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, remarkably good-looking. He was respectably connected, and nearly related to a medical gentleman of some distinction, of his name, in Dublin. A sketch of him was taken at the trial by Petrie, and engraved by Maguire, which is said to have borne a strong resemblance to the original. The particulars of the trial are taken from "Ridgeway's Report."

CHAPTER X.

From the following notices of the career of Michael Dwyer more information, as to his character and conduct, may probably be obtained than from any previous account of this remarkable man:—

"I was sent," says James Hope, "by Robert Emmet to the

mountains of Wicklow, to examine the condition of a party which had kept to the mountains for five years and set the military at defiance. A first cousin of Dwyer's was my guide, and I met Dwyer in the glen of Emall,* in company with Hugh Byrne, John Moran, and Martin Burke. Their arms were in bad order and I had them replaced. I furnished each of them with a new blunderbuss, a case of pistols, and ammunition. A spy named Halpin, who had fled into Dublin, shortly afterward appeared in the neighbourhood of Emall. Dwyer got notice, and commenced a pursuit until in sight of Dublin. He learned that Halpin was too far ahead; he discharged his blunderbuss with vexation, and blew the thumb off his left hand. I got him another, with a twisted barrel. His hand was healed when I last saw him.

"Dwyer, Byrne, and Burke† ventured into Dublin, and came to my house at No. 8, in the Coombe. I had many anecdotes from them. The following is one:—

"'At the approach of winter, as the mountain air became chill, their numbers began to diminish. One night Dwyer and Byrne were on an outpost, and stopped a man going toward the main body. On searching him they found a letter directed from an enemy to Holt with terms for surrender. They went instantly to Holt and brought him a distance from the men, read the letter to him, and told him that his being a Protestant was the only thing that prevented his instant death; and warned him, at the peril of his life, never to let them see his face among the people. For some days his case was desperate, not having concluded his treaty with the Government; and the parties in pursuit of individuals were so numerous at one time that Dwyer escaped by sitting behind one of the mountain cataracts, while the military passed without observing him.'

"An article in a recent magazine represents Dwyer as inclined to plunder: the reverse is the fact. His means of life were derived from the love of his countrymen, and even in the opposite ranks he had many friends; and although there was a barrack in the glen of Emall, they never could banish him out of it. A Dissenter

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*The place here called the glen of Emall is probably the glen of Innall.

† Martin Burke was a brother-in-law of Dwyer's. He was taken in December, 1803, after a pursuit of several miles through the fastnesses of the mountains, and through the glens. In his flight, he is stated in the newspapers to have crossed the river Ovold nine times.

had joined him from the county Antrim, named M'Alister. Dwyer told me he had a friend in the barracks, a corporal of the name of Cameron, a good soldier, and as trusty a friend as ever he had. Dwyer and his men had a subterraneous retreat in the glen, lined with wood and moss, the entrance to which was covered with a large sod that was cut out of a tuft of heath, where they remained all day, and had their rations as regular as the soldiers in the barracks had, and took to the mountains at night.

"One evening Dwyer met my friend Cameron, and he gave him some ball cartridges, saying—'Mind yourself to-night, for we will be in search of you.' M'Alister and Dwyer went that night to a house on the south side of the glen. A short time before day a rap came to the door, and someone said—'Are you within, Dwyer?' Dwyer answered—'Yes.' 'Will you surrender?' said the person. Dwyer answered—'I came into this house without leave from the family. If you let them out I'll tell you what I'll do;' which being done, Dwyer said—'Now I will fight till I die.' The house was instantly set on fire. M'Alister and Dwyer had each of them a blunderbuss and a case of pistols, with which they commenced firing out first, and continued the firing with the two blunderbusses. Dwyer heard the officer calling the corporal, his friend—'Come forward with your men, Cameron; I see what you are doing.' Cameron advanced and fell, and also some of his men. A clump of turf that was in the house took fire, and Dwyer and M'Alister expected soon to perish in the flames, when a shot from without broke M'Alister's arm. M'Alister said—'Dwyer, I am done; but take my advice, and try to escape. Load your blunderbuss, and give it to me; go on your hands and feet; I will open the door, and stand upright and discharge the blunderbuss; they will fire at me, and you may be off before they load again.' Dwyer went on his hands and feet after loading the blunderbuss, and his comrade clapped him on the back, saying, 'Now, let me see the spring you make.' Dwyer made the spring, and M'Alister received the fire of the military, and fell dead at the door.* A stream ran past the door, and a little ice had formed on some gravel in the middle of it, and Dwyer's feet

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* The heroism and the fate of M'Alister are the subject of some beautiful lines of Mrs. Tighe, which were republished, a year or two ago, in the *Dublin Penny Magazine.*

slipped on it and he fell on his hands; he soon recovered himself, and was on his feet, making good use of them. A Highlander dropped his gun and followed him across a field, and was so near him in the chase that Dwyer said he felt his hand touching him, when he thought of giving him the trip, by which he threw down the Highlander, and escaped. He said if the Highlander had not followed him a volley would have brought him down before he cleared the field."

Mr. Luke Cullen, of Clondalkin, has given me the following account of Dwyer and his men, which throws much light on the frightful state of society nearly four years after the suppression of the rebellion of 1798, which was the consequence of the latter. The facts detailed, the writer states, he knows to have occurred:—

"There were some persons in the vicinity of Greenan, a village on the road between Rathdrum and Ballymanus, who had given information against Mr. William Byrne, and every one of them was shot; and such was the dreadful determination of the murderers that one man, who went on crutches, called Cripple Doyle, evaded destruction for a long time by secreting himself at a Mr. Allen's, the gate of whose orchard was opposite his cabin door. He used to go occasionally to his cabin for a change of linen. Some of the outlaws having intimation of this circumstance concealed themselves in a plantation, and as the cripple was limping up to his door they shot him dead. A man named Matthew Davies was served in like manner, as also one Dixon; and Biddy Dolan, commonly called Croppy Biddy, was the only one of Mr. Byrne's informers who escaped. I should have mentioned before that a Mr. Patrick Grant, a respectable farmer of that place, was arrested and sent to Wicklow jail, principally for the purpose of forcing him to swear against Mr. Billy Byrne; but Mr. Grant would do no such thing, not even to save his life, and accordingly he was hanged, and his body ignominiously treated. His son Thomas was living some years ago at his residence, Keerakee, near Rathdrum.

"A party of Dwyer's men crossed the river near the Seven Churches, in December, 1800. On going to one of their haunts they and their arms got wetted: their place of concealment was a turf-clamp hollowed out, and the aperture built up with sods of turf. They were in this place of concealment when the Rathdrum cavalry came there, having received information of their being there. One of their party was in an adjoining house, and was in

the act of shaving himself at the very moment the cavalry were at the door. After a few minutes' conversation among themselves, they passed on to another house, not thinking that was the place which had been described by their informer. The outlaws being apprised of their movements, considered it better not to stir, thinking the party would not come back. They came back, however, and proceeded to pull down the clamp of turf, when one of the men in concealment, Andrew Thomas, snapped his gun thrice at the assailants without effect, as from passing the river the night before the priming of their guns had been wetted. Thomas looked at the musket, and said—'It never missed fire before.' He and the others then rushed forth, and bolted through the cavalry without sustaining any injury, saving a blow of the butt-end of a pistol, which Thomas received on the head from a man named Manby, from Rathdrum; and Manby, it was believed by his own companions, would have got out of Thomas's way, but the passage was very narrow.

"I had this account from one of the yeomen who was on the spot. Mr. Weeks was out shooting on the bogs, and had his fowling piece loaded with duck shot, and had joined the party in quest of the outlaw. He fired at Thomas, and wounded him severely in the thigh; after being wounded he made a desperate resistance, but he was despatched. His body was thrown across a horse's back in a shockingly mutilated state and carried the distance of eight miles to Rathdrum, when they cut off his head and placed it on the Flannel Hall. Thomas was much looked up to by his party, as he was known to be a very determined man and a first-rate shot. He was considered by the yeomen to be a brave, honourable fellow. Harman, who was in a complete state of nudity when he broke through the cavalry, was pursued by Mr. Thomas Manning—both were men of large stature and great bodily strength—but the former soon began to leave Manning behind, whose horse sunk at every step in the boggy ground. At length, after a chase of three miles, and coming to a bridge extremely narrow, Harman found his passage likely to be stopped by a Mr. Darby, who was posted there on horseback fully equipped, having got before him by taking the road. Harman advanced boldly to him with his gun levelled, which had been in the same condition as Thomas's had been, and cried out—'Come on, Darby, you or I for it.' Mr. Darby, astonished at the strange apparition of the naked desperado,

drew his horse as close as he could to the battlements of the bridge and let this ugly customer pass by. This rencounter took place near to Harman's residence. He succeeded in getting to a place of safety, and surrendered some time afterwards; was sent to Botany Bay, returned from thence and went to Canada.

"About this time a man residing between Rathdrum and Hacketstown got private information that his house was to be robbed on a certain night. He gave notice to the yeomanry officers at Rathdrum. They were highly pleased at the intelligence, for they expected that Dwyer and some of his party would be there. Plans were laid with great caution and secrecy; they advanced to the house in the night, the men being placed in ambush. A man named Williams, the best shot amongst them, was placed inside and ordered not to shoot unless in great danger. One of the robbers came, entered the house, proceeded to blow the fire and to light his candle. Williams fired, and shot the robber dead on the spot—he was a noted shot, and had killed a man outside of Rathdrum in 1798 and in so wanton a manner that his captain, the celebrated Thomas King, of Kingstown, said he was shocked at his brutality. The rest of the robbers escaped. When the body of the robber was examined, instead of being that of Dwyer it proved to be the body of a yeoman of the name of Mondy, of the Hacketstown corps, and was brought into Rathdrum. By way of exhibiting the impartiality of military justice they placed the head of the yeomanry robber opposite to that of the rebel Thomas on the same building."

Extract from the "Hibernian Magazine," November, 1803.

SOME ACCOUNT OF DWYER, THE IRISH DESPERADO.

"At the breaking out of the late rebellion Michael Dwyer, being about six or seven and twenty years of age, ranged himself under the banners of insurrection, and though always foremost in danger had the good fortune to retire unhurt through all the battles of that deplorable contest. When the rebellion was put down Dwyer withdrew, accompanied by a chosen band, into the fastnesses of his native mountains, where he has since kept his ground, bidding defiance to all the parties sent out from time to time against him.

"On a certain night three men, who had before been privates in the Meath militia, and one of whom was the first that

administered the oath of a United Irishman, suddenly deserted from his gang. Dwyer instantly concluded that they had been tempted by the reward to betray him, of which he not only soon received a confirmation from his emissaries but also intelligence of the night on which they were to set out for the purpose of securing him. Being well acquainted with all his haunts, they made little doubt of their success, but were waylaid by Dwyer, who put them to death with his own hand.

"Early in the last spring a survey was taken of that part of the country, and a place marked out for the erection of a barrack at the entrance of a glen called Glenmerlore, which it was supposed would afford the facility of exploring the fastnesses, recesses, and caverns of the rebels. The work proceeded with great rapidity and without the smallest molestation till the month of June last, when preparations were making to roof and occupy the building. In the night time, however, when things seemed to be in great forwardness, Dwyer appeared at the head of a strong party, and, laying a sufficient train of powder, blew it from the foundation, so that there appeared scarcely a vestige of it in the morning.

"It must be a matter of astonishment that an active, powerful, and vigilant Government could never entirely succeed in exterminating this banditti from these mountains, however difficult or inaccessible they may at first sight appear. The rebel, who is intimately acquainted with the topography of the place, has his regular videttes and scouts upon the *qui vive* in all the most advantageous points, who, on the appearance of alarm or the approach of strangers, blow their whistles, which resound through the innumerable caverns, and are the signals for a general muster to these hardy desperadoes. They are generally superintended by the chief himself, or by his brother-in-law of the name of Byrne, a determined fellow, in whom alone he places confidence. They are both great adepts at disguising their faces and persons, and are thought to pay frequent visits to the metropolis. Dwyer is an active, vigorous fellow, about five feet nine inches high, with something of a stoop about the shoulders. He has a ruddy complexion, with lively, penetrating eyes, and said to be wonderfully patient of fatigue, and fearless of every kind of danger."*

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* The portrait of Dwyer which is prefixed to the present notices of his career, engraved for Petrie, from a drawing of his of this remarkable person, bears a very striking resemblance to his brother Hugh Dwyer.—R. R. M.

The following account of Dwyer I obtained from his brother Hugh Dwyer. After many fruitless inquiries respecting the surviving friends and relatives of the former, I found the brother living in Dublin in Flemming's Place, Baggot Street, the owner and driver of a jaunting car. From this intelligent, well-conducted person I received the account which is now given to the public.*

"Michael Dwyer was born at Glenbymall, county Wicklow, near Baltinglass. His father was the eldest son of four children; he and all his family were of the Catholic religion. His father held twenty-four acres of land under Mr. Hannan and Mr. Cooke. Michael married, in the early part of 1798, Mary Doyle, the daughter of a small farmer. He had been 'out with the boys' in 1798, and had been on his own keeping even previous to that year.

"Mr. Hayden, an informer, a brother-in-law of Mr. Tennison, near Stratford, told old Dwyer if his son did not surrender that all his family would be taken up. Michael did not surrender, and accordingly they were all taken up and put in jail—the father, two brothers, and two sisters were kept in prison fifteen weeks as hostages. Hugh Dwyer took no part in 'the troubles,' and none of the rest of the family.

"Michael Dwyer was a well-behaved, good-natured young man, moral in his conduct, civil and obliging to his acquaintances, and very true to his friends; by no means quarrelsome, but always had been of a bold and daring disposition. He could read and write; he went to school at Bushfield. When a young man he was very sober, but in his latter years abroad it was said he was not quite so much so as he had been at home. During the time he was 'out' he had a great many escapes; one of the narrowest of them was at Dernamuck, in the glen of Emall, on a very stormy night, when he and nine of his comrades were concealed there.† Six of them were in one house, and four in another, convenient to the former; information had been given to the magistrates. At the dawn of day the house in which Michael Dwyer slept was attacked by the Highlanders; Colonel Macdonald was the commanding officer.

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* The notes of the conversation which furnishes these particulars were taken down at the interview referred to.

† The details of this adventure have been given in Hope's account of his communication with Dwyer. I have been induced to give the brother's version of it, as a corroboration of the main incident, which is one of a very singular nature.—R. R. M.

"When Dwyer heard the tramp of the soldiers, he called up his friends, Samuel M'Alister, a deserter of the Antrim militia, John Savage, and one Costello, a tailor. Dwyer asked the soldiers (without opening the door) if they would let the people of the house pass; it was agreed they should be permitted to do so; no sooner were the latter out than firing commenced on both sides. M'Alister's arm was broken by a musket ball. He turned to Dwyer, and said—'I am now useless, I cannot get off; when I present myself at the door, do you and the others rush out and they'll fire at me.' This was done, and M'Alister, and all, except Dwyer, were killed. He jumped out of the house, but fell at the door of the barn. A ball went through the collar of his shirt; he got 'clean off,' but was almost naked. He was pursued by the Highlanders, and also by another party of soldiers who had joined the former; he fled through the glen of Emall, forded the river, and at Slaney the soldiers gave up the pursuit on account of the rapidity of the flood. Six of his comrades were taken in the other house; one of the name of Byrne turned informer; the five others were hanged. Byrne was accused of having killed an officer; to save himself he offered to give evidence against a man of the name of Valentine Case, 'his gossip.' This offer was accepted, and Case was 'half hanged' at Baltinglass; he was then taken down, dragged to the chapel, and, in front of it, his head was cut off. Byrne was employed to behead him; he did so, carried the head and spiked it on the market-house.

"The night before the battle of Hacketstown a vast number of people were assembled. They were not all under Michael Dwyer; his brother saw them, and thought there could not be less than fifteen thousand men.

"In 1803 he came down to Robert Emmet, when he was lying in Butterfield Lane, a few days before the 23rd of July, accompanied by Martin Bourke and Hugh Byrne—Robert Emmet having written to him, expressing a desire to see him.

"In December, 1803, he surrendered to Captain Hume,* who behaved well to him; he was conveyed to Dublin, lodged in the Tower, and afterwards was confined in Kilmainham. After some

* Dwyer surrendered on the express condition of being allowed to emigrate to America. When he was in Kilmainham, and was informed he was to be transported to New South Wales, he complained bitterly of the faith of the Government having been broken with him.—R. R. M.

months' imprisonment, he was transported for life along with his companions, Hugh Byrne, Martin Bourke, Arthur Devlin, and John Mearn. A. Devlin died soon after he was transported; Bourke and Mearn were still alive in 1843. Shortly after their arrival in Botany Bay a plot was formed, which was directed against the life of Dwyer. He was tried and acquitted; Governor Bligh, however, sent him to Norfolk Island, and kept him there for six months. From that place he was sent to Van Diemen's Land; he was two years there. When General Bligh died Governor M'Quarry succeeded him; he allowed Dwyer to return to Sydney, and appointed him to the situation of high constable, which he held for eleven years. During this time he was in the condition of a free man; he held some land which he farmed, and made a comfortable livelihood out of it. He died in 1826. His wife, who went with him to Botany Bay, still is living at Gouldburn. His children did not go out for many years after his transportation; he sent for them shortly before his death, but when they arrived he was not living.

"His father and his family, who had suffered severely on his account, in consequence of an application to Government, through Mr. Hume, got a sum of £100 as an indemnity for the ruin which had been brought on them. Governor M'Quarry either obtained permission for him to return to Ireland, or offered to do so, but it was not his wish to return.

"Michael Dwyer was born in 1770; he died in 1826 at a place called Liverpool in New South Wales. He was about five feet eleven inches and a half high, stout made, and of great activity. Those who say that Michael Dwyer was in the habit of robbing or plundering houses say what is not the truth. He was no plunderer, he never committed an act of cruelty, he saved the lives of many, he never suffered a prisoner to be put to death. The people under him were faithful and obedient to him, they had entire confidence in him. The thumb of his left hand had been shot off; he had no other wound."

Such is the account of Michael Dwyer given by his brother, which, I believe, is entitled to entire credit. His superiority, in every respect, to Holt, is too evident to need observation. The latter has been made a hero, with very doubtful claims to that character; the former, far more deserving of that title, has been represented very unjustly as a mere brigand.

Thomas Brangan, of Irishtown, I am informed by his daughter, was in the habit of visiting the depôts in Dublin under the name of Williamson. His carts were used in conveying the stores from place to place; two or three waggon loads had been brought to Brangan's from Thomas Street, and a great quantity of pikes in hollow beams of timber. On the 23rd of July many men armed with pikes came to Brangan's, expecting to be called upon—the signal was not given. The sending up of a rocket at Irishtown was to be the signal for attacking the Pigeon House, but no attack was made.

When Emmet's attempt failed a reward was offered for Brangan's apprehension, under the name of Williamson—the name by which he was known in the depôts. He then absconded and went to Dublin, with the intention of going to America. Brangan was concealed a long time at Mrs. Cuff's, a widow lady in Pill Lane; he afterwards removed to Mr. Butler's, in Fishamble Street, the corner of Saul's Court. He became very ill while he was in concealment there and sent for Dr. Brennan, of wrestling notoriety, who visited him frequently, and when his recovery was despaired of, a Roman Catholic clergyman, Dr. B——e, was sent for. Difficulties occurred between him and Dr. B——e, one of the most distinguished divines of that day, or of the present, respecting a quantity of military stores in Mary's Abbey, concealed in the ruined vaults of that ancient edifice, which had been converted into a depôt by Emmet. The vaults in question are those which there is some traditional record of their leading by a tunnel passage under the Liffey to the vaults of Christ Church, a tradition which, I believe, was the subject of some inquiry about two years ago on the part of Earl de Grey. Brangan was unwilling that information should be given which he was called upon to sanction, and the result was the necessity for an application for the special assistance of another clergyman, the venerable Dr. Betagh, which application was not unsuccessful.

The house of Mrs. Cuff, in Pill Lane, was the temporary asylum obtained by Brangan for Russell on his return to Dublin after his unfortunate expedition from the north. The person who took the lodging for Russell in Muley's was a Mr. Lacey, a native of Wicklow, a '98 man. Lacey had been with Russell the morning he was taken; he had also visited Emmet frequently at Harold's Cross. At this time Lacey kept an inn in Kevin Street frequented chiefly by

Wicklow people. This man was the constant medium of communication between Emmet and Brangan. Shortly after the arrest of Emmet, he gave up the inn, and seemed greatly improved in his circumstances. Brangan suspected him, and when Emmet was taken, being in concealment himself at the inn, he took especial care to keep the secret of his place of retreat and of his existence in the country from Lacey. When the latter came to his house to inquire for him, Lacey was informed by the family of the fugitive that he had gone to America. When Brangan heard of Emmet's arrest, he said—"Lacey is the traitor." (Brangan was not the only person who entertained a similar opinion.)

Brangan succeeded in making his escape from Ireland; he got out of the bay in a fishing boat, and was put on board a vessel bound for America. Whether he proceeded to America, or had been put on board some vessel bound for Portugal from the American vessel, I have not ascertained, but in March, 1804, he wrote to his family from Oporto. After some time he proceeded to France, and got a commission in the French service. He rose to the rank of Captain in the 3rd Regiment, in that service formerly the Irish Brigade. He went through the Peninsular War, and his family are in possession of certificates honourable to his courage from his commanding officers. He lost his life in a duel in France, in 1811, and died possessed of some little property. When he quitted Ireland he was thirty years of age; he left a wife and four children behind him.

"Mr. John Hevey," says Duggan, "was a respectable brewer (and subsequently a tobacconist) in the city of Dublin; he had been well known to all the leading people of 1798. This gentleman was persecuted by the agents of the Government, namely, Major Sirr, Major Swann, and Major Sands, commonly called the three S.'s. He was tried in Kilkenny and Dublin, and the account of his sufferings has excited great interest.

"But he was only beginning his sufferings in 1798. He brought down the vengeance of the Majors on him in 1802, when he brought an action against Major Sirr for the robbery of his mare. After Mr. R. Emmet's objects failed, Mr. Hevey was arrested and detained a prisoner in Kilmainham, until the general liberation of all the State prisoners, after the death of Mr. Pitt. The sufferings poor Mr. Hevey had sustained, by the losses in business and by the distress of mind and misery he had endured, brought him to

ruin, to madness, and to beggary. I knew him in his prosperity, and was often in his brewery in Thomas Court on business, and I knew him in Kilmainham a State prisoner, and also after my return from the Continent. I knew him also when he was reduced from affluence and comfort to extreme poverty. He had many companions and gay associates among his countrymen when he was well off, but few friends when he wanted assistance and was in great distress. I often heard sentiments and toasts having been given in honour of his triumph over the Major at public entertainments. At the same time poor Mr. Hevey could not break his fast before he went out in the mornings, with bad shoes and stockings, with a bad hat and coat, and when he often returned in the evening with an empty stomach. He had a bed for some time in my little apartments until my business failed, and I was obliged to remove from town to Chapelizod. Shortly after he became deranged, and was sent to the Lunatic Hospital in Brunswick Street, where he expired, and no man knows where he was buried. This is but a slight sketch of Mr. Hevey the brewer, of Thomas Court. Shortly before his death he ran into the Lower Castle Yard and fell a breaking Major Sirr's windows, and immediately he was seized by the Major's people and sent to the Lunatic Asylum, where he died a beggar."*

CHAPTER XI.

On the 29th of July, 1803, two bills were brought into Parliament and read in both Houses the first, second, and third time, and received the Royal assent the same day, the 29th of July, 1803—the one for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, the other for enabling the Lord-Lieutenant, with the advice of the Chancellor, to try persons by martial law. The Chancellor of the

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*The account of poor Hevey, and the feeling manner in which it is given, does great credit to Duggan. Indeed, I am disposed to hope that a man who could express the sentiments he does in the preceding statement, and evince the propriety of feeling which is shown in it, can hardly be the person of the same name, assumed or real, I have spoken of in a former memoir, as the correspondent of the Major, whom he truthfully speaks of here as the persecutor of poor Hevey. Hevey's fellow-citizens ought not to have allowed him to perish in a pauper madhouse.

Exchequer, in the debate on those measures in the House of Commons, spoke of the attempted insurrection of the 23rd as a "violent and malignant rebellion then existing in Ireland." Mr. Windham said it was difficult for the House to decide what it ought to do, as no information of the state of the country had been laid before the House. Its capital might be in a few hours in possession of the rebels, and the Government there might be overturned.

Mr. Sheridan said it was of the utmost importance that the capital should not be in, or supposed to be, likely to fall into the hands of insurgents; and, therefore, he thought the promulgation of such opinions would be giving encouragement to rebellion and treason in every part of the United Kingdom. Lord Castlereagh said that it had been insinuated that Dublin had been within an ace of falling into the hands of the rebels; he was sure that no information had reached this country which at all afforded any foundation for such an assertion. From what he himself knew on this subject he could state with confidence that the danger had been greatly exaggerated. It had been attempted to be stated that Government was taken completely by surprise, that they had not any adequate means of preparation against the insurgents. *He begged leave to contradict this assertion in the strongest terms; Government was aware several days before the atrocious crime, which had given rise to the present deliberation, was perpetrated, that some convulsion was in contemplation,* and their measures of precaution had corresponded to what they conceived would be the magnitude of the danger. The Chancellor of the Exchequer eulogised the conduct of Mr. Sheridan; he had covered himself with immortal glory, and had secured to himself a name in history which would never perish.

Mr. Windham expressed a hope that the honourable gentleman, Mr. Sheridan, would not be backward in supporting those who were so profuse in their expression of their favourable opinions. Mr. Sheridan said he was influenced solely by the love of his country —a country which in his soul and conscience he believed contained the best, wisest, and happiest community in the "universe."

In the discussion of the National Defence Amendment Bill, on the 4th of August, 1803, Mr. Sheridan made a violent speech in defence of the ministry and the war party in the House, which was replied to by Mr. Windham, who said that—"The honourable gentleman seemed to be actuated with all the zeal of a new convert, or rather he conducted himself with all the precipitancy of a raw

recruit, for he had no sooner fallen into the ranks (Mr. Sheridan sat on the Treasury Bench) than he fired off his musket without waiting for the word of command; as the honourable gentleman, however, began, he must not be surprised to find his fire returned. After years of war, in which he and they had possessed opposite principles and held opposite language to those of the majority of the country, they now wheeled suddenly about and claimed great merit for doing their duty. After ten years of war, in which the honourable gentleman had by his orations almost set the four quarters of the world on fire, he now came and said, 'I am the only man that can save you—I will, with my little bucket, my thimbleful of water, extinguish this mighty conflagration.' Mr. Sheridan said—"The right hon. gentleman had accused him of the precipitancy of a raw recruit, but the right hon. gentleman was so eager to return the fire that he forgot to put a bullet into his piece, for he merely heard the report, but felt nothing."

Colonel Hutchinson, on the 11th of August, moved an address to His Majesty, praying to have information laid before the House concerning the late rebellion. He said—"In order to make the Union take deep root among them, there should be no distinction known between Irishmen and Englishmen."

It had been remarked in 1782 by Lord Auckland, now a noble peer, "That the British Parliament might as soon attempt to make the river Thames flow over Highgate Hill, as to make Ireland have a Parliament of their own. He abhorred the idea of Government having recourse to shedding of blood to prevent such unhappy rebellions in Ireland. There were too many grievances to redress. It was insulting to be told we had the power of redressing those grievances. The last act *of power* of the Government had been likewise held an impossibility."

Sir William Elliott said that, with respect to the late insurrection, "*the Government had received intimation from many quarters in Ireland, and from gentlemen of his own particular acquaintance, that a rebellious conspiracy was going forward, to which communication they paid no attention.*"

Lord Castlereagh defended the conduct of Government in the suppression of the rebellion of 1798, as well as that of the insurrection of 1803. With respect to the former—"NEVER WAS THERE A REBELLION OF SUCH EXTENT PUT DOWN WITH SO MUCH PROMPTITUDE, OR SO LITTLE DEPARTURE FROM CLEMENCY ! !"

Mr. Robert Williams said he had been seven years as aid-de-camp in that country, and never knew an instance of the guards having been doubled but on the evening of the 23rd of July—they had doubled all the guards and had a powerful garrison under arms. "The Irish Government was not taken by surprise."

Lord Temple denied "that the rebellion in Ireland could in any respect be considered as a religious rebellion, or as a rebellion of the cottage against the palace. If the attack lately made in Dublin by rebels there was made by surprise on the Government, ministers deserved to be impeached * for not being aware of or not having known it; and if they had known it, he would ask why the rebels were allowed, even for an hour, to be in arms?"

On the 2nd of December Mr. Secretary York brought in a bill for continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. He said that, notwithstanding what one of the leaders of the conspiracy said at his death, His Majesty had proof that the Irish rebels were connected with their traitorous countrymen in France, if not directly with the rulers of France themselves. These traitors in the confidence of the French Government came over to Ireland for the very purpose of stirring up insurrection. They calculated upon the renewal of hostilities between this country and France. Mr. C. H. Hutchinson made a long speech against the measure, and voted for it.

The 5th of December, on the second reading of the Irish Martial Law Bill, Mr. Secretary York, in reply to Mr. Elliott's objections to the introduction of the bill in the absence of information, showing the necessity of it, said—"The Irish Government were not taken by surprise and unprepared on the 23rd of July, as it had been suggested. There was a garrison of four regiments of foot, besides the 16th Dragoons in Dublin, a force sufficient to crush an insurrection ten times more formidable than that of the 23rd of July. The march of the rebels was only from their headquarters in Dirty Lane to Cutpurse Row. The affair did not last an hour. The peace establishment of Ireland was then 25,000 regulars.

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* This doctrine is the most absurd one imaginable. The Government was to be punished for the supposed secrecy of the plans of the conspirators. This was the doctrine, however, of the members of the Opposition; but not one word was said about impeaching the ministry for the wickedness of conniving at the discovered plans of these conspirators, and thus suffering innocent people to be inveigled into them.

Colonel Crawford said he disagreed with the right hon. Secretary that the affair was only a contemptible riot, that all proper precautions had been taken, and that the Government was aware of the intended insurrection; if so, how did it happen that on that day the Viceroy went as usual to his country house, where the Lord Chancellor dined with him? It was evident Lord Kilwarden had no knowledge of it, or he would not have exposed himself as he had done. He (Colonel Crawford) was informed that such was the miserable state of preparation that the regular troops had only three cartridges each, and the yeomen could get none at all, and that ten men out of every company in the garrison had been allowed that day to go into the country to look for work.

Mr. W. Poole said there were sixty rounds of ball cartridges on the 23rd of July for every man in the Castle, and in the depôt in the Phœnix Park three millions of ball cartridges ready to be given out on the first alarm. This, he stated, from his own official knowledge of the subject.

Mr. Windham said the contradictory account of the insurrection given by ministers was like the answer of a student of the College, when asked whether the sun revolved round the earth or the earth round the sun, said, sometimes one and sometimes the other. If the Lord-Lieutenant had any knowledge of the intended insurrection would he have left town that night? It was not communicated to the Lord Mayor nor to the Commander of the Forces. He would vote, however, for the measure.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that instructions had been given early on the day before the disturbance took place, and *to all the necessary officers.* If the Lord-Lieutenant had not gone to his country house *the city of Dublin might have been put into a state of alarm.*

On the 7th of March, 1804, Sir John Wrottesby moved for the appointment of inquiry into the conduct of His Majesty's Government on the 23rd of July last. Sir John, among various proofs of the remissness of Government, brought forward the circumstance of the Viceroy having been, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 23rd of July, guarded by one officer and twelve men; at seven o'clock by thirty men; and at eleven at night by having fifteen hundred horse and foot under arms. Lord Castlereagh said Emmet was only backed by about eighty rebels. The Government knew an insurrection would break out on the 23rd of July, *but not*

before it was dark (this was utterly at variance with what his lordship stated on a previous debate). With respect to the men being without ammunition, it was his duty to state that General Fox, the Commander-in-Chief, had ordered sixty rounds to be issued to each man some days before, and if they had not that store of cartridges with them, it certainly was not the fault of General Fox.

Mr. Secretary York stated he imputed no blame to General Fox. The principle on which his brother was directed to act was, *that of trusting as little as possible to the rumours and accusations circulated against each other by the parties which distracted Ireland.* In justice, however, to his brother, he stated that long before the 23rd of July, 1803, he had expressed his opinion to the Government of the expediency of repealing the Habeas Corpus Act.

Mr. Fox said an honourable relation of his (Admiral Berkely) gave notice of a motion concerning the recall from Ireland of General Fox, which, however, he afterwards declined bringing forward, having stated that it was not the wish of that officer to have any inquiry entered into concerning him, if a declaration were made on the part of His Majesty's Government that his conduct was approved of. Such a declaration has been made, and made in a manner which to him is satisfactory. If infamy or blame, therefore, rest in any quarter it does not rest with him: he stands clear of it, by the judgment which ministers have pronounced on his conduct. As no blame, therefore, attaches to the Commander-in-Chief, do His Majesty's ministers now defend themselves, or the Lord-Lieutenant? Suppose it should be said that no blame could attach either to the Lord-Lieutenant or the Commander-in-Chief; be it so for argument. But he (Mr Fox) might say that a coolness did take place between them, which made it impossible for both to continue together in Ireland; and it required that either the one or the other should retire from his situation. It was necessary to observe that for many days not only previous to, but after the 23rd of July, they were under the best understanding with each other. But as soon as the Lord-Lieutenant found that the conduct of the Irish Government, on the occasion of the insurrection, was loudly complained of and censured all over England, he was unfortunately advised to throw the blame of the transaction off himself and lay it on the Commander-in-Chief. It was then coolness began, and then the

resignation of his honourable relative took place. Though this retirement from his situation was called a resignation, he would say it was not a voluntary resignation. The language his relative used was this—"I desire you would recall me from my command, if the Lord-Lieutenant say I ought to be recalled." He was actually recalled; and he did not come away voluntarily. But what was the effect of such recall? Nothing less than giving the public to understand that the Commander-in-Chief had neglected his duty. Mr. Fox then complained of several most illiberal and unfounded reflections cast upon his brother in the *Dublin Journal* (Mr Gifford's paper), which was as much under the control of the Castle as the *Moniteur* was under the direction of the French Government. "When I see," continued Mr. Fox, "such things as these published in a Government paper, which dares not insert them without authority, what inference can I make than accept that they are designedly published in order to remove a great degree of odium from one party by throwing it on another?"

The Algerine bills, to which the preceding discussions have reference, were said to have been rendered necessary by the late troubles in Ireland. These troubles, however, had been suppressed in less than an hour, with the loss of five or six men on the part of the King's troops, and about five-and-twenty on that of the insurgents. The public tranquillity, in fact, could hardly have been said to have been disturbed out of the immediate precincts of the *emeute*, from two points, not calculated by their names even to add to the prestige of the attempt, from the corner of Dirty Lane to that of Cutpurse Row. But the fact is, the introduction into Ireland of similar measures was seldom in consequence of insurrections, but in consequence of plots and conspiracies got up by the adherents of Government to create or to foment them. We have the clearest proofs of the fact in the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland in 1801, which went through all its stages in one night, with little opposition, except on the part of Lords Moira and Holland. Lord Grenville, in voting for it, said he never gave a vote with more satisfaction to his conscience. These great British statesmen had two consciences, like Launcelot Gobbo: one made of indiarubber, exceedingly elastic, for stretching to any shape or size on a squeezable subject in relation to Ireland; the other, of good tough materials, like the timbers of British ships, tight and sound,

that was brought into action when any attempt was made hostile to liberty, that was dangerous to Englishmen.

The measures which are treated of in the discussions noticed in the preceding pages, the bitter fruits of insurrection, or plausible pretext which insurrection afforded, were followed by acts in Ireland consonant to them in the letter and the spirit of their enactments. The prisons were filled with suspected criminals. In the Provost of Major Sandys alone, in the month of August, 1803, there were upwards of five hundred people confined, enduring sufferings less deadly, but not much less dreadful, than those endured in the Black Hole of Calcutta. The 12th of October the Government issued a proclamation, setting forth that William Dowdall, of the city of Dublin, gent.; John Allen, of do., woollen draper; William H. Hamilton, of Enniskillen, gent.; Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffy, bricklayer; Owen Lyons, of Maynooth, shoemaker; Thomas Trenaghan, of Crew Hill, Kildare, farmer; Michael Stafford, of James Street, baker; Thomas Frayne, of Boven, Kildare, farmer; Thomas Wylde, of Cork Street, cotton manufacturer; John Mahon, of Cork Street, man servant, who, being charged with high treason, had absconded. A reward was offered of £300 for the arrest of each of the following persons—Messrs. Dowdall, Allen, Hamilton, Quigley, Lyons, and Stafford, and £200 for the discovery of Thomas Frayne, Thomas Wylde, and John Mahon.

