

V34.29
C2.3
1963

HISTORY OF IRELAND
IN THE
XVIIITH CENTURY

VOL. III.

WORKS BY WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY.



HISTORY of ENGLAND in the EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Library Edition. 8vo. Vols. I. and II. 1700-1760. 36s. Vols. III. and IV. 1760-1784. 36s. Vols. V. and VI. 1784-1793. 36s. Vols. VII. and VIII. 1793-1800. 36s. Cabinet Edition. ENGLAND. 7 vols. Crown 8vo. 6s. each. IRELAND. 5 vols. Crown 8vo. 6s. each.

The **HISTORY of EUROPEAN MORALS** from AUGUSTUS to CHARLEMAGNE. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 16s.

HISTORY of the RISE and INFLUENCE of the SPIRIT of RATIONALISM in EUROPE. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 16s.

POEMS. Fcp. 8vo. 5s.

London : LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

A
HISTORY OF IRELAND
IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY
WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY

NEW EDITION

VOLUME III.

LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO
1892

All rights reserved

PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
LONDON

V34.L9
C2.3
1963

CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.



CHAPTER VI.

1790-1793.

Viceroyalty of the Earl of Westmorland

	PAGE
First session of 1790. Grattan and Ponsonby lead the Opposition	1
Dissolution in April. New members	3
Vote for the apprehended Spanish war. The Whig Club .	3
Signs of a revolutionary spirit. Speeches of Parsons . .	4
Fascination exercised by the French Revolution in Ireland.	
The volunteers	8
Dangerous movements in Belfast	9
'The Northern Whig'	11
Wolfe Tone founds the Society of United Irishmen at Belfast, Oct. 1791	13
Spread of the Society. Objects of its leaders	14
Opposition to the Whig Club	16
Grattan's attachment to the connection. His conviction of the danger of democracy in Ireland	17
The rival theories of parliamentary reform	20
Growth of a democratic element in the Catholic Committee.	
Discourtesies shown to Catholics	22
Secession of Lord Kenmare and the leading gentry from the Committee	23
Growing importance of the Catholics	24
Their anomalous and humiliating position	25

	PAGE
The Catholic Committee becomes essentially democratic— demands complete abolition of the penal code . . .	27
Difficulty and danger of the task before the ministers . . .	28
Guiding motives of the Irish Ministers	29
And of the ministers in England	29
English legislation in favour of Catholics. Influence of Burke	30
His letter to Langrishe	31
His estimate of Irish Protestants and Catholics	33
On the indifference of English Ministers to Irish affairs . . .	34
Richard Burke made paid adviser of the Catholic Committee	35
Dundas proposes an extensive Relief Bill	38
Alarm and violent opposition of the Irish Government . . .	41
Pitt endeavours to soften the antagonism	45
Westmorland on the relation of the Catholic question to the Government of Ireland	47
His arguments supported by Hobart	50
Conference of Hobart and Parnell with Dundas and Pitt . . .	53
English Ministers yield to the wish of the Irish Admi- nistration	54
Pitt's conciliatory letter	56
He insists that no pledge shall be given against future concession	57
Letter of Dundas—Liberal sentiments of Dundas and Pitt	57
The Irish Ministers did not represent truly the general Protestant sentiments	59
Langrishe's Relief Act of 1792	61
Declaration and address of the Catholic Committee	62
A Catholic Convention summoned	64
Hostile resolutions of the grand juries and of the Corpora- tion of Dublin	65
Richard Burke's estimate of the movement	66
Debates on the Catholic question in Parliament 1792	67
Frequent allusions at this time to a Legislative Union. Opinions of Burke, Grattan, and Curran	73
Proof that Pitt in 1792 contemplated such a measure	74
Westmorland misreads the state of the country	74
Other measures of the session. Prevalence of drunkenness	76
House of Commons burnt down	77
Debate on the East Indian trade	77
The Cork Weighmasters. Question of parliamentary re- form again raised	78
Review of the condition of the Parliament	79
Defended by an enumeration of the many good measures it carried	83
Charlemont on the danger of associating the Catholic question with reform	85

