

CHAPTER VI.

Ireland.—Comparative tranquillity after 1783.—Recall of lord Fitzwilliam.—United Irishmen.—Irish Directory.—Commencement of the Rebellion.—Suppression of the Rebellion.—Marquis Cornwallis Lord-Lieutenant.—Landing of a French force under Humbert.—Surrender of the French.—Napper Tandy.—The Union proposed.—Desire of the government for the relief of the Catholics.—Debates on the Union in the British and Irish Parliaments.—Lord Castlereagh.—Corruption of the Irish Parliament.—Grattan returns to his seat in the Irish House of Commons.—Articles of the Union proposed.—Arguments for and against the Union.—The Union completed.

THE great legislative measures for the relief of Ireland, which were passed in the period from 1779 to 1783, were succeeded by an interval of comparative quiet.* The question of Parliamentary Reform was indeed agitated in 1784 and in 1790, but without any approach to success in the divisions of the Lords and Commons who sat at Dublin. The general evils of the Representation were similar in principle to those of England. "Of three hundred members," said Mr. Grattan, "above two hundred are returned by individuals; from forty to fifty are returned by ten persons; several of the boroughs have no resident elector at all; and, on the whole, two-thirds of the representatives in the House of Commons are returned by less than one hundred persons." † But previous to 1793 there was an especial evil in the Representation of Ireland. Three-fourths of the people were Roman Catholics, paying their proportion of taxes, without any share in the representation or any controul of the expenditure. Roman Catholics were excluded from the Irish Parliament by an English Act of 1691, the fourth year of the reign of William and Mary. By the Act of the first year of George II. they were deprived of the right of voting at elections. In 1793 Roman Catholics were admitted, by an Act of the Irish Parliament, to the exercise of the elective franchise. That the agitation for the removal of other civil disabilities would cease was scarcely to be expected. In 1795 Mr. Fox wrote, "To suppose it possible that now that they are electors they will long submit to be ineligible to Parliament, appears to me to be absurd beyond measure." ‡ There were other particulars in which Roman Catholics laboured under

* See *ante*, vol. vi. p. 272.

† Grattan's speech, Feb. 11, 1793.

‡ Fox—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 100.

serious disadvantages. The laws of exclusion from many offices in great part remained.

There was a partial change in the English cabinet in 1794, by the introduction of three important statesmen, who, formerly attached to the party of Mr. Fox, seceded from him on questions connected with the French Revolution.* Earl Fitzwilliam became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Before his actual appointment it was a complaint against him that "he has pledged himself too far to recede, with respect to a total new system both of men and measures." † Great is the consternation when lord Fitzwilliam enters upon his office. Loud is "the creaking which some of the old worm-eaten furniture makes at its removal." ‡ Lord Fitzwilliam, who arrived in Dublin on the 4th of January, 1795, immediately displaced, with compensation, some of the holders of office who were the most hostile to the plan which he contemplated for the government of Ireland. He entered upon his functions in the belief that the ministry would impose no restrictions upon him in carrying forward a full measure of Catholic emancipation. On the 12th of February, Grattan obtained leave, in the Irish House of Commons, to bring in a bill for the repeal of all the remaining disqualifications of Catholics. A fortnight later, earl Fitzwilliam was recalled, and earl Camden appointed in his place. The moderate Catholics anticipated the most disastrous results from a measure so decided on the part of the British cabinet. Dr. Hussey, the friend and correspondent of Burke, wrote to him on the 26th of February:—"The disastrous news of earl Fitzwilliam's recall is come, and Ireland is now on the brink of a civil war." § He adds, with a temper as admirable as it was rare, "Every man that has anything to lose, or who loves peace and quiet, must now exert himself for the salvation of the country, and to keep the turbulent in order." ¶

Although disappointed in their hopes, the Catholics, as a body, were not those whose turbulence most required to be kept down. A most formidable association, under the denomination of United Irishmen, was now being organized. Burke describes them as "those who, without any regard to religion, club all kinds of discontents together, in order to produce all kinds of disorders." || By the end of 1796, this organization was becoming truly dangerous. "Many thousands, I am assured," writes Dr. Hussey to Burke, "are weekly sworn through the country, in such a secret

* *Ante*, p. 53.

† Lord Grenville to Thomas Grenville—"Court and Cabinets," vol. iii. p. 314.