A reward of £1000 was likewise offered for the discovery of the murderers of Lord Kilwarden or his nephew, Mr. Wolfe, and £50 for each of the first hundred rebels who had appeared in arms in Dublin on the 23rd of July who should be discovered and prosecuted to conviction.

This was, if not an extensive premium on perjury, certainly a very large temptation to it. It produced the effect, I will not say intended, but most assuredly that might be expected from it. A number of miscreants of the class of Mr. James O'Brien again skulked into public notice, crept into places of public resort, sneaked into Court, and swore away the lives of men who, if faith is to be put in the solemn assurances of individuals of the families of their victims at this distant date from the period in question, were guiltless of the charges brought against them. Two of the worst of these miscreants were persons of the name of Mahaffey and Ryan. A vast number, moreover, of gentlemen of respectability were

taken up, a few were liberated, but the majority were kept in close confinement for nearly three years.

On the 14th of April, 1801, Mr. Pelham moved in the House of Commons the order of the day for considering "The report of the secret committee for inquiring into the state of Ireland and the conduct of persons in England tending to treason and sedition," and then moved for leave to bring in a bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus. Amongst the few who opposed the bills on the second reading was Sir Francis Burdett. "He saw no difference between the late and the present administration; he had watched their blood-tracked steps in Ireland, he had witnessed their wicked edicts, all tending to destroy the remnant of the Constitution. He wished the House to pause and reflect on what coercion had done in Ireland." Mr. Sheridan strongly opposed the bill, Mr. Law and Mr. Spencer Percival (the Attorney and Solicitor-General) strenuously defended the bill. The former said, "as an honest man, he heartily voted for it."

Mr. Horne Tooke said "that when he heard the sentiments of the men from whom the future judges of the land were to be taken giving their votes, as honest men, for such measures, he trembled to think of the country's situation when they should sit upon the bench."

In November, 1803, Mr. J. Kiernan, of Enniskillen, was sent up to Dublin for examination by Mr. Wickham. A Mr. Denison, a State prisoner, who had been confined for some time in Kilmainham, was discharged in the beginning of December, 1803. Mr. Lawless, an eminent brewer of Dublin, was arrested in November and let out on bail. Mr. Charles Teeling, who had been arrested the 8th of November, 1803, was discharged about the 23rd of November, his brother, George Teeling, who had come to visit him, having been made a prisoner and detained.

Messrs. Philip Long, John Hickson, John Hevey, St. John Mason, Nicholas Gray, James Tandy, Henry Hughes, Wm. H. Hamilton, John Palmer, William M'Dermot, Daniel Dolan, Daniel Brophy, and Dennis Cassin were arrested and committed to Kilmainham; and in a house opposite that jail Messrs. Cloney, Carthy, Dickson, Holmes, etc., were imprisoned.

The conversion of national, scientific, and commercial establishments (no longer needed in Ireland) to military purposes, we have a curious account of in the *London Chronicle*, of August 25th and

27th, 1803. From Dublin, August 21st—"The ci-devant Parliament house, and the celebrated academy house in Grafton Street, are converted into barracks. The market-house in Thomas Street has been lately fitted up with a view to impede the progress of an enemy from the west end of the town, and to command the different avenues in that quarter; the 93rd regiment has been appointed its garrison. The arches of the house are filled up, and a balcony is constructed on the first floor, upon which the soldiers can draw up and fire with the best effect. The Royal Exchange has also been purchased by Government for the purpose of barracks, and it is intended to place some cannon on that part of it which fronts Parliament Street, Essex Bridge, and also that which is opposite to Castle Street.

"Barriers are to be erected at the entrances into Francis Street, Meath Street, James's Street, etc., the whole city to be surrounded by an oak paling of considerable height, and gates to be erected at all the principal entrances into town."

On the 21st of August, 1803, the Lord Mayor issued a proclamation, commanding all persons, except military men in their uniforms, the members of privy council, and judges, to keep within their dwellings from nine o'clock at night until six o'clock in the morning; and all persons to affix to their doors a list of the persons inhabiting the same, and any person found in a house not included in that list will be treated as an idle and disorderly person.

August 16, 1803, the Dublin papers state that Mr. Philip Long had been arrested and committed to Kilmainham; also, on the 10th of August, that a barrister, Mr. St. John Mason, who had arrived on the 9th, in his own carriage with four horses, had been arrested and sent to Dublin.

In the *London Chronicle* of September the 3rd and 6th, 1803, the following is taken from the Dublin papers, dated the 29th of August:—

"A Mr. Houlton, a naval officer, was arrested in Dundalk, and brought up to Dublin in a chaise and four; a suit of rebel's uniform was found on him. When arrested he was dressed in his naval uniform, but this was removed, and he was arrayed in the rebel uniform, and thus brought to the Castle."

The above notice of Houlton's arrest is deserving of particular attention; this man was employed by the Government in a most

atrocious conspiracy against the people. The particulars of it will be found in "Plowden's Post Union History," Vol. I., p. 223. A miscreant of the name of Houlton, of the broadcloth class, speculating on the wickedness and weakness of the Government, applied for an interview with Mr. Marsden, and, by the latter, was brought before the Privy Council, Lord Redesdale presiding at it. Houlton said he had private information that there were several of Russell's northern adherents embarked in fishermen's boats and some smuggling craft, with a design of surprising the Pigeon House. He offered his services to Government in any way that they might be made useful to the State, and accordingly it was determined by Government to send him down to the north, where he was to pass off as a rebel general. Mr. Houlton was equipped with a suit of rebel uniform and a superb cocked hat and feathers, provided by the Government; for the latter alone they paid seven guineas. Houlton made no stipulations for reward; for his expenses he consented to receive £100. Lord Redesdale, pleased with his modesty no less than his zeal in the service of Government, in the first instance spoke of five hundred guineas being at his disposal. "When the Government had fully equipped Mr. Houlton in his rebel uniform, he was sent on his mission"—says Plowden—"to Belfast; to tempt, to proselytise, to deceive, and to betray." Instructions were sent down to Sir Charles Ross, who then commanded in Belfast, to apprise him that the rebel general was a confidential servant of the Castle, and was not to be interrupted or interfered with, but was to be aided and assisted as he should desire and suggest; the express was forwarded by an orderly dragoon. Houlton, however, had set off in a post-chaise and four, and arrived in Belfast long before the dragoon, and immediately after his arrival commenced business at a tavern in the town, where he talked treason in so undisguised a manner as to excite astonishment. Information was given to the commanding officer, Sir Charles Ross; the man was arrested, and, by Sir Charles Ross's orders, he was dressed in his rebel uniform and paraded round the town, and was then committed to jail. At length Sir Charles Ross received the instructions of the Government. The plot was marred; it only remained to send the ill-starred informer back to his employers under a military escort, and, on his arrival, he was punished for his failure, to his utter astonishment, by being committed to Kilmainham. There he frankly acquainted the State

prisoners with the whole of his unlucky mission ; after some time he was liberated, and rewarded with an inconsiderable appointment on the coast of Africa. In the pamphlet, entitled "Pedro Zendono," this unfortunate wretch is spoken of as being in confinement in Kilmainham in 1804, as having been originally brought forward, chosen for his mission by Dr. Trevor, and, after its failure and his imprisonment, as having menaced Trevor with unpleasant disclosures, which caused his being treated for some time with extraordinary severity.

In Major Sirr's correspondence with the informers of 1798 and 1803 it will be found that he was in communication in both years with a midshipman in the navy who went by the name of Morgan.

CHAPTER XII.

There is probably but one person living who could give a correct account of the events which transpired on the night of the 23rd, after the flight of the leaders and the rout of their followers, so far as regarded the principal person among the former. That person was Anne Devlin, at the period referred to a young woman of about twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, the daughter of a man in comfortable circumstances for one in his station in life, a cow-keeper on a large scale in the neighbourhood of Butterfield Lane ; his establishment and the land he occupied were in sight of the house tenanted by Robert Emmet. Anne Devlin was a niece of the Wicklow outlaw or hero, Michael Dwyer ; her cousin, Arthur Devlin, was one of Emmet's right-hand men, and a brother of hers was likewise one of his agents. When Emmet took the house in Butterfield Lane, Anne Devlin was sent by her father to assist in taking care of it and act as servant to Mr. Emmet. It was not without much difficulty I found out her place of abode in the year 1842. She was then living in John's Lane in a stable yard, the first gateway in the lane on the right hand side leading from New Row, and to the rear of the premises formerly occupied by Mr. Henry O'Hara.

Her husband, a decent poor man of the name of Cambell, as well as herself, I found had knowledge of my family, and I needed no other introduction. Mrs. Cambell, whom I will continue to call by her best known name, Anne Devlin, is now far advanced in years, contributing, by hard labour, to the support of her family. Will

the prestige of the heroine fade away when it is told that she is a common washerwoman, living in a miserable hovel, utterly unnoticed by and unknown except among the poor of her own class?

"On the 23rd of July, at about eleven o'clock at night," says Anne Devlin, "Robert Emmet, Nicholas Stafford, Michael Quigley, Thomas Wylde, John Mahon, John Hevey, and the two Parrotts, from Nass, came to the house at Butterfield Lane." She saw them outside of the house in the yard; she was at that moment sending off a man on horseback with ammunition in a sack, and bottles filled with powder. Anne called out, "Who's there?" Robert Emmet answered, "It's me, Anne." She said, "Oh, bad welcome to you! Is the world lost by you, you cowards that you are, to lead the people to destruction and then to leave them?" Robert Emmet said, "Don't blame me; the fault is not mine." They then came in; Quigley was present, but they did not upbraid him. Emmet and the others told Anne afterwards that Quigley was the cause of the failure.

Michael Quigley was constantly in the store in Thomas Street. On the 23rd his conduct was thought extraordinary. He rushed into the depôt shortly before nine o'clock, and said he had been looking down Dirty Lane and saw the army coming; he ran in exclaiming, "All is lost; the army is coming." Robert Emmet said, "If that be the case we may as well die in the streets as cooped up here." It was then he rushed out, and the rout took place. Robert Emmet ran down Patrick Street and the Coombe, crying out, "Turn out, turn out!" but no one came out. He was attacked by some soldiers on the Coombe, but got off. They stopped at Butterfield Lane that night and next day, and at night, about ten o'clock, fled to the mountains, when they got information that the house was to be searched. Anne's father, who kept a dairy close by, got horses for three of them, and went with them.

Rose Hope, the wife of James Hope, had been there keeping the house also.* The reason of their stopping there that night was

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* Rose Hope resided also at Butterfield Lane, and assisted in keeping the house for Mr. Emmet. She was then nursing a baby. Her other children were in Dublin, and she had to go back and forwards between Butterfield Lane and the place where her children were taken care of. Anne Devlin was in the same capacity in the house in Butterfield Lane at different periods. Rose Hope was a Presbyterian, but had four of her children baptised by a Roman Catholic clergyman.

that Emmet expected Dwyer and the mountaineers down in the morning by break of day, but Dwyer had not got Emmet's previous letter, and had heard of Emmet's defeat only the next day, and, therefore, did not come. Mr. Emmet and his companions first went to Doyle's in the mountains, and thence to the Widow Bagenell's. Anne Devlin and Miss Wylde, the sister of Mrs. Mahon, two or three days after, went up to the mountains in a jingle with letters for them. They found Robert Emmet and his associates at the Widow Bagenell's sitting on the side of the hill. Some of them were in their uniform, for they had no other clothes.

Robert Emmet insisted on coming back with Anne and her companions. He parted with them before they came to Rathfarnham; but Anne Devlin knows not where he went that night, but in a day or two after he sent for her to take a letter to Miss Curran. He was then staying at Mrs. Palmer's, at Harold's Cross.

Major Sirr had positive information of Robert Emmet's place of concealment at Harold's Cross. He was directed to give a single rap at the door, and was informed that he would find Mr. Emmet in the parlour. She (Anne Devlin) overheard a conversation while in confinement in Kilmainham, in which it was stated that the Major's informer was a person who had been with Robert Emmet in the morning.* Biddy Palmer was very intimate with him, but she would never have been untrue to him. The day after the gentleman went away from Butterfield Lane a troop of yeomen came with a magistrate, and searched the house. Every place was ransacked from top to bottom. As for Anne Devlin, she was seized on when they first rushed in, as if they were going to tear down the house. She was kept below by three or four of the yeomen with their fixed bayonets pointed at her, and so close to her body that she could feel their points. When the others came down she was examined. She said she knew nothing in the world about the gentleman, except that she was the servant maid; where they came from and where they went to she knew nothing about, and so long as her wages were paid she cared to know nothing else about them.

The magistrate pressed her to tell the truth; he threatened her with death if she did not tell. She persisted in asserting her total

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*The allusion, I believe, is to a person of the name of Lacey.

ignorance of *Mr. Ellis's* acts and movements, and of those of all the other gentlemen. At length the magistrate gave the word to hang her, and she was dragged into the courtyard to be executed. There was a common car there; they tilted up the shafts and fixed a rope from the back-band that goes across the shafts; and while these preparations were making for her execution, the yeomen kept her standing against the wall of the house, prodding her with their bayonets in the arms and shoulders till she was all covered over with blood (a young woman then of about twenty-six years of age), and saying to her at every thrust of the bayonet—"Will you confess now; will you tell now where is Mr. Ellis?" Her constant answer was—"I have nothing to tell; I will tell nothing!"

The rope was at length put about her neck. She was dragged to the place where the car was converted into a gallows; she was placed under it, and the end of the rope was passed over the back-band. The question was put to her for the last time—"Will you confess where Mr. Ellis is?" Her answer was—"You may murder me, you villains, but not one word about him will you ever get from me." She had just time to say, "The Lord Jesus have mercy on my soul," when a tremendous shout was raised by the yeomen. The rope was pulled by all of them, except those who held down the back part of the car, and in an instant she was suspended by the neck. After she had been thus suspended for two or three minutes, her feet touched the ground, and a savage yell of laughter recalled her to her senses. The rope round her neck was loosened, and her life was spared—she was let off with half hanging. She was then sent to town and brought before Major Sirr.

No sooner was she brought before Major Sirr than he, in the most civil and coaxing manner, endeavoured to prevail on her to give information respecting Robert Emmet's place of concealment. The question continually put to her was—"Well, Anne, all we want to know is, where did he go to from Butterfield Lane?" He said he would undertake to obtain for her the sum (he did not call it reward) of £500, which, he added, "was a fine fortune for a young woman," only to tell against persons who were not her relations; that all the others of them had confessed the truth (which was not true), and that they were sent home liberated (which was also a lie).

The author said to her with becoming gravity—"You took the money, of course." The look the woman gave was one that would

have made an admirable subject for a painter—a regard in which wonder, indignation, and misgiving of the seriousness of the person who addressed her were blended:—"Me take the money!—the price of Mr. Robert's blood! No; I spurned the rascal's offer."

The Major continued coaxing, and trying to persuade her to confess. He said everything had been told to him by one of her associates. Nay, what's more, he repeated word for word what she had said to Mr. Robert the night of the 23rd, when he came back to Butterfield Lane—"Bad welcome to you!" etc. One of the persons present with him then must have undoubtedly been an informer. After she had been some time in Kilmainham Mr. Emmet was arrested and sent to that prison. Dr. Trevor had frequently talked to her about him, but she never "let on" that she had any acquaintance with him. At this time she was kept in solitary confinement for refusing to give information. One day the doctor came and spoke to her in a very good-natured way, and said she must have some indulgence, she must be permitted to take exercise in the yard. The turnkey was ordered to take her to the yard, and he accordingly did so; but when the yard door was open, who should she see walking very fast up and down the yard but Mr. Robert. "She thought she would have dropped." She saw the faces of people watching her at a grated window that looked into the yard, and her only dread was that Mr. Robert, on recognising her, would speak to her; but she kept her face away and walked up and down on the other side, and when they had crossed one another several times, at last they met at the end. She took care when his eyes met hers to have a frown on her face and her finger raised to her lips. He passed on as if he had never seen her, but he knew her well, and the half smile that came over his face and passed off in a moment could hardly have been observed except by one who knew every turn of his countenance. The doctor's plot failed; she was taken back to her cell, and there was no more taking of air or exercise then for her.

She was in Kilmainham a close prisoner when Robert Emmet was executed. She was kept locked up in a solitary cell, and indeed always, with a few exceptions, was kept so during her confinement the first year. The day after his execution she was taken from jail to the Castle to be examined, through Thomas Street. The jailer had given orders to stop the coach at the scaffold where Robert Emmet was executed. It was stopped there, and she was

forced to look at his blood, which was still plain enough to be seen sprinkled over the deal boards.

At the latter end of her confinement some gentlemen belonging to the Castle had come to the jail and seen her in her cell. She told them her sad story, and it was told by them to the Lord-Lieutenant. From that time her treatment was altogether different; she was not only allowed the range of the women's ward, but was permitted to go outside the prison, and two or three times, accompanied by her sister and Mrs. Dwyer and one of the turnkeys, was taken to the Spa at Lucan for the benefit of her health, for she was then crippled in her limbs, more dead than alive, hardly able to move hand or foot.

At length Mr. Pitt died: it was a joyful day for Ireland. The prisons were thrown open, where many an honest person had lain since the month of July, 1803.

The whole family of the Devlins, with the exception of a boy, James Devlin, and a girl of tender years, had been thrown into prison at the same time that Anne Devlin was arrested. The old man, Bryan Devlin, his wife, son, and daughter were at one time all inmates of Kilmainham Jail. By Dr. Trevor's orders Anne Devlin was kept constantly in solitary confinement; and the plea for the continuance of this rigorous treatment was the abusive language which the prisoner never failed to address to Dr. Trevor when he made his appearance at the door of her cell. She admits that this was the fact; that she knew that he was everything that was vile and bad, and "it eased her mind to tell him what she thought." On some occasions when he left the prisoner, the wife of the jailer, an Englishwoman, used to come to her cell, let her out privately, and bring her to her own apartments for an hour or two at a time and give her wine and nourishing things. This kept her alive and helped her to recover her senses. Without the kindness of the jailer's wife she never could have recovered. On one occasion Dr. Trevor came unexpectedly and discovered that she had been let out of her cell. His rage was dreadful. He cursed her, and she returned his maledictions, curse for curse.

In the latter part of 1804, on some pretence of enforcing sanatory regulations, Anne Devlin was removed from the new prison at Kilmainham, where her father was then confined, and sent to the old jail, and after some time was brought back to Kilmainham. Some communications between the father and daughter had been

discovered, and in this way an end was put to them. The poor old man had still one comfort left to him. A young lad, his favourite child, had been permitted for some time to remain in his cell with him. An order came from Dr. Trevor in the month of March, 1805, to separate father and child. The latter, then sick of fever, was torn from him one night and forced to walk more than a mile to the other prison, and the pretence for this removal was that the boy had visited his sister in the old prison, and this was an infringement of the sanatory regulations of the prison. The boy was sent to the old jail, and, as Dr. Trevor asserted, was humanely permitted to remain with his sister Anne. The poor boy had nowhere to go—his father and mother, and nearly all his relatives were in jail. He had not been long removed when he died in the old jail, under Dr. Trevor's care. Mr. Edward Kennedy, one of the State prisoners, characterised the occurrence in question as "a very foul transaction." Dr. Trevor, in his reply to the charge, brought forward his man, George Dunn, the jailer, to swear an affidavit for him, as he was wont to do on any occasion when the doctor's credit was damaged or endangered.* He likewise produced a turnkey and a jail apothecary to swear to his humanity. The latter swore that, after the death of the boy, when Dr. Trevor came into the cell, Anne Devlin was violent in her abuse; she cursed the doctor when he spoke to her of examining the dead body of her brother.

The State prisoners of Kilmainham Jail addressed a memorial to the Viceroy, Lord Hardwick, the 12th of August, 1804, complaining of the hardships they suffered, and of the barbarous and tyrannical conduct of the Inspector of Prisons, and Superintendent in particular, of Kilmainham, Dr. Trevor. This memorial was signed by fourteen of them; amongst others, by Messrs. Patten, Hickson, Tandy, Long, and Mason. The following passage refers to the treatment of Anne Devlin:—"His treatment of all, but especially of one unfortunate State prisoner, a female, is shocking to humanity and exceeds credibility. He drives, through exasperation, the mind to madness, of which instances have already occurred." †

Mr. James Tandy states, during his imprisonment, "two of the

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* *Vide* Dr. Trevor's Statement, p. 22.

† Memoir of St. J. Mason's Imprisonment, p. 11. Dublin: 1807.

State prisoners were discharged in a state of the most violent delirium," and a third, from the cruelty of incarceration, was for a length of time in a strait waistcoat. *

The extraordinary sufferings endured, and the courage and fidelity displayed by this young woman have few parallels, even in the history of those times which tried people's souls and called forth the best, occasionally, as well as the basest, of human feelings. She was tortured, frightfully maltreated, her person goaded and pricked with bayonets, hung up by the neck, and was only spared to be exposed to temptations, to be subjected to new and worse horrors than any she had undergone, to suffer solitary confinement, to be daily tormented with threats of further privations, till her health broke down and her mind was shattered, and after years of sufferings in the same prison, when others of her family were confined without any communication with them, she was turned adrift on the world without a house to return to, or friends or relations to succour or to shelter her. And yet this noble creature preserved through all her sufferings, and through forty subsequent years, the same devoted feelings of attachment to that being and his memory which she had exhibited under the torture, in her solitary cell in Kilmainham Jail, in her communications with the terrorists and the petty tyrants of the Castle and the jail.

The heroism of this woman is a matter for Irishmen of any rank, ay, of the highest rank in the land, to be proud of. The true nobility of nature displayed by this poor creature of plebeian origin, under all her sufferings; the courage exhibited in the face of death—in the midst of torture—of this low-born woman; the fidelity and attachment of this menial servant to a beloved master—proof against all fears, superior to all threats and temptations—will not be forgotten. The day will come when the name of Anne Devlin—the poor neglected creature who now drags out a miserable existence, struggling with infirmity and poverty—will be spoken of with feelings of kindness, not unmixed with admiration.

In the summer of 1843, accompanied by Anne Devlin, I proceeded to Butterfield Lane to ascertain the fact of the existence, or non-existence, of the house in which Robert Emmet had resided for some months in 1803. For a length of time our search was fruitless.

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* Appeal to the Public, by James Tandy, p. 72. Dublin: 1807.

The recollection of a locality at the expiration of forty years is a very dim sort of reminiscence. There was no house in the lane, the exterior of which reminded my conductress of her old scene of suffering. At length her eye caught an old range of buildings at some distance like the offices of a farmhouse. This she at once recognised as part of the premises of her father, and she soon was able to point out the well-known fields around it which had once been in her father's possession. The house alongside of which we were standing, on the right-hand side of the lane going from Rathfarnham Road, she said must be the house of Mr. Emmet, though the entrance was entirely altered; however, the position of an adjoining house left little doubt on her mind. We knocked at the door, and I found the house was inhabited by a lady of my acquaintance, the daughter of a Protestant clergyman, who had been, strange to say, the college friend and most intimate acquaintance of Robert Emmet.

The lady of the house, in whom I discovered an acquaintance, left us in no doubt on the subject of the locality—we were in the house that had been tenanted by Robert Emmet. The scene that ensued is one more easily conceived than described. We were conducted over the house; my aged companion at first in silence, and then, as if slowly awaking from a dream, rubbing her dim eyes, and here and there standing for some moments gazing at some recognised spot. On the ground floor she pointed out a small room on the left hand of the entrance—"That's the room where Mr. Dowdall and Mr. Hamilton used to sleep." The entrance has been changed from about the centre to the right-hand end; the window of a small room there has been converted into the doorway and the room itself into the hall. "This," said Anne Devlin; "was my room; I know it well; my mattress used to be in that corner." There was one place, every corner and cranny of which she seemed to have a familiar acquaintance with, and that was the kitchen. On the upper floor, the principal bedroom at the present time attracted her particular attention; she stood for some time gazing into the room from the doorway. I asked her whose room it had been? It was a good while before I got an answer in words, but her trembling hands, and the few tears, which came from a deep source and spoke of sorrow of an old date, left no necessity to repeat that question—it was the room of Robert Emmet: another on the same floor was that of Russell.

They slept on mattresses on the floor—there was scarcely any furniture in the house; they often went out after dark, seldom or never in the day-time. They were always in good spirits, and Mr. Hamilton used often to sing (he was a very good singer); Mr. Robert sometimes hummed a tune, but he was no great singer, but he was the best and kindest-hearted of all the persons she had ever known: he was too good for many of those who were about him. Of Russell she spoke in terms hardly less favourable than those in which she expressed her opinions of Emmet. She mentioned the names of some gentlemen who occasionally visited them, some of whom are still living. At the rear of the house, in the court-yard, she pointed out the spot where she had undergone the punishment of half-hanging, and, while she did so, there was no appearance of emotions, such at least as one might expect recalled terror might produce. But there were very evident manifestations of feelings of another kind—of as lively a remembrance of the wrongs and outrages that had been inflicted on her, as if they had been endured but the day before, and of as keen a sense of those indignities and cruelties as if her cowardly assailants had been before her, and those withered hands of hers had power to grapple with them.

The exterior of the house she could not recognise; some of the windows had been altered, an addition had been built to it at one end, the wall round the courtyard is new, and the outer gate, near the garden wall, was not where it formerly stood. A considerable quantity of ammunition and some pikes, on the night of the 23rd, or the night following, were buried in the adjoining fields, but the precise spot where, she had no recollection.

It only now remains for me to remind my Irish readers that Anne Devlin is living in poverty, and that those (whatever may be their politics) who think that fortitude in the midst of terrors, and unshaken fidelity to a master in the time of adversity, are manifestations of noble qualities and worthy of commendation, may also remember that they are entitled to some recompense. No reward can compensate their possessor for her sufferings, but some assistance may contribute to her comfort for the short time she has to live. The only assistance she ever got from any person, from the day of Robert Emmet's death, was subsequently to her liberation, when a sum of money, somewhere about ten pounds, was subscribed for her, she knows not by whom, but it came into her

hands through Mr. Edward Kennedy, a timber merchant of New Street, who had been confined in Kilmainham.

Trevor was one of those men who, in bad times, rise from obscurity, and sustain themselves in their new position, on the surface of society, by means which, at other periods, would drag down the reputation of any persons, living under a well-ordered Government, to the lowest depths of obloquy and infamy. This man had qualities infinitely baser than Sirr's; he was cruel, vindictive, sordid, and perfidious. His misdeeds had been frequently complained of to the Government; the memorials against him were seldom noticed. His services had been acceptable to the State, and they had been amply recompensed. He held a variety of offices—he was supervisor of State prisons, physician of ditto, an agent of transports—he was likewise a justice of peace, and he exercised the functions of a suttler, a spy, an informer, and of inquisitor-general in Kilmainham Jail. He was continually hatching plots to entrap prisoners in their unguarded moments into admissions of guilt, or the implication of others in it. He contrived a plot to involve the friends of the unfortunate Robert Emmet in the alleged guilt of endeavouring to effect his escape, and when his dupes were made acquainted with the design, he stationed a man that went by the name of lame Kearney, a robber, in a waste place, over the range of the apartments of the State prisoners, where he (Kearney) was regularly posted during a fortnight, during which he bored holes in the ceiling to look down on the prisoners, and to catch their observations. "The ear of Dionysius was not a fable."* On another occasion he employed two men of the second class of State prisoners, Doyle and White, to suggest an attempt at prison-breaking, with a view of bringing in the military, and leaving them "to do their duty" towards those who should be caught in the attempt. The plot was only counteracted by the disclosure of it by Doyle to the prisoners, and the unfortunate man was punished for so doing by Dr. Trevor, by being immediately removed in irons and sent on board the transport ship.† On another occasion, at six o'clock in the morning, the dungeons and apartments of all the State prisoners were burst open, the jailer went round with a guard of soldiers, with fixed

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* Pedro Zenono, Inquisitor of Kilmainham. Dublin, 1807, p. 24.

† Ibid., p. 26.

bayonets, and one of the latter was posted in each cell or room, holding their muskets over each prisoner as he lay in bed, without uttering a syllable, and when this ceremony had been gone through in every cell or apartment, the jailer reappeared, and searched each prisoner's effects, and carried away all his papers. These papers were delivered to Dr. Trevor, inspected on the pretence of searching for treasonable papers, but in reality for the purpose of discovering the original, in manuscript, of a ludicrous song written in Kilmainham, of which he was the subject, which had become a street ballad, for the warbling of which some old syrens, not "syrens of old," were sent to jail for three months.*

On another occasion some of the State prisoners had transgressed one of the regulations of the jail of trivial importance. Mr. Geo. Dunn behaved brutally on this occasion to the prisoners, and, amongst others, to Mr. Hickson. The jailer was knocked down, in sight of his patron, by Mr. Hickson, a gentleman as little likely to be guilty of any act of unprovoked violence as any man I know. Trevor immediately sent off for the High Sheriff of the county, Mr. Luke White, who soon arrived, and entered the prison with a file of armed soldiers. The conduct of Mr. Luke White to his fellow-citizens in their unfortunate position was rude, arrogant, unfeeling, and unmanly. An investigation had been ordered by the orders of the Viceroy. The Chief-Justice Downes, Judge Day, and Mr. Justice Osborne, were appointed to inquire into the complaints of the prisoners. The report of the judges, though it stated that the grievances complained of were exaggerated, recommended various alterations and ameliorations of the condition of the prisoners; in fact it was evident, even on the face of the report, that these gentlemen—for the majority of them were such—were treated with the most unnecessary severity. The details of their sufferings are heart-sickening; the common sink overflowed the cells of some of them; they were kept, except during two hours in the day, locked up in their cells; and the place which was used for certain purposes was the same to which they were led, one after the other, in rotation to their meals. All their hardships they attributed to the capricious cruelty and vindictive disposition of Dr. Trevor. The probability is the Government knew nothing, and cared nothing, about their treatment.

* Pedro Zenono, Inquisitor of Kilmainham. Dublin, 1807, p. 27.

The Government put these gentlemen in jail, the most of them on suspicion, and several of them most assuredly totally innocent of participation in Emmet's crime.

Dr. Trevor was the servant of that Government, and for his guilt that Government was answerable.

Mr. Marsden, the Under-Secretary in 1803, in a communication to Dr. Trevor, dated July 19, 1808, made the Government responsible for his acts by stating that "he should be always ready to bear testimony to his ability, integrity, and usefulness, in his care and management of the jail and its prisoners, persuaded that, had he discharged his duties with less propriety, he would have had fewer enemies." Lord Castlereagh likewise made the Government responsible for Dr. Trevor's conduct during the former rebellion, by the following communication, dated from Downing Street, August 18, 1808:—

"Sir,—I have to acknowledge your letter of the 4th inst., and have no hesitation in saying, from the opportunities I had of being acquainted with your conduct in the management of Kilmainham Prison, in the year 1798, that it met with the entire approbation of the Irish Government of that period.*

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"CASTLEREAGH.

"Dr. Edward Trevor."

Trevor was an irritable, vindictive man; and it cannot be denied that some of his prisoners were irritable and perhaps unreasonable in their conduct under that irritation. Bernard Coile and John Hevey had suffered enough from persecution at various times to render men not only irritable but insane. The former I knew well; he was wholly unconnected with Emmet's affair. Duggan informed me that he and Condon applied to Coile to know if he would take a part in the "business," and Barney Coile said—"I will act constitutionally." St. John Mason, moreover, the cousin of Robert Emmet, was in no wise implicated in the conspiracy. This fact is admitted by every person connected with it with whom I am acquainted, and yet this gentleman was one of the State prisoners

* Dr. Trevor's Statement, p. 26.

who suffered the greatest hardships; at one time he was three months locked up in his cell and shut out from all communications with his fellow-prisoners. And Dr. Trevor, forsooth, complains, in his pamphlet, that this gentleman's temper was irritable! When he was in solitary confinement, conscious of his innocence, but sensible at the same time of the wrongs done to him, of the ruin of his prospects at the outset of his career, of the injuries heaped on his character, of the insults daily offered to his person when he was encaged like a wild beast, treated like a felon, or worse than a felon; for the hatchman, who was charged with locking and unlocking the doors of his cell when his food was flung to him, was a convicted murderer; it was expected, forsooth, by Dr. Trevor and Mr. Marsden, when their victim was enraged and frenzied with such treatment, "when his brain was on fire, and every fiend of hell was let loose on his heart, he should then, it seems, have placed himself before his mirror, he should have taught the stream of agony to flow decorously down his forehead, he should have composed his features to harmony, he should have writhed with grace, and groaned with melody."

CHAPTER XIII.

When Emmet fled to the mountains he found the Wicklow insurgents bent on prosecuting their plans and making an immediate attack on some of the principal towns in that county. Emmet, to his credit, being then convinced of the hopelessness of the struggle, had determined to withhold his sanction from any further effort, convinced as he then was that it could only lead to the effusion of blood but to no successful issue. His friends pressed him to take immediate measures for effecting his escape, but, unfortunately, he resisted their solicitations; he had resolved on seeing one person before he could make up his mind to leave the country, and that person was dearer to him than life—Sarah Curran, the youngest daughter of the celebrated advocate, John Philpot Curran. With the hope of having an interview with her, if possible, before his intended departure, of corresponding with her, and of seeing her pass by Harold's Cross, which was the road from her father's country house near Rathfarnham, to Dublin, he returned to his old lodgings

at Mrs. Palmer's. During the time he remained there he drew up a paper which he intended to have transmitted to Government in the hope of inducing it to put a stop to the prosecutions and executions which were then going on. The rough draught of this paper was found in the room he occupied when he was arrested.

The contents were as follows :—"It may appear strange that a person avowing himself to be an enemy of the present Government, and engaged in a conspiracy for its overthrow, should presume to suggest an opinion to that Government on any part of its conduct, or could hope that advice, coming from such authority, might be received with attention. The writer of this, however, does not mean to offer an opinion on any point on which he must, of necessity, feel differently from any of those whom he addresses, and on which, therefore, his conduct might be doubted. His intention is to confine himself entirely to those points on which, however widely he may differ from them in others, he has no hesitation in declaring, that as a man he feels the same interest with the merciful part, and as an Irishman, with at least the English part of the present administration ; and, at the same time, to communicate to them, in the most precise terms, that line of conduct which he may hereafter be compelled to adopt, and which, however painful it must under any circumstances be, would become doubly so if he was not conscious of having tried to avoid it by the most distinct notification. On the two first of these points it is not the intention of the undersigned, for the reason he has already mentioned, to do more than state what Government itself must acknowledge—that of the present conspiracy it knows, comparatively speaking, nothing. That instead of creating terror in its enemies or confidence in its friends, it will only serve by the scantiness of its information to furnish additional grounds of invective to those who are but too ready to censure it for a want of intelligence which no sagacity could have enabled them to obtain. That if it is not able to terrify by a display of its discoveries, it cannot hope to crush by the weight of its punishments. Is it only now we are to learn that entering into conspiracy exposes us to be hanged? Are the scattered instances which will now be brought forward necessary to exemplify the statute? If the numerous and striking examples which have already preceded were insufficent—if Government can, neither by novelty of punishment nor the multitude of its victims, impress us with terror, can it hope to

injure the body of a conspiracy so impenetrably woven as the present, by cutting off a few threads from the end of it?

"That with respect to the second point, no system, however it may change the nature, can affect the period of the contest that is to take place, as to which the exertions of the United Irishmen will be guided only by their own opinion of the eligibility of the moment for effecting the emancipation of their country.

"That administration——"

On the 25th of August he was arrested at Mrs. Palmer's at Harold's Cross, at about seven o'clock in the evening, by Major Sirr, who, according to the newspaper accounts, "did not know his person till he was brought to the Castle, *where he was identified by a gentleman of the College.*"* The writers of those accounts knew little of the "*finesse*" of an Irish Fouché, and the police office refinement of his conduct towards his informers on such occasions. He played the same game precisely in Russell's case at a later period.