THE THIRD VOLUME.

vii

	PAGE
Predicts that Catholic enfranchisement must lead either to separation or an Union	86
Policies of the Irish Reformers, the English Cabinet and the Irish Ministers	87
Westmorland's alarm at the Catholic Convention	88
Maintains that the evil comes chiefly from England	91
State of Ireland in October and November	92
May lead to an augmentation of the army and an Union	94
Not yet seriously alarming	94
Support of the Protestants the essential condition of the connection	96
Speculations about the practicability of an Union	97
Pitt perplexed and anxious	99
Duty of England to support the Irish Government	100
Increased influence of French affairs in Ireland	101
French despatches	103
The 'Friends of the Constitution.' Dangers of an alliance between Republicans and Catholics	106
Approximation of Catholics and Presbyterians	107
Catholic disaffection not yet profound. Sentiments of different classes	109
Catholic divisions. Meeting of the Convention, December 3	112
Determination of the Catholics to send a petition to the King	114
Protestant feeling more favourable to concession	115
Proclamation against seditious assemblies	117
Westmorland's letters in December	117
General estimate of the situation	121
Alleged danger to property held under the Act of Settlement	123
Richard Burke's memorial, November 4	125
English Government insists on a Relief Bill	126
Irish Ministers reluctantly obey	128
Clause in favour of the Catholics inserted by the English Ministry in the Speech from the Throne	129
False position of Westmorland's Government	130
Dundas prescribes the relief to be given	131

Session of 1793

Speech from the Throne. The term 'Catholic' employed	133
Grattan's speech on the address	135
Hobart's description of the feeling of the House of Commons	138
Movement for parliamentary reform	139
Feb. 4. Hobart introduces the Catholic Relief Bill. Its reception by the House	140
The anti-Catholic party	142

	PAGE
The Ponsonbys demand the admission of Catholics to Parliament	145
Their supporters	147
Danger of conceding the suffrage without giving the right of sitting in Parliament	148
The Government defeat the motion for admitting Catholics to Parliament	151
Speech of Arthur Wesley	151
Speech of Sir Lawrence Parsons	152
Proposes a limited Catholic franchise united with a Reform Bill	161
Wisdom of his policy. Reasons why the Government opposed it	163
The forty-shilling freeholders	165
Attempt to disfranchise them. Opposed by Foster	166
Facility with which the Relief Bill was carried. Its provisions	167
The debate in the Lords. Speech of Fitzgibbon	168
His reasons for supporting the Bill	175
His influence in destroying the conciliatory effects of the Government policy	176
Opinion of Burke and Grattan to that effect	177
Gratitude of the Catholics. Declaration of war. Military measures	178
Dissolution of the Catholic Convention. Its last measures. Parliamentary reform	179
Resisted by the Government. Commercial depression	181
Pension list reduced. Hereditary revenue abolished	182
Measures for incapacitating some placemen and pensioners from sitting in Parliament	183
Law obliging placemen to undergo re-election. History and effects of this measure	183
Immediate effect of the Catholic Relief Bill on the constituencies	186
The Barren Land Act. Libel Act. Reform of the hearth tax. The East India trade	186
Grattan's desire for a commercial treaty with England	187
Readiness of the Irish Parliament to support it. The Convention Act	188
A discordant voice in foreign politics. Lord Edward Fitzgerald	190
Character and tendencies of the Irish Parliament of this time	192
It supported Government against foreign enemies more unanimously than the Parliament of England	193
Sedition beyond its walls	193
Indignation of the Belfast party at the French war	195
The enrolling of the militia	195
Multiplying signs of anarchy and sedition	196

CHAPTER VII.

	PAGE
Contrast between the sentiments of Parliament and of the country in 1793	199
Irish overtures to France—Mission of Oswald	200
Preparation for rebellion	201
Leading United Irishmen chiefly Protestants	202
Changes in the Catholic body.—Rise of a Catholic seditious party	204
McKenna on the state of Ireland	205
Character, objects, and proceedings of the Dublin Committee	208
Exile of Tandy.—Imprisonment of Rowan	209
The arming of the people discussed in the Dublin Committee	210
First results of the Relief Act of 1793	211
<i>Defenderism</i>	
Its early history and growth	212
Strengthened by the Militia Act	216
Its purely Catholic character	218
Opinion of Westmorland.—Report of the Lords Committee	219
At first distinct from and hostile to the United Irish movement	221
Attempts of United Irishmen to suppress religious dissension	222
Defenderism at first not political.—French influence	223
Popular sympathy for France	224
The country more peaceful.—Fitzgibbon made Viscount	225
Quiet of Ireland in 1794.—Grattan supports the war	225
Protest of Parsons	227
Proposed commercial treaty.—Ponsonby's Reform Bill.—Attitude of Grattan	229
Close of the session.—Reports of an informer	231
Mission of Jackson	232
His arrest	233
Escape of Rowan.—Growth of disloyalty	234
Decline of the influence of Grattan	237
<i>The Fitzwilliam Episode</i>	
Whig secession in 1794	238
Ministerial changes—the direction of Ireland	240
Fitzwilliam designated as future Viceroy	243
Rising hopes of the Catholics	244

	PAGE
Fitzwilliam communicates with Thomas Grenville and Grattan	245
Grattan refuses office.—Negotiations in England	246
The time of the appointment of Fitzwilliam and the extent of his powers disputed	249
Opinion of Burke	255
Probable motives of Pitt	258
Dispute settled.—Appointment of Fitzwilliam.—His instructions	261
The Catholics determine to bring forward their claims	263
Fitzwilliam desires to yield—proposes a yeomanry	265
Announces his intention to accept the Catholic Bill	268
Dismissal of Hamilton and Cooke	270
And of Beresford	272
Anger of the Castle Party	275
Alarming state of Europe.—Parliament meets	276
Grattan moves the Address	278
Recognition of Irish prosperity	279
Extraordinary supplies voted.—Fitzwilliam urges the necessity of Emancipation	280
Strength of the Irish opinion in favour of it	285
Conduct of the English Ministers—Progress of the dispute	287
Last remonstrance of Fitzwilliam	294
Fitzwilliam ordered to stop the Catholic Bill	297
Review of his conduct about it	293
His recall.—Inquiry into its motives	300
Fitzgibbon argues that the King could not assent to Emancipation	305
Memorandum of the King against it	306
Memorandum of the ministers	308
Memorandum of Fitzgibbon	310
Alarm in Ireland when the recall was announced	313
Speech of Parsons	314
Parliament votes its thanks to Fitzwilliam	317
Camden appointed Lord Lieutenant, and Pelham Secretary	317
State of the country.—Great Catholic meeting in Dublin	318
Departure of Fitzwilliam	321
Effects of his recall	323

CHAPTER VIII.

Camden arrives March 31, 1795.—Riot in Dublin	325
Replies of Grattan to addresses	326
English Ministers stimulate the anti-Catholic feeling	327
Instructions to Camden	328
Portland on Fitzgibbon's letters to the King	330