The Major's account of the arrest of Emmet, as subsequently given in evidence on his trial, was to the following effect. On the evening of the 25th of August he went to the house of one Palmer, at Harold's Cross; had heard there was a stranger in the back parlour; rode there accompanied by a man on foot, who knocked at the door; on its being opened by a little girl, the daughter of Mrs. Palmer, the Major alighted and ran immediately into the back parlour; he desired the woman and the little girl to withdraw, and then asked the prisoner his name. He said his name was Cunningham. The man who accompanied the Major was then left in charge of the prisoner by the Major, while he went into the next room to make inquiries of Mrs. Palmer, who said the prisoner's name was Hewitt. The Major went back and asked him how long he had been there: he said he came that morning. He had attempted to escape before the Major returned, for he was bloody, and the man said he had knocked him down with a pistol. The Major then went to Mrs. Palmer, who said the prisoner had

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* Dr. Elrington, *Provost of Trinity College*, had been previously applied to by the Major, through *a lady*, for a description of Emmet's person, and that description was furnished by him! A Provost scanning the features of the students of the College over which he presided, and furnishing the agents of police with the results of his observation, is a new proceeding.

lodged there for a month. He judged he was a person of importance. When the Major first went in to the back parlour there was a paper on a chair which he seized (the paper intended to have been transmitted to the Government). The Major then went to the canal bridge for a guard, having desired them to be in readiness as he passed by. He planted a sentry over the prisoner, and desired the non-commissioned officer to surround the house with sentries while he searched it. I then examined Mrs. Palmer and took down her account of the prisoner, during which time I heard a noise as if an escapé was attempted. I instantly ran to the back of the house as the most likely part for him to get out at; I saw him going off and ordered a sentinel to fire, and then pursued myself regardless of the order. The sentry snapped, but the musket did not go off. I overtook the prisoner, and he said, "I surrender." I searched him and found some papers upon him.

On the Major's expressing concern at the necessity of the prisoner's being treated so roughly, he (the prisoner) observed "that all was fair in war." The prisoner when brought to the Castle acknowledged that his name was Emmet.*

In the remarkable series of papers published in the *Dublin and London Magazine* of 1825, entitled "Robert Emmet and His Contemporaries," to which I have already referred, there is an account of one of the latter, who is called by his Christian name Malachy, who appears to have been one of the foremost persons in preparing the minds of the Wicklow men for another struggle previous to Robert Emmet's operations. The father of this Malachy and of another son Bryan, the author states, lived in the county Wicklow, and, I infer from his account, somewhere in the vicinity of Enniskerry. His position was that of a country gentleman, and his sons appear to have been employed in superintending his affairs. The family were Catholics, and possessed much influence over the poor of their persuasion in the neighbourhood. Their place of residence was dignified with the name of Castle; but is described as a "Castle rack-rent" in its condition and its appearance. The face of Malachy, the author says, was one which, once beheld, could never be forgotten. He is represented as a bold, plausible, and talented man, of a remarkably fine and symmetrical person, and a most forbidding aspect; his face was seamed, or rather

* Ridgeway's Report of the Trial of Robert Emmet, p. 75.

harrowed into prominent ridges with the smallpox; and his features were large, coarse, and strongly marked. He always dressed in the height of fashion, and was particularly neat in his attire. The other brother, Bryan, was a sot, but in every other respect but that of temperance was a better man than Malachy.

Previous to the outbreak, an act of treachery, ascribed by the author to Malachy, led to the arrest of some of his companions in Wicklow. On the night of the 23rd he is represented as one of the few leaders who came dressed in the rebel uniform, and accompanied Robert Emmet from the depôt to the Market House in Thomas Street. Malachy is stated to have been very desirous to have fired the other rockets which were to be the signals for those who were waiting to join Emmet's party in the barley fields (now Mountjoy Square), the Coal Quay, and other places. Emmet is said to have prevented him doing so, saying, "Let no lives be unnecessarily lost." Bryan is represented, on the night of the 23rd, as having fallen in Thomas Street, and Malachy in disguise having been taken prisoner. But he had not been long in prison when he was liberated, and met the writer of the account in question. He stated that he had some very important information to communicate to Emmet, and got his address from the former. But this person had no sooner given it than it flashed across his mind there was treachery at work, that Malachy's release from prison was for no good purpose. He accordingly lost little time in proceeding to Harold's Cross after he parted with Malachy, but on his arrival he saw crowds round the house and military in front of it, and soon after Emmet was led forth, "betraying no signs of fear or perturbation, but evincing the same calm and dignified aspect which ever distinguished this extraordinary young man."

Leonard, the old gardener of Dr. Emmet, told me the informer against Mr. Emmet was generally supposed by the friends of the latter to have been one of the State prisoners of the name of Malachy, who was let out of Newgate, where he was confined, for the purpose of finding out Emmet's retreat, and that Malachy got information from a French emigrant, who was acquainted with Robert Emmet, of his being at Harold's Cross. There is an account in the Dublin papers of the arrest of a French emigrant on the night after the outbreak in Dame Street by Major Sirr.

The *London Chronicle* of the 8th and 10th October, 1803, cites the following paragraph from the Dublin papers of the 4th of October:—

"Malachy Delany, Esq., of the county of Kildare, who was tried and acquitted at the last assizes of the county, and arrested on Friday last in consequence of information given to Major Sirr, and committed to Kilmainham Jail."

The reader is furnished with all the information which I am able to lay before him respecting the person referred to, as I presume, by Leonard, and in the publications above cited.

There was a gentleman of the name of Carty, or Carthy, arrested soon after the outbreak in July, of whom Mr. H——, one of the State prisoners, made mention to me in an account of some of the persons in confinement whom he had previously met at Mr. Long's, in Crow Street. This gentleman informed me that, some time previously to the 23rd of July, he had supped at Philip Long's with Emmet, Cloney, Carthy, Allen, Gray, and Hughes. Carthy had been engaged in the former rebellion; he was a sort of a gentleman. Trevor, in Kilmainham, when in jail, one day was, in conversation with Mr. H——, very desirous of getting an admission from him of his knowledge of the parties engaged in Emmet's business. Mr. H—— was protesting his ignorance of the plans of the former when Trevor, in a whisper, said—"With whom did you sup at Long's on such a night?"—naming the particular occasion above referred to. Mr. H—— was astonished, and well might be so. Carthy was then kept in confinement in a house where informers used to be domiciled in 1798; but in 1803 many persons of a very different kind had been confined there. This place was called the "Stag House;" it was opposite to Kilmainham Jail. Carty, however, was not suspected, but another individual was who was then confined in the jail. A convict of the name of Darby used to wait on the State prisoners; this man told some of them that a certain person in the jail on a particular day had been writing a statement for Dr. Trevor containing information respecting the insurrection. The person was invited into the rooms, and Nicholas Gray, after the punch had circulated freely, took the paper from his pocket!

Mr. Leonard M'Nally, the barrister, is said by some others—on what grounds I know not—to be the person from whom the information of Emmet's place of concealment was obtained. In times like those which are referred to, when treason in all its motley forms is in active operation, it necessarily happens that men, bewildered by the proofs of their perfidy which are constantly brought before them, without knowing from what quarter the treachery

proceeds, in proportion as they have been credulous, become distrustful, and fly from one extreme to another. Hence their suspicions are often groundless, and the parties who have violated confidence often remain not only undiscovered, but unsuspected, while those who have continued faithful and only solicitous about the consciousness of their fidelity are looked upon with doubt, and not unfrequently with something more.

It may tend to turn those ill-founded suspicions to a quarter where perfidy, duly recognised and recompensed, is officially recorded, to show who were the parties who were receivers of secret-service money in 1802-3. The following are some of the items in the secret-service money list:—

February 6, 1802, Major Sirr, for John Beckett, three others, and Dan Car—in full of their claims on Government, - - - - - - - - - -	£328	8	9
February 20, 1802, Major Sirr, for Mrs. O'Brien, John Neile, Francis Devlin, and two others—in full of their claims, - - - - - - - - -	300	0	0
May 2, 1803, Mr. Marsden, for Quigley, - - -	40	0	0
June 13, 1803, Major Sirr, for Heyden, - - -	22	15	0
August 25, 1803, Mr. Pollock, for L. M., - - -	110	0	0
September 14, 1803, Mr. Marsden, for L. M., - -	100	0	0
October 13, 1803, Dr. Trevor, for Ryan and Mahaffey,	100	0	0
October 15, Major Sirr, for informer for Howley and Condon, - - - - - - - - - - -	56	17	6
November 1, Finlay & Co., account of Richard Jones,	1000	0	0

The last-mentioned item, there can be little doubt, was the reward for the apprehension of Robert Emmet, paid into Finlay's Bank to the account of the person named, Richard Jones, to be handed over by him to the informer. The circumstance of lodging the money in this case in the hands of a banker leads to the conclusion that the informer was not a person in a humble rank of life. There are persons who would be able to state who the gentleman was of the name of Richard Jones who had an account open in Finlay's Bank in 1803. Who the informer was remains unknown. The only object in desiring that the name of the informer should be known is that the names of persons suspected unjustly should be rescued from that unfounded suspicion.

CHAPTER XIV.

Previously to the trial of Robert Emmet, an attempt was made to effect his escape from prison. Arrangements had been made, in the event of the success of this attempt, to have him conveyed on board a vessel called the *Erin*, from which he was to have been landed at some Continental port.

The principal agent through whom the negotiations were carried on in Kilmainham was Mr. St. John Mason, the cousin of Robert Emmet. From this gentleman I received the following information of that attempt and its failure. The documents which are subjoined to his account disclose the whole proceedings of the persons who were parties to the proposed attempt. One of these documents, bearing the signature of "Verax," there can be no impropriety now in stating was written by Mr. St. John Mason. It is needless to offer any comment on the barbarity of the conduct of those persons who suffered the hopes of the unfortunate prisoner to be raised, and when they had been wound up to the highest pitch of expectation, dashed them to the ground, and claimed the merit of a faithful adherence to their duty. Where could this wickedness have been perpetrated and rewarded, except in Ireland?

"Mr. St. John Mason informs me that he received a note from Robert Emmet stating that he wished him to offer George Dunn a sum of money, from £500 to £1000, on the condition of his favouring and effecting his (Robert Emmet's) escape.

"Mason made the communication to G. Dunn, to which the latter agreed. The idea originated with Trevor and George Dunn, and by some means—by the means of the turnkey M'Sally, I am informed by another of the State prisoners—were communicated to Emmet. Mason wrote to Robert Emmet to recommend him to have the money not given at once to Dunn, but to have it secured to him, and not to think of Dunn's accompanying him. The project fell to the ground; all the letters of Mason were sent to the Secretary of State."

[Extract from *The Times*, 9th December, 1841.]

Robert Emmet and the Jailer of Kilmainham.

"*To the Editor of 'The Times.'*

"Paris, *December 2nd.*

"Sir,—The London newspapers which arrived here on Monday contained the following article:—

"'Extract of a letter from Dublin, November 27.—Mr. G. Dunn, the Governor of Kilmainham Prison, Dublin, for the last forty years, expired on Thursday, leaving a numerous family behind him. When Emmet was under his charge for high treason an immense sum of money, by way of bribe, with an offer of a free passage to America, was made him, if he allowed his prisoner to go free, but the honesty of Mr. Dunn spurned the bribe.'

"Mr. George Dunn, the person above-mentioned, had *not* been the Governor of Kilmainham Prison, Dublin, for the last forty years. The rest about Robert Emmet is pure invention. The facts which suggested this posthumous praise of George Dunn are these :—

"Robert Emmet was taken from the bar of the Courthouse, Green Street, Dublin, to the prison of Newgate, at (if I remember rightly) about nine o'clock at night, of the —— of October, 1803, after having been sentenced to death. Immediately on his entrance within the walls of the prison the then governor (Gregg), either from precaution, excess of zeal, or stimulated by a brutal disposition, loaded him with irons, and, I believe, placed him in a cell. At half-past twelve o'clock, however, an order arrived from the Secretary of State (the late Mr. Wickham) that the prisoner be removed to Kilmainham Jail, ostensibly to bring him nearer to the intended place of execution (Thomas Street, opposite Bridgefoot Street), but in reality for safe keeping.

"The Governor of Kilmainham Prison at that day was a person named Dunn, uncle of him mentioned in the above extract, who was then only a turnkey. Dunn, the Governor, was a man apparently rough and savage, but at bottom humane and kind. Robert Emmet had scarcely been committed to his custody when his eyes fell upon the fetters with which the prisoner (a slight young man) was loaded. The tears burst from his eyes, for he saw that the irons had cut through the silk stockings worn by Emmet and to the bone—his ankles were bathed with blood.

"Dunn's kindness did not stop here. He ordered refreshments for his ill-fated but deeply-interesting charge, of which he stood much in need after a trial of eleven hours, during the whole of which time he stood, not having from an early hour in the morning that preceded it tasted food. He ordered him to be placed in one of the best rooms of the prison and directed that every comfort he desired should be supplied him, and continued his kindness up to

the moment when the prisoner, thanking him for his humanity, left the prison for the scaffold.

"I wish not to refer to certain incidents in the after life of George Dunn, now so indiscreetly brought before the public. It will be enough for me to remind your readers that his name occurred in the proceedings against Brook and Pelham in the first Mayoralty or Shrievalty of Alderman Matthew Wood, of London. The alleged offer of a bribe to that or any other person, to connive at the prisoner's escape, is obviously an untruth. In the first place, Emmet was removed unexpectedly and after midnight from Newgate to the custody of Dunn the elder, and brought out only ten hours afterwards. (Justice was promptly executed in those days.) No time remained, therefore, for tampering with the jailer after the fact of the prisoner's removal to Kilmainham could have become known to his friends; and in reality, the nearest friends and connections of Robert Emmet (Mr. H——, the barrister, Mr. P——, and others) capable of making that effort were themselves inmates of Kilmainham Jail on suspicion of guilty knowledge of the conspiracy which burst forth into insurrection on the 23rd of July previously. . . .

"I have the honour to be, Sir, etc.,

"B. W."

[Extract from *The Times*, February, 1843.]

ROBERT EMMET AND THE JAILER OF KILMAINHAM.

"*To the Editor of 'The Times.'*

"Bath, *February* 12, 1842.

"SIR,—The writer of this letter begs leave to state that in several recent numbers of *The Times* certain extracts from Dublin newspapers have been inserted concerning the unfortunate Robert Emmet and the late George Dunn, jailer of Kilmainham, to the following effect:—

"'That when Robert Emmet was under the charge of Mr. Dunn for high treason an immense sum of money, by way of bribe, with an offer of a free passage to America, was made him if he allowed his prisoner to go free, but the honesty of Mr. Dunn spurned the bribe.'

"Those extracts having so appeared in *The Times*, and being substantially perversions of facts, it is respectfully submitted that in fairness the truth should be spread commensurately with the mis-statement, and that it should likewise go forth to the public through the same great organ of intelligence and its vast circulation, whereby that mis-statement had been already so widely diffused.

"The matter of present consideration is the conduct of George Dunn as to the attempted escape of Robert Emmet, in relation to which manifold have been the laudations squandered upon the memory of Dunn. The following is the truth:—

"A proposition was unquestionably made to George Dunn, and a certain sum of money—a bribe no doubt—was offered for his aid and instrumentality towards effecting the escape of Robert Emmet. But, contrary to the statements in the newspapers, that proposition and that bribe were not 'spurned at by Dunn.' The proposition was entertained, and a positive assurance given by him that he would 'do everything in his power to effect the escape.' There is no individual living, nor has there ever been any other save Dunn himself, who had personally known, or who at present knows those facts but he who now states them, and who freely admits, as he has always admitted, that he did make that proposition. No third person was ever present, no money was ever paid to Dunn, and no offer was ever made of a free passage to America. But, in fact, throughout the transaction Dunn, so far from acting with integrity, practised the foulest perfidy. The transaction itself occurred, not after the trial of Emmet, but several days before it, and Dunn had neither the power nor the means of accomplishing the escape, though he had given reason to suppose that he possessed both, and had, with the semblance of sincerity, faithfully promised if possible to effect it. He was in fact at the time neither the jailer of Kilmainham, nor even the confidential turnkey at the entrance gate. He was merely the turnkey and attendant of the interior department where the State prisoners were confined. But even if he had been the jailer, he could not have effected the escape; for there was another person, since dead, who in the guise and under the 'covert and convenient-seeming' of a doctor, had a paramount authority in the prison—a man who appeared there as the inspector (or rather the haunting spectre) of the jail—an incubus sojourning therein day and night (about sixteen hours out of the

twenty-four), and who, also acting as the Government overseer or superintendent of the State prisoners, commanded even the jailer.

"The jailer at that time was John Dunn; and, though a namesake, was not the uncle of nor in any way related to George Dunn; the former having been a native of a midland county in England, the latter of Berwick-on-Tweed. On the death of John Dunn, two persons, named Stephenson and Simpson, successively filled the jailership previously to George Dunn. He could not, therefore, as jailer have had the custody of Robert Emmet, and could not, consequently, have had the ability ascribed to him of effecting the escape; and in his own station such was impossible, though his inability was not then so well known as afterwards.

"But properly to understand this question, which is actually one of official intrigue and peculation, it is requisite (in regard to the machinations which, in conjunction with others, Dunn practised on the attempted escape of Robert Emmet) again to refer to the personage already alluded to as the superintendent of the State prisoners, and who was at that period well known as the celebrated Pedro Zendono, the inquisitor of Kilmainham.

"Of this man's inhuman conduct towards the State prisoners this writer had bitter knowledge and experience for more than two years; which brutal conduct has, before three of the supreme judges, been verified by the solemn oaths of more than twenty State prisoners; and afterwards, by the exertions of this writer, became the subject of Parliamentary investigation by Sheridan. And the deeds of this prison tyrant, together with those of his helpmate Dunn, are now among the records of Parliament.

"This individual, to whom Downshire had the honour of giving birth, having become enamoured of a handsome female, certain circumstances made it desirable that the young woman should speedily become a wife; and he accordingly bestowed her upon his brother soldier, George Dunn, then a pedestrian campaigner in a militia regiment; with the condition; however, that the lover and the husband of this spotless wife should alike participate in her favours; and also with the further stipulation that the lover should, on the first occasion which offered, obtain a post for the husband in the jail of Kilmainham, and, if possible, have him in time advanced to the jailership.

"Those little interchangeable acts of friendship having continued during the life of the happy lady, both without and within the

prison—where the bower of bliss was the sheriff's execution room—George Dunn accordingly became the turnkey of the State prisoners, and, in fulness of time, the jailer of Kilmainham.

"At the period of the present transaction, George Dunn, though only a turnkey, was, from his position in the prison, admitted to the honour of the sittings with the Grand Inquisitor and the nominal jailer, John Dunn, who, though otherwise a good man, then weakly lent himself to the machinations of the other parties. Accordingly, about one week before the trial of Robert Emmet, it was planned that George Dunn should have a conversation with him respecting his escape. Whereupon several communications by open slips of paper, in the handwriting of Robert Emmet, were conveyed to this writer, and answers returned by an under turnkey, a convicted felon, whom the inquisitor craftily used as the bearer instead of Dunn; in one of which slips of paper Robert Emmet requested this writer, then in an adjoining cell, to apply to George Dunn, specifically naming him, and in conspicuous characters, and to offer him a certain sum of money, as stated in such slip of paper, if he (Dunn) would effect his liberation; the sum so offered to be well and faithfully secured to Dunn, and payable only when the liberation should have been effected.

"The writer of this paper saw the peril and difficulty, not only of the attempt itself on the part of Robert Emmet, but he also saw his own peril in making the application. He saw that he was about to commit himself, as principal in a case of high treason, the consequences of which were not, and could not be, unknown to him. However, upon receiving that particular communication, he did not for a single moment hesitate as to what he should do; and the very first opportunity which offered he made the application.

"In doing so he admits his legal guilt, but as to any moral guilt he feels but little compunction. His only regret is that he failed in the attempt. What were his motives? Robert Emmet was his first-cousin, and the ties of nature are not easily broken. He had a great and noble heart. He shared with the rest of his family those transcendant talents which have acquired for the name of Emmet an imperishable renown. But, above all, he was then upon the threshold of the grave—the finger of death was almost upon him; and where lives the man, having a human heart within him, who would not, under such circumstances, have made a similar

attempt? If the writer of this was a criminal, he feels proud that he was equally so with a Hutchinson and Wilson.

"However, Dunn received the proposition, including the specification of the sum which would be given, in a way which showed, as soon after proved, that he had been previously trained by his employer to expect it. He entertained that proposition, and he treacherously promised to effect the escape.

"The sum of money which had been actually offered to Dunn is, in the Dublin extracts, magnified into that of £6000, as a strengthening proof of his incorruptible integrity. But if only one-fourth of that sum had been stated it would have come nearer to the truth. However, the mere amount is not the question—the treachery of Dunn is the point; and, except as regards that, the refusal or non-refusal of any sum is altogether immaterial. He was to receive his reward only upon the condition of accomplishing a particular object—and that object, he well knew, was impracticable; so that, even if he had refused the bribe—(which he did not)—where would have been the merit? He would then have refused a reward which he knew that he never could obtain, except by the performance of a condition which he also knew that he never could accomplish.

"But, in promotion of the plans concerted by the triumvirate, the inquisitor, knowing the relationship between Robert Emmet and this writer, permitted a degree of intercourse to exist between them. He permitted the correspondence already stated. He permitted Robert Emmet to receive frem this writer, through Dunn, a supply of clothes, which were in fact those that he wore upon his trial. He also permitted him, under the conduct of Dunn, to stop in the passage leading to this writer's cell, which was purposely in the immediate neighbourhood of his kinsman; and, with the eye and ear of Dunn vigilantly watching, he permitted Robert Emmet to converse from the passage, and to shake hands with this writer through the grated window of his cell. And all this was done, not from any uncongenial kindness of the inquisitor, but as a snare, not only for discovering whether any allusion would be made to the insurrection, as showing the privity thereto of this writer, but also to provoke, in the presence of Dunn, some proposition as to the escape, which they could wrest into a proof of a conspiracy and plot between the prisoners, which their own previous conspiracy had laboured to effect.

"In furtherance of their schemes, the correspondence which by

slips of paper was perfidiously permitted to pass between the two prisoners, through the convict turnkey, was, in every stage, daily waylaid and conveyed by the overseer to Mr. Chief Secretary Wickham and Alexander Marsden, the Under Secretary. And without referring to other proofs thereof, that correspondence was afterwards, in their defence, by them presented through the Castle to the House of Commons and printed in its proceedings.

"The cravings of the Cerberi were soon after fully satisfied by that sort of pabulum which they sought for their safe keeping of the prison gates. For the overseer, according to Parliamentary documents, swore before the three judges who sat in the prison upon the Commission obtained from Government by this writer, that he (the overseer) had prevailed upon the Government to increase the salary of George Dunn on account of his fidelity in preventing this writer from effecting the escape of Robert Emmet. Thus did those conspirators take advantage of their own wrong for purposes of pecuniary fraud and personal aggrandisement. And as to the overseer, he, by means of the present transaction and other acts equally base, and likewise by a long course of prison peculation, from having been an obscure and needy adventurer, became a man of wealth.

"But as to George Dunn's conduct in this transaction, it is plain he was not the man of probity, the incorruptible servant of justice, which the newspaper extracts report him to have been. But, on the contrary, that he was a confederate, leagued with the other parties for inveigling Robert Emmet and this present writer into a perilous conspiracy, and, with the blackest perfidy, that he was all along plotting and working for his own aggrandisement and that of his unprincipled employer—of that base individual who was the prime instigator of the transaction, the pivot upon which the machinery moved, that salaried and sycophantic peculator who, as the chief inquisitor of the prison, conspired with and delegated his Mosca, his familiar, to decoy his victims into a snare, in promotion of his own infamous objects, and that on this occasion George Dunn was merely his working instrument—the rope in the hands of the hangman.

"One word more, and in conclusion, concerning the insurrection in which poor R. Emmet was involved, and also concerning himself. That insurrection must indeed be viewed only with

absolute and unqualified condemnation. But as to Robert Emmet individually, it will surely be admitted that even in the midst of error he was great, in principle untainted, in courage dauntless. And when upon his trial, with the grave already open to receive him, that the burst of eloquence with which he shook the very Court wherein he stood, and caused not alone 'that viper whom his father nourished' to quail beneath the lash, but likewise forced even that 'remnant of humanity,' one of those who tried him, to tremble on the judgment seat, was, under all the circumstances, an effort almost superhuman—a prodigy; not only when he hurled upon them that withering defiance and memorable castigation, but also when he advocated the grounds upon which he had acted—exhibiting altogether a concentration of moral integrity, talent, and intrepidity unparalleled in the annals of the world.

"VERAX."

COPY OF DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND, CONTAINING THE CASE OF MR. ST. JOHN MASON; WITH AN APPENDIX.

Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 2, 1812.

"Dublin Castle, *Dec.* 1, 1811.

"Dear Sir,—Having been directed to furnish such information as I could collect, relative to the causes of the arrest and imprisonment of St. John Mason in 1803, and for some time after, I proceeded to investigate the case with all the diligence in my power, but I found few original papers on the subject. No official project or memorandum, and even the information collected by inquiry has been in many parts very vague and unsatisfactory. Nor can this appear surprising when it is recollected that he was arrested during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and while the country was in a state of insurrection, and that since his arrest a period of eight years has elapsed; that in that time there have been seven Chief Secretaries, three Under Secretaries, and three Attornies-General. That, notwithstanding changes of administration and former complaints and inquiries as to his treatment in prison, Mr. Mason has now for the first time desired a scrutiny into the causes of his arrest and detention (at least to my knowledge) whereby that part of the subject

has been forgot. The case, as far as I have been able to discover it, was this:—

"St. John Mason was first-cousin to Robert Emmet. *His* trial is in print, and the reading of it might be no bad preparation for any gentleman who wished to understand the state of Dublin at that time, and the views and feelings of Government. Emmet's concern in the insurrection of July 23, 1803, appeared by the papers which on that night were found in the rebel depôt in Mass Lane and sent to the Castle, some of which were proved on his trial. So far the Government was fully informed, but what the extent of their information in other respects was it is perhaps impossible now to discover. We must endeavour to ascertain the facts, and suppose them to have been known at the time.

"For some months previous to the insurrection Emmet had lived in or near Dublin, occupied chiefly in preparations for that event. At the time of the insurrection, and for some time before, but how long does not appear, St. John Mason, the first-cousin and intimate friend of Emmet, resided at Sea Point, a genteel boarding-house about four miles from the city, to which he probably had made frequent visits, though this does not appear. I cannot find any evidence of any intercourse having taken place between them during this time, but it seems natural that in the alarm and doubt and suspense which followed the 23rd July, it should have been at least strongly suspected that such intercourse had existed. Mason certainly took no part in the murders in Thomas Street; the insurrection in that quarter took place about nine o'clock in the evening, at which time he was in a large company at the house of a very respectable gentleman who resided about —— miles from town and —— from Sea Point. Even this, however, did not tend to exempt him from all suspicion, as it was generally said that the company were surprised at his not coming till eight o'clock (though a dinner-party), and at his arriving there, not from Sea Point, but from town. On that night Mason lay at Sea Point. On the next or the following night he lay at an hotel in James Street, almost adjoining the spot where the insurrection had broken out, and from thence proceeded by various modes of travelling as far as Nenagh, that being the direct way to Kerry, where Mason's connections lay. There he was arrested (it does not appear on what day) by ——, a magistrate of the county, in consequence, as he states, of an order for that purpose from the then Under Secretary.

In Mason's letter-case were found some letters, particularly one directed to him, concerning which he expressed considerable anxiety, saying that it was from a female in London. This letter the magistrate read and forwarded with the rest, and the prisoner, to the Castle. It cannot be found, but the magistrate's account of it is that it purported to be from a woman, but was expressed as if it had some covered meaning; mentioning a longing till her nails should grow so long as to tear flesh and draw blood, and in more than one place expressed a wish to draw blood. On the whole the magistrate states his opinion to have been at the time that the letter was written by Emmet."

Mr. Mason was transmitted to Dublin, where, on the 9th of August, he was, under the Chief Secretary's warrant, committed to Kilmainham.

[See the Magistrate's Statement, Appendix No. I.]

"In the latter end of August Robert Emmet was taken and committed to the same prison.

"George Dunn, an Englishman, formerly one of the underkeepers, and a confidential attendant on the State prisoners, and now the chief keeper of Kilmainham, swears, That about the 5th of September (being at that time one of the underkeepers), he was applied to by Mr. St. John Mason to procure the escape of Emmet, then also a prisoner in Kilmainham Jail, for which he promised him the sum of five hundred pounds; adding that, should Emmet get clear off, he (Dunn) would receive one thousand pounds in all, and that he should be kept harmless. Dunn further swears that, conceiving it his duty to prevent, if possible, the execution of such a plan, and that the best mode of doing so was not immediately to reject Mason's proposal, he promised to consider it; but in the meantime communicated with his 'superiors in office,' and, in consequence of the directions he received, had another interview with Mason, and said he would endeavour to comply with his request; upon which Mason gave him a note to deliver to Emmet, which note he withheld, but communicated the contents to Emmet, and it was ultimately handed to Mr. Wickham.

"Dunn also swears that Mason then proposed, with which Dunn seemed to comply, that he should procure the key from Mr. John Dunn, the then keeper, while at dinner, and so let Emmet escape, and inform Emmet thereof, that he might take such steps as he

thought necessary, which he accordingly did; that Emmet then gave him a note to Mr. Mason to procure clothes for the purpose of disguise, which note he was directed to show to Mr. John Dunn, the keeper, and afterwards delivered it to Mason, who said —— would be with him the following day, and would procure what was desired; that Mason gave him (Dunn) several things to carry to Emmet, which he immediately showed to his superiors, and then delivered them to Emmet, except some articles which were considered improper to be conveyed to him.

"Dunn further swears that he afterwards informed Mason that it would be out of his power to effect Emmet's escape, as Mr. John Dunn, the then keeper, remained entirely in that part of the prison; upon which Mason gave him a guinea note as a reward (which he also handed to his superiors). At the same time, Dunn swears, that Mason requested him to instruct —— (a person whom he supposed would be produced on Emmet's trial) how to act according to the directions Mason then gave Dunn, for the purpose of preventing her giving evidence.

"Emmet was tried on the 19th, and executed on the 20th of September. After his trial he wrote a letter to Mr. Wickham, then Chief Secretary, evidently not with any hope of pardon or respite, but apparently dictated by a sense of justice, and by that sentiment of magnanimity with which, whatever his crimes may have been, he certainly conducted himself on that solemn occasion. In that letter he declared that it had been his intention not only to have acknowledged the delicacy with which he had been personally treated, but to have done the most public justice to the mildness of the then administration of this country; and at the same time to have acquitted them, as far as rested with him, of any charge of remissness in not having previously detected a conspiracy, which from its closeness he knew it was impossible to have done.

"That Emmet had Mason then in his thoughts cannot be proved; but it can scarcely be supposed that he would have unnecessarily used such language if he had been satisfied of the innocence of so near a relative confined, to his knowledge, in the same prison.

(Signed) "J. S. TOWNSEND."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Copy of the Examination of the Magistrate, Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle, September 26, 1811.

"Arrested Mr. John Mason in 1803, in consequence of a letter from this office from Mr. Marsden, as witness thinks, and thinks he showed Mason the letter brought to him by a yeoman of the name of ——, found Mason in an inn at Nenagh and took him; he appeared at first very much frightened. He searched him, found nothing on his person, nor in his desk or letter-case, which he opened; but wished much to get one particular letter, which, he said, was from a girl in London. Witness desired to see it, and on reading thought it a sort of disguise, probably from Emmet, written in too ambiguous a manner; kept no copy. It purported to be from a woman, and one of the expressions was of a longing till her nails should grow so long as to tear flesh and draw blood, and repeated several times, 'Oh! how I long to draw blood.' Witness sent it to the Castle with the rest, and observed on it in his letter; read none of the others, but sent the whole sealed up. He returned witness thanks for his kind treatment in the morning, having passed the night in custody.

"Witness asked if he could account why he had been taken up. He said he had been quizzing some ladies at Sea Point with politics and supposed they had reported of him. He said he had lain in a hotel in James Street a night or two after the 23rd of July, and had travelled in various ways to Nenagh.

"Witness knows he was at Sea Point on the night of 23rd July, 1803.

"He was civil to witness, but, as he has heard, quarrelled with every person in whose custody he was after.

"In some time after —— told witness that a man from Kerry had informed him that the people there were ready to rise but for the arrest of their Colonel by witness.

"Witness had a relation of his own name who held a place in the revenues in Kerry, and wrote to witness to get him removed, as he expected to be murdered for his name, on account of witness having arrested Mason."

No. II.

Copy of original Note in the handwriting of Mr. St. John Mason, now in the Chief Secretary's Office.

"You must relinquish every idea of not going alone or nothing can be done I see no reason why G. (George Dunn) should go; on the contrary, consider it would be most imprudent and impolitic, and the delay of discovery may be for the hour even by his staying. I have a friend at Booterstown who will be here to-morrow. If he can I know he will procure a blue coat that will do, but it cannot be brought here. Surely you would be less liable to discovery by being alone, wherever you went, for two nights. The only possible reason you can have for not having G. stay is on account of R. and A. In short, give up that idea or the whole will be impracticable. G. will be safe by remaining (not so if he goes); it may be unpleasant to him at first, but he has nothing to do but to persist in his negligence and brave it.

"You must go singly; consider the clue to discovery in G. A. R. and E. wife of one connection, of another, and so on, etc. Prepare, therefore, to go alone.

"You say, if you could all be safe for two nights; suppose I grant all but the 'if.' But I say the difficulty of concealment, even afterwards, would be ten-fold for each person; once more I conjure you not to think of it.

"*September*, 1803."

No. III.

Copy of an original Note in the handwriting of Mr. R. Emmet, now in the Chief Secretary's Office.

"Ask G. at what time Mr. D. dines, and if he leaves anyone at the door then. Though it might be a little early yet, as he is longer away than at any other time, it would better enable us all to go out, and, with the change of dress, would not be noticed. If it cannot be done then, he must watch the first opportunity after dinner that Mr. D. goes down the house and let me out immediately; I will be ready at the moment. Don't let him wait till the guards are doubled if he can avoid it, but if he cannot do it before let him be on the watch then, as Mr. D. will probably go to give them instructions when placing them in the yard as he did last night. I am anxious not to defer it till to-morrow, as I heard the officers

who came the rounds consulting with him about placing the sentries for better security, and think I heard them mention me in the *Hall*. D. also came in at one o'clock last night, under pretence that he thought he heard me calling. If it is delayed till to-morrow it must be done at dinner-time. If sentries are placed in the hall by day, the only way will be, whenever D. goes down, let G. whistle 'God save the King' in the passage, and I will immediately ask to go to the necessary, and will change my clothes there instantly; but in this case G. must previously convey them there. Send for a pair of silver spectacles (No. 5 fits my sight) which will facilitate my disguise; after I am gone G. must convey the clothes I wore away.

"*September*, 1803."

No. IV.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Robert Emmet to the Right Hon. William Wickham.

"*September* 10, 1803.

"Sir,—Had I been permitted to proceed with my vindication it was my intention not only to have acknowledged the delicacy which I feel, with gratitude, that I have been personally treated, but also to have done the most public justice to the mildness of the present administration of this country, and at the same time to have acquitted them, as far as rested with me, of any charge of remissness in not having previously detected a conspiracy, which, from its closeness, I know it was impossible to have done. I confess that I should have preferred this mode if it had been permitted, as it would thereby have enabled me to clear myself from imputation under which I might in consequence lie, and to have stated why such an administration did not prevent, but, under the peculiar situation of this country, perhaps rather accelerated my determination to make an effort for the overthrow of a Government of which I do not think equally high.

"However, as I have been deprived of that opportunity, I think it right now to make an acknowledgment which justice requires of me as a man, and which I do not feel in the least derogatory from my decided principles as an Irishman.

"I am, etc.,

(Signed) "ROBERT EMMET.

"Right Hon. W. Wickham,

"etc., etc."

No. V.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. George Dunn to Dr. Trevor, with Dunn's Affidavit annexed.

"Sir,—Your having required from me an exact statement of my conduct relative to the intended escape of Mr. Emmet and Mr. Russell, prisoners confined in Kilmainham Jail, in the year 1803, and since executed, I take the liberty of submitting the following facts, the authenticity and accuracy of which I am ready to verify upon oath.

"In that year, about the 5th of September, I was applied to by Mr. St. John Mason, a prisoner then confined in Kilmainham, and since liberated, to procure from prison the escape of Mr. Emmet, for which he promised me the sum of five hundred pounds; and if Mr. Emmet should in consequence get clear off (meaning his escape from prison) I should receive a thousand pounds in all, and that he would keep me harmless. Conceiving it my duty to prevent if possible the execution of such a plan, and that the best mode of doing so was not to immediately reject his proposal (by which I should be precluded from all further information) I told him I would consider upon what he mentioned. I immediately informed you thereof, and received your directions how I should act, in consequence of which I had another interview with Mr. Mason, and said I would endeavour to comply with the request, upon which he gave me a note to deliver to Mr. Emmet, which I gave to you, the contents of which I have no doubt but you recollect, and which you since informed me you handed to Mr. Secretary Wickham. Mr. Mason then proposed (with which I seemed to comply) that I should procure the key from Mr. Dunn, the then keeper, while at dinner, and then let Mr. Emmet escape; and to inform him (Mr. Emmet) thereof that he might take such steps as he thought necessary, which I accordingly did, and Mr. Emmet gave me a note to Mr. Mason to procure clothes for the purpose of disguise, which note I showed by your directions to Mr. Dunn, the keeper. I afterwards delivered it to Mr. Mason, who informed me that —— would be with him the following day and procure what was desired. In two days after Mr. Mason gave me several things to carry to Mr. Emmet, which I immediately showed to you and then delivered them, except some articles which you mentioned to me were improper to be conveyed to him.