	PAGE
Pitt's forebodings.—Letter of Windham	331
Dangerous state of the country	333
Meeting of Parliament (April 13).—Speech of Grattan	334
Debate on the second reading of the Catholic Bill	336
Defeated by 155 to 84.—Effect on Irish history	345
Fitzgibbon made Earl of Clare	347
 <i>Maynooth</i>	
Foreign education of the priesthood	348
Views of Hutchinson and Burke	349
Project of a Catholic college connected with Dublin University	351
Petition of the Catholic bishops in 1794	351
Correspondence of Burke and Grattan on the subject	352
Wolfe Tone's prediction of the effect of home education on the priests	353
Character of the Irish priests before Maynooth	354
Improvement under George III.—Patronage exercised by laymen	357
Government of the Church	358
Decline of clerical influence	358
Foundation and object of Maynooth	360
Magee's evidence relating to it	361
Petition of Catholics against its sectarian character	363
Burke's dislike to the Maynooth scheme	365
His letter shown to the Government	366
 Letter of Burke on Jacobin tendencies among the Catholics	 367
Confidential letter of the Duke of Richmond advocating an Union	369
Trial and suicide of William Jackson	372
Wolfe Tone sails for America	374
Leonard McNally—his career and treason	374
His picture of the state of Irish opinion	381
Reconstruction of United Irish Society—its organisation	382
A conference of the parliamentary Opposition	384
Rapid spread of Defenderism—its character and effects	385
Lawrence O'Connor	391
 <i>Agrarian system of Ireland</i>	
Tenure of land after the revolution.—The Timber Acts	393
The middleman	394
Causes that aggravated the competition for land in Ireland	396
Between the completion of the Penal Code and the accession of George III. the changes chiefly economical	399

	PAGE
After that date powerful political causes come into play	399
The Irish rental	401
Rapid rise in rents.—Canting	403
Subdivision of land—its causes	408
Modern parallels	411
Extreme poverty in parts of Ireland	412
Influence of landlords—its history and decline	415
The deportation of suspected Defenders	419
 <i>Rise of Orangism</i>	
Disputes of Peep of Day Boys and Defenders	421
Jackson's charity	422
Mutilation of Berkeley and his wife	424
The battle of the Diamond (Sept. 21)	426
Foundation and objects of the Orange Society—its pre- cursors	426
Early celebrations of the revolution	427
Persecution of Catholics in Ulster—resolutions and letters of northern magistrates	429
Growth of religious animosity	438
The Ulster refugees in Connaught	440
Agrarian aspects of the Orange disturbances	444
Summary of their extent	445
They counteracted the United Irish policy of combining Catholics and Presbyterians	446
But contributed largely to the disaffection of the Catholics	446
Camden's judgment of them	447
The pretended Orange oath of extermination	448
Use made of Orangism by the United Irishmen	449
 <i>Parliamentary proceedings—Spring of 1796</i>	
Indemnity Act.—Demand for free trade with England	449
Insurrection Act	451
Attitude of Grattan	452
 New Orange disturbances	454
Crimes connected with the United Irish and Defender movements	456
Intelligence of an intended invasion	457
Spread of disaffection among the Catholics	457
 <i>Parliamentary proceedings, Oct. and Nov. 1796</i>	
Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.—Speech of Grattan	459
Catholic Emancipation introduced for the last time in the Irish Parliament	461
Other measures of the session	463

	PAGE
Extreme anarchy in the country	463
Different classes concerned in it	465
Letters of McCarry	467
Francis Higgins	468
Enrolment of the yeomanry—their character	472
Potato diggings in Ulster	475
Alarming state of a great part of Ireland	476
Political assassinations	484
Junction of United Irishmen and Defenders	485
O'Connor, Emmet, and McNevin join the society—its military organisation	486
Letter of O'Connor to Fox	487
Organisation and strength of the United Irishmen	488
English and Irish Governments differ about the Insurrec- tion Act	491
State of Ulster at the end of 1796	492

Influence of foreign affairs on Ireland

Condition of Europe	493
Failure of Lord Malmesbury's negotiation at Paris	495
Proceedings of Wolfe Tone in America	496
Undertakes a mission to France.—Report of De la Croix	498
Tone's memoir to the French Government	498
Mission of Fitzgerald and O'Connor to Hamburg	501
Arrival of Tone in France—his journals	504
Character of Tone's patriotism	507
His representations of the prospects of invasion	509
The Irish in the British navy	515
Mission of O'Shea to Ireland	519
French desire that rebellion should precede invasion	519
Hoche's expedition	522
Small number of naturalised Irishmen in it.—Later history of the Irish Brigade	523
French expedition sails, Dec. 15	527
Arrives at Bantry Bay	528
Preparations to meet it	530
The great storm	532
Departure of the fleet	536
Conduct of the people	540
Concluding remarks	546