"I then informed Mr. Mason that it would be out of my power to effect Mr. Emmet's escape, as Mr. John Dunn, the keeper, remained entirely in that part of the prison, upon which Mr. Mason gave me a guinea note, which I handed to you, and instructed ——, a person whom he supposed would be produced on Mr. Emmet's trial, how to act according to the directions he then gave on that occasion for the purpose of preventing her to go or to give evidence.

(Signed) "GEO. DUNN."

The documents omitted in this memoir are those portions of the documents which relate to the attempts made to effect Russell's escape, which have been inserted in Russell's memoir.

Having inserted the information of the secret informer of the Government, which represents Mr. Mason as a person long connected with treasonable proceedings, I think it due to Mr. Mason to insert his petition to the House of Commons in 1811, and a duty to my countrymen thus to show the evident refutation of the foul calumnies against him, and to exhibit a specimen of the information on which the lives and liberties of Irishmen have been taken out of the protection of the law and made to depend on the fantasies and caprices of a minor functionary of the Irish Government.

No. VIII.

Copy of an Extract in Book from the Letter signed ——

Mason has associated much and intimately with the Irish rebels. He is a native of Kerry; was in Dublin College, and graduated in 1797. Was one of a committee then held at a printing office in Exchequer Street, when he with —— of Kerry, and —— of Tipperary, were deputed agents to Kerry. The former was the county representative, the two latter the Colonel and Adjutant-General by the request of A. O'Connor and Emmet.

On the arrest at Oliver Bond's, Mason —— went to Wales, and lived near Tenby. Mason soon after entered his name on the Inns of Court. In summer, 1800, he made a visit at Fort George. He then went —— to Hamburgh; thence to the Hague. ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, were at Liverpool with the crew of the *Hoche*, disguised as Frenchmen. Mason, at the desire of ——, went there, supplied them with money, met them in London, contrived to have them first exchanged, and paid their expenses to Dover; and when it was known that they were there, but their

persons not known, Mason caused some Frenchmen to pass for them, who thereupon were sent to Ireland where the stratagem was discovered too late. Mason has some fortune.

From the Hague he went to Cobletz, from thence to London by Embden; there he lodged, first in Marlborough Street, then in Kentish Town, and last in Crown Street, Westminster, associating with several disaffected persons, particularly ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——. With the last he was at Cheltenham last summer (1802); was a relation of Robert Emmet and his class-fellow in College; is cautious and timid.

MR. MASON'S PETITION, PRESENTED BY MR. SHERIDAN, 26th JUNE, 1811.

The Petition of St. John Mason, Esq., as presented to the House of Commons, May 17, 1811, *by the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan.*

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

"THE HUMBLE PETITION OF ST. JOHN MASON,

"*Most respectfully sheweth*—

"That your Petitioner was admitted a member of the Irish Bar, in Trinity Term, 1803.

"That, in August thereof, your Petitioner was, when on circuit, arrested at a distance of seventy miles from Dublin, to which he was directly conveyed, and committed to the prison of Kilmainham, where your Petitioner was detained in close and rigid custody for more than two years.

"That the instrument by virtue of which your Petitioner had been so committed was a State warrant, signed by Mr. Wickham, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, under the Earl of Hardwicke's Administration, and by his Excellency's command, containing a sweeping and general charge of treason; and that said warrant did not specify that said charge was founded on any information given upon oath.

"That your Petitioner and his friends have applied to the Irish Government, in every shape, both personally and otherwise, respecting its oppressive treatment of your Petitioner; soliciting *Examination*, and claiming to be informed of the cause of your Petitioner's having been so deprived of his liberty for more than two years; but, that all such applications have been wholly unavailing, in consequence, as your Petitioner doth firmly, but most

respectfully, assert to this honourable House, of absolute inability of that Government to state, with truth, any just cause whatsoever for such rigorous and unjust imprisonment of your Petitioner.

"That, as it is impossible for your Petitioner to prove the negative of an undefined and unspecified charge, your Petitioner can, in general terms only, most solemnly declare his innocence; to establish which, your Petitioner had, also, during his imprisonment, when he was at the mercy of vile and corrupt informers, repeatedly, but in vain, demanded from said Government of Ireland, that *Right* which the Constitution gives to every subject of the land, against whom accusation has been laid, namely, a TRIAL *by the Laws of his country!*

"That the infringement and suppression of justice, which had been exercised in the case of your Petitioner, not coming within the scope or cognisance of any *legal* tribunal, your Petitioner begs leave, with the most becoming respect, to approach this honourable House for *Constitutional* redress; and, as an injured subject of this realm, in whose person the general rights of the community have been violated, humbly appeal against such violation and suppression of justice; and, fortified as well by the rectitude of his conduct as by a firm confidence in the protecting justice of this honourable House, your Petitioner begs permission to present his complaint against that officer of the State, under whose government such violation had been committed, and whom your Petitioner, however elevated might have been the trust and station to which that officer had been exalted, cannot *constitutionally* consider as divested of responsibility for the acts of that trust, as exercised during his administration in Ireland; which said complaint your Petitioner most humbly begs to present to this honourable House, as his duty, in the last resort, to society and to himself, *challenging all inquiry and defying all imputation on his probity and honour.*

"That your Petitioner doth, therefore, distinctly and directly CHARGE the Government of the Earl of Hardwicke, when that noble Earl was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with INJUSTICE and OPPRESSION, by having, in the person of your Petitioner, abused, to the injury and destruction of the subject, the discretionary powers of that trust, which had been granted for his protection; and further, that the said Earl of Hardwicke has since continued to deny to your Petitioner that humble measure of justice, an *acknowledgment of his innocence,* of which your Petitioner cannot but think his lordship

is now convinced. And your Petitioner now humbly prays that this honourable House, which your Petitioner looks up to as the Grand Depositary and Guardian of the Public Rights, according to the structure of the Constitution, will be graciously pleased to grant to your Petitioner, who is now in humble attendance, awaiting the pleasure of this honourable House, such means and opportunities of substantiating his said allegations, as may, in its wisdom, appear best calculated for the attainment of such his object, and for the accomplishment of justice; your Petitioner so praying, not only for the purpose of vindicating his character, but also under the protection of this honourable House, of *guarding, by his humble efforts, the rights of the subject against similar infractions;* which rights have been so unconstitutionally violated in the person of the individual, your humble Petitioner.

"And your Petitioner shall, etc., etc.,

"ST. JOHN MASON."

CHAPTER XV.

On Monday, September 19, 1803, at the special commission before Lord Norbury, Mr. Baron George, and Mr. Baron Daly, Robert Emmet was put on his trial on a charge of high treason, under 25 Edward III. The counsel assigned him were Messrs. Ball, Burrowes, and M'Nally.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Standish O'Grady, opened the indictment. In the learned gentleman's address to the jury, the establishment of the prisoner's guilt seemed not to be a matter of more importance than the defence of the Government from the appearance of surprisal, or the suspicion of having suffered a conspiracy, "serious in its unsounded depth and unknown extent," to have assumed a more formidable shape than a double policy and a feeble executive were calculated to deal with. In fact, in the speeches of the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the King's Counsel, Mr. Plunket, the hearers were perpetually, though of course unintentionally, reminded of the squabble between the Governor and the General.

The Attorney-General, in the course of his able address, said:—"Perhaps at former periods some allowance might be made for the

heated imaginations of enthusiasts; perhaps an extravagant love of liberty might for a moment supersede a rational understanding, and might be induced, for want of sufficient experience or capacity, to look for that liberty in revolution. But it is not the road to liberty. It throws the mass of the people into agitation, only to bring the worst and most profligate to the surface. It originates in anarchy, proceeds in bloodshed, and ends in cruel and unrelenting despotism. . . . Gentlemen, I do not wish to undertake to speak in the prophetic. But when I consider the vigilance and firmness of His Majesty's Government, the spirit and discipline of His Majesty's troops, and that armed valour and loyalty which, from one end of the country to the other, has raised itself for the purpose of crushing domestic treason, and, if necessary, of meeting and repelling a foreign foe, I do not think it unreasonable to indulge a sanguine hope that the continuance of the same conduct upon the part of Government, and of the same exertions upon the part of the people, will long preserve the nation free, happy, and independent. . . . Gentlemen, upon former occasions persons were brought to the bar of this Court implicated in the rebellion in various though inferior degrees; but, if I am rightly instructed, we have now brought to the bar of justice, not a person who had been seduced by others, but a gentleman to whom the rebellion may be traced, as the origin, the life, and soul of it. . . . I do sincerely lament with him (the prisoner) that some of those who have been hitherto brought to justice were, comparatively speaking, insignificant persons. They were not, I admit, prime movers of this treason; but I trust the commission may not pass over without some distinguished examples. . . ."

At the conclusion of a speech of considerable length, the jury were told to give the prisoner the full benefit of any defence he might make, and dispassionately consider the nature of his vindication.

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES.

"Joseph Rawlins, Esq., being sworn, deposed to a knowledge of the prisoner, and recollected having been in his company some time in the month of December last, when he understood from him that he had been to see his brother at Brussels. On his cross-examination, the witness said that, in conversations with him on

the subject of continental politics, the prisoner avowed that the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands execrated Bonaparte's Government, and, from the whole of the prisoner's conversation, the witness had reason to believe that he highly condemned Bonaparte's conduct and Government.

"Mr. George Tyrrel, an attorney, proved the execution, in the month of June last, of the lease of a house in Butterfield Lane, Rathfarnham, from Michael Frayne to the prisoner, who assumed on the occasion the name of Ellis. Mr. Tyrrel was one of the subscribing witnesses to the lease, and a person named William Dowdall was the other.

"Michael Frayne, who leased the above-mentioned house to the prisoner, proved also to that fact, and that he gave him possession of it on the 23rd of April preceding; that the prisoner and Dowdall lived in the most sequestered manner, and apparently anxious of concealment.

"John Fleming, a native of the county of Kildare, sworn, deposed that on the 23rd of July, and for the year previous thereto, he had been ostler at the White Bull Inn, Thomas Street, kept by a person named Dillon. The house was convenient to Marshal Lane, where the rebel depôt was, and to which the witness had free and constant access—having been in the confidence of the conspirators, and employed to bring them ammunition and other things. He saw the persons there making pike handles and heading them with the iron part; he also saw the blunderbusses, firelocks, and pistols in the depôt, and saw ball cartridges making there. Here the witness identified the prisoner at the bar, whom he saw in the depôt for the first time on the Tuesday morning after the explosion in Patrick Street (that explosion took place on Saturday the 16th of July). The witness had opened the gate of the inn yard, which opened into Marshal Lane to let out Quigley, when he saw the prisoner accompanied by a person of the name of Palmer; the latter got some sacks from the witness to convey ammunition to the stores, and the prisoner went into the depôt, where he continued almost constantly until the evening of the 23rd July, directing the preparations for the insurrection and having the chief authority. He heard the prisoner read a little sketch, as the witness called it, purporting that every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private should have equally everything they got, and have the same laws as in

France. Being asked what it was they were to share, the prisoner replied, 'What they got when they were to take Ireland or Dublin.' He saw green uniform jackets making in the depôt by different tailors, one of whom was named Colgan. He saw one uniform in particular—a green coat, laced on the sleeves and skirts, etc., and gold epaulets, like a general's dress. He saw the prisoner take it out of a desk one day and show it to all present (here the witness identified the desk, which was in Court); he also saw the prisoner, at different times, take out papers and put papers back into the desk; there was none other in the store. Quigley used also sometimes to go to the desk. On the evening of the 23rd July witness saw the prisoner dressed in the uniform above described, with white waistcoat and pantaloons, new boots, and cocked hat and white feather. He had also a sash on him, and was armed with a sword and case of pistols. The prisoner called for a big coat, but did not get it, to disguise his uniform, as he said, until he went to the party that was to attack the Castle. Quigley and a person named Stafford had uniforms like that of Emmet, but had only one epaulet. Quigley had a white feather and Stafford a green one. Stafford was a baker in Thomas Street. About nine o'clock the prisoner drew his sword and called out to 'Come on, my boys!' He sallied out of the depôt, accompanied by Quigley and Stafford and about fifty men, as well as he could judge, armed with pikes, blunderbusses, pistols, etc. They entered Dirty Lane, and went from thence into Thomas Street. The prisoner was in the centre of the party. They began to fire in Dirty Lane, and also when they got into Thomas Street. The witness was with the party. The prisoner went into the stores by the name of Ellis. He was considered by all of them as the General and head of the business; the witness heard him called by the title of General. In and out of the depôt it was said that they were preparing to assist the French when they should land. Quigley went into the depôt by the name of Graham.

"Terence Colgan, the tailor named in the foregoing evidence, being sworn, deposed that on the Sunday previous to the insurrection he came to town from Lucan, where he lived. Having met with a friend, they went to Dillon's, the White Bull Inn, in Thomas Street, and drank until the witness, overcome with liquor, fell asleep, when he was conveyed in this state of insensibility into the depôt in Marshal Lane, and when he awoke the next morning he

was set to work making green jackets and white pantaloons. He saw the prisoner there, by whose directions everything was done, and who, he understood, was the chief. He recollected seeing the last witness frequently in the depôt while he was there. He also saw the prisoner often at the desk writing. The witness corroborated the general preparations of arms, ammunition, etc., for the insurrection.

"Patrick Farrell, sworn, deposed that as he was passing through Marshal Lane between the hours of nine and ten o'clock, on the evening of Friday the 22nd of July, he stopped before the malt stores or depôt on hearing a noise therein which surprised him, as he considered it a waste house. Immediately the door opened, and a man came forth, who caught him and asked him what he was doing there? The witness was then brought into the depôt and again asked what brought him there, or had he been ever there before? He said he had not. They asked him did he know Graham? He replied he did not. One of the persons then said that witness was a spy, and called out to 'drop him immediately,' which the witness understood that they meant to shoot him. They brought him up stairs, and after some consultation, they agreed to wait for some person to come in who would decide what should be done with him. That person having arrived, he asked the witness if he knew Graham? He replied that he did not. A light was brought in at the same time, and the witness having looked about, was asked if he knew anyone there? He replied he knew Quigley. He was asked where? He replied that he knew him five or six years ago in the College of Maynooth, as a bricklayer or mason. The witness understood that Quigley was the person who went by the name of Graham. Here witness identified the prisoner as the person who came in and decided he should not be killed, but he should be taken care of and not let out. The witness was detained there that night and the whole of the next day, Saturday the 23rd, and was made to assist at the different kinds of work.

"He assisted in taking boards from off a car; the boards, he said, were made into cases, and pikes put into them. These cases the witness described as being made of the outside slabs of a long beam, taken off about an inch or more thick; four or five inches at each end of the beam were cut off, the slabs were nailed together and pieces put in at the ends, so that it appeared like a rough plank or beam of timber. He saw several such cases filled with pikes sent

out. The witness stated that on the evening of the 23rd he saw three men dressed in green uniforms richly laced, one of whom was the prisoner, who wore two gold epaulets, but the other two only one each. The prisoner had also a cocked hat, sword, and pistols. When the witness was helping out one of the beams prepared for explosion he contrived to make his escape.

"On his cross-examination, in which the interrogatories were suggested by the prisoner, the only thing remarkable in the evidence of the witness was that he heard a printed paper read, part of which was 'that nineteen counties were ready to rise at the same time to second the attempt in Dublin.' The witness also heard them say 'that they had no idea as to the French relief, but would make it good themselves.' In answer to a question from the Court, the witness said that he gave information of the circumstances deposed in his evidence next morning to Mr. Ormsby in Thomas Street, to whom he was steward.

"Sergeant Thomas Rice proved the proclamation of the Provisional Government, found in the depôt.

"Colonel Spencer Thomas Vassal, being sworn, deposed that he was field officer of the day on the 23rd of July; that, having gone to the depôt in Marshal Lane, he found there several small proclamations addressed to the citizens of Dublin and which were quite wet. He identified one of them. The witness also identified the desk which the prisoner used in the depôt. Having remained about a quarter of an hour in the depôt, he committed to Major Greville the care of its contents.

"Questioned by the Court, the witness said that he visited the depôt between three and four o'clock on Sunday morning, it having been much advanced in daylight before he was suffered to go his rounds.

"Alderman Frederick Darley, sworn, proved having found in the depôt a paper directed to 'Robert Ellis, Butterfield;' also a paper entitled, 'A Treatise on the Art of War.' The latter had been handed at the time to Captain Evelyn.

"Captain Henry Evelyn, sworn, deposed having been at the rebel depôt the morning of Sunday, the 24th of July, to see the things removed to the barracks, and that he found a paper there (which, being shown to him, he identified). This paper was a manuscript draft of the greater part of the proclamation of the Provisional Government, altered and interlined in a great many places.

"Robert Lindsay, a soldier, and Michael Clement Frayne, quartermaster-sergeant of the 38th Regiment, proved the conveyance of the desk, then in Court, to the barracks, and the latter identified a letter which he found therein. The letter was signed 'Thomas Addis Emmet,' and directed to 'Mrs. Emmet, Miltown, near Dublin,' and began with 'My dearest Robert.' It bore a foreign post-mark.

"Edward Wilson, Esq., recollected the explosion of gunpowder which took place in Patrick Street previous to the 23rd of July; it took place on the 16th. He went there and found an apparatus for making gunpowder; was certain that it was gunpowder exploded. Proved the existence of a rebellious insurrection; as did also Lieutenant Brady. The latter added that, on an examination of the pikes which he found in Thomas Street, four were stained with blood on the iron part, and on one or two of them the blood extended halfway up the handle.

"John Doyle, a farmer, being sworn, deposed to the following effect:—That on the morning of the 26th of July last, about two o'clock, a party of people came to his house at Ballymace in the parish of Tallaght, seven miles from Dublin. He had been after drinking and was heavy asleep. They came to his bedside and stirred and called him, but he did not awake at once; when he did and looked up, he lay closer than before. They desired him to take some spirits, which he refused; they then moved him to the middle of the bed, and two of them lay down, one on each side of him. One of them said, 'You have a French General and a French Colonel beside you, what you never had before.' For some hours the witness lay between asleep and awake. When he found his companions asleep he stole out of the bed, and found in the room some blunderbusses, a gun, and some pistols. The number of blunderbusses, he believed, was equal to the number of persons, who, on being collected at breakfast, amounted to fourteen. (Here he identified the prisoner as one of those who were in the bed with him.)

"The witness then further stated that the prisoner, on going away in the evening, put on a coat with a great deal of lace and tassels (as he expressed it). There was another person in a similar dress; they wore, on their departure, greatcoats over these. The party left his house between eight and nine o'clock in the evening and proceeded up the hill. The next morning the witness found

under the table on which they breakfasted one of the small printed proclamations, which he gave to John Robinson, the barony constable.

"Rose Bagnal, residing at Ballynascorney, about a mile farther up the hill from Doyle's, proved that a party of men, fifteen in number, and whom she described similar to that of the preceding witness, came to her house on the night of the Tuesday immediately after the insurrection. Three of them wore green clothes, ornamented with something yellow; she was so frightened she could not distinguish exactly. One of them was called a general. She was not enabled to identify any of them. They left her house about nine o'clock the following night.

"John Robinson, constable of the barony of Upper Cross, corroborated the testimony of the witness Doyle relative to the small proclamation which he identified.

"Joseph Palmer, sworn, deposed that he was clerk to Mr. Colville, and lodged at his mother's house, Harold's Cross. He recollected the apprehension of the prisoner at his mother's house by Major Sirr, and that he did lodge there the preceding spring, at which time, and when he was arrested, he went by the name of Hewitt. The prisoner came to lodge there the second time about three weeks before this last time, and was habited in a brown coat, white waistcoat, white pantaloons, Hessian boots, and a black frock. Those who visited the prisoner inquired for him by the name of Hewitt. At the time he was arrested there was a label on the door of the house expressive of its inhabitants; it was written by the witness, but the name of the prisoner was omitted, at his request, because he said he was afraid Government would take him up.

"The prisoner, in different conversations with the witness, explained why he feared to be taken up. He acknowledged that he had been in Thomas Street on the night of the 23rd of July, and described the dress he wore on that occasion, part of which was the waistcoat, pantaloons, and boots already mentioned, and particularly his coat, which, he said, was a very handsome uniform. The prisoner had also a conversation with the witness about a magazine, and expressed much regret at the loss of the powder in the depôt. The proclamations were likewise mentioned by the prisoner; and he planned a mode of escape, in the event of any attempt to arrest him, by going

through the parlour window into the back house and from thence into the fields. Here the witness was shown a paper, found upon a chair in the room in which the prisoner lodged, and asked if he knew whose handwriting it was? He replied that he did not know; but was certain that it had not been written by any of his family, and there was no lodger in his house besides the prisoner.

"The examination of this witness being closed, extracts from the proclamation addressed to the citizens of Dublin were read.

"Major Henry Charles Sirr, sworn and examined, deposed to the arrest of the prisoner on the evening of the 25th of August, in the house of Palmer, in Harold's Cross.

"Mr. M'Nally said—As Mr. Emmet did not intend to call any witness or to take up the time of the Court by his counsel stating any case or making any observations on the evidence, he presumed the trial was now closed on both sides.

"Mr. Plunket stood up and said—'It is with extreme reluctance that, under such circumstances, I do not feel myself at liberty to follow the example which has been set me by the counsel for the prisoner.'

"The Attorney-General said—As the prisoner's declining to go into any case wore the impression that the case on the part of the Crown required no answer, it was at his particular desire that Mr. Plunket rose to address the Court.

"Mr. Plunket made a speech exceeding in length that of the Attorney-General, the former occupying twelve pages of the printed report, the latter only nine. The learned gentleman commented on the evidence with extraordinary skill and precision, and brought home, at every sentence of it, guilt enough to have convicted twenty men in the awful situation of the prisoner. He said—'With regard to this mass of accumulated evidence, forming irrefragable proof of the guilt of the prisoner, I conceive no man, capable of putting together two ideas, can have a doubt. . . .'

"In observing upon the conduct of the prisoner at the bar, and bringing home the evidence of his guilt, Mr. Plunket said—'I am bringing home guilt to a person, who, I say, is the centre, the life, blood, and soul of this atrocious conspiracy. . . .' The prisoner's aim was, not to reform the abuses of the Government, but 'to sever the connection between Great Britain and Ireland.'

"Gentlemen, I should feel it a waste of words and of public time were I to address you or any other person within the limits

of my voice, were I to talk of the frantic desperation of the plan of any man who speculates upon the dissolution of that Empire, whose glory and whose happiness depends upon its indissoluble connection. But were it practicable to sever that connection, to untie the links which bind us to the British Constitution, and to turn us adrift upon the turbulent ocean of revolution, who could answer for the existence of this country, as an independent country, for a year? God and Nature have made the two countries essential to each other. Let them *cling* to each other to the end of time; and then united affection and loyalty will be proof against the machinations of the world."*

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* The eloquence of this passage is, perhaps, only inferior to that of one in a speech of Mr. Plunket, delivered in the Irish House of Commons in a debate on the Union on the 16th of January, 1800 (from the "Parliamentary Debates," p. 89. Moore, Dublin).

"There are principles of repulsion," said Mr. Plunket; "yes, but there are principles of attraction, and from these the enlightened statesman extracts the principle by which the countries are to be harmoniously governed. As soon would I listen to the shallow observer of Nature who should say there is a centrifugal force impressed on our globe, and, therefore, lest she should be hurried into the void of space, let us rush into the centre to be consumed there. No; I say to this rash arraigner of the dispensations of the Almighty, there are impulses from whose wholesome opposition Eternal Wisdom has declared the law by which we revolve in our proper sphere and at our proper distance. So I say to the political visionary, from the opposite system which you object to I see the wholesome law of imperial connection derived; I see the two countries preserving their due distance from each other, generating and imparting heat and light and life and health and vigour, and I will abide by the wisdom and experience of the ages which are past in preference to the speculations of any modern philosophy. See, I warn the ministers of this country against persevering in their present system. Let them not proceed to offer violence to the settled principles, or to shake the settled loyalty of the country. Let them not persist in the wicked and desperate doctrine which places British connection in contradistinction to Irish freedom. I revere them both; it has been the habit of my life to do so. For the present Constitution I am ready to make any sacrifice. I have proved it. For British connection I am ready to lay down my life. My actions have proved it. Why have I done so? Because I consider that connection essential to the freedom of Ireland. Do not, therefore, tear asunder, to oppose each other, these principles which are identified in the minds of loyal Irishmen. For me, I do not hesitate to declare that if the madness of the revolutionist should tell me you must sacrifice British connection I would adhere to that connection in preference to the independence of my country; but I have as little hesitation in saying that if the wanton ambition of a minister should assault the freedom of Ireland and compel me

Mr. Plunket, in his speech on Emmet's trial, truly said—"If the wisest head that ever lived had framed the wisest system of laws which human ingenuity could devise, if he were satisfied that the system were exactly fitted to the disposition of the people for whom he intended it, and that a great portion of the people were anxious for its adoption, he would take leave to say that, under all these circumstances of fitness and disposition, *a well-judging mind and a humane heart would pause awhile and stop upon the brink of his purpose before he would hazard the peace of his country by resorting to force for the establishment of his system.*"

Would to God that wise and truly Christian sentiment had tempered the ardour and controlled the enthusiasm of that noble-minded being whose youth and inexperience had been thrown on such bad times, and were so unfitted to contend with the villainy in high places that predominated in them.

"The proclamation," Mr. Plunket said, "told the people of Ireland 'the effort was to be entirely their own, independent of foreign aid.' But out of that proclamation he would convict the prisoner of duplicity, for he tells the Government if they put down the present effort, 'they would have to crush a greater effort, rendered still greater by foreign alliance.' But while they were introducing their new-fangled French principles, they forgot to tell the people whom they address that they have been enjoying the benefit of equal laws, by which the property, the person, and constitutional rights and privileges of every man were

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to the alternative, I would fling the connection to the winds and I would clasp the independence of my country to my heart. I trust the virtue and wisdom of the Irish Parliament and people will prevent that dreadful alternative from arising. If it should come, be the guilt of it on the heads of those who make it necessary."

"The dreadful alternative" came in a few weeks after the delivery of Mr. Plunket's able speech, and the indignant orator "clasped his" —— hands with astonishment, outlived the Union, and in three years and a half after its accomplishment—poor Robert Emmet very foolishly thought Mr. Plunket had been in earnest in what he so eloquently threatened to do—he unfortunately "flung the connection to the winds" in reality, and Mr. Plunket was one of his prosecutors who, in the necessary discharge of his duty, had to call on a jury to condemn the young man who had done what he himself had vowed to do hypothetically and metaphorically in his place in Parliament. Mr. Plunket's appointment to the office of Solicitor-General was gazetted the 17th of November, 1803.

abundantly protected. *They have not pointed out a single instance of oppression.* . . . . Did any man presume to invade another in the enjoyment of his property? If he did, was not the punishment of the law brought down upon him? What did he want? What is it that any rational freedom could expect, and that this country were not fully and amply in the possession of it? . . . . . ."

Three years and six months had passed over since the one thing needful to the happiness of Ireland was to have been clasped to the heart. It had been torn away; and lo, and behold! there was not a single instance of oppression, nothing of rational freedom that the country was not fully and amply in possession of.

"When the prisoner reflected," said Mr. Plunket, "that he had stooped from the honourable situation in which his birth, talents, and education placed him, to debauch the minds of the lower orders of ignorant men, with the phantoms of liberty and equality, he must feel that it was an unworthy use of his talents," etc. . . . . "It was not for him" (Mr Plunket) "to say what were the limits of the mercy of God, what a sincere repentance of those crimes might effect; but he did say, that if this unfortunate young gentleman retained any of the seeds of humanity in his heart, or possessed any of those qualities which a virtuous education, in a liberal seminary, must have planted in his bosom, he will make an atonement to his God and his country by employing whatever time remains to him in warning his deluded countrymen from persevering in their schemes.

"Much blood has been shed, and he, the prisoner, would perhaps have been immolated by his followers if he had succeeded. They were a blood-thirsty crew, incapable of listening to the voice of reason, and equally incapable of obtaining rational freedom, if it were wanting in this country, as they are of enjoying it. They imbrue their hands in the most sacred blood of the country; and yet they call upon God to prosper their cause, as it is just." Mr. Plunket ended by saying—"But as it is atrocious, wicked, and abominable, I most devoutly invoke that God to confound and overwhelm it."

Lord Norbury then charged the jury; and it ought in fairness, I will not say to that much injured but much reprobated man, to be stated that his speech was as free from rancour as it was in the nature of things for any speech of Lord Norbury's to be,

addressed to a prisoner on his trial, or to a plaintiff in a cause that came before him.

The jury, without retiring from the box, brought in a verdict of Guilty.

The Attorney-General prayed the judgment of the Court.

Mr. M'Nally, on the part of the prisoner, stated a request, which, probably, ought to be addressed to the Attorney-General, that judgment might not be made until the following day.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Standish O'Grady, said "it was impossible to comply with the request."

The Clerk of the Crown, then, in the usual form, addressed the prisoner, concluding in these words—"What have you, therefore, now to say why judgment of death and execution should not be awarded against you, according to law?"

Mr. Emmet, standing forward in the dock in front of the bench, said—"My lords, as to why judgment of death and execution should not be passed upon me according to law, I have nothing to say; but as to why my character should not be relieved from the imputations and calumnies thrown out against it, I have much to say. I do not imagine that your lordships will give credit to what I am going to utter. I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of the Court, I only wish your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories until it has found some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storms with which it is at present buffeted. Was I to suffer only death, after being adjudged guilty, I should bow in silence to the fate which awaits me; but the sentence of the law which delivers over my body to the executioner, consigns my character to obloquy. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, but also the difficulties of prejudice. Whilst the man dies, his memory lives; and that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. I am charged with being an emissary of France: it is false—I am no emissary. I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all to France. Never did I entertain the remotest idea of establishing French power in Ireland. From the introductory paragraph of the address of the Provisional Government it is evident that every hazard attending an independent effort was deemed preferable to the more fatal risk of

introducing a French army into this country. Small, indeed, would be our claim to patriotism and to sense, and palpable our affectation of the love of liberty, if we were to sell our country to a people who are not only slaves themselves, but the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery on others. And, my lords, let me here observe that I am not the head and life's blood of this rebellion. When I came to Ireland I found the business ripe for execution. I was asked to join in it. I took time to consider, and after mature deliberation I became one of the Provisional Government; and there then was, my lords, an agent from the United Irishmen and Provisional Government of Ireland at Paris, negotiating with the French Government, to obtain from them an aid sufficient to accomplish the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, the preliminary to which assistance has been a guarantee to Ireland similar to that which Franklin obtained for America; but the intimation that I, or the rest of the Provisional Government, meditated to put our country under the dominion of a power which has been the enemy of freedom in every part of the globe, is utterly false and unfounded. Did we entertain any such ideas, how could we speak of giving freedom to our countrymen? How could we assume such an exalted motive? If such an inference is drawn from any part of the proclamation of the Provisional Government, it calumniates their views and is not warranted by the fact.

"Connection with France was, indeed, intended, but only as far as mutual interest would sanction or require. Were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence, it would be the signal for their destruction. We sought aid, and we sought it—as we had assurance we should obtain it—as auxiliaries in war and allies in peace.

"Were the French to come as invaders or enemies, uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes! my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach, with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war. I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and, if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last intrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I

could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish; because I should feel conscious that life, any more than death, is unprofitable, when a foreign nation holds my country in subjection.

"Reviewing the conduct of France to other countries, could we expect better towards us? No; let not then any man attaint my memory by believing that I could have hoped to give freedom to my country by betraying the sacred cause of liberty, and committing it to the power of her most determined foe. Had I done so I had not deserved to live; and, dying with such a weight upon my character, I had merited the honest execration of that country which gave me birth, and to which I would give freedom. What has been the conduct of the French towards other countries? They promised them liberty, and when they got them into their power they enslaved them. What has been their conduct towards Switzerland, where it has been stated I had been? Had the people there been desirous of French assistance, I would have sided with the people, I would have stood between them and the French, whose aid they called in, and, to the utmost of my ability, I would have protected them from every attempt of subjugation; I would, in such case, have fought against the French, and, in the dignity of freedom, I would have expired on the threshold of that country, and they should have entered it only by passing over my lifeless corpse. Is it then to be supposed that I would be slow in making the same sacrifices for my native land; am I, who lived but to be of service to my country, and who would subject myself to the bondage of the grave to give her freedom and independence, am I to be loaded with the foul and grievous calumny of being an emissary of French tyranny and French despotism? My lords, it may be part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to meet the ignominy of the scaffold, but worse to me than the scaffold's shame, or the scaffold's terrors, would be the imputation of having been the agent of the despotism and ambition of France; and, whilst I have breath, I will call upon my countrymen not to believe me guilty of so foul a crime against their liberties and against their happiness. I would do with the people of Ireland as I would have done with the people of Switzerland, could I be called upon at any future period of time so to do. My object, and that of the rest of the Provisional Government, was to effect a total separation between Great Britain

and Ireland, to make Ireland totally independent of Great Britain, but not to become a dependant of France.

"When my spirit shall have joined those bands of martyred heroes, who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field in defence of their country, this is my hope, that my memory and name may serve to animate those who may survive me.

"While the destruction of that Government which upholds its dominion by impiety against the Most High, which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the field, which sets man upon his brother, and lifts his hands, in religion's name, against the throat of his fellow, who believes a little more or less than the Government standard, which reigns amidst the cries of the orphans and the widows it has made." (Here Mr. Emmet was interrupted by Lord Norbury.)

After a few words on the subject of his objects, purposes, and the final prospect of success, he was again interrupted, when he said—

"What I have spoken was not intended for your lordships, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy; my expressions were for my countrymen. If there be a true Irishman present let my last words cheer him in the hour of affliction."

(Lord Norbury interrupted the prisoner.)

"I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience, and to speak with humanity; to exhort the victim of the laws, and to offer, with tender benignity, his opinions of the motives by which he was actuated, in the crime of which he was adjudged guilty. That a judge has thought it his duty so to have done, I have no doubt; but where is the boasted freedom of your institutions—where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice, if an unfortunate prisoner, whom your policy and *not justice*, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives, sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated?

"My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold, but worse to me than the purposed shame or the scaffold's terrors would be the tame endurance of such foul and unfounded imputations as have been laid against me in this Court.. You, my lord, are a judge. I am the supposed culprit. I am a man—you

are a man also. By a revolution of power we might change places, though we never could change characters. If I stand at the bar of this Court and dare not vindicate my character, *what a farce is your justice!* If I stand at this bar and dare not vindicate my character, *how dare you calumniate it?* Does the sentence of death, which your unhallowed policy inflicts on my body, condemn my tongue to silence and my reputation to reproach? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence, but, while I exist, I shall not forbear to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions, and as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honour and love, and for whom I am proud to perish. As men, my lords, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal, and it will then remain for the Searcher of all hearts to show a collective universe who was engaged in the most virtuous actions or actuated by the purest motives—my country's oppressors or——"

(Here he was interrupted, and told to listen to the sentence of the law.)

"My lords, will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself in the eyes of the community from a reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition and attempting to cast away, for a paltry consideration, the liberties of his country? Why then insult me, or rather, why insult justice, in demanding of me why sentence of death should not be pronounced against me? I know, my lords, that the form prescribes that you should put the question; the form also confers the right of answering. This, no doubt, may be dispensed with, and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, since sentence was already pronounced at the Castle before your jury were impanelled. Your lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I submit, but I insist on the whole of the forms."

(Here Mr. Emmet paused, and the Court desired him to proceed.)

"I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country as to be considered the keystone of the combination of Irishmen, or, as it has been expressed, 'the life and blood of this conspiracy.' You do me honour overmuch, you give to the subaltern the credit of the superior. There are men

concerned in this conspiracy who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself, my lord; men, before whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference, and who would not deign to call you friend—who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand."

(Here he was interrupted by Lord Norbury.)

"What, my lord, shall you tell me on my passage to the scaffold—which that tyranny, of which you are only the intermediate minister, has erected for my death—that I am accountable for all the blood that has and will be shed in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor? Shall you tell me this, and must I be so very a slave as not to repel it?

"I do not fear to approach the Omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my short life, and am I to stand appalled here before a mere remnant of mortality? Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge me with dishonour—let no man attaint my memory by believing that I could have engaged in any cause but of my country's liberty and independence. The proclamation of the Provisional Government speaks my views—no inference can be tortured from it to countenance barbarity or debasement. I would not have submitted to a foreign oppression for the same reason that I would have resisted tyranny at home."

Lord Norbury—"Mr. Emmet, you have been called upon to show cause, if any you have, why the judgment of the law should not be enforced against you. Instead of showing anything in point of law why judgment should not pass, you have proceeded in a manner the most unbecoming of a person in your situation; you have avowed and endeavoured to vindicate principles totally subversive of the Government, totally subversive of the tranquillity, wellbeing, and happiness of that country which gave you birth: and you have broached treason the most abominable.

"You, sir, had the honour to be a gentleman by birth, and your father filled a respectable situation under the Government. You had an eldest brother, whom death snatched away, and who, when living, was one of the greatest ornaments of the bar. The laws of his country were the study of his youth; and the study of his maturer life was to cultivate and support them. He left you a proud example to follow; and if he had lived, he would have given your talents the same virtuous direction as his own, and have taught you to admire and preserve that Constitution, for the destruction of

which you have conspired with the most profligate and abandoned, and associated yourself with hostlers, bakers, butchers, and such persons whom you invited to council, when you erected your Provisional Government. . . ."

"If the spirits," said Emmet, "participate in the concerns of those who were dear to them in this transitory scene, dear shade of my venerated father look down on your suffering son, and see has he for one moment deviated from those moral and patriotic principles which you so early instilled into his youthful mind, and for which he now offers up his life.

"My lord, you are impatient for the sacrifice. The blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim—it circulates warmly and unruffled through its channels, and in a little time it will cry to heaven—be yet patient! I have but a few words more to say—I am going to my cold and silent grave—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished—I have parted with everything that was dear to me in this life, and for my country's cause with the idol of my soul, the object of my affections. My race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world, it is *the charity of its silence*. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them rest in obscurity and peace, my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done."

Lord Norbury, after an address which was pronounced with emotion never before exhibited on any former occasion by his lordship, pronounced the dreadful sentence, ordering the prisoner to be executed on the following day, Tuesday. When the prisoner was removed from the dock it was about ten o'clock at night.

The account of the proceedings on the trial I have taken from Ridgeway's Report; but the report of Emmet's speech is sadly mutilated; a great deal of interesting and important matter is omitted. Mr. Ridgeway was one of the counsel for the Crown; and it is well known that the reports of the trials in 1798, and it is probable that those in 1803 had to be submitted to the Castle functionaries, and subjected to revision before publication. The

"Report of Robert Emmet's Speech" in the *Hibernian Magazine* of 1803 is far more simple, and equally correct, as far as it goes; but there are likewise many omissions. It was only by submitting the various versions of the speech to the revision of persons who were present at the trial, and had a strong recollection of the discourse pronounced by Emmet, and comparing different passages, that a copy could be obtained, wherein the omitted matter was supplied and the additions were struck out, which certainly were not improvements of Watty Cox and others. Mr. Buchanan, the late consul of New York, Dr. Macabe, the Rev. Dr. Haydon, the Rev. Dr. Macartney, and others whose names I am not at liberty to disclose, and amongst them one whose retentive memory has preserved every striking passage, an Englishman, now filling the situation of usher of one of the principal police offices in London, were present at the trial of Emmet, and one and all speak of his address as surpassing in thrilling eloquence in that speech anything they had ever witnessed in oratory. Emmet pronounced the speech in so loud a voice as to be distinctly heard at the outer doors of the Court-house; and yet, though he spoke in a loud tone, there was nothing boisterous in his manner; his accents and cadence of voice, on the contrary, were exquisitely modulated. His action was very remarkable—its greater or lesser vehemence corresponded with the rise and fall of his voice. He is described as moving about the dock, as he warmed in his address, with rapid but not ungraceful motions; now in front of the railing before the bench, then retiring, as if his body as well as his mind were swelling beyond the measure of their chains. His action was not confined to his hands, he seemed to have acquired a swaying motion of the body when he spoke in public which was peculiar to him, but there was no affectation in it. It was said of Tone, on his trial, by a bystander, that he never saw anyone cast affectation so far behind him. The remark with equal truth might have been applied to Emmet. His trial commenced on the morning of the 18th of September, 1803, and terminated the same evening at ten o'clock, and a few hours were all that were given to him to prepare for eternity. Tuesday was fixed for his execution; he had prayed, through his counsel, of the Attorney-General, not to be brought up for judgment till the Wednesday. His application was refused; the ministers of justice were impatient for the sacrifice; the ministers of mercy and of humanity were abroad, or had resigned their places, or were driven

from the Castle, or were drowned in their own tears. Poor Emmet, at ten o'clock at night, was removed from the Court-house in Green Street to Newgate ; there he was heavily ironed by Gregg the jailer, and placed, it is supposed by *The Times* correspondent, in one of the condemned cells. The Government appear to have become alarmed lest any attempt should be made at a rescue ; there is some reason to think that some project of this kind was in contemplation, and that Robert Emmet had been made acquainted with it. After midnight, when the few brief hours the prisoner had to live ought to have been sacred from disturbance, an order came from the Secretary at the Castle forthwith to have the prisoner conveyed to Kilmainham Jail, a distance of about two miles and a half. And the fears of the Government were made to appear an anxious desire of the Secretary to consult the comfort of the condemned man. If this was the case, why did he wait till after midnight to issue his orders ?

Poor Emmet once more entered Kilmainham Jail ! It is said that George Dunn, at seeing him enter heavily fettered, and the marks of blood on his stockings, was moved even to tears ; and that he was provided with refreshments, which he was much in need of, having been on his legs nearly eleven hours in Court, and never having tasted food since he had left the jail. I have omitted to state that the trial commenced at ten o'clock in the morning and terminated at ten at night. The Court was crowded to excess. He was dressed in black, wore a black velvet stock and Hessian boots. The speech of Mr. Plunket on Emmet's trial has been the subject of much controversy, which it is impossible, in the memoir of Robert Emmet, to leave unnoticed or affect to be ignorant of. I feel anything but a desire to enter on this subject ; however, having to treat of it, I shall confine myself to the task of placing before the reader all the authentic information there is on the subject, and leave him to draw his own conclusions—premising simply, that much falsehood has crept into the details respecting the intimacy of Lord (then Mr.) Plunket with the father of Thomas Addis Emmet.

Having required a search to be made in the Court of King's Bench for an affidavit of Lord Plunket, in the case of the King at the suit of the Right Honourable W. C. Plunket against Gilbert and Hodges, I found that an affidavit had been filed in that case

in the latter part of 1811, and that two orders had been pronounced on it in Hilary Term, 1812.

"THE KING *re* GILBERT AND HODGES.

"The Right Honourable William C. Plunket, of Stephen's Green, in the city of Dublin, maketh oath and saith that he hath read in a book entitled, 'Sketches of History, Politics, and Manners, taken in Dublin and the North of Ireland in 1810,' the following passage :—'Mr. Plunket, the late Attorney-General of Ireland, is an admirable public speaker either at the Bar or in Parliament. This gentleman, however, was much reprobated for his conduct on the trial of Mr. Emmet for high treason about seven years ago. Mr. Plunket, who was then only King's Counsel, conducted the prosecution against this unfortunate young man with a rancour and virulence which shocked and surprised every person acquainted with his obligations to his father and family. Mr. Plunket's reason for this conduct has never been made known, though it injured him very much in public estimation. Crown lawyers have at all times been of the bloodhound tribe—they seldom lost sight of their prey, either from considerations of gratitude or humanity. We have an instance of this in the prosecution of Lord Essex, on whom the celebrated Bacon, then Attorney-General, exhausted every opprobrious term in the English language, though this amiable nobleman had been his greatest benefactor and constant and unalterable friend. This deponent saith he believes himself to be the person designated in the foregoing passage by the name of Mr. Plunket, and that the object of the said passage is to represent this deponent as having conducted a charge of high treason against the late Robert Emmet with rancour and virulence so gross as to shock and surprise the public mind, and that the passage is further intended to represent this deponent as having violated the dictates of gratitude and honour by exciting such virulence and rancour against a person from whose father and family this deponent had received considerable obligations. This deponent saith that the entire of the charges and insinuations against this deponent contained in these passages are untrue. This deponent saith that he was personally an utter stranger to the said Robert Emmet, never having, to the knowledge of this deponent, seen him until he was arraigned and on the trial in the Dublin Court, and never having had any inter-

course of any kind, directly or indirectly, and this deponent saith that he never received the slightest or remotest obligation from the said Robert Emmet, or from the father, or from any one individual of the family of the said Robert Emmet. And this deponent saith that the father of the said Robert Emmet was a physician, residing in the city of Dublin; this deponent was not even on such terms of acquaintance with the said Dr. Emmet as to bow to him in the streets; and this deponent never was, to his recollection or belief, in a private company with the said Dr. Emmet, or in a room, in his life, save once, and that, as this deponent believes, upwards of twenty years ago, at the house of the said Dr. Emmet, on the invitation of his son, Thomas Addis Emmet, with whom the deponent had been intimate when in the University of Dublin, and when a student at the Inns of Court in England; but this deponent saith that, within a very short time after the said Thomas Addis Emmet had been called to the Irish Bar, which was, as the deponent saith, some time in May, 1790, all intimacy between him and this deponent had ceased—principally in consequence, as this deponent saith, of a total opposition between the opinions of Thomas Addis Emmet and this deponent on the political affairs of this country, which about that period assumed a form so very important as deeply to affect the private sentiments and character of reflecting persons, in so much so that, for some years before the arrest and imprisonment of the said Thomas Addis Emmet in the year 1798, there subsisted no sort of intercourse between this deponent and the said Thomas Addis Emmet, save unless what arose from occasionally meeting in the streets or in the Four Courts, although this deponent was not then fully apprised of the danger in which the said Thomas Addis Emmet was implicated with the party who were engaged in the political pursuits in this country which ended in so much public disaster. This deponent further saith, that he did not conduct the trial for high treason against the said Robert Emmet, the same being then conducted by the then Attorney-General, the present Chief Baron of the Exchequer in England. But this deponent admits that he was one of the counsel employed and consulted in the conduct thereof; and this deponent saith that he declares the said trial was conducted with perfect propriety and moderation by the said Attorney-General, and by all the counsel concerned; and this deponent positively saith that he was not, in the part which

he took in the said trial, actuated by any feeling at all partaking of the nature of virulence or rancour; but, on the contrary, this deponent saith that he felt sincere compassion for the said Robert Emmet, whom this deponent considered as possessing many high endowments, but who had, as this deponent conceived, sacrificed them and himself to the suggestion of an unregulated enthusiasm, and who had involved in his wild enterprise the fate of many deluded persons of the lower orders of society. This deponent saith that he was then of opinion that it would be of some service to the public that this deponent should avail himself of the public opportunity of speaking to the evidence in the said trial by pointing out the folly and wildness, as well as the wickedness of the treasonable conspiracy which at that time subsisted; and this deponent saith that in the observations which he made on the same trial this deponent did remark on the unworthy use which the said Robert Emmet had made of his rank in society, and of his high abilities, in endeavouring to dissatisfy the lower orders of labourers and mechanics with their lot in life, and engaging them in schemes of revolution from which they could reap no fruit but disgrace and death; and this deponent did also remark on the danger and ruin to which the said Robert Emmet had exposed his country, by having proposed (as this deponent conceives the fact to be) to call in the assistance of the French. But this deponent saith that he is not conscious of having made use of any expressions on that occasion which were calculated to give unnecessary pain to the said Robert Emmet, or which in any degree departed from the respect which was due to a gentleman in his unfortunate situation. And this deponent begs leave to refer to the report of the cases of high treason published in the year 1803, in which, although the report of this deponent's observations to the jury is very inaccurate as to composition, and was published without any revisal by or communication with the deponent, the substance of the said observations is stated fairly and without suppression. This deponent saith that a libellous statement similar to that which this deponent now complains of, having been made many years ago in a London periodical print, this deponent did bring an action in England against the publisher thereof, and did the same time, in the year 1804, obtain a verdict and damages to the amount of £400, but which the deponent did not levy; and this deponent saith that the same scandal having been revised and

propagated with some industry, this deponent feels that he owes it to his own character to take this public method of disproving on oath the base and unworthy conduct which has been attributed to him, and which this deponent believes is calculated to lower him in the estimation of those who are not acquainted with his character and sentiments and habits of life. This deponent saith that he believes that a great many copies of the publication above-mentioned, entitled, etc., etc., have been circulated in this city by the publisher; a copy thereof was, on the 14th of this month, sold at the shop of Messrs. Gilbert & Hodges.

"November 23rd, 1811."

There are two persons who, if Lord Plunket had been intimate in the family of Dr. Emmet, must have known it—Mr. John Patten and Mr. St. John Mason, inmates of the house of Dr. Emmet in Stephen's Green, at various periods during the time of the alleged intimacy, and both gentlemen state that they never saw Lord Plunket at Dr. Emmet's. Mr. Mason says, on the occasion of Messrs. Plunket and M'Naghten's, members of the Irish Parliament, making speeches in 1798 strongly opposed to the proceedings of the State prisoners, Dr. Emmet did complain of Mr. Plunket on that occasion. Mr. Mason informs me the persons who within his recollection had been frequent visitors at Dr. Emmet's, and personal friends or acquaintances of T. A. Emmet were the following:—Dr. Drennan; A. O'Connor; L. E. Fitzgerald; Rev. Walter Blake Kirwan; Solomon Richards, surgeon; Dr. Macneven; the two Pennyfathers (now Judges); Chamberlayne (afterwards Judge); Baron George; C. K. Bushe, the late Chief Justice; Burton (now Judge); Sir Edward Newenham; Peter Burrowes, late Commissioner of Bankrupts; Lady Anne Fitzgerald, a constant visitor at Dr. Emmet's.*

From all I can learn from the immediate friends and connections of the Emmets, Lord Plunket was not intimate with any member of the family except T. A. Emmet. Lord Plunket states in his deposition that he had been intimate with T. A. Emmet in the University and at the Inns of Court in London, and that their intimacy had ceased in 1790; and there was no sort of intercourse

* A. Fitzmaurice, married to the Knight of Kerry, died in Gloucester Street, Dublin, then a widow. A letter of this lady's was published in the newspapers in 1803, stating that she would not harbour traitors.

between them for some years before 1798, "unless what arose from occasionally meeting in the streets and in the Four Courts." I presume this means they were on terms of ordinary acquaintance up to the period of T. A. Emmet's arrest.

The occasion of Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven on the 27th of August, 1798, having published an advertisement refuting the newspaper publication, purporting to be Abstracts of the Report of the Secret Committee,—"'As astonishing misrepresentations, not only unsupported by, but in many instances directly contradictory to, the facts stated on those occasions," when home members of the House of Commons recommended treating the persons who signed the advertisement in a summary manner is referred to; not by Emmet, but by Dr. Macneven, in his account of the compact with the Government. Therein he states that "Mr. Plunket had been the bosom friend of Emmet, the companion of his childhood, and the friend of his youth."* Mr. T. A. Emmet in his portion of the work makes no reference to the subject. His treatise does not come down to that period. Mr. Plunket's affidavit limits the intimacy to relations with Emmet at College and in their early professional career, and leaves some sort of acquaintance to be inferred, apparently amounting to what is called being "on speaking terms," down to Emmet's arrest in 1798.

These are the facts of the case, and I have endeavoured to state them fairly.

CHAPTER XVI.

Mr. W. H. Curran, in his life of his father, states that on Emmet's arrest some papers were found on his person which showed that, subsequent to the insurrection, he had corresponded with one of Mr. Curran's family, a warrant accordingly followed, as a matter of course, to examine Mr. Curran's house, where some of Mr. Emmet's letters were found, which, together with the documents taken upon his person, placed beyond a doubt his connection with the late conspiracy, and were afterwards used as evidence upon his trial. . . .

"Mr. Curran waited upon the Attorney-General (the Right Hon. Standish O'Grady, the late Chief Baron of the Exchequer) and

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* Pieces of Irish History, p. 162.

tendered his person and his papers, to abide any inquiry which the Government might deem it expedient to direct. That officer entered into his situation with the most prompt and manly sympathy, and, instead of assuming the character of an accuser of the father, more generously displayed his zeal in interceding for his child. At his instance Mr. Curran accompanied him to the Privy Council. Upon his first entrance there were some indications of the hostile spirit which he had originally apprehended. A noble lord, who at one time held the highest judicial situation in Ireland, undertook to examine him upon the transaction which occasioned his attendance. To do this was undoubtedly his duty. He fixed his eye upon Mr. Curran, and was proceeding to cross-examine his countenance, when (as is well remembered by the spectators of the scene) the swell of indignation and the glance of stern dignity and contempt which he encountered there gave his own nerves the shock which he had meditated for another's, and compelled him to shrink back into his chair, silent and disconcerted at the failure of his rash experiment. With this single exception, Mr. Curran was treated with the utmost delicacy." *

Mr. Grattan gives an account of an intercepted letter addressed by Emmet to Miss Curran, which probably may be another version of the same occurrence which Mr. W. H. Curran makes mention of.

"There were fine traits, too, in Emmet's character; the following was one of them. His attachment to Miss Curran was well known. When he was sent to prison for the outbreak in 1803 he took aside the jailer and gave him a letter for Miss Curran and all the money he had about him, and begged that he would deliver it safe. The man, in the discharge of his duty, gave the letter to the Attorney-General. Emmet found *this* out, and he immediately sent to Government to say that he had imprudently written such a letter, that it had come to their hands—he had thus injured an innocent and guiltless female; and, knowing how much the Government were afraid of his addressing the people at his execution, he begged of them to have the letter delivered, and if they refused he would not fail to address the people, and would do so with greater determination; but if they sent the letter he would agree to appear in Court, plead guilty, and go to execution without saying a word. That was certainly a fine trait in his character. The letter related

* Life of Curran, Vol II, page 229.

to politics as well as to love, and in it he mentions there was only one thing in the whole of his conduct with which he had (and justly) to reproach himself—that was his imprudence; and one great cause of his failure he attributed to the mildness of the Government, which he termed their insidious moderation." *

Who thinks of the young heroic man of 1803, who talks of the child of the heart of Ireland, who loves and cherishes the memory of the youth "who perished in his pride on the scaffold," and merged its ignominy in "the magnanimity" of his bearing (to use the language employed by the representative of the sovereign, in bearing testimony to the nobleness of mind which suggested one of the latest of his acts), who mourns over his fate, and while reminded of his errors, separates his motives from them, and traces to their source the calamities of his race, and the misfortunes of his country; who reads the story of Robert Emmet, and does not recall the name of Sarah Curran, and all that is sad, as well as beautiful, that is associated with it?

Her brother tells us of the progress of Emmet's attachment, and of the period and occasion of his divulging it to her. A letter of the former to her father, and another to Mr. Richard Curran "contain all that is to be told." Those letters everybody feels contain less than he desires to know of one who engaged the affections of Robert Emmet. The letter to the father was intended to give an appearance of a very recent and accidental origin to that attachment, and to conceal the extent to which his daughter's affections had been engaged. The object is obvious, and its delicacy no less apparent. That attachment was not of a very recent origin, nor was its ardour and enthusiasm all, or chiefly, on the side of Robert Emmet. During the whole period of his last residence in Dublin, after his return from the Continent, an active correspondence was carried on between him and Miss Curran. This correspondence, comprising what has been termed "a sheaf of notes and letters," fell into the hands of the Irish Verres, Major Sirr. They remained long in his possession objects of "virtue," classed with "rebellious papers," in that portion of the collection which was set apart for the antiquities of the year of blood and plunder, that was marked with a white stone in the Major's calendar, 1798.

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* Grattan's Life and Times, Vol. XIV., page 360.

The entire of those letters, it is stated on good authority, were burned by Major Sirr some years before his death; from compassionate feelings, it is said. The letters of the lady moved him to pity—wonderful letters! Well might the writers of them have said—"What wreck discern you in me deserves YOUR pity?" It is needless to inquire into his motives for this act, as it is fruitless to lament the destruction of them. The Major, in destroying those papers, has not destroyed the memory of Robert Emmet, or diminished the mournful interest that is felt in everything that relates to Sarah Curran.

A few days after Emmet was lodged in prison he wrote to Mr. Curran the following letter:—

FROM MR. ROBERT EMMET TO JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN, ESQ.

"I did not expect you to be my counsel. I nominated you, because not to have done so might have appeared remarkable. Had Mr. —— been in town, I did not even wish to have seen you; but as he was not, I wrote to you to come to me at once. I know that I have done you very severe injury, much greater than I can atone for with my life; that atonement I did offer to make before the Privy Council by pleading guilty, if those documents were suppressed. I offered more. I offered, if I was permitted to consult some persons, and if they would consent to an accommodation for saving the lives of others, that I would only require for my part of it the suppression of those documents, and that I would abide the event of my own trial. This was also rejected; and nothing but individual information (with the exception of names) would be taken. My intention was not to leave the suppression of those documents to possibility, but to render it unnecessary for anyone to plead for me, by pleading guilty to the charge myself.

"The circumstances that I am now going to mention I do not state in my own justification. When I first addressed your daughter, I expected that in another week my own fate would be decided. I knew that in case of success many others might look on me differently from what they did at that moment, but I speak with sincerity when I say that I never was anxious for situation or distinction myself, and I did not wish to be united to one who was. I spoke to your daughter neither expecting, nor, in fact, under those circumstances, wishing that there should be a return of attachment; but wishing to judge of her dispositions—to know how

far they might be not unfavourable or disengaged, and to know what foundation I might afterwards have to count on. I received no encouragement whatever. She told me she had no attachment for any person, nor did she seem likely to have any that could make her wish to quit you. I stayed away till the time had elapsed, when I found that the event to which I allude was to be postponed indefinitely. I returned by a kind of infatuation, thinking that to myself only was I giving pleasure or pain. I perceived no progress of attachment on her part, nor anything in her conduct to distinguish me from a common acquaintance. Afterwards I had reason to suppose that discoveries were made, and that I should be obliged to quit the kingdom immediately, and I came to make a renunciation of any approach to friendship that might have been formed. On that very day she herself spoke to me to discontinue my visits. I told her that it was my intention, and I mentioned the reason. I then, for the first time, found when I was unfortunate, by the manner in which she was affected, that there was a return of affection and that it was too late to retreat. My own apprehensions, also, I afterwards found, were without cause, and I remained. There has been much culpability on my part in all this; but there has also been a great deal of that misfortune which seems uniformly to have accompanied me. That I have written to your daughter since an unfortunate event has taken place was an additional breach of propriety for which I have suffered well; but I will candidly confess that I not only do not feel it to have been of the same extent, but that I consider it to have been unavoidable after what had passed. For though I will not attempt to justify in the smallest degree my former conduct, yet when an attachment was once formed between us--and a sincerer one never did exist—I feel that, peculiarly circumstanced as I then was, to have left her uncertain of my situation would neither have weaned her affections nor lessened her anxiety; and looking upon her as one whom, if I had lived, I hoped to have had my partner for life, I did hold the removing her anxiety above every other consideration. I would rather have had the affections of your daughter in the back settlements of America than the first situation this country could afford without them. I know not whether this will be any extenuation of my offence—I know not whether it will be any extenuation of it to know that, if I had that situation in my power at this moment, I would relinquish it to devote my life to her happiness—

I know not whether success would have blotted out the recollection of what I have done, but I know that a man, with the coldness of death on him, need not be made to feel any other coldness; and that he may be spared any addition to the misery he feels, not for himself, but for those to whom he has left nothing but sorrow." *

On the morning of the day of Emmet's execution he wrote the following letter to Mr. Richard Curran :—

FROM ROBERT EMMET TO RICHARD CURRAN, ESQ.

"MY DEAREST RICHARD,—I find I have but a few hours to live, but if it was the last moment and the power of utterance was leaving me I would thank you from the bottom of my heart for your generous expressions of affection and forgiveness to me. If there was anyone in the world in whose breast my death might be supposed not to stifle every spark of resentment, it might be you. I have deeply injured you—I have injured the happiness of a sister that you love, and who was formed to give happiness to everyone about her, instead of having her own mind a prey to affliction. Oh! Richard, I have no excuse to offer, but that I meant the reverse; I intended as much happiness for Sarah as the most ardent love could have given her. I never did tell you how much I idolised her. It was not with a wild or unfounded passion, but it was an attachment increasing every hour, from an admiration of the purity of her mind, and respect for her talents. I did dwell in secret upon the prospect of our union. I did hope that success, while it afforded the opportunity of our union, might be a means of confirming an attachment, which misfortune had called forth. I did not look to honours for myself—praise I would have asked from the lips of no man—but I would have wished to read in the glow of Sarah's countenance that her husband was respected.

"My love, Sarah! it was not thus that I thought to have requited your affection. I did hope to be a prop, round which your affections might have clung, and which would never have been shaken; but a rude blast has snapped it, and they have fallen over a grave.

* The original is not signed or dated; it was written on the interval between Emmet's conviction and execution.—*Curran's Life*, Vol. II., p. 236.

"This is no time for affliction. I have had public motives to sustain my mind, and I have not suffered it to sink; but there have been moments in my imprisonment when my mind was sunk by grief on her account, that death would have been a refuge. God bless you, my dearest Richard! I am obliged to leave off immediately.

"ROBERT EMMET."*

A man of Emmet's character, who loved the name of honour more than he feared death, and in his sentiments with respect to the destiny and the noble qualities of women, was true and loyal in his chivalry as ever knight of old; whose purity of life and morals, inflexibility of principles and purpose, have never been denied; whose mind, moreover, was highly cultivated, stored not only with the ancient glories of Grecian and Roman erudition, but with the lighter graces of modern literature, was not likely to fix his affections lightly, and where once fixed his passion was not destined to consume itself, whether in exile, in a distant land, or in a dungeon, while it had the recollection of the love of such a being as Sarah Curran to subsist on. The sentiments and conduct of Robert Emmet were in perfect conformity in respect to the claims of woman to man's highest respect—nay, in his opinion, to a sort of reverential deference for qualities which he considered preserved more, or at least exhibited oftener, traces of their exalted origin than were manifested in those of the other sex. I speak of his opinions on this subject, and their influence on his actions, from the most authentic information; and especially from the statements of one gentleman intimately and closely connected with him from the days of his boyhood to those of his most lamented end.

The story of "the broken heart" has made the trials and afflictions of the object of his affection known wherever one of the most graceful books in the miscellaneous literature of our language is known.

The following account of Sarah Curran's ill-fated attachment conveys a better idea of it, and its unhappy issue than any description of mine could possibly afford:—

"She loved him with the disinterested fervour of a woman's

* Curran's Life, by his Son, p. 238, Vol. II.

first and early love. When every worldly maxim arrayed itself against him, when blasted in fortune, and disgrace and danger darkened around his name, she loved him the more ardently for his very sufferings. If, then, his fate could awaken the sympathy even of his foes, what must have been the agony of her whose whole soul was occupied by his image? Let those tell who have had the portals of the tomb suddenly closed between them and the being they most loved on earth—who have sat at its threshold, as one shut out in a cold and lonely world, from whence all that was most lovely and loving had departed.

"To render her widowed situation more desolate she had incurred her father's displeasure by her unfortunate attachment, and was an exile from her parental roof. But could the sympathy and offices of friends have reached a spirit so shocked and *driven in* by horror she would have experienced no want of consolation, for the Irish are proverbially a people of quick and generous sensibilities. The most delicate and cherishing attentions were paid her by families of wealth and distinction. She was led into society, and they tried by all kinds of occupation and amusement to dissipate her grief and wean her from the tragic story of her love. But it was all in vain. There are some strokes of calamity that scathe and scorch the soul—that penetrate to the vital seat of happiness—and blast it, never again to put forth bud or blossom. She never objected to frequent the haunts of pleasure, but she was as much alone there as in the depths of solitude. She walked about in a sad reverie, apparently unconscious of the world around her. She carried with her an inward woe that mocked at all the blandishments of friendship, and 'heeded not the song of the charmer, charm he never so wisely.'

"On the occasion of a masquerade at the Rotunda her friends brought her to it. There can be no exhibition of far-gone wretchedness more striking and painful than to meet it in such a scene. To find it wandering like a spectre, lonely and joyless where all around is gay—to see it dressed out in the trappings of mirth, and looking so wan and woe-begone, as if it had tried in vain to cheat the poor heart into a momentary forgetfulness of sorrow. After strolling through the splendid rooms and giddy crowd with an air of abstraction, she sat down on the steps of an orchestra, and, looking about for some time with a vacant air which showed insensibility to the gayish scene, she began, with

the capriciousness of a sickly heart, to warble a little plaintive air. She had an exquisite voice, but on this occasion it was so simple, so touching, it breathed forth such a soul of wretchedness that she gathered a crowd, mute and silent, around her, and melted everyone into tears."

This was a mournful spectacle indeed. Imogen was unable to drag her misery into such scenes of gaiety; yet misery shows itself in various shapes, and not always in the saddest places. What heavy heart-sickness is breathed in the words addressed to the companions of the latter :—

> "So please you, leave me;
> Stick to your journal course; the breach of custom
> Is the breach of all. I am ill—but your being by me
> Cannot amend me; society is no comfort
> To one not sociable. I am not very sick,
> Since I can reason of it. Pray you, trust me,
> I'll rob none but myself; and let me die,
> Stealing so poorly."

Anne Devlin, in speaking of Emmet's residence at Harold's Cross, mentions her having been sent for to convey a letter to Miss Curran, but in a subsequent conversation she stated that she had been the bearer of several notes to Miss Curran when he was living at Butterfield Lane. Another person, I am informed, frequently performed the same office, a sister of young Palmer, of Thomas Street. Anne Devlin says that when she delivercd a note to Miss Curran "her face used to change so, one would hardly know her." She remembered Miss Curran, she said, as well as if she was then standing before her; she was a person "whose face, some way or another, the first time one ever laid their eyes upon her, seemed to be known to one. You could not see Miss Curran and not help liking her; and yet she was not handsome, but she was more than handsome." I described to her the person of a sister of Miss Sarah Curran, whom I had known in Italy upwards of twenty years ago, but she said there was no resemblance. Miss Sarah was not tall, her figure was very slight, her complexion dark, her eyes large and black, and "her look was the mildest, and the softest, and the sweetest look *you* ever saw."

From all that I have been able to learn of this young lady, she was one of the gentlest, the most amiable, the simplest-minded, the freest from affectation, the most patient, the least wilful of woman-

kind; and yet there was no sacrifice she was not capable of making for the man she loved—there was no suffering she was not prepared to endure for his sake. Under all restraints, in all the trying circumstances she was placed in, it would seem that her fugitive, her imprisoned, her death-doomed, her buried, or her slandered and reprobated lover, was ever present to her thoughts. With all the resolution of strong faith she had flung her youth, her hope, her beauty, her talent, upon his bosom—"weighed him against the world, which she found but a feather in the scale, and taken him as an equivalent."

I know not where there is to be found a more touching and striking example of devoted fondness, of that kind of self-sacrificing fondness, of devoted fidelity to the object of affection, which carries abnegation to the farthest possible extent, than in the instance of the exercise of the faith, fortitude, patience, and self-renunciation, practically manifested by Sarah Curran.

When it is remembered how obnoxious Curran had rendered himself to the Government, by so many years increasing opposition to every administration, with the exception of Lord Fitzwilliam's, while he was a member of it in the House of Commons ; by the part he had taken in the various State trials from 1794 to the end of 1798, it cannot be wondered at, how vexatious to him must have been the event which left him at the mercy of that Government, and rendered it necessary for him to appear before the Privy Council in the character, no longer of an intrepid advocate for others, but of a suspected person, who had to enter into explanations of his own conduct. If there was aught in his treatment to his poor daughter of harshness, or of undue severity, which it is now easier to assert than to substantiate or to disprove, let the fault be remembered, and dealt with only uncharitably, by those who forget his services to his countrymen.

It has been stated that Miss Curran had an interview with Robert Emmet the day before his execution. The statement is denied, I believe with truth, by every friend of Robert Emmet with whom I am acquainted. The only friend, or person presumed to be a friend of his, who visited him the day previous to his trial, or after his conviction, was Mr. Leonard M'Nally, the barrister. None of his fellow-prisoners were even permitted to take leave of him. But the morning of his execution there was a coach stationed at a short distance from the jail, near the entrance to the Royal

Hospital. A lady was seen in that coach by an associate of Robert Emmet with her face buried in her handkerchief; and when the prisoner left the jail, and the carriage in which he was placed approached the spot where the other vehicle was drawn up, Robert Emmet put his head out of the window, gazed intently at the person who was in it, waved his hand several times, and was continuing to do so, till he was out of sight of the person who gave this account. At the moment Robert Emmet passed, the lady referred to stood up in the carriage, waved her handkerchief, and sank back on the seat. My informant was not near enough to the coach to discern her features distinctly; she was a young person, and he believed it was Miss Curran.

A day or two after the execution, Leonard, the old gardener of Dr. Emmet, told me, Miss Curran contrived to elude the vigilance of her friends, and in the dusk of the evening visited the grave of her lover.

The circumstance has been made the subject of some lines, which are more indicative, perhaps, of the author's feelings than of his poetic abilities; such as they are, they may serve to keep the occurrences to which they allude in remembrance.

MISS CURRAN'S LAMENT.*

The joy of life lies here,
Robert A Roon;
All that my soul held dear,
Robert A Roon.
Spouse of my heart! this shrine—
"The long last home" of thine,
Entombs each hope of mine,
Robert A Roon.

But tears must fall unseen,
Robert A Roon;
The turf is not yet green,
Robert A Roon.
No stone must bear thy name,
No lips thy truth proclaim,
The heart must shroud thy fame,
Robert A Roon.

No minstrel's strains for thee,
Robert A Roon;
The harp must silent be,
Robert A Roon.
It must not breathe one moan,
One thrilling sigh; not one
Loud wailing, mournful tone,
Robert A Roon.

The night is cold and chill,
Robert A Roon.
Yet day will brighten still,
Robert A Roon.
But sun will never shine,
Can warm this heart of mine;
It's almost cold as thine,
Robert A Roon.

Still would I linger here,
Robert A Roon;
What home have I elsewhere?
Robert A Roon.
Ah! were I laid with thee,
How welcome death would be
A bridal bed to me!
Robert A Roon.

My heart had but one hope,
Robert A Roon;
It only bloomed to droop,
Robert A Roon.
It never can bloom more;
The blight has reached its core,
And all life's joys are o'er,
Robert A Roon.

* These lines are written in the metre of one of the most plaintive and beautiful of our Irish ballads, "Eileen A Roon." So exquisite an air was

Poor Miss Curran, after the death of her lover, did not very long remain in her father's house. Her wretchedness found no alleviation there, and the very constraint imposed upon her feelings was productive of additional misery. At length she quitted her father's house, "her home no more," and proceeded to Cork, accompanied by her sister. There she was received in the house of Mr. Penrose, a Quaker, a gentleman I believe who found it necessary to leave Ireland in 1798. She was treated by the family of Mr. Penrose with the utmost kindness and most delicate attention. It was while she was on a visit with Mr. Penrose she became acquainted with Captain Sturgeon, and after some months this poor girl, friendless, homeless, heart-widowed, dependent on the kindness of people almost strangers to her, endured the attentions of a person singularly refined, delicate and amiable in his disposition, moved less by her personal attractions than the sufferings of one so young, so good, so gentle, and yet so friendless and forlorn; that gentleman made an offer to her of his hand and fortune. *

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thought too good to be of Irish origin; it was, therefore, put in a Scottish dress in 1793, under the title of "Robin Adair," by Burns, who was requested to write new words to it. Handel declared he would rather have composed this air than any modern musical composition. Burns was not aware, however, that the subject of the song, "Robin Adair," was an Irishman, the ancestor of Lord Molesworth, and lived at Holly Park, in the county of Wicklow. Hardiman, who has given an interesting notice of this song, from whose shamefully-neglected work, "The Bardic Remains of Ireland," the above particulars are taken, states that the endearing term, "A Roon," signifies "my heart's secret treasure."

*I am indebted to a friend of nearly forty years' experience, Thomas Lyons, Esq., of Cork, for the following particulars respecting Sarah Curran's residence in Cork, previously to her marriage. To the same valued friend, one of the best of men, the best of Irishmen, I owe likewise a great deal of the information which enabled me to complete the memoirs of the Sheares of General Corbett, all natives of Cork.

It will be observed that a circumstance of mournful interest, described by Washington Irving as having taken place in Dublin, occurred, according to Mr. Lyons's account, at the house of Mr. Thomas Penrose of Cork.

"Of Miss Curran's sad story little is known here. Her brother, who has written his father's life, is silent on the subject, owing probably to the severity with which she was treated on account of her attachment to Emmet."

"The following are the only particulars I could learn:—

"She was the second daughter of J. P. Curran, and remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments. She was about eighteen years old when

Sarah Curran was then beginning to manifest symptoms of decline. The sorrows that in silence and in the solitude of society (for such it was to her) had preyed upon her health, her appearance now betrayed in the unerring symptoms of that insidious disease which mocks the hopes of its victims and of those around them, and mimics the hue of health and the lustre of the bright eye of youth and loveliness.

Captain Sturgeon's proposal embraced the project of a residence in a southern climate. Any project that afforded an opportunity of leaving Ireland had a recommendation. Sarah Curran finally consented to become the wife of Captain Sturgeon. Robert Emmet's memory was not forgotten ; its claim on her heart was recognised and acknowledged by the friend and protector who had assumed a

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Emmet first visited her at her father's, and a warm attachment soon sprung up between them, but was concealed until Emmet's fatal arrest and speedy execution. Previous to his trial Robert Emmet wrote to Curran a full expression of his passion, and it was well known that Emmet's frequent visits placed Curran under strong suspicion with Government, so as to cause his being examined before the Council. This discovery, it is said, led to the extremity of Miss Curran's expulsion from her paternal home; at all events, of her being obliged to seek the refuge and protection of a friend's house. She was received into the family of Mr. Penrose, of Woodhill, on the Glanmire Road, near to Cork. It was at a party given by Mr. Penrose that a circumstance took place which has been the subject of song and story. In a moment of unconsciousness she quitted the gay circle, and seating herself at the foot of the staircase, began, evidently unaware of what was passing around her, to sing a plaintive melody that had reference to her own unhappy circumstances ; she had an exquisite voice, and the sad tone in which she sang soon drew around her a crowd of sympathising listeners. One, a colonel in the British army, offered her his hand. Homeless, deprived of the protection of her father, and thrown entirely on her friends for support, she had no alternative but to accept this offer, but told him she had no heart to give away.

"He knew her position, and respected all that was sacred in it ; the marriage took place in Cork. His regiment was ordered to Malta some time after, and, her health becoming every day worse, she proceeded to Italy, and, two years after her marriage, *she died of a broken heart.* Her remains were brought to Ireland, in fulfilment of a promise made her grandmother, that she should be buried with her, and her remains are buried in the churchyard of Newmarket, in this county, without *monument or inscription.* A tombstone was prepared for this grave, but owing to the expense not being defrayed, or from some other cause, it lay in Mallow up to the last three or four years ; but lately, when sought for, with the view of having it erected, it was not forthcoming, and the remains of Sarah Curran, the object of the affections of Robert Emmet, *lie in an unknown and neglected grave.*"

husband's title, to prove the generosity and benevolence of his nature, in his care and protection of one who was worthy of so much pity as well as admiration.

In the *Hibernian Magazine* of February the marriage is announced in the following terms:—"At Cork, Captain R. H. Sturgeon, of the Royal Staff Corps, and *nephew* of the late Marquis of Rockingham, to Miss Sarah Curran, daughter of J. P. Curran." *

The circumstance of her residence in a southern climate, and of her melancholy state of health and spirits at that period, is made the subject of a few lines of Moore's, which, for their exquisite beauty and pathos, it would be difficult, I will not say to equal, but to approach :—

MISS CURRAN.

She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps,
And lovers around her are sighing;
But she coldly turns from their gaze and weeps,
For her heart in his grave is lying.

She sings the wild song of her dear native plains,
Every note which he loved awaking—
Ah! little they think who delight in her strains,
How the heart of the minstrel is breaking.

He had liv'd for his love, for his country he died;
They were all that to life had entwined him—
Nor soon shall the tears of his country be dried,
Nor long will his love stay behind him.

Oh! make her a grave where the sunbeams rest,
When they promise a glorious morrow;
They'll shine o'er her sleep like a smile from the west,
From her own lov'd island of sorrow.

Immediately after her marriage she accompanied her husband to Sicily, subsequently to Portugal, returned to England, and there, in the prime of life, the amiable, the gentle, the heart-broken Sarah Curran closed her sad career in the course of a few weeks after her arrival. Her remains were conveyed to Ireland, and buried at Newmarket, the burial place of her father's family. Whether their interment there was by her own desire, or in the fulfilment of her supposed wishes on the part of Captain Sturgeon, I am unable to state; in either case, the removal to her own

* Unfortunately, in taking the above extract from the *Hibernian Magazine*, the year was omitted.

land was an act which cannot fail to be a matter of mournful gratification to her countrymen.

To the reader who thinks too much has been said on this subject I have no apology to offer, not even for these last tributary lines to the memory of Sarah Curran:—

"Her sorrows are numbered—no longer she weeps;
Every pang she endured is requited;
With endless delight, and in silence she sleeps,
For in death with her love she's united.

Like Sidney he died, but his memory shall live
In the bosoms of those who deplored him,
And Pity her purest of dew-drops shall give
To the sorrows of those who adored him.

For he loved—was beloved! but, alas! in his bloom,
The ordeal of fate sore tried him;
And his spirit took flight from the world of gloom,
To that glory which here was denied him.

From regions of bliss—the high heavens above—
Where sorrows can never invade him,
He saw her distress, and he beckon'd his love
To ascend, and with joy she obeyed him.

And she who is joined to the spirit she mourned,
Now in bliss, 'tis in vain to deplore her;
For her mem'ry shall live in their bosoms inurned,
Who vowed even in death to adore her.

Whether hero, or lover, or else, matters not,
'Other times—other men shall divine him;'
Let him rest with his love, by the world forgot,
We have hearts large enough to enshrine him." *

In 1836 I received the following account from my fellow-passenger, Captain Masson, on board the *Emerald* on our voyage to America, of his intimate friend and brother-officer in Egypt, Captain Sturgeon:—

"Captain Henry Sturgeon, of the Royal Staff Corps, joined the Royal Artillery the 4th of April, 1796, a second lieutenant. He continued in the Artillery till 1803, when he was appointed to a company in the Royal Staff Corps. He was in the expedition to

* These lines I found appended to a copy of Robert Emmet's speech, printed in Paris on a single sheet.

Egypt. He commanded two six-pounders on the 8th of March, 1801. He was an active, intelligent officer. He was wounded in the action of the 13th of March."

Captain Masson believed him to have been born in France. His mother was a daughter of Lord Fitzwilliam, and had eloped with his father. An elder brother of his was born in France. His means were ample—at least he always appeared to have money at his command; it was said he was the natural son of a distinguished nobleman. Captain Sturgeon was of middle size, a smart, active man, a very penetrating eye, pleasing smile, and of elegant address; altogether of a very prepossessing appearance. When in Egypt, he was about twenty-four years of age. On his return to England, he was appointed to the Horse Artillery; subsequently he was quartered at Canterbury with Captain Masson till he was appointed to the Staff Corps. In the Duke of Wellington's despatches I find "Major Sturgeon of the Royal Staff Corps," at the storming of Cuidah Rodrigo, particularly noticed in the despatch dated the 20th of January, 1812; in several preceding ones his services are also made honourable mention of. He was killed in the engagement near Vic Begorre, in France, in 1813.

CHAPTER XVII.

On Tuesday, the 20th of September, the day of the execution of Robert Emmet, he was visited by Mr Leonard M'Nally, the barrister, at ten o'clock in the morning, who, on entering the room where Emmet had the indulgence of remaining all that morning in the company of the Rev. Dr Gamble, the ordinary of Newgate, found him reading the Litany of the service of the Church of England. Permission was given him to retire with M'Nally into an adjoining room, and on entering it, his first inquiry was after his mother, whose health had been in a declining state and had wholly broken down under the recent affliction which had fallen on her. M'Nally, hesitating to answer the inquiry, Robert Emmet repeated the question, "How is my mother?" M'Nally, without replying directly, said—"I know, Robert, you would like to see your mother." The answer was—"Oh, what would I not give to see her?" M'Nally, pointing upwards, said—"Then, Robert, you will see her this day!" and then gave him an account of his

mother's death, which had taken place some days previously. Emmet made no reply; he stood motionless and silent for some moments and said, "It is better so." He was evidently struggling hard with his feelings and endeavouring to suppress them. He made no further allusion to the subject, but by expressing "a confident hope that he and his mother would meet in heaven." The preceding particulars were communicated to me by Emmet's early friend, who was then an inmate of Kilmainham Jail, Mr. P——. An account of this interview with "the friend who was permitted to visit him on the morning of his execution"—the name of M'Nally is not mentioned—was published in the *London Chronicle*, a ministerial paper, 24-27 September. From the peculiar relation in which M'Nally stood to the Government (of which he was the secret pensioned agent at the time he was acting as the confidential adviser and advocate of the State prisoners—picking the brains of his duped clients for his official employers),* the account of this interview must have been published with the sanction of Government, probably by its immediate direction, with the view of serving the character of Lord Hardwicke's administration. The main facts of this account may be considered as correctly stated and giving faithfully the opinions of Robert Emmet on the subject "of the one thing needful," at the close of his career, with such modifications of his sentiments on other matters as were thought essential to the objects of Government. In this account it is stated that Robert Emmet, after expressing some feelings of annoyance at having been searched in the dock on the

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* The deception practised on Curran by this *gentleman* was most strikingly and revoltingly exhibited in January, 1798, at the trial of Patrick Finney. M'Nally had successfully adopted a suggestion of his colleague to speak against time in order to give time to produce a witness to invalidate the testimony of the witness O'Brien. M'Nally made a speech remarkably able for its inordinate length, and there was sufficient time expended on its delivery to have the witness sought for and brought into Court. Curran, in his address to the jury, alluding to the able statement of his friend, giving way to the impulse of his generous feelings, threw his arm over the shoulder of M'Nally and said, with evident emotion, "My old and excellent friend, I have long known and respected the honesty of your heart, but never until this occasion was I acquainted with the extent of your abilities; I am not in the habit of paying compliments where they are undeserved." Tears fell from Mr. Curran as he hung over his friend and pronounced those few and simple words.—*Curran's Life*, Vol. I., p. 397.

preceding evening, as if they suspected him of designing to commit suicide, he reprobated the act of self-destruction as one of an unchristian character. He professed "to hold the tenets of religion as taught by the Established Church." He solemnly declared "his hopes of salvation were not on any merits of his, but through the mediation of the Saviour, who died an ignominious death on the cross. With these sentiments he said it would be absurd to suppose him capable of suicide. What had he to apprehend more than death? And as to the obloquy attached to the mode of death, it could but little affect him, when he considered that Sydney and Russell bled on the scaffold in a similar cause. With respect to his political sentiments, he could reassert what he had urged in Court. That a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain was his supreme wish; an object which he was conscious could be effected without the aid of France. The measure of connection with France, though urged and adopted by others of the Provisional Government, he was never a friend to; nor did the plan now accomplished, of having sent an ambassador to France to negotiate for that species of temporary alliance which Dr. Franklin had obtained for America, ever meet his approbation. He observed that, had he not been interrupted by the Court in the address he thought it necessary to make, he would have spoken as warm an eulogium on the candour and moderation of the present Government in the kingdom as his conception or language were adequate to. When he left this country it was at a period when a great portion of the public mind, particularly that of the party to whom he attached himself, had been violently exasperated at certain harsh proceedings attributed to the administration then in power, for some time previous to the last rebellion. On his recent arrival in this country, he conceived that the measures of the present Government must have been nearly similar, until experience convinced him of his mistake. For the polite concessions afforded him of a private communication with his friend he expressed his thanks, and would retain a grateful sense of it during the few hours destined for him to live. He exulted at the intelligence of his mother's death, an aged lady, who had died since his apprehension, without his hearing of that event, and expressed a firm confidence of meeting with her in a state of eternal bliss, where no separation could take place."

A slight discrepancy between the two accounts will be noticed,

with respect to the manner that Robert Emmet received the account of his mother's death, and the period likewise of that event. In the first statement no exultation was said to have been expressed by Emmet, and no such ill-timed expression, I am convinced, was made, and no such feeling was entertained by him. The period of his mother's death was said to be some days preceding the son's execution. In the latter account the event is spoken of as having taken place since his apprehension, from which it might be inferred it had occurred at an early period of his imprisonment. But it is not likely the intelligence would not have reached Robert Emmet, through some channel in the prison, previously to M'Nally's visit.

The death of this amiable, exemplary, and high-minded lady, whose understanding was as vigorous as her maternal feelings were strong and ardent, took place at a country residence of the late Dr. Emmet, on the Donnybrook Road, at the rear of the Hospital of the Society of Friends. She survived her husband about one year; and evidently, like the mother of the Sheares, was hurried to her grave by the calamity which had fallen on her youngest son, who, it was vainly hoped, was to have occupied—it could not have been expected he would have filled—the vacant place of his brother, Thomas Addis, in the house and in the hearts of his afflicted parents; of that brother who had been vainly looked up to, after the loss of their gifted son, Christopher Temple Emmet, with the feelings which animated the Lacedæmonian mother when one of her sons had fallen fighting for his country, and looking on the last of them then living she said, "Ejus locum expleat frater." And that son was taken from them, incarcerated for four years, and doomed to civil death. Thomas Addis Emmet was then a proscribed man in exile. The father had sunk under the trial, although he was a man of courage and equanimity of mind; but the mother's last hope in her youngest child sustained in some degree her broken strength and spirit, and that one hope was dashed down, never to rise again, when the pride of her life—the prop of her old age was taken from her; and the terrible idea of his frightful fate became her one fixed thought, from the instant the dreadful tidings of his apprehension reached her till the approach of the crowning catastrophe, when in mercy to her she was taken away from her great misery.

Orangemen of Ireland! and you who were their patrons and

protectors in England, behold your work—your triumphs—and the power of the terror of your vaunted rule, in the desolation of the home of this aged virtuous couple; the ruin in which their children were involved; the banishment of one of the brightest ornaments of his profession, and the ignominious death of another, and the last of the illustrious race of Emmet. These are your achievements, miserable, infatuated faction, and still more miserable and demented protectors! What have you gained by all the sufferings you have caused, by all the wrongs which your privileged licentiousness, and the injustice which your governmental abandonment have inflicted on your victims?

There is one circumstance which is not referred to in the preceding account, in the *London Chronicle*, which, perhaps, was too indicative of the hopelessness of the attempt, by any degree of suffering or of terror, "to bow down the mind of the prisoner to the ignominy of the scaffold." When M'Nally entered the cell with Robert Emmet, where he had slept the preceding night, on their retiring from the chamber before referred to, M'Nally observed a scrap of paper on the table on which Emmet had sketched a human head represented as if it had been newly severed from the body.

He wrote some letters in the forenoon; he addressed one to Richard Curran, which was written about twelve o'clock. He had spent part of the preceding night in writing letters, two of which were committed to the care of Dr. Trevor, who had contrived so effectually to deceive poor Emmet as to pass for an unwilling agent of oppression; and, when he was leaving the jail to go to execution, he was folded in the embrace of the Kilmainham inquisitor.* The profanation of that person's touch, young Emmet, the purest-minded of human beings, had he known the man, would have shrunk from contact with as from a person labouring under some pestilential malady. But he knew him not; he believed him to have feelings of humanity and honour, and he confided to his care two letters, one of which was addressed to the Chief Secretary, the other to his brother, then in Paris. The transmission of the latter Robert Emmet attached the greatest importance to, as containing the details of his plan and preparations, and furnishing, as he

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* An abstract of the trials of 1803 was published in 1803. The publication was attributed to Mr. Marsden; there is an account in it of the two letters committed to Dr. Trevor, and also of the embracing scene above referred to.

thought, the only means of enabling his brother to judge justly of his attempt. Trevor promised faithfully to transmit it, broke the solemn obligation of his promise to a man at the point of death ; he delivered the letter into the hands of Mr. Marsden, and, it is needless to say, T. A. Emmet never received it. But a few years before his death its contents were conveyed to him through the press. The work of Mr. W. H. Curran, published in 1819, conveyed them to him in the document published in the Appendix of the second volume of his work, entitled, "The Plan of the Insurrection in Dublin, and the Causes of its Failure."

That singular document (wanting the concluding page) was discovered at the Castle by a gentleman who held a high legal situation under the Irish Government. A friend of that gentleman's, no less distinguished for his worth as for his talents, pursued his inquiries in London respecting the missing portion of the document, and the identical page was found there—in the Home Office.

It was about half-past one o'clock when Robert Emmet was brought forth from his prison and placed in a carriage, accompanied by two clergymen of the Church of England, the Rev. Dr. Gamble and a Mr. Walsh, to be conveyed to the place of execution in Thomas Street, at the end of Bridgefoot Street, and nearly opposite St. Catherine's Church.

The carriage proceeded, and, followed by a strong guard both of cavalry and infantry, moved slowly along the streets ; the melancholy cortege might have been mistaken for a military funeral, and the young man at the window, who occasionally recognised a friend in the crowd or stationed at a window, for some one connected with the person whose obsequies were about to be performed. His demeanour, in his progress and at the place of execution, displayed, to use the language of Mr. Curran, the most complete "unostentatious fortitude." It was in keeping with his former conduct ; there was no affectation of indifference, but there was that which astonished every person who witnessed his end (and I am acquainted with some, who are still living, who were present at his execution), an evident ignorance of fear, and the fullest conviction that the cause for which he died was one which it was a high privilege to die for. In proof of this assertion it may be observed that, in reply to some observations of Mr. St. John Mason, whom he was permitted to exchange a few words with at

the door of the cell of the latter when he was going to trial, his last words were "Ultrumque paratus." When he was brought back to Kilmainham, after condemnation, in passing John Hickson's cell, he walked close to the door, and directing his voice towards the grating, said, in a whisper loud enough to be heard by Hickson, "I shall be hanged to-morrow." My authority, in each instance, is the gentleman to whom the words referred to were addressed. The vile memory-murdering press of that day, in both countries, represented his conduct as light, frivolous, impious, and indecorous. In the *London Chronicle* one of the accounts cited from the Dublin papers says, "the clergyman endeavoured to win him from his deistical opinions, but without effect!!!" "In short, he behaved without the least symptom of fear, and with all the effrontery and nonchalance which so much distinguished his conduct on his trial yesterday. He seems to scoff at the dreadful circumstances attendant on him, at the same time, with all the coolness and complacency that can be possibly imagined, though utterly unlike the calmness of Christian fortitude. *Even as it was, I never saw a man die like him;* and, God forbid, I should see many with his principles." *

The light of truth, I have often had occasion to observe, will break through the densest clouds of falsehood ; we see a ray of the former in the words, "Even as it is, I never saw a man die like him."

There were a few personal friends and two or three college companions of Robert Emmet standing within a few feet of the scaffold at his execution. One of his fellow-students, the Rev. Dr. H——n, was amongst the number, and from that gentleman I received the information on which I place most reliance, or rather entire reliance, respecting the conduct of his friend at his last moments.

The scaffold was a temporary one, formed by laying boards across a number of empty barrels that were placed, for this purpose, nearly in the middle of the street. Through this platform rose two posts, twelve or fifteen feet high, and a transverse beam was placed across them. Underneath this beam, about three feet from the platform, was a single narrow plank supported on two slight ledges, on which the prisoner was to stand at the moment of

* The *London Chronicle*, September 24-27, p. 301.

being launched into eternity. The platform was about five or six feet from the ground, and was ascended by a ladder.

When Robert Emmet alighted from the carriage and was led to the foot of the scaffold, his arms being tied, he was assisted to ascend by the executioner, but he mounted quickly and with apparent alacrity. He addressed a few words to the crowd very briefly in a firm sonorous voice, the silver tones of which recalled to the recollection of his college friend those accents on which his hearers hung in his wonderful displays on another theatre, and other occasions of a very different description. In the few words he spoke on the scaffold he avoided any reference to political matters or to the events with which his fate was connected; he merely said—"My friends, I die in peace, and with sentiments of universal love and kindness towards all men." He then shook hands with some persons on the platform, presented his watch to the executioner, and removed his stock.* The immediate preparations for execution then were carried into effect: he assisted in adjusting the rope round his neck, and was then placed on the plank underneath the beam, and the cap was drawn over his face, but he contrived to raise his hand, partly removed it, and spoke a few words in a low tone to the executioner. The cap was replaced, and he stood with a handkerchief in his hand, the fall of which was to be the signal for the last act of the "finisher of the law." After standing on the plank for a few seconds the executioner said, "Are you ready, sir?" and Mr. H—— distinctly heard Robert Emmet say in reply, "Not yet." There was another momentary pause; no signal was given: again the executioner repeated the question, "Are you ready, sir?" and again Robert Emmet said, "Not yet." The question was put a third time, and Mr. H—— heard Emmet pronounce the word "Not;" but before he had time to utter another word the executioner tilted one end of the plank off the ledge, and a human being—young, generous, endowed with precious natural gifts and acquired

* At the sale of the effects of a person well known in Dublin, some twelve or fifteen years ago, Mr. Samuel Rossborough, which took place in December, 1832, at the Northumberland Rooms in Grafton Street, the "Hessian boots" which Robert Emmet wore when he was executed, and a black velvet stock with a lock of hair sewed on the inside of the lining, thus marked—"Miss C——," were sold by auction. A schoolfellow of mine, Mr. Blake, was present when they were sold.

excellencies (but in his country fatal gifts and acquirements), with genius, patriotism, a love of truth, of freedom, and of justice—was dangling like a dog, writhing in the agonies of the most revolting and degrading to humanity of all deaths ; and God's noblest work was used as if His image was not in it, or its disfigurement and mutilation was a matter of slight moment, and scarce worthy of a passing thought on the part of those "dressed in a little brief authority," whose use of it in Ireland has been such as "might make angels weep." After hanging for a moment motionless, life terminated with a convulsive movement of the body. At the expiration of the usual time, the remains were taken down and extended on the scaffold, the head was struck from the body, grasped by the hair, and paraded along the front of the gallows by the hangman, proclaiming to the multitude, "This is the head of a traitor, Robert Emmet." When the head was held up Mr. H—— says there was no distortion of the features, but an extraordinary pallor (the result of the flow of blood from the head after decapitation). He never saw a more perfect expression of placidity and composure. He can form no idea what the cause was of the delay which Robert Emmet seemed anxious for at the moment of execution. He might have been in prayer, but it did not strike Mr. H—— that it was any object connected with his devotions that was the occasion of the words he heard.

My impression is, that Robert Emmet had been made acquainted with a design that was in contemplation to effect his escape at the time and place appointed for execution. Of that design Government appears to have had information, and had taken precautionary measures which had probably led to its being abandoned. The avowed object of Thomas Russell's going to Dublin after his failure in the north was to adopt plans for this purpose. I have not been able to obtain any account of the persons who were parties to it. The body was removed in a shell in a common cart to Kilmainham, and was deposited for some hours in the vestibule of the prison till the necessary arrangements were made for its interment. A short time after the execution, within an hour or so, Mrs. M'Cready, the daughter of Mr. James Moore, in passing through that part of Thomas Street, observed near the scaffold, where the blood of Robert Emmet had fallen on the pavement from between the planks of the platform, some dogs collected lapping up the blood. She called the attention of the

soldiers who were left to guard the scaffold to this appalling sight. The soldiers, who belonged to a Highland regiment, manifested their horror at it;* the dogs were chased away, and more than one spectator loitering about the spot approached the scaffold when the back of the sentinels was turned to it, and dipped his handkerchief in the blood and thrust it into his bosom.

Like the blood of the martyrs, the earth did not swallow it all up, nor the beasts consume it wholly, some remained for relics, and the recollections that were associated with them continued long to be of a very heart-stirring description. In 1836 I sent Leonard, the old gardener of Dr. Emmet, to George Dunn, the jailer of Kilmainham, to ascertain how the remains of Emmet had been disposed of after their removal from the place of execution. George Dunn sent me word that the body was conveyed to the jail, and placed in the outer entry of the prison, with orders, if not claimed immediately by the friends of Emmet, to have it interred in "Bully's Acre," the burying ground also called the Hospital Fields, where the remains of paupers and executed criminals were commonly interred, but where, in ancient times, those of illustrious chiefs and warriors were buried. Dunn stated that, notwithstanding his orders, he kept the body for several hours expecting it would be claimed by the friends of the deceased. The only surviving friends, who were connections of Robert Emmet, were then in jail, with the exception of one, Dr. Powell, who was married on a cousin of Emmet's, a young lady of the name of Landon. His associates or acquaintances, who had fortunately escaped being involved in the general ruin which had fallen on so many of his friends, were afraid at that time to let it be known

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*It is well worthy of observation that, of all the King's troops in Ireland during the rebellion of 1798, the Scotch invariably behaved with the most humanity towards the people. It is well worthy, too, of recollection, what the difference in the treatment of the State prisoners was, when they were removed to Scotland, and were placed in the charge of that most excellent man, Lieutenant-Colonel James Stuart, the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort George. And it would be well worthy of the attention of those of my countrymen, who, either in their speeches or their writings, indulge in occasional sallies against Scotch settlers, and smart sayings about Scotch peculiarities, the estrangement it leads to of those of their own kith and kin, and the sympathy of a brave and freedom-loving people which it tends to deprive us of, and which it should be our special endeavour to deserve, to preserve, or to procure.

they had any acquaintance with Emmet; consequently, none came forward, and the remains were, at length, buried beside the grave of Felix Rourke, near the right-hand corner of the burying-ground, next the avenue of the Royal Hospital, close to the wall, and at no great distance from the former entrance, which is now built up. While the body lay at the jail a gentleman from Dublin, whose name Dunn did not mention, came there and asked permission to take a plaster cast of the face of the deceased, which was granted. That gentleman, circumstances will show, was Petrie the artist.

Dunn further stated what I was already aware of, that the remains of Robert Emmet, soon after their interment at Bully's Acre, were removed with great privacy and buried in Dublin. Dr. Gamble was said to have been present, or to have assisted in carrying into effect the removal. But where they were removed to no positive information is to be obtained. Mr. P. remembers to have seen the man who removed the body from Kilmainham, and the impression on his mind is that the re-interment took place in Michan's Churchyard, where the Sheares were interred. Old Leonard had the same impression, and some information corroboratory of it, from a very old man, a tailor, of the name of John Scott, residing at No. 4 Mitre Alley, near Patrick Street, who had made Robert Emmet's uniform and that of some other of the leaders. This man informed Leonard that Emmet was buried in Michan's Churchyard, and that soon after a very large stone without any writing on it was laid over the grave. On the other hand, it is stated in a small publication, entitled "A Memoir of Robert Emmet, by Kinsella," that the remains were brought to St. Anne's Churchyard, and buried in the same grave where his parents were interred. I visited the churchyard of St. Michan's in consequence of Leonard's information, and there discovered the stone in question, at least the only one answering the description I had received of it. About midway, on the left-hand side of the walk leading from the church to the wall, at the extremity of the graveyard, there is a very large slab of remarkable thickness, placed horizontally over a grave without any inscription. The stone is one of the largest dimensions, and the only uninscribed one in the churchyard.

Is this the tomb that was not to be inscribed till other times and other men could do justice to the memory of the person whose grave had been the subject of my inquiries? If this be the spot,

many a pilgrim will yet visit it, and read, perchance in after times, the name of

ROBERT EMMET

on that stone that is now without a word or a letter. If the remains of Robert Emmet be laid in that tomb, those who knew the man and loved him, or who honoured him for his name's sake, or prized him for the reputation of his virtues and his talents and pitied him for his melancholy fate, may now seek this grave, and, standing beside it, may ponder on the past—on the history of one of the dead, whose eventful days and mournful doom are connected with it; and read the name in their hearts that may not yet be written on stone, and there may call to mind the words of the friend and the companion of the studies of Robert Emmet—

> "Oh! breathe not his name, let it sleep in the shade,
> Where cold and unhonoured his relics are laid;
> Sad, silent, and dark be the tears that we shed,
> As the night dew that falls on the grass o'er his head.
>
> But the night dew that falls, though in silence it weeps,
> Shall brighten with verdure the grave where he sleeps;
> And the tear that we shed, tho' in secret it rolls,
> Shall long keep his memory green in our souls."

CHAPTER XVIII.

I HAVE presented my reader with all the information that much labour and assiduity have enabled me to collect respecting the career of Robert Emmet, and of some of the most remarkable of his associates. Of Emmet's character, the details I have furnished are, I trust, sufficient for the formation of a just opinion of it.

It only remains for me to recall to the reader's attention, very briefly, the observations that have been made in the preceding pages, and the leading facts that have been stated, which bear on the subject in question.

From them it is evident that the character of Robert Emmet had appeared to the author to have been ill appreciated by many even of liberal politics, who have treated of him and of his times. He was gifted with great talent, and endowed with excellent qualities of heart, as well as mind; with generous feelings and literary and scientific tastes highly cultivated. He was remarkable even at college for the propriety of his conduct, and was looked up

to by his youthful companions on account of the purity of his morals and the inflexibility and integrity of his principles. Had it pleased Providence to have given him length of days, it might reasonably be expected his maturer years would have realised the promise of his early life, and caused his career to have been a counterpart of the memorable course of his illustrious brother, Temple Emmet. I neither attempt to justify his plans in 1803, nor do I regret their failure. Far from it; I believe their accomplishment would have been a calamity. My experience is not favourable to the results of revolutions effected by the sword, and I have seen the results of many. But the motives of Robert Emmet, I have no hesitation in saying, it has been my aim to justify; and if I have failed in doing so I have not fulfilled my purpose, nor the duty I owed to truth. No motive of Robert Emmet could be impure, selfish, venal, or ambitious; his enthusiasm was extreme, it was the enthusiasm of a very young man of exalted intellectual powers and worldly experience, and matured habits of reflection was all that was wanting to exercise over it a necessary and wholesome control.

He loved his country with all the fervour of that enthusiasm, and, like others no less ill-fated, "not wisely, but too well." Had he succeeded, the world would have said he loved it both well and wisely. However, he loved it; his devotion to it was a passion that had taken entire possession of his soul, that blinded him to the impediments that stood in the way of the accomplishment of his designs. He pursued his object as if he believed that the champions of liberty fought, at all hazards, at all times, under the protection of a sacred tutelary power, while those of despotism, less highly favoured, however they might seem to prosper for a time, were doomed eventually to fall, and to contribute to their defeat by their own efforts to avert their doom. To use the glowing language attributed to Emmet in explanation of his opinions, "Liberty was the child of oppression, and the birth of the offspring was the death of the parent; while tyranny, like the poetical desert bird, was consumed in flames ignited by itself, and its whole existence was spent in providing the means of self-destruction." *

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* "Robert Emmet and His Contemporaries."—*Dublin and London Magazine*, 1825.

The question of the legal guilt of engaging, under any circumstances, or with any motives, however pure, in such an enterprise as that of 1803, it is needless to descant upon. The question of the moral guilt of embarking in any similar enterprise, however grievous the wrongs which had been endured and it was expected might be redressed by resistance and an appeal to the sword, is one which the defenders of the revolution of 1688 treat as a problem, the solution of which depends on the consideration of the probability and ultimate advantage of success, the sufficiency of the means, the extent of popular support, and the amount of suffering occasioned by the struggle. Whenever rebellion has been unsuccessful a *prima facie* case of moral guilt is established. Had Washington failed, it would never have been conceded that he was justified in resisting oppression. The chance, however, of success or failure, does not determine the question of moral guilt or justification. In Emmet's case it is evident that he was the victim of deception, that he was deluded, misled, and sacrificed by designing men, whose machinations his youth, his inexperience, his confiding nature, were unfit to cope with. The question is, meshed as he was in the toils of villainy, what possibility of success was there for his plans had they been carried into execution in the capital? Had the representations made to him of the extensive co-operation been realised, were these plans of his adequate to the accomplishment of his object? Could that object have been attained without the shedding of blood? Had his plans been carried into successful operation in the capital the probability is that Kildare, Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny would have immediately risen, and that in one week from the outbreak six counties at least would have been in rebellion. His plans necessarily depended for success on the realisation of the assurances he received of co-operation in the provinces. They were adequate to the proposed object, provided treachery was not stalking behind each attempt to put them in operation and treading in his footsteps at every movement in advance. The men of '98 were four years organising the country; the more they organised the more they were betrayed; where they organised least, in the county of Wexford, there their cause was best served. Robert Emmet evidently traced the failure in 1798 to this system of widespread and long-pursued organisation. He left the people alone, he counted on them whenever they were wanted, and all his

organisation was of his plans in the capital, and all his preparations consisted in providing weapons, ammunition, and warlike contrivances for his adherents; of the latter a few words will be said hereafter. Four months were spent in the preparations of the men of 1803; four years were spent in those of the men of 1798. The latter counted half a million of enrolled members; the former counted on the rising of nineteen counties whenever they should be called on. There was no swearing-in of members in 1803, consequently no perjured traitors. Lord Edward Fitzgerald expected 300,000 men of the half million would take the field. Robert Emmet expected the great body of the people would be with him once his plans in Dublin were successful; they failed, and he found himself at the head of eighty men on the 23rd of July when he sallied forth to attack the Castle, but then the meditated attack supervened on disconcerted plans, drunkenness among his followers, treachery on the part of his agents, a false alarm, a panic and desperation, and it terminated in confusion, plunder, murder, and a disgraceful rout. What would have been the result if his attempt had been made under different circumstances? A result attended with more real peril to the Government than any that had environed it in the course of the former rebellion, with the exception of the danger that was involved in the proposition of the sergeants of the regiments, then garrisoning the capital, to the chief leaders assembled in council at Sweetman's in Francis Street, when their proposal of delivering up the Castle, and other important places to the United Irishmen, was the subject of discussion.

The question of the possibility of obtaining the object sought by Robert Emmet, without much bloodshed, is one that requires some consideration to answer.

In European countries where revolutions have taken place without much effusion of blood, they have invariably been commenced in the capital. When attempts to revolt have been begun in the provinces the shedding of blood has generally been in a ratio with the distance from the capital. The reasons of this result are too obvious to require observation. I believe one of the chief reasons for Robert Emmet's determination to strike the first blow in the capital, and to paralyze the action of Government at its source, was to avoid as much as possible the effusion of blood.

His conduct, after the failure of his plans in Dublin, is a proof

of the disposition of mind that led to his determination. When Lord Kilwarden's murder was made known to him, he felt like B. B. Harvey at the sight of the smouldering ashes of the barn of Scullabogue, when he said, "Our hopes of liberty are now at an end." He was pressed to make the signal of the second and third rocket, for the advance of the men in reserve who were stationed at the Barleyfields at the canal, and other appointed places; he refused to do so—there was no hope of success, and he would not be the means of unnecessarily shedding blood. It was then he recommended his followers to disperse, and, accompanied by some of his friends, abandoned his enterprise. At the subsequent meeting with Dwyer and some of the Wicklow and Kildare men in the mountains, they pressed him to consent to the rising of the people in those counties and commencing an immediate attack on the chief towns; he refused to do so. He saw the hopelessness of a renewal of the struggle after the failure of the first attempt, and, let it be remembered, the men who were pressing this advice upon him were of a very different stamp from many of those by whom he was surrounded in the streets of Dublin.

In some things there were traits of mind exhibited by Robert Emmet that had more to do with a youthful imagination than matured reflection. There was a romantic turn of thought displayed in those stratagems for eluding detection, of which I have previously spoken as practised at Milltown, Harold's Cross, and Patrick Street—trap-doors, subterranean cavities, secret passages, and chambers. We have seen the inefficiency of such means of safety at Harold's Cross. In Patrick Street, on the other hand, the result of such contrivances was fortunate for the time being. Still, the dependence on such stratagems, and not only on the fidelity, but likewise on the discretion of upwards of forty men, not for a short period, but for upwards of four months, is an evidence of that turn of mind to which I have referred, and of little experience of the world. He was deceived from the beginning and deserted at the end by many who made large professions of support when there was a mere possibility, but not a reasonable expectation, of success; and who were found wanting when danger and the doubtfulness of the issue presented themselves to their view. There is another matter of more important consideration than any other connected with his enterprise, the question of the origin in Ireland

of those preparations for insurrection which Robert Emmet was sent over from France by some of the United Irish leaders there to inquire into the nature of. Did these preparations originate with the friends or the enemies of their cause? Were they commenced or suggested by parties who, finding their consequence diminished, their power restrained, their former means cut off of maintaining a position in society, independently of industrious pursuits or their own legitimate resources, had become weary of a return, or an approach even to a return, of an administration of government of a mild and constitutional character; and who were desirous of a pretext for going back to the old regime of "sword law," under which they flourished, and of which, for the time being, they had been recognised as useful and necessary agents? Some of these parties, when the reign of terror ceased, were unable to settle down to the honest occupations which they had relinquished for military pursuits in 1797 and 1798, violated the laws, and expiated their crimes on the scaffold or in penal settlements. Messrs. Crawly, Coates, and Fleming were members of yeomanry corps. O'Brien was not a military man, but one of all work, a right-hand man of the redoubted Major. His fall, however, was attributed to the cause above referred to. But others, whose circumstances were less desperate, and were not driven by their indigence or their headstrong passions to the commission of similar crimes, feeling their insignificance in tranquil times, remembered their importance in troubled ones, and not only longed for their return but contrived in secret to effect it.

This is a very important question, and I feel bound to state that the result of my inquiries leads me to the conclusion that such was the origin of those views which were communicated in 1802 to certain of the leaders of the United Irishmen in Paris. I have already shown that the authorities were not ignorant of the preparations that were making in Dublin for an insurrection in the summer of 1803. The full extent of them they probably did not know at the commencement; but the general objects and the principal parties engaged in them, there is little doubt they were acquainted with. Lord Hardwicke was incapable of lending his countenance or sanction to the originating of the designs of the parties I have alluded to; but when they were so far matured and successful as to render the existence of a dangerous conspiracy no longer doubtful, when it was represented to him that the best way

of defeating it (having a clue to its objects and the means of disconcerting its plans), was to allow it to proceed and to expend itself without detriment to the Government, but with certain ruin to its own agents, there is reason to believe the course of action suggested was submitted to by him, and though successfully acted on, that it was attended with the most imminent danger to the State. The Parliamentary record of the dispatches between the Government and the General can leave little doubt of the fact. These matters are still subjects for grave inquiry, and they have a very important bearing on the judgment that is to be formed of the plans and projects of Robert Emmet, and of his character in relation to them.

Previous reference has been made to the debate on Sir John Wrottesley's motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the Irish Government relative to the insurrection of the 23rd of July, on the 7th of March, 1804; but some extraordinary admissions of Lord Castlereagh, elicited on that occasion, are worthy of notice, and some statements of other members with respect to the attempt, which was, in the words of Lord Castlereagh, "only the wild and contemptible project of an extravagant young man." "Though he agreed with the hon. baronet that preventive measures were preferable to punishment, he thought that principle might be carried too far; *and it was material not to urge the rebels to postpone their attempt by any appearance of too much precaution and preparation. The hon. baronet might laugh, but it was expedient that the precautions should not have been carried to such an extent as to alarm the fears of the rebels, and thereby induce them to delay their project. Besides, it was desirable that the measures afterwards applied for to Parliament should be claimed on ostensible, not on arguable grounds!*"

This was worthy of his lordship. In 1798 he boasted that *measures* (in plain English, cabin burnings, tortures, and free quarters) had been taken to cause a rebellion to explode prematurely. In 1803, to use the words of Mr. Windham on that occasion, he "maintained the monstrous doctrine that rebellion was to be fostered till it came to a head, that the cure might be radical. This might be good policy for a general against an open enemy. He might watch him, and let him march into toils—taking care to be too strong for him. But it was infamous in a Government against rebels."

Lord Castlereagh, in stating the precautions that had been taken,

admitted that a week before the outbreak delegates from Kildare had come to ascertain the state of his resources; and having been taken by Emmet to the depôt to let them see the preparation, they had returned with a bad report. "The conduct of administration in Ireland, both at the time and since, was that of a wise, provident, and vigorous Government."

Lord Temple said—"It appeared in evidence on the State trials, also, that the whole weight of the Government devolved on the Under-Secretary, *Mr. Marsden, who gave no information to the Lord-Lieutenant of the important intelligence communicated to him by Mr. Clarke, a very great manufacturer, till Saturday, the fatal day on which the rebellion broke out.*"

And when General Fox was quitting the Lord-Lieutenant on Saturday afternoon, he said—"Whatever you do, be sure you do not cause any alarm. *Ruat cœlum*—but no alarm. Do everything in your power, but let it be with as little alarm as possible."

General Tarleton said he had been on the Staff in Ireland, and had made many inquiries amongst official and military men. The Colonel of the 62nd Regiment told him he had informed the Secretary of the existence of one of the depôts, but no notice was taken of the information, and it was not discovered till after the insurrection had broken out. He had been informed in Naas that Government had received intelligence from that place, but it was not attended to; he was also aware that "the conspiracy had extended to the South, beyond Cork, where the conspirators learned by means of telegraphic fires the ill success of the insurrection in Dublin before the King's officers knew it in Cork. *It was by this information only* that the insurrection was prevented from being general over the country."

Mr. Fox said when the explosion took place in Patrick Street (a week before the outbreak) the Commander-in-Chief was then sent for to the Castle, and the bare fact was communicated to him without instructions or further information. "Why was he not made acquainted with all the circumstances which had come to the knowledge of the Government?" "The Lord-Lieutenant had an allowance of £60,000 a year for secret service money, in order to enable him to procure information of any conspiracy that might be carried on."

Lord de Blaquiere said the insurrection had occasioned the loss of thirty lives in the course of a quarter of an hour. The day after

the explosion some of the stores there had been removed by the conspirators to another depôt. Lord Castlereagh had said there were only between 2000 and 3000 pikes found in the depôt in Thomas Street. "He (Lord de Blaquiere) was one of the officers appointed to examine them, and he would declare there could not be less than 12,000 pikes."*

The part taken by the gentleman "on whom the whole weight of the Government devolved," and the keeping back of information from the Lord-Lieutenant, throws some light on this subject. In Spencer's "State of Ireland, written dialogue-wise between Eudoxus and Ireneus," the former speaks of "one very foul abuse, which, by the way, he may not omit—and that is in officers who, notwithstanding that they are specially employed to make peace, through strong execution of war, yet they do so dandle their doings and dally in the service to them committed, as if they would not have the enemy beaten down, for fear lest afterwards they should need employment, and so be discharged of pay."

After detailing at much length how the officers, for colour sake, send "some heads eftsoons to the governor for a commendation of their great endeavour, telling how weighty a service they performed by cutting off such and such dangerous rebels." Eudoxus asks—"Do you speak of under magistrates or principal governors?" Ireneus replies—"I do speak of no particulars, but the truth may be found out by trial and reasonable insight into some of their doings. And if I should say there is some blame thereof in the principal governors, I think I might also show some reasonable proofs of my speech." †

The plan of fomenting conspiracies outlived the days of the gentle author of the "Faërie Queene." The following choice specimen of the iniquitous policy will show that it reached those of Lord Carhampton in 1798; and the speech of Lord Castlereagh in March, 1804, can leave no doubt that it had been in full operation in the last insurrection.

In a letter of the Earl of Carhampton to Lord Camden, cited in an Orange publication in 1798—"Considerations on the situation to which Ireland is reduced by the Government of Lord Camden"—we find the following exordium :—

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* Report of the Debate at full length. Published by Mahon: Dublin, 1804.

† Spencer's View of the State of Ireland. 18mo Edit., p. 141.

"My Lord—If it shall please your Excellency to permit them to go to war with us, and will permit us only to go to law with them, it will not require the second sight of a Scotchman to foretell the issue of the contest."

How little had the spirit of that dreadful policy varied from Spencer's time to that of Carhampton and Castlereagh! The first-named worthy, recommending "a good plot" to inveigle a troublesome chief, one Feagh Mac Hugh, into its meshes, puts the following words into the mouth of Ireneus:—"Surely this seemeth a plot of great reason and small difficulty, which promiseth hope of a short end. But what special directions will you set down for the services and risings out of these garrisons?" To which Eudoxus replies—"None other than the present occasion shall minister unto them, and as by good *Espials* whereof there they cannot want store, they shall be drawn continually upon him, and sometimes all at one instant baiting him." *

Thus was poor Robert Emmet ministered to by good Espials drawn continually upon him, and baiting him at the ring of treason, till they brought their noble victim to the dust, and the plot of great reason and small difficulty came to a short end!

Robert Emmet died in the 25th year of his age. In stature he was about five feet eight inches; slight in his person, active, and capable of enduring great fatigue; he walked fast, and was quick in his movements. His features were regular, his forehead high and finely formed; his eyes were small, bright, and full of expression; his nose sharp, remarkably thin, and straight; the lower part of his face was slightly pock-pitted, and his complexion sallow. There was nothing remarkable in his appearance except when excited in conversation and when he spoke on public on any subject that deeply interested him; his countenance then beamed with animation—he no longer seemed the same person—every feature became expressive of his emotions—his gesture, his action, everything about him seemed subservient to the impulses of his feelings, and harmonised with the emanations of a noble intellect.

The portrait prefixed to this memoir is from the original copperplate engraving of a sketch taken at his trial by Petrie. The other is a mezzo-tinto engraving, from a daguerrotyped

* Spencer's View of the State of Ireland, p. 170.

representation of a cast of the face of Emmet taken after death by a Dublin artist. That artist, there can be little doubt, was Petrie. At the sale of his effects, three or four years ago, a large collection of casts was sold; among them were casts of several of the United Irishmen. One of these, which turned out to be a cast of Robert Emmet, was purchased by a dealer in curiosities and exposed for sale in Liffey Street. There it was seen and recognised by the brother-in-law of Mr. T. A. Emmet. On a subsequent inquiry of mine and of that gentleman at the house of the person who had purchased the cast of Robert Emmet, as well as the others, it was ascertained that the whole collection had been disposed of by the latter to Mr. Ray. On application to that gentleman, the cast presumed to be that of Emmet, as described by his friend, was found; on my showing it to the latter, the various points of resemblance to Robert's features left no doubt of its identity. The peculiarities which chiefly established it were the marks of the smallpox on certain parts of the face and the serrated appearance of two of the upper teeth, which was preserved in the cast. The gentleman I refer to considers Petrie's sketch of Robert Emmet as having the fault of all the portraits of Robert Emmet, a sombre and austere expression of countenance which did not belong to the original. The other representation of the cast taken after death by Petrie of the notorious Jemmy O'Brien I have had placed in juxtaposition with that of Robert Emmet, for the purpose of showing the striking contrast between the two countenances.

The animal and the intellectual qualities manifested in the expression of the human countenance were never seen more strikingly contrasted. The cast of O'Brien is in the possession of a friend of the artist who took it and who kindly permitted me the use of it, as Mr. Ray did that of Emmet, and with the view of preserving an exact resemblance I had the daguerreotype likeness taken, and the engraving made from the latter.

In bringing this memoir to a close, I present to my readers some pieces of poetry of Robert Emmet, which never have been published. They were evidently written during the reign of terror, in 1797 or '98, the first piece in the latter year, all of them under the influence of feelings harrowed by the atrocities committed on the people at that period. One of them bears his initials—another, in his hand writing, in the original, had been written in what is called "invisible ink," and which, by some chemical process, had been

rendered barely legible in purple characters. For these interesting documents I am indebted to Miss Mary M'Cracken.

"ARBOUR HILL,"* BY ROBERT EMMET.

No rising column marks this spot
Where many a victim lies;
But oh! the blood which here has streamed,
To heaven for justice cries.

It claims it on the oppressor's head,
Who joys in human woe;
Who drinks the tears by misery shed,
And mocks them as they flow.

It claims it on the callous Judge,
Whose hands in blood are dyed;
Who arms injustice with the sword,
The balance throws aside.

It claims it for his ruined Isle,
Her wretched children's grave;
Where withered Freedom droops her head,
And man exists—a slave.

Oh! sacred Justice, free this land,
From tyranny abhorred;
Resume thy balance and thy seat,
Resume—but sheath thy sword.

No retribution should we seek—
Too long has horror reigned;
By mercy marked may Freedom rise,
By cruelty unstained.

Nor shall a tyrant's ashes mix
With those our martyred dead;
This is the place where Erin's sons
In Erin's cause have bled.

And those who here are laid at rest,
Oh! hallowed be each name;
Their memories are for ever blest—
Consigned to endless fame.

Unconsecrated is this ground,
Unblessed by holy hands;
No bell here tolls its solemn sound,
No monument here stands.

But here the patriot's tears are shed,
The poor man's blessing given;
These consecrate the virtuous dead;
These waft their fame to heaven.

LINES BY ROBERT EMMET.

Genius of Erin, tune thy harp
To Freedom, let its sound awake
Thy prostrate sons, and nerve their hearts,
Oppression's iron bonds to break.

Long and strong then strike the lyre,
Strike it with prophetic lays;
Bid it rouse the slumbering fire,
Bid the fire of freedom blaze.

Tell them glory waits their efforts,
Strongly wooed, she will be won;
Freedom, show, by peace attended,
Waits to crown each gallant son.

Greatly daring, bid them gain her,
Conquerors, bid them live or die;
Erin in her children triumphs,
Marked by glory if they die.

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*Arbour Hill, at the rear of the Royal Barracks in Dublin, was a place where a great number of executions took place, and the burial of those executed for treason. The spot chosen for their interment was "Croppies' Hole;" it was a piece of waste ground where rubbish used to be deposited.—R. R. M.

But if her sons, too long opprest,
No spark of freedom's fire retain,
And, with sad and servile breast,
Basely wear the galling chain,

Vainly then you'd call to glory,
Vainly freedom's blessings praise;
Man debased to willing thraldom,
Freedom's blessing cannot raise.

Check thy hand, and change thy strain,
Change it to a sound of woe;
Ireland's blasted hopes proclaim,
Ireland's endless sufferings show.

Show her fields with blood ensanguined,
With her children's blood bedewed;
Show her desolated plains,
With their murdered bodies strewed.

Mark that hamlet, how it blazes,
Hear the shrieks of horror rise;
See, the fiends prepare their tortures,
See! a tortured victim dies.

Ruin stalks his haggard round,
O'er the plains his banner waves,
Sweeping, from her wasted land,
All but tyrants and their slaves.

All but tyrants and their slaves!
Shall they live in Erin's Isle?
O'er her martyred patriots' graves,
Shall Oppression's minions smile?

Erin's sons, awake!—awake!
Oh! too long, too long, you sleep;
Awake! arise! your fetters break,
Nor let your country bleed and weep.

THE EXILE, BY ROBERT EMMET.

Ah! where is now my peaceful cot,
Ah! where my happy home?
No peaceful cot, alas! is mine,
An exile now I roam.

Far from my country I am driven,
A wanderer sent from thee;
But still my constant prayer to heaven
Shall be to make thee free.

LINES BY ROBERT EMMET.

Brothers, rise!—your country calls;
Let us gain her rights, or die
In her cause; who nobly falls,
Decked with brightest wreath shall die;
And Freedom's genius o'er his bier
Shall place the wreath and drop the tear.

Long by ——'s power opprest,
Groaning long beneath her chain;
——'s ill-used power detest,
Burst her yoke, your rights regain;
The standard raise to liberty,
Ireland! you shall yet be free.

Brothers, march!—march on to glory,
In your country's cause unite;
Freedom's blessings see before you,
Erin's sons for freedom fight;
——'s legions we defy,
We swear to conquer or to die.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

The manifesto of the Provisional Government, drawn up by Robert Emmet and found at the depôt in Marshalsea Lane, was produced on the trial of Edward Kearney. Lieutenant Coltman, of the 9th Regiment, proved that several bundles of this document were found in the depôt "quite wet from the press." Extracts from the documents have been published, and the entire manifesto that was produced on Kearney's trial is given in Ridgeway's Report; but, knowing the unscrupulous conduct of the Government agents of that day with respect to such documents, I thought it desirable to give an exact copy of the original paper, the authenticity of which might be depended on. I am indebted to Miss M'Cracken for the copy of that document, and of the proclamation annexed to it, which were found among Russell's papers.

"THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"You are now called upon to show the world that you are competent to take your place among nations; that you have a right to claim their recognisance of you as an independent country, by the only satisfactory proof you can furnish of your capability of maintaining your independence, your wresting it from England with your own hands.

"In the development of this system, which has been organised within the last eight months at the close of internal defeat and without the hope of foreign assistance, which has been conducted with a tranquillity mistaken for obedience, which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England has retarded nor the renewal of hostilities has accelerated; in the development of this system you will show to the people of England that there is a spirit of perseverance in this country beyond their power to calculate or repress; you will show to them that as long as they think to hold unjust dominion over Ireland, under no change of circumstances can they count on its obedience, under no aspect of affairs can they judge of its intentions; you will show to them that the question which it now behoves them to take into serious consideration, is not whether they will resist a separation, which it is our fixed determination to effect, but whether or not they will drive us beyond separation, whether they will by a sanguinary resistance create a deadly national antipathy between the two countries, or whether they take the only means still left of driving such a sentiment from our minds, by a prompt, manly, and sagacious

acquiescence in our just and reasonable determination. If the secrecy with which the present effort has been conducted shall have led our enemies to suppose that its extent must have been partial, a few days will undeceive them. That confidence which was once lost by trusting to external support, and suffering our own means to be gradually undermined, has been again restored. We have been mutually pledged to each other to look only to our own strength, and that the first introduction of a system of terror, the first attempt to execute an individual in our country, should be the signal of insurrection in all. We have now without the loss of a man, with our means of communication untouched, brought our plans to the moment when they are ripe for execution, and in the promptitude with which nineteen counties will come forward at once to execute them, it will be found that neither confidence nor communication are wanting to the people of Ireland.

"In calling on our countrymen to come forward, we feel ourselves bound at the same time to justify our claim to their confidence by a precise declaration of our views. We therefore solemnly declare that our object is to establish a free and independent Republic in Ireland; that the pursuit of this object we will relinquish only with our lives; that we will never, unless at the express call of our country, abandon our posts until the acknowledgment of its independence is obtained from England; and that we will enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the Government of that country while a British army remains in Ireland. Such is the declaration on which we call first on that part of Ireland which was once paralysed by the want of intelligence, to show that to that cause only was its inaction to be attributed; on that part of Ireland which was once foremost in its fortitude in suffering; on that part of Ireland which once offered to take the salvation of the country on itself; on that part of Ireland where the flame of liberty first glowed; we call upon the North to stand up and shake off their slumber and their oppression.

"Men of Leinster! stand to your arms; to the courage which you have already displayed is your country indebted for the confidence which truth feels in its own strength, and for the dismay with which our enemies will be overcome when we find this effort to be universal. But, men of Leinster, you owe more to your country than the having animated it by your past example—you owe more to your own courage than the having obtained protection by it. If six years ago you rose without arms, without plan, without co-operation, with more troops against you alone than are now in the country at large, you were able to remain six weeks in open defiance of the Government and within a few miles of the capital—what will you now effect, with that capital and every other part of Ireland ready to support you? But it is not on this head we have need to address you. No! we now speak to you, and through you to the rest of Ireland, on a subject dear to us, even as the success of our country—its honour. You are accused by your enemies of having violated that honour by excesses, which they themselves had

in their fullest extent provoked, but which they have grossly exaggerated and which have been attributed to you. The opportunity for vindicating yourselves by action is now for the first time in your power, and we call upon you to give the lie to such assertions by carefully avoiding all appearance of intoxication, plunder, or revenge, recollecting that you lost Ireland before, not from want of courage, but from not having that courage rightly directed by discipline. But we trust that your past sufferings have taught you experience, and that you will respect the declaration we now make, which we are determined by every means in our power to enforce. The nation alone has the right and alone possesses the power of punishing individuals; and whosoever shall put another to death, except in battle, without a fair trial by his country, is guilty of murder. The intention of the Provisional Government of Ireland is to claim from the English Government such Irishmen as have been sold or transported by it for their attachment to freedom; and for this purpose it will retain as hostages, for their safe return, such adherents of that Government as shall fall into its hands. It therefore calls upon the people to respect such hostages, and to recollect that in spilling their blood, they would leave their own countrymen in the hands of their enemies.

"The intentions of the Provisional Government is to resign its functions as soon as the nation shall have chosen its delegates, but in the meantime it is determined to enforce the regulations hereunto subjoined; it, in consequence, takes the property of the country under its protection, and will punish with the utmost rigour any person who shall violate that property, and thereby injure the resources and future prosperity of Ireland.

"Whosoever refuses to march to any part of the country he is ordered is guilty of disobedience to the Government, which alone is competent to decide in what place his service is necessary, and which desires him to recollect that in whatever part of Ireland he is fighting he is still fighting for its freedom. Whoever presumes, by acts or otherwise, to give countenance to the calumny propagated by our enemies that this is a religious contest is guilty of the grievous crime—that of belying the motives of the country. Religious disqualifications are but one of the many grievances of which Ireland has to complain. Our intention is to remove not that only, but every other oppression under which we labour. We fight that all of us may have our country, and, that done, each of us shall have our religion.

"We are aware of the apprehensions which you have expressed, that, in quitting your own counties, you leave your wives and your children in the hands of your enemies, but on this head have no uneasiness; if there are still men base enough to persecute those who are unable to resist, show them by your victories that you have the power to punish, and, by your obedience, that you have the power to protect, and we pledge ourselves to you that these men shall be made to feel that the safety of everything they hold dear depends on the conduct they observe to you. Go forth then

with confidence, conquer the foreign enemies of your country, and leave to us the care of preserving its internal tranquillity; recollect that not only the victory but also the honour of your country is placed in your hands. Give up your private resentments, and show to the world that the Irish are not only a brave but also a generous and forgiving people.

"Men of Munster and Connaught, you have your instructions; you will execute them. The example of the rest of your countrymen is now before you; your own strength is unbroken. Five months ago you were eager to act without any other assistance; we now call upon you to show what you then declared you only wanted, the opportunity of proving that you possess the same love of liberty and the same courage with which the rest of your countrymen are animated.

"We turn now to that portion of our countrymen whose prejudices we had rather overcome by a frank declaration of our intentions than conquer in the field; and, in making this declaration, we do not wish to dwell on events which, however they may bring tenfold odium on their authors, must still tend to keep alive in the minds, both of the instruments and the victims of them, a spirit of animosity which it is our wish to destroy. We will enter into no detail of the atrocities and oppressions which Ireland has laboured under during its connection with England, but we justify our determination to separate from that country on the broad historical statement that, during six hundred years, she has been unable to conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland; that during that time five rebellions were entered into to shake off the yoke; that she has been obliged to enter into a system of unprecedented torture in her defence; that she has broken every tie of voluntary connection by taking even the name of independence from Ireland, through the intervention of a Parliament notoriously bribed and not representing the will of the people; that in vindication of this measure she has herself given the justification of the views of the United Irishmen by declaring, in the words of her ministers, 'that Ireland never had, and never could enjoy, under the then circumstances the benefits of British connection; that it necessarily must happen, when one country is connected with another, that the interests of the lesser will be borne down by the greater. That England had supported and encouraged the English colonist in their oppression towards the natives of Ireland; that Ireland had been left in a state of ignorance, rudeness, and barbarism, worse in its effects and more degrading in its nature than that in which it was found six centuries before.'* Now to what cause are these things to be attributed? Did the curse of the Almighty keep alive a spirit of obstinacy in the minds of the Irish people for six hundred years? Did the doctrines of the French Revolution produce five rebellions? Could the misrepresentations of ambitious,

* Lord Castlereagh's Speech.

designing men drive from the mind of a whole people the recollection of defeat, and raise the infant from the cradle with the same feelings with which his father sank to the grave? Will this gross avowal, which our enemies have made of their own views, remove none of the calumny that has been thrown upon ours? Will none of the credit which has been lavished on them be transferred to the solemn declaration which we now make in the face of God and our country?

"We war not against property—we war against no religious sect—we war not against past opinions or prejudices—we war against English dominion. We will not, however, deny that there are some men, who, not because they have supported the Government of our oppressors, but because they have violated the common laws of morality, which exist alike under all or under no Government, have put it beyond our power to give to them the protection of a Government. We will not hazard the influence we may have with the people, and the power it may give us of preventing the excesses of revolution, by undertaking to place in tranquillity the man who has been guilty of torture, free-quarter, rape, and murder, by the side of the sufferer or their relations; but in the frankness with which we warn those men of their danger, let those who do not feel that they have passed this boundary of mediation count on their safety.

"We had hoped, for the sake of our enemies, to have taken them by surprise, and to have committed the cause of our country before they could have time to commit themselves against it. But, though we have not altogether been able to succeed, we are yet rejoiced to find that they have not come forward with promptitude on the side of those who have deceived them; and we now call upon them before it is yet too late not to commit themselves against a people which they are unable to resist, and in support of a Government which, by their own declaration, had forfeited its claim to their allegiance. To that Government, in whose hands, though not the issue, at least the features with which the present contest is marked or placed, we now turn. How is it to be decided? Is open and honourable force alone to be resorted to, or is it your intention to employ those laws which custom has placed in your hands, and to force us to employ the law of retaliation in our defence?

"Of the inefficacy of a system of terror in preventing the people of Ireland from coming forward to assert their freedom you have already had experience. Of the effect which such a system will have on our minds, in case of success, we have already forewarned you. We now address to you another consideration: if in the question which is now to receive a solemn and, we trust, final decision; if we have been deceived, reflection would point out that conduct should be resorted to which was best calculated to produce conviction on our minds.

"What would that conduct be?

"It would be to show us that the difference of strength between

the two countries is such as to render it unnecessary for you to bring out all your forces; to show that you have something in reserve to crush hereafter, not only a greater exertion of the people, but one rendered still greater by foreign assistance. It would be to show us that what we vainly supposed to be a prosperity growing beyond your grasp, is only a partial exuberance, requiring but the pressure of your hand to reduce to form.

"But for your own sakes, do not resort to a system which, while it increases the acrimony of our minds, would leave us under the melancholy delusion that we had been forced to yield, not to the sound and temperate exertions of our superior strength, but to the frantic struggle of weakness, concealing itself under desperation. Consider that the distinction of rebel and enemy is of a very fluctuating nature; that during the course of your own experience you have already been obliged to lay it aside; that, should you be obliged to abandon it towards Ireland, you cannot hope to do so as tranquilly as you have done towards America; for in the exasperated state to which you have roused the minds of the Irish people—a people whom you profess to have left in a state of barbarism and ignorance, with what confidence can you say to that people, 'While the advantage of cruelty lay upon our side, we slaughtered you without mercy, but the measure of your own blood is beginning to preponderate. It is no longer our interest that this bloody system should continue; show us then that forbearance which we never taught you by precept or example; lay aside your resentment; give quarter to us, and let us mutually forget we never gave quarter to you.' Cease then, we entreat you, uselessly to violate humanity, by resorting to a system inefficacious as a mode of defence; inefficacious as a mode of conviction, ruinous to the future relations of the two countries in case of our success, and destructive of those instruments of defence which you will then find it doubly necessary to have preserved unimpaired. But if your determination be otherwise, hear ours. We will not imitate you in cruelty; we will put no man to death in cold blood; the prisoners which first fall into our hands shall be treated with the respect due to the unfortunate, but if the life of a single unfortunate Irish soldier is taken after the battle is over, the orders thenceforth to be delivered to the Irish army is, neither to give nor to take quarter. Countrymen, if a cruel necessity force us to retaliate, we will bury our resentment in the field of battle; if we fall, we will fall where we fight for our country. Fully impressed with this determination, of the necessity of adhering to which past experience has but too fatally convinced us; fully impressed with the justice of our cause, which we now put to issue, we make our last and solemn appeal to the sword, and to heaven; and, as the cause of Ireland deserves to prosper, may God give us the victory."

"Conformably to the above Proclamation, the Provisional Government of Ireland decree that as follows:—

1. "From the date, and promulgation hereof, tithes are for ever abolished, and church lands are the property of the nation.

2. "From the same date, all transfers of landed property are prohibited, each person paying his rent until the National Government is established, the national will declared, and the courts of justice be organised.

3. "From the same date, all transfer of bonds, debentures, and all public securities are in like manner forbidden, and declared void for the same time, and for the same reason.

4. "The Irish Generals, commanding districts, shall seize such of the partisans of England as may serve as hostages, and shall apprise the English Commanders, opposed to them, that a strict retaliation shall take place, if any outrages contrary to the laws of war shall be committed by the troops under command of each, or by the partisans of England in the district which he occupies.

5. "That the Irish Generals are to treat (except where retaliation makes it necessary) the English troops who may fall into their hands, or such Irish as serve in the regular forces of England, and who shall have acted conformably to the laws of war, shall be treated as prisoners of war; but all Irish Militia, Yeomen, or Volunteer Corps, or bodies of Irish, or individuals, who, fourteen days after the promulgation and date hereof shall be found in arms, shall be considered as rebels, committed for trial, and their properties confiscated.

6. "The Generals are to assemble court-martials, who are to be sworn to administer justice: who are not to condemn without sufficient evidence, and before whom all military offenders are to be sent instantly for trial.

7. "No man is to suffer death by their sentence but for mutiny; the sentences of such others as are judged worthy of death shall not be put into execution until the Provisional Government declares its will; nor are court-martials on any pretence or sentence, nor is any officer to suffer the punishment of flogging, or any species of torture to be inflicted.

8. "The Generals are to enforce the strictest discipline, and to send offenders immediately to the court-martial; and are enjoined to chase away from the Irish armies all such as shall disgrace themselves by being drunk in presence of the enemy.

9. "The Generals are to apprise their respective armies that all military stores and ammunition belonging to the English Government be the property of the captors, and the value equally divided, without respect of rank, between them, except that the widows, orphans, parents, or other heirs of those who gloriously fall in the attack, shall be entitled to a double share.

10. "As the English nation has made war on Ireland, all English property in ships or otherwise is subject to the same rule, and all transfer of them forbidden, and declared void in like manner as is expressed in Nos. 2 and 3.

11. "The Generals of the different districts are hereby empowered to confer rank up to colonels inclusive on such as they conceive merit it from the nation, but are not to make more

colonels than one for fifteen hundred men, nor more lieutenant-colonels than one for every thousand men.

12. "The Generals shall seize on all sums of public money in the custom houses in their districts, or in the hands of the different collectors, county treasurers, or other revenue officers, whom they shall render responsible for the sums in their hands. The Generals shall pass receipts for the amount, and account to the Provisional Government for the same.

13. "When the people elect their officers up to the colonels the General is bound to confirm it; no officer can be broke but by sentence of a court-martial.

14. "The Generals shall correspond with the Provisional Government, to whom they shall give details of all their operations; they are to correspond with the neighbouring Generals, to whom they are to transmit all necessary intelligence, and to co-operate with them.

15. "The General commanding in each county shall, as soon as it is cleared of the enemy, assemble the County Committee, who shall be elected conformably to the constitution of United Irishmen. All the requisitions necessary for the army shall be made in writing, by the Generals to the Committee, who are hereby empowered and enjoined to pass receipts for each article to the owners, to the end that they may receive their full value from the nation.

16. "The County Committee is charged with the civil direction of the county, the care of the national property, and the preservation of order and justice in the county, for which purpose the County Committee are to appoint a high sheriff, and one or more sub-sheriffs, to execute their orders; a sufficient number of Justices of the Peace for the county; a high, and a sufficient number of petty constables in each barony, who are respectively charged with the duties now performed by those magistrates.

17. "The county of Cork, on account of its extent, is to be divided, conformably to the boundaries for raising militia, into the counties of North and South Cork; for each of which a county constable, high sheriff, and all magistrates above directed are to be appointed.

18. "The County Committee are hereby empowered and enjoined to issue warrants to apprehend such persons as it shall appear, on sufficient evidence, perpetrated murder, torture, and other breaches of the acknowledged articles of war and morality on the people, to the end that they may be tried for these offences so soon as the competent courts of justice are established by the nation.

19. "The County Committee shall cause the sheriff or his officers to seize on all the personal property of such, to put seals on their effects, to appoint proper persons to preserve all such property until the national courts of justice shall have decided on the fate of the proprietors.

20. "The County Committee shall act in like manner with all State and church lands, parochial estates, and all public lands and edifices.

21. "The County Committee shall, in the interim, receive all the rents and debts of such persons and estates, and give receipts for the same; shall transmit to the Government an exact account of their value, extent, and amount, and receive the directions of the Provisional Government thereon.

22. "They shall appoint some proper house in the counties where the sheriff is permanently to reside, and where the County Committee shall assemble; they shall cause all the records and papers of the county to be there transmitted, arranged, and kept, and the orders of the Government to be there transmitted and received.

23. "The County Committee is hereby empowered to pay out of these effects, or by assessment, reasonable salaries for themselves, the sheriffs, justices, and other magistrates whom they shall appoint.

24. "They shall keep a written journal of all their proceedings, signed each day by members of the committee, or a sufficient number of them, for the inspection of Government.

25. "The County Committee shall correspond with Government on all subjects with which they are charged, and transmit to the General of the district such information as they shall conceive useful to the public.

26. "The County Committee shall take care that all State prisoners, however great their offences, shall be treated with humanity, and allow them sufficient support, to the end that all the world may know that the Irish nation is not actuated by a spirit of revenge, but of justice.

27. "The Provisional Government, wishing to commit as soon as possible the sovereign authority to the people, direct that each county and city shall elect, agreeably to the constitution of United Irishmen, representatives to meet in Dublin, to whom, the moment they assemble, the Provisional Government will resign its functions; and without presuming to dictate to the people, they beg leave to suggest that for the important purpose to which those electors are called, integrity of character should be the first object.

28. "The number of representatives being arbitrary, the Provisional Government have adopted that of the late House of Commons, 300, and according to the best returns of the population of the cities and counties, the following number are to be returned from each:—Antrim, 13; Armagh, 9; Belfast Town, 1; Carlow, 3; Cavan, 7; Clare, 8; Cork county, north, 14; Cork county, south, 14; Cork city, 6; Donegal, 10; Down, 16; Drogheda, 1; Dublin county, 4; Dublin city, 14; Fermanagh, 5; Galway, 10; Kerry, 9; Kildare, 14; Kilkenny, 7; King's county, 6; Leitrim, 5; Limerick county, 10; Limerick city, 3; Londonderry, 9; Longford, 4; Louth, 4; Mayo, 12; Meath, 9; Monaghan, 9; Queen's county, 6; Roscommon, 8; Sligo, 6; Tipperary, 13; Tyrone, 14; Waterford county, 6; Waterford city, 2; Westmeath, 5; Wicklow, 5.

29. "In the cities the same regulations as in the counties shall be adopted; the city committees shall appoint one or more sheriffs, as they think proper, and shall take possession of all the public and

corporation properties in their jurisdiction, in like manner as is directed in counties.

30. "The Provisional Government strictly exhort and enjoin all magistrates, officers (civil and military), and the whole of the nation, to cause the law of morality to be enforced and respected, and to execute, as far as in them lies, justice with mercy, by which liberty alone can be established, and the blessings of Divine Providence secured."

Another printed document, purporting to be a proclamation, was likewise found in the depôt off Thomas Street.*

"CITIZENS OF DUBLIN.

"A band of patriots, mindful of their oath and faithful to their engagements as United Irishmen, have determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long oppression of England. In this endeavour they are now successfully engaged, and their efforts are seconded by complete and universal co-operation from the country, every part of which, from the north to the south, pours forth its warriors in support of our hallowed cause.

"Citizens of Dublin, we require your aid; necessary secrecy has prevented to many a knowledge of our plan, but the erection of the national standard, the sacred, though long degraded green, will be found a sufficient call to arms, and rally round it every man in whose breast exists a spark of patriotism, or sense of duty; avail yourselves of local advantages—in a city each street becomes a defile, and each house a battery; impede the march of your oppressors, charge them with the arms of the brave, the pike, and from your windows hurl stones, bricks, bottles, and all other convenient instruments on the heads of the satellites of your tyrant, the mercenary and sanguinary soldiery of England.

"Orangemen, add not to the catalogue of your follies and crimes; already have you been duped, to the ruin of your country, in the legislative union with its ——. Attempt not an opposition which will carry with it your inevitable destruction, return from the paths of delusion, return to the arms of your countrymen, who will receive and hail your repentance.

"Countrymen of all descriptions, let us act with union and concert; all sects, Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian, are indiscriminately embraced in the benevolence of our object; repress, prevent, and discourage excesses, pillage, and intoxication; let each man do his duty, and remember that during public agitation inaction becomes a crime; be no other competition known but that of doing good; remember against whom ye fight, your oppressors for six hundred years; remember their massacres, their tortures; remember your murdered friends, your burned houses, your violated females; keep in mind your country, to whom you are now giving her high rank among nations, and, in the honest terror of

* This proclamation was written by Mr. Long.

feeling, let us all exclaim, that as in the hour of her trial we serve this country, so may God serve us in that which shall be our *last*."

No. II.

ROBERT EMMET'S COLLEGE CAREER.

From a Notice to the last Edition of Moore's Poems.

About the same period, 1797, I formed an acquaintance, which soon grew into intimacy, with young Robert Emmet. He was my senior, I think, by one class in the university; for when in the first year in my course I became a member of the Debating Society—a sort of nursery to the authorised Historical Society—I found him in full reputation, not only for his learning and eloquence, but also for the blamelessness of his life, and the grave suavity of his manner.

"Of the political tone of this minor school of oratory, which was held weekly at the rooms of different resident members, some notion may be formed from the nature of the questions proposed for discussion—one of which I recollect was, 'Whether an Aristocracy or a Democracy is most favourable to the advancement of science and literature?' while another, bearing even more pointedly on the relative position of the Government and the people at this crisis, was thus significantly propounded:—'Whether a soldier was bound on all occasions to obey the orders of his commanding officer?' On the former of these questions, the effect of Emmet's eloquence upon his young auditors was, I recollect, most striking. The prohibition against touching upon modern politics, which it was subsequently found necessary to enforce, had not yet been introduced; and Emmet, who took, of course, ardently the side of democracy in the debate, after a brief review of the Republics of antiquity, showing how much they had all done for the advancement of science and the arts, proceeded lastly to the grand and perilous example, then passing before all eyes, the young Republic of France. Referring to the circumstances told of Cæsar, that in swimming across the Rubicon he contrived to carry with him his Commentaries and his sword, the young orator said, 'Thus France wades through a sea of storm and blood; but while in one hand she wields the sword against her oppressors, with the other she upholds the glories of science and literature unsullied by the ensanguined tide through which she struggles.' In another of his remarkable speeches I remember his saying, 'When a people advancing rapidly in knowledge and power perceive at last how far their Government is lagging behind them, what then, I ask, is to be done in such a case? What, but to pull the Government *up* to the people?'

"In a few months after, both Emmet and myself were admitted members of the greater and recognised institution called the Historical Society; and even here the political feeling so rife abroad

contrived to mix up its restless spirit with all our debates and proceedings, notwithstanding the constant watchfulness of the college authorities, as well as of a strong party within the society itself, devoted adherents to the policy of the Government, and taking invariably part with the Provost and Fellows in all their restrictive and inquisitorial measures. The most distinguished and eloquent of these supporters of power were a young man named Sargant, of whose fate in after days I know nothing, and Jebb, the late Bishop of Limerick, who was then, as he continued to be through life, much respected for his private worth and learning.

"Of the popular side in the society, the chief champion and ornament was Robert Emmet; and though every care was taken to exclude from the subjects of debate all questions verging towards the politics of the day, it was always easy enough by a side wind of digression or allusion to bring Ireland and the prospects then opening upon her within the scope of the orator's view. So exciting and powerful in this respect were Emmet's speeches, and so little were even the most eloquent of the adverse party able to cope with his powers, that it was at length thought advisable by the higher authorities to send among us a man of more advanced standing, as well as belonging to a former race of renowned speakers in that society, in order that he might answer the speeches of Emmet and endeavour to obviate the mischievous impression they were thought to produce. The name of this mature champion of the higher powers it is not necessary here to record, but the object of his mission among us was in some respect gained, as it was in replying to a long oration of his, one night, that Emmet, much to the mortification of us who gloried in him as our leader, became suddenly embarrassed, in the middle of his speech, and, to use the Parliamentary phrase, broke down. Whether from a momentary confusion in the thread of his argument, or possibly from diffidence in encountering an adversary so much his senior—for Emmet was as modest as he was high-minded and brave—he began, in the full career of his eloquence, to hesitate and repeat his words, and then, after an effort or two to recover himself, sat down. . . .

"I have already adverted to the period when Mr Bunting's valuable volume first became known to me. There elapsed no very long time before I was myself the happy proprietor of a copy of the work, and, though never regularly instructed in music, could play over the airs with tolerable facility on the pianoforte. Robert Emmet used sometimes to sit by me when I was thus engaged, and I remember one day his starting up as from a reverie when I had just finished playing that spirited tune called the 'Red Fox,' and exclaiming, 'Oh, that I were at the head of twenty thousand men marching to that air!'

"How little did I then think that in one of the most touching of the sweet airs I used to play to him his own dying words would find an interpreter so worthy of their sad but proud feeling; . . or that another of those mournful strains . . . would long be

associated, in the hearts of his countrymen, with the memory of her who shared with Ireland his last blessing and prayer. . . .

"Of the horrors that fore-ran and followed the frightful explosion of the year 1798 I have neither inclination nor, luckily, occasion to speak. But among those introductory scenes, which had somewhat prepared the public mind for such a catastrophe, there was one of a painful description, which, as having been myself an actor in it, I may be allowed briefly to notice.

"It was not many weeks, I think, before this crisis that, owing to information gained by the college authorities of the rapid spread among the students not only of the principles but the organisation of the Irish Union, a solemn visitation was held by Lord Clare, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, with the view of inquiring into the extent of this branch of the plot, and dealing summarily with those engaged in it.

"Imperious and harsh as then seemed the policy of thus setting up a sort of inquisitorial tribunal, armed with the power of examining witnesses on oath, and in a place devoted to the instruction of youth, I cannot but confess that the facts which came out in the course of the evidence went far towards justifying even this arbitrary proceeding; and to the many who, like myself, were acquainted only with the general views of the Union leaders, without even knowing, except from conjecture, who those leaders were, or what their plans or objects, it was most startling to hear the disclosures which every succeeding witness brought forth. There were a few—and among that number poor Robert Emmet, John Brown, and the two Corbets—whose total absence from the whole scene, as well as the dead silence that, day after day, followed the calling out of their names, proclaimed how deep had been their share in the unlawful proceedings inquired into by this tribunal.

"But there was one young friend of mine. . . . whose appearance among the suspected and examined as much surprised as it deeply and painfully interested me. He and Emmet had long been intimate and attached friends, their congenial fondness for mathematical studies having been, I think, a far more binding sympathy between them than any arising out of their political opinions. From his being called up, however, on this day, when, as it appeared afterwards, all the most important evidence was brought forward, there could be little doubt that, in addition to his intimacy with Emmet, the college authorities must have possessed some information which led them to suspect him of being an accomplice in the conspiracy. In the course of his examination some questions were put to him which he refused to answer—most probably from their tendency to involve or inculpate others—and he was accordingly dismissed, with the melancholy certainty that his future prospects in life were blasted; it being already known that the punishment for such contumacy was not merely expulsion from the university, but exclusion from all the learned professions.

"The proceedings, indeed, of this whole day had been such as to send me to my home in the evening with no very agreeable feelings or prospects. I had heard evidence given affecting even the lives of some of those friends whom I had long regarded with admiration as well as affection; and what was still worse than even their danger—a danger enobled, I thought, by the cause in which they suffered—was the shameful spectacle exhibited by those who had appeared in evidence against them. Of these witnesses the greater number had been themselves involved in the plot, and now came forward either as voluntary informers, or else were driven by the fear of the consequences of refusal to secure their own safety at the expense of companions and friends.

"I well remember the gloom, so unusual, that hung over our family circle on that evening, as, talking together of the events of the day, we discussed the likelihood of my being among those who would be called up for examination on the morrow. The deliberate conclusion to which my dear, honest advisers came was that, overwhelming as the consequences were to all their plans and hopes for me, yet, if the questions leading to criminate others, which had been put to almost all examined on that day, and which poor . . . . alone had refused to answer, I must in the same manner, and at all risks, return a similar refusal. I am not quite certain whether I received any intimation on the following morning that I was to be one of those examined in the course of the day, but I rather think some such notice had been conveyed to me;—and at last my awful turn came, and I stood in presence of the formidable tribunal. There sat, with severe look, the Vice-Chancellor, and by his side the memorable Doctor Duigenan—memorable for his eternal pamphlets against the Catholics.

"The oath was proffered to me. 'I have an objection, my lord,' said I, 'to taking this oath.' 'What is your objection?' he asked, sternly. 'I have no fears, my lord, that anything I might say would incriminate myself, but it might tend to involve others, and I despise the character of the person who could be led, under any such circumstances, to inform against his associates.' This was aimed at some of the revelations of the preceding day; and, as I learned afterwards, was so understood. 'How old are you, sir?' he then asked. 'Between seventeen and eighteen, my lord.' He then turned to his assessor, Duigenan, and exchanged a few words with him in an undertone of voice. 'We cannot,' he resumed, again addressing me, 'suffer anyone to remain in our university who refuses to take this oath.' 'I shall then, my lord,' I replied, 'take the oath—still reserving to myself the power of refusing to answer any such questions as I have just described.' 'We do not sit here to argue with *you*, sir,' he rejoined, sharply; upon which I took the oath, and seated myself in the witnesses' chair.

"The following are the questions and answers that then ensued. After adverting to the proved existence of United Irish Societies in the university, he asked, "Have you ever belonged to any of these societies?' 'No, my lord.' 'Have you ever known of any of the

proceedings that took place in them?' 'No, my lord.' 'Did you ever hear of a proposal at any of their meetings for the purchase of arms and ammunition?' 'Never, my lord.' 'Did you ever hear of a proposition made in one of these societies with respect to the expediency of assassination?' 'Oh no, my lord.' He then turned again to Duigenan, and, after a few words with him, said to me:—'When such are the answers you are able to give,* pray what was the cause of your great repugnance to taking the oath?' 'I have already told your lordship my chief reason; in addition to which, it was the first oath I ever took, and the hesitation was, I think, natural.'†

"I was now dismissed without any further questioning; and, however trying had been this short operation, was amply repaid for it by the kind zeal with which my young friends and companions flocked to congratulate me: not so much, I was inclined to hope, on my acquittal by the Court, as on the manner in which I had acquitted *myself*. Of my reception on returning home, after the fears entertained of so very different a result, I will not attempt any description: it was all that *such* a home alone could furnish."

No. III.

SARAH CURRAN.

In the "Literary Souvenir" of 1831, there is an article signed M——, entitled, "Some Passages on the History of Sarah Curran," evidently written by a lady, and by one well acquainted with her. The writer says:—"When I first saw Sarah Curran she was in her twelfth year, and was even then remarkable for a pensive character of countenance, which she never afterwards lost. A favourite sister (to the best of my recollection a twin) died when she was eight

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*There had been two questions put to all those examined on the first day—"Were you ever asked to join any of these societies?"—and "By whom were you asked?"—which I would have refused to answer, and must, of course, have abided the consequences.

†For the correctness of the above report of this short examination I can pretty confidently answer. It may amuse, therefore, my readers—as showing the manner in which biographers make the most of small facts—to see an extract or two from another account of the affair, published not many years since by an old and zealous friend of our family. After stating, with tolerable correctness, one or two of my answers, the writer thus proceeds:—"Upon this Lord Clare repeated the question, and young Moore made such an appeal as caused his lordship to relax, austere and rigid as he was. The words I cannot exactly remember; the substance was as follows:—That he entered college to receive the education of a scholar and a gentleman; that he knew not how to compromise these characters by informing against his college companions; that his own speeches in the debating society had been ill construed, when the worst that could be said of them was, if truth had been spoken, that they were patriotic . . . that he was aware of the high-minded nobleman he had the honour of appealing to, and if his lordship could for a moment condescend to step from his high station and place himself in his situation, then say how he would act under such circumstances, it would be his guidance."—*Herbert's Irish Varieties.* London, 1836.

years old, and was buried under a large tree on the lawn of the Priory (Mr Curran's seat near Dublin) directly opposite to the window of their nursery; under its shade they had often sat together, pulled the first primroses at its root, and watched in its leaves the first verdure of the spring. Many an hour for many a year did the sorrowful survivor take her silent stand at the melancholy window, gazing on the well-known spot which constituted all her little world of joys and sorrows. To this circumstance she attributed the tendency to melancholy, which formed so marked a feature of her character through life."

There was another circumstance to which that tendency might have been attributed. At the age of fourteen she lost a mother's care—she lost a mother whom "she was fondly attached to; and, worse than death, had to do with that separation on that most melancholy occasion. The Rev. Thomas Crawford, of Lismore, an early college friend of Curran's, offered an asylum in his house to the poor girl (the youngest and favourite daughter of her mother), who was overwhelmed with grief at this mournful event. The offer was accepted; and under the kind protecting care of this good man Sarah Curran remained, till better thoughts at home led to her return to it. But there," says the writer of the notice above mentioned. "my poor friend's life was but an April day; or rather it consisted of drops of joy with draughts of ill between."*

It is stated by the writer of this notice that Robert Emmet was first introduced to Sarah Curran by her brother, a fellow-student at college of the former; that Robert soon after this acquaintance was made had become a frequent visitor at the Priory, and this intimacy had terminated in an attachment as ardent as it was unfortunate between him and the youngest daughter of Curran.

The writer states that amongst Emmet's papers several of Sarah Curran's letters were found, one strongly dissuading him from his fatal project, and another after the unfortunate issue of its attempted execution, pleading her love and duty to her father, in reply to his solicitations to her to accompany him to America. This was at the period he was concealed in Dublin, and when measures were taken to secure a passage for him to the United States on board an American vessel. "The last time," continues the writer, "I saw my friend, she seemed happy; she believed him to

*The account of Miss Curran having gone directly from her father's house to that of Mr Penrose, of Cork, is erroneous. Mr Crawford was the kind friend who took on him the duties of a father, when these were abandoned in the case of poor Sarah Curran. The friendship that subsisted between her, and all the members of this amiable family, was only interrupted after her death. She constantly corresponded—while she was in Cork, and after her marriage when on the Continent—with the Miss Crawfords; and I am much mistaken if the writer of this admirable notice in the "Literary Souvenir" be not a member of the Crawford family. The peculiar character of the correspondence of Sarah Curran is its beautiful childlike simplicity and fervour of expression, wholly devoid of affectation. Her letters give the idea of a creature of angelic purity and meekness, with all the tenderness and truth of a loving, noble nature.—R. R. M.

be 'far away on the billow' beyond the power of his enemies, and destined to reach in safety the more hospitable shores of America. That very day he was arrested! I shall not attempt to describe her feelings on receiving a letter from Emmet, informing her that, as she had refused to accompany him, he was determined to remain in Ireland and abide his fate." . . . Emmet's doom was sealed; he abode his fate in Ireland—he died on the scaffold.

"A loss of reason, of some months continuance, spared my poor friend," adds the writer, "the misery of travelling, step by step, through the wilderness of woe which Emmet's trial and execution would have proved to her. As soon as her health permitted she left the residence of her father," etc., etc. What follows in the narrative respecting her departure, for the sake of her father's memory, I omit. Suffice it to say, that during her illness and after her recovery her father did not see her. In one of her letters to the friend who published the preceding account, in speaking of the kind and amiable family who had taken her into their house, and made it to this poor, heart-broken, homeless creature a place of comfort and consolation, she says—"I find a pleasure in reflecting that my father introduced me to the dear Penroses, as if it were to atone for his continued severity towards me." It was while under the hospitable roof of Cowper Penrose, of Wood Hill, that "she became the object of an ardent and disinterested attachment." "A person of peculiarly engaging manner and deportment, Major Henry Sturgeon,* son of Lady Ann Wentworth, and grandson, by his maternal descent, of the celebrated Marquis of Rockingham, first met her at the Penroses. In every member of that family he had a friend who pleaded his cause, and sought to make his suit acceptable to the object of it." At length orders suddenly came for his departure on military duty in a distant land. The united entreaties of all her friends wrung from her "a suppressed consent;" but no sooner was it given than "her heart failed her, and the morning of her wedding day she implored her kind friends to allow her to proceed no further."

She was married, however, in Glanmire Church, "and was in truth a mourning bride." "One of the four female friends who attended her at church said she was in tears all the way."

Captain Sturgeon was ordered to Sicily, where he was accompanied by his wife, and there she endeavoured to make him happy, and so appeared cheerful herself! In 1808, the English having to abandon Sicily, Sturgeon and his lady returned to England in a crowded transport, in very tempestuous weather. "A short time before they landed Mrs S—— gave birth to a delicate and drooping boy, whose death soon after seems to have put a finishing stroke to her sufferings at Hythe, in Kent."

In May, 1808, in a letter of Mr Richard Curran to the author of the Memoir of his Sister (in the "Literary Souvenir"), Mrs Henry

*The writer is mistaken in the rank then held by Sturgeon, which was that of Captain.—R. R. M.

W——, he announces the death of her "poor friend, his lamented Sarah" (on the 5th of May, 1808), and encloses an unfinished letter, "the last she ever wrote," addressed to Mrs W——.

The following is "the unfinished letter," written eighteen days before her death, referred to by her brother :—

HYTHE, *April* 17.

"MY DEAR M——,—I suppose you do not know of my arrival from Sicily, or I should have heard from you. I must be very brief in the detail of events which have been so fatal to me, and which followed our departure from that country. A most dreadful and perilous passage occasioned me many frights. I was, on our entrance into the Channel, prematurely delivered of a boy, without any assistance save that of one of the soldier's wives, the only woman on board but myself. The storm being so high that no boat could stand out to sea, I was in imminent danger till 12 o'clock next day, when, at the risk of his life, a physician came on board from one of the ships and relieved me. The storm continued, and I got a brain fever, which, however, passed off. To be short: on landing at Portsmouth the precious creature for whom I suffered so much God took to Himself. The inexpressible anguish I felt, at this event preying on me, has occasioned the decay of my health. For the last month the contest between life and death has seemed doubtful; but this day, having called in a very clever man, he seems not to think me in danger. My disorder is a total derangement of the nervous system, and its most dreadful effects I find in the attack on my mind and spirits. *I suffer misery you cannot conceive.* I am often seized with heavy perspirations, trembling, and that indescribable horror which you must know if you ever had fever. Write instantly to me. Alas! I want everything to sooth my mind. Oh! my friend, would to Heaven you were with me! nothing so much as the presence of a dear female friend would tend to my recovery. But in England you know how I am situated, not one I know intimately. To make up for this my beloved husband is everything to me—his conduct throughout all my troubles surpasses all praise. Write to me, dear M——, and tell me how to bear all these things. I have, truly speaking, cast all my care on the Lord; but, oh! how our weak natures fail every day, every hour I may say. *On board the ship, when all seemed adverse to hope, it is strange how an over-strained trust in certain words of our Saviour gave me such perfect faith in His help, that, although my baby was visibly pining away, I never doubted his life for a moment. 'He who gathers the lambs in His arms,' I thought, would look on mine if I had faith in Him. This has often troubled me since."*

Tears—silence—stillness—these are the comments, the only comments, these mournful words of the last letter of Sarah Curran admit of. Her last request was to be buried under the favourite tree at the Priory, beneath which her beloved sister was interred.

"She was spared the cruelty of a refusal." It was after her death, adds the writer of the memoir, that Mr. Curran said—"He would not have his lawn turned into a churchyard." The writer was mistaken—the request was refused, but not in the unfeeling manner above mentioned; and this I state on the authority of one who was charged with the painful task of conferring with the father on the subject of his dying daughter's request.

Lord C oncurry informed me that when he spoke with Curran on the subject, his sole objection was on the ground of the misrepresented motives which would be assigned for the interment in a place not consecrated. He said, when he had the remains of a beloved child, the sister of Sarah, interred in the lawn at the Priory, he was accused of impiety. The burial was called an unchristian one; and, if he consented to another interment there, his enemies would repeat their old calumnies and outcries against him.

Lord Cloncurry urged on him what he conceived to be the necessity of complying with the dying wish of his poor child. But he urged his suit in vain. The remains of his daughter were conveyed to Ireland, and they rest with those of her father's family at Newmarket.

"In person," says the author of the memoir in the 'Literary Souvenir,' "Mrs. S—— was about the ordinary size; her hair and eyes black. Her complexion was fairer than is usual with black hair, and was a little freckled. Her eyes were large, soft, and brilliant, and capable of the greatest variety of expression. Her aspect in general indicated reflection, and pensive abstraction from the scene around her. Her wit was keen and playful, but chastened, although no one had a keener perception of humour or ridicule. Her musical talents were of the first order; she sang with exquisite taste; I think I never heard so harmonious a voice."*

Is there no duty left undone to the memories of Robert Emmet and of Sarah Curran by the collector of those records (scanty though they be), of their short career, and its sad story?

He has pointed out the neglected grave of Sarah Curran, but he has not stigmatised, as it deserved to have been, the shameful neglect that has left that spot, where the remains of Emmet's "own beloved Sarah" are laid without a stone to bear her name, or remind us of those virtues of a constant loving nature which endeared her to Robert Emmet.

No. IV.

ROBERT EMMET'S ADDRESS.

I AM indebted to a professional gentleman, of high attainments, for some strictures on the Memoir of Robert Emmet, in the last series of this work, kindly made by Dr. B——n, of Cork, which I consider valuable; and which the reader, I have little doubt, will think it is incumbent on me to avail myself of, and to lay before the public.

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*Literary Souvenir, 1831, p. 346.

"At page 247 of the Third Volume (last series) Dr. Madden states, that he has endeavoured to give as faithful a report as he could of the Address of Robert Emmet delivered previous to receiving sentence of death. Although he has entered into full details, in the same volume (page 249), respecting the present Lord Plunket's refutation of the charge brought against him by Robert Emmet, Dr. Madden has omitted the words used by Emmet in making that charge. It is very probable that additions were made to that address which he was right in rejecting, but there can be no doubt that Emmet reflected very severely on Mr Plunket, whether justly or unjustly is not the question. We have the very words used, given by Judge Johnson when he was a colleague of Lord Norbury, sitting on the Common Pleas Bench with him, and who by giving them publicity in his letters, signed 'Juverna,' has stamped them with authenticity. The publication may be almost said to be contemporaneous with the trials, and Dr Madden will find the words used beginning —'That viper,' etc , in the trial of the King *v.* Cobbett, tried 24th May, 1804, Vol. XXIX., page 29. Lord Plunket brought an action against Cobbett for a libel in publishing the charge, tried 26th of May, 1804. and reported in the same volume, and though he had Erskine for his counsel, and relied on the fact that Cobbett did not plead a justification or attempt to prove the truth of the charge, still it is nowhere alleged that Robert Emmet did not make it. We are, therefore, warranted in assuming that the words were used by Robert Emmet in his address, and the report can hardly be considered accurate which omits not only the words but all allusion to them."

I fully admit the justice of these observations. I was wrong in not giving the words imputed to Robert Emmet in the publication of Judge Johnstone. But I do not think I should have given insertion to them in the address, for they stand alone in the report of the proceedings on Cobbett's trial, and are not inserted in any published report of Emmet's speech, and those who positively assert the words were used by Emmet cannot point out in what portion of his address they were spoken. The words ought to have been appended to the speech in a note, accompanied by the necessary observations with respect to the credit to be attached to them. I now give the precise words, from the authorities above referred to, and some more precise data than Dr. B. has given respecting the trials he has referred to. On the 24th of May, 1804, William Cobbett was prosecuted for a libel, published in his "Political Register" the 3rd of November, 1803, on the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Hardwicke, the Lord-Chancellor, Lord Redesdale, Judge Osborne, and one of the Judges of the King's Bench, and Alexander Marsden, one of the Under-Secretaries in the office of the Chief-Secretary of Ireland, contained in a letter on the "Affairs of Ireland," signed "Juverna."*

*Howell's State Trials, Vol. XXIX., p. 2; Lond. Ed. 1821.

In the libel Lord Hardwicke was described as "a very eminent feeder of sheep in Cambridgeshire;" Lord Redesdale, to whom Dr. Addington had entrusted the care of Ireland, as "a very able and stout-built Chancery pleader from Lincoln's Inn;" Mr. Justice Osborne as "the most corrupt instrument of a debased and degraded Government, lending himself as a screen to conceal them from the disgrace their actions would naturally bring upon them;" and lastly, Mr. Marsden as a person of rapacity "in office," in respect to whose deeds, "except as to momentary effects, rebellion and invasion might be viewed with indifference, if it can be supposed that the stained hands of a petty clerk had been washed in the very fountain of justice."*

Cobbett was found guilty, but in consideration of his coming forward as a witness for the Crown on the subsequent trial of the supposed author of the letters signed "Juverna"—Judge Johnson—he was never called upon to receive sentence on the conviction.†

On the 26th of May, 1804, William Cobbett was again tried for publishing a libel on W. C. Plunket, Esq., Solicitor-General of Ireland. This was an action for damages brought by Mr Plunket, and the libel was contained in one of the same letters of "Juverna," for the publication of which Cobbett was previously prosecuted. The case was tried by a special jury before Lord Ellenborough. The counsel for the plaintiff were Messrs Erskine, Garrow, Dampier, and Nolan; for the defendant, Mr Adam and Mr Richardson.

The declaration of the plaintiff‡ opens by stating "That whereas the said W. C. Plunket now is, and from the time of his maturity hath been, a *true*, faithful and honest subject of our lord the King" . . . That at the time of the trial of "one Robert Emmet," indicted in Ireland on a charge of high treason, "the said W. Connyngham was much employed in his profession of a barrister-at-law, whereby he got great gains and profits, and was also much consulted, and entrusted by divers persons holding high offices in the administration and Government of Ireland. . . And had always conducted himself as deservedly to have gained and retained the esteem of all persons by whom he was so as aforesaid retained, employed, and entrusted, to his great comfort and advancement in life. Yet the said William Cobbett, well knowing the premises but, greatly envying the happy state and condition of the said William Connyngham, and combining, and maliciously intending to injure him in his said profession of a barrister, etc., etc., on the 10th of December, in the year of our Lord 1803, etc., did publish a certain false and malicious and defamatory libel, of, and concerning the said William Connyngham; and of, and concerning his conduct as a barrister-at-law, upon the said trial of Robert Emmet; and of, and concerning his conduct as a member of the House of Commons of Parliament in Ireland, and the opinions by him there delivered," etc., etc.§

The declaration proceeds with the libellous matter:—

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* Ibid, p. 6 to 10. † Ibid, p. 54. ‡ Ibid, p. 54. § Ibid, p. 55.

"If anyone could be found" (meaning that the said W. Connyngham was that man), "of whom a young, but unhappy victim of the justly offended laws of his country" (meaning the said Robert Emmet), "had, on the moment of his conviction and sentence" (meaning the aforesaid conviction of Robert Emmet, and his sentence thereon), "uttered the following apostrophe," "*That viper*" (meaning the said W. Connyngham), "*whom my father nourished! He it was from whose lips I first imbibed those principles and doctrines which now, by their effects, drag me to my grave*" (meaning that the said Robert Emmet had first imbibed principles and doctrines, by their effects, which led him to commit high treason); "*and he it is who is now brought forward as my prosecutor, and who by an unheard of exercise of the prerogative, has wantonly lashed with a speech to evidence*" (meaning the observations upon the evidence given on said trial of Robert Emmet, made by the said W. Connyngham), "*the dying son of his former friend, when that dying son had produced no evidence, and made no defence, but, on the contrary, had acknowledged the charge, and submitted to his fate.*" Meaning that the said W. Connyngham had acted in like manner above described in the said libel.) "Lord Kenyon" (meaning the late Lord Kenyon) "would have turned with horror from such a scene, in which, although guilt was, on our part, to be punished, yet, in the whole drama, justice was confounded, humanity outraged, and loyalty insulted."

After the declaration had been read, the Honourable Thomas Erskine addressed the jury. In his address, he called on the jury, "As it was a civil action, not to suffer their minds to be distracted by those important considerations, of the liberty of the press, which have so often agitated Parliament and courts of justice. It would ill become him to say anything against that sacred privilege. Seeing that he considered it almost the only honour of his public life that he had taken an active part in framing the statute for its protection," etc. . . Eheu ! ! ! Referring to the interruptions on the part of Lord Norbury, when Emmet addressed the court, Mr. Erskine said—"Highly as everyone must approve the conduct of the noble lord, it is nevertheless to be lamented that it should have been necessary to have interrupted him; for, gentlemen, what will you say to the confessions of this libeller? this unfortunate young gentleman, after he had retired, had made this declaration—'*That such had been the mildness of the government of Lord Hardwicke, that he was obliged to push on the catastrophe that took place, lest there should have been an end of rebellion by the causes of it having ceased*' Mr Emmet" (continued Mr. Erskine), "after he had been prevented from doing any more mischief, *so far from complaining that he had been insulted by my client, Mr. Plunket, openly acknowledged that it was the wisdom, the moderation, the forbearance, the prudence and virtue of the Government, that were dissolving rebellion,*" etc.

Here certainly is a denial, on the part of Mr. Plunket's advocate, of Emmet's having complained of being insulted by his

client. But no evidence whatsoever was adduced, on the trial of Cobbett, by the prosecutor, to prove that Emmet had not used the language imputed to him in the libel, although witnesses from Ireland were examined for the plaintiff, who deposed to the fact of having been present at the trial.*

Mr Erskine, again referring to the words of the libel, charging his client with wantonly lashing in a speech to evidence the dying son of a former friend, who, on his trial had produced no witnesses, made no defence, acknowledged the charge, and submitted to his fate, said—"Now, gentlemen, what can be said of a man worse than this? Lord Coke, with all his great fame, never has outlived and never will outlive the memory of the manner in which he treated Sir Walter Raleigh in a court of justice. So revolting was his conduct that it stands like a blot upon his escutcheon. The conduct imputed to Mr Plunket would have been brutal even if Mr Emmet had been a perfect stranger to him instead of the dying son of his former friend. *But the assertion is false*, or Mr Cobbett might have proved it to be true. Was Mr. Cobbett present when Mr. Emmet made use of these words? and if not, where had he his authority? Has he any right to insert in his papers what renders me the object of universal horror and detestation? No crime can be more detestable than that which the plaintiff is here charged with: that he had instilled into the mind of this young man principles which by their effects dragged him to the grave," etc., etc.‡

Mr. Adam, for the defence, in replying to a portion of the libellous letters signed "Juverna," where the reports of speeches attributed to Mr. Plunket in the Irish Parliament were referred to in very strong terms of reprobation, as appealing to the people from the Parliament in particular cases, and exempting the people from obedience to a particular law by the general law, said—"This part of the question relates to a circumstance, the particulars of which we have been prevented by the established law of Parliament from diving into, nor do I wish to bring it forward in this place; but I have a right to state that if any person should have printed, so far back as the year 1799, a speech importing to be a speech made by the plaintiff, and if it should appear that the passage I have just read to you is an exact copy of a passage in that speech I submit that this is a case extremely favourable to my client." The passage he had just read was to the following effect, that "By law an appeal lay from the decision of the tellers of the Houses of Parliament to that of the tellers of the nation." . . . "And if a particular law were disagreeable to the people, however it might have been enacted with all royal and Parliamentary solemnity, nevertheless it was not binding; and the people, by the general law, were exempted from obedience to such a particular law, because the people were the supreme and ultimate judges of what was for their own benefit."

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*Ibid, p. 71. ‡Ibid, p. 67.

If Mr. Erskine in a public assembly had pronounced such an opinion, "What species of moral offence (continued Mr Adam) would it have been to have said that he was an improper person to become the law officer of the crown?" . . . "And more, if it could be proved that these expressions had been published and attributed to him in newspapers and pamphlets from the year 1800 to the present year 1804, and that he had never called upon any of those publishers for an explanation, what sort of damages, I ask, would you have given to my learned friend? Having said this, let me read to you *the infamous libel* attributed to Mr. Plunket. It is stated in this book, purporting to be a collection of speeches on the Union, that in the Irish House of Commons, on the 22nd of June, 1799, Mr Plunket made use of those words—"*I, in the most express terms, deny the competency of Parliament to do this act.*' (meaning the Act of Legislative Union between the two countries). '*I tell you, that if circumstanced as you are, you pass this Act, it will be a mere nullity, and that no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make the assertion deliberately; I repeat it, and I call on any man who hears me to take down my words.*"

Lord Ellenborough said, in the shape of evidence, no such matter could be given to the jury, but he had no objection to the statement of it as supposition. There was no justification of the libel attempted on the part of the defendant, no evidence brought forward to prove that the words attributed in the libel were pronounced by Emmet, or that the statements in it were true."

Lord Ellenborough, in charging the jury, said that the part of the libel that weighed with him was the apostrophe attributed to Emmet—"That viper whom my father nourished," etc. "Is it possible," said his lordship, "to state anything more detestable than that a person who had been nourished by the father of a man who had rendered himself amenable to the infliction of the law, should insult and sting the son to death?"

"As to the language," continued his lordship, "which the plaintiff may be supposed to have held in the Irish House of Parliament, it might, if true, render him unfit for recommendation to His Majesty—it might be improper. This, however, the defendant has not attempted to justify." The jury retired for about twenty minutes and returned with a verdict for the plaintiff—damages £500.*

November the 23rd, 1805, the Honourable Justice Johnson, of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, was brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, charged with being the author and publisher of a libel against the Government of his sovereign, contained in several letters signed "Juverna," published in the *Political Register*. From the month of December, 1804, a course of proceedings of a very extraordinary description had been carried on against Judge Johnson with singular pertinacity in the Irish Court of Exchequer and English Court of King's Bench, in

*Ibid, p. 79.

reference to the libels for which the Irish Government and the Solicitor-General, Mr. Plunket, had already obtained two verdicts. A third verdict was deemed essential to their characters.

Judge Johnson was brought to trial in England, and to do this, an Act of Parliament was framed in the interim between the prosecutions. The Attorney-General Percival attributed the libel to private malice and hostility to the Irish administration. The libel was the same for which Cobbett had undergone two prosecutions, but on this trial a portion of the original manuscript letters was produced, and Mr Cobbett brought forward to state how it came into his hands. Cobbett deposed that the letters signed "Juverna" were sent in October, 1803 to his office in Pall Mall, No. 100, in an envelope with the Irish postmark, and an accompanying communication from the author in the same handwriting as the letters. The purport of this communication was to inquire if certain useful and true information from Ireland, respecting affairs there, would be acceptable to the editor of the *Political Register*. Several official persons from Ireland proved the manuscript letters, signed "Juverna," to be in the handwriting of Judge Johnson. Five witnesses were brought forward by the defendant, who deposed that the handwriting of the letters, signed "Juverna," was not that of Judge Johnson. One of these witnesses was a gentleman of unenviable notoriety in Ireland from 1794 to 1798, Mr John Gifford, who was no longer "the dog in office" for a cross-examination; he swore that he was turned out of office by Lord Hardwicke "because he was a Protestant," which assertion, Lord Ellenborough in his charge, said "it would be a libel on that noble Lord's character to suppose there was any truth in such a statement."

Another of the witnesses, Dr Jebb, had deposed that a person of the name of Card had come forward and said he would avow himself the author of the letters, but for his apprehensions that his avowal would be attended with injury to his family, and that his handwriting exactly resembled that of Judge Johnson.

The jury, after deliberating for about a quarter of an hour, returned a verdict of guilty.

In Trinity term, 1806, a *nolle prosequi* was entered upon this indictment by the Attorney-General, Sir Arthur Piggott, and Mr. Justice Johnson retired from the bench for his life.

In the case of Plunket against Cobbett the fine of £500 was not enforced. The obnoxious judge was got rid of, and, strange to say, he had been, as his advocate truly observed, "in all his former life a supporter of Government in Parliament, and had been placed in executive positions of great trust."

He had voted for the Union, and was thankful—no doubt, like others—to Providence for having a country to sell the independence of for the office of a judge.

But when the business was done the buyers and sellers hated one another. On the other hand the gentleman who had talked of "flinging the connection to the winds," and clasping his country

to his heart," had powers and character to make his services of value ; they were valuable, they were valued, and good value in promotion and preferment was given for them.

The old Unionist lawyer, who had got the prompt payment of his vote in 1801, when he was pitchforked into the Common Pleas with the sacred coif and ermine, in 1806 was thus pushed aside ; and new services had to be rewarded and in due time were rewarded, such as those highly energetic and intrepid ones (considering the acknowledged friendship that did exist between Mr. Plunket and the brother of Robert Emmet, both at college and at the Inns of Court) which the Solicitor-General, in 1803, rendered to the State by the speech in evidence, volunteered on that occasion against the culprit, whose temerity was such that he produced no evidence and made no defence. Mr. Plunket, in 1803, felt that it was his duty to his country to proclaim opinions which could not possibly leave people to imagine that the opinions which were ascribed to him in printed speeches and pamphlets in 1799 were ever seriously entertained by him or, perhaps, made by him at all ; or if made, were anything more than mere rhetorical flourishes—flights of poetry, such as youthful lawyers fancy when they love popularity. If Robert Emmet had unfortunately ever read these passages in the printed speeches of 1799, which Cobbett's advocate had referred to, and remembering the old friendship that had subsisted between his brother and the gentleman to whom those speeches were attributed, had attached an undue importance to the sentiments ; had formed, perhaps, an erroneous opinion of the authorship, and had been misled by them in consequence of being thus mistaken—it was evident Mr. Plunket thought it could never be too late to undeceive the prisoner, who might possibly be one of the deluded—it was by no means essential to the just vengeance of the law that the young gentleman who was likely to be hanged the following day should be allowed to go to the gallows without having his mind disabused, and an opportunity given him of thinking more soberly and sanely on subjects in respect to which he had so short a time to make his peace with the Almighty. This kind of teaching of the community and of preaching at malefactors is considered always seasonable ; the public finds the practice serviceable—prisoners, perhaps, somewhat sharp—but it cannot be dispensed with—

"It mends their morals, never mind the pain."

R. R. M.

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