‡ Burke—"Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 271—Letter to Dr. Hussey, Feb. 4, 1795.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 282.

¶ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 314.

manner and form as to evade all the law in those cases." * In connection with some of the leaders of the United Irishmen, the expedition to Bantry Bay, in December, 1796, was undertaken. Through 1797 the northern districts were in a disturbed state. Houses were broken into and arms seized by bands of nightly marauders. At funerals, and at gatherings for football and other games, large numbers collected and marched in military array. The government was alarmed; the passions of those who professed sentiments of loyalty were roused; severity and intimidation, the dangerous remedies, for discontent, were alone resorted to; martial law took the place of civil justice. The administrators of martial law were undisciplined troops of yeomanry, headed by ignorant and reckless officers. They made the government odious by their cruel oppressions. The remedy for disturbance was the stimulant to insurrection. From the couch from which he never expected to rise, Burke dictated the great lesson of true statesmanship at such a crisis: "The first duty of a State is to provide for its own conservation. Until that point is secured, it can preserve and protect nothing else. But, if possible, it has greater interest in acting according to strict law than even the subject himself. For, if the people see that the law is violated to crush them, they will certainly despise the law. They, or their party, will be easily led to violate it, whenever they can, by all the means in their power. Except in cases of direct war, whenever government abandons law, it proclaims anarchy." †

In August, 1797, the military severities of the north of Ireland were discontinued. The disturbances had there ceased. The schemes of rebellion, to be seconded by the landing of a French army, received a great discomfiture by the victory of Duncan, off Camperdown. But the efforts of the United Irishmen contemplated a wider field than the province of Ulster. The executive power of this extensive organization was a Directory. Its five members were Arthur O'Connor, lord Edward Fitzgerald (brother to the duke of Leinster), Oliver Bond, a merchant, Dr. Mac Nevin, a Catholic gentleman, and Thomas Addis Emmett, a barrister. The plans of general insurrection were disclosed to the Irish government, and arrests of the Leinster delegates, and of Bond, Mac Nevin, and Emmett were effected in March, at the house of Bond, in Dublin. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was absent from the meeting. O'Connor and O'Coigley, a priest, were in England discussing plans of sedition with "The London Corresponding Society." They were arrested on a charge of high treason, and were tried at

* Burke—"Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 372.

† *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 393.

Maidstone on the 21st of May, when O'Connor was acquitted, and O'Coigley was convicted, and was executed. The vacancies in the Irish Directory were filled up, and a general rising on the 23rd of May was determined upon. The government had, on the 30th of March, issued a declaration that a traitorous conspiracy had manifested itself in acts of open rebellion, and that orders had been issued to the officers commanding his majesty's forces to employ them, with the utmost vigour and decision, for the suppression of the conspiracy, and for the disarming of the rebels, by the most summary and effectual measures.

The agitations of Ireland had gradually proceeded to such an excess, on either side, that they had ceased to be matter of compromise or of argument. The Whig leaders in the Irish Parliament had adopted a measure which, however rightly intended, amounted to a declaration that the contest was to be decided by physical force. On the 15th of May, 1797, Mr. Ponsonby brought forward a motion for the fundamental reform of the representation, upon the principle that all disabilities on account of religion be forever abolished; that the privilege of returning members in the present form should cease; and that every county should be divided into districts, each consisting of 6000 houses, and each returning two members to Parliament. The government held this maxim: "You must subdue before you reform." It was on this occasion that Mr. Grattan said, "We have offered you our measure; you will reject it. We deprecate yours; you will persevere. Having no hope left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and after this day shall not attend the House of Commons." The true leaders of the people had abdicated. They were left to be acted upon by those who would have handed over their country to the French Directory. The people, left to the guidance of frantic enthusiasts, were to be betrayed by spies, to be tortured, to be plundered and massacred by a native army, which, upon taking the field in February, 1798, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was declared by him to be "in a state of licentiousness which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy."

Lord Edward Fitzgerald had remained concealed for two months. He might have escaped had he been less obstinate in his attempt to carry through the plan of a general insurrection. On the 19th of May, when a party of military surrounded the house in Dublin where he was hidden, and their officer exhibited the warrant for his arrest, he madly resisted; mortally wounded a magistrate who accompanied the soldier, and was himself shot by major

Sirr, the town-major of Dublin. Lord Edward died of his wounds on the 5th of June. In the meantime the insurrection broke out in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin. A night attack on the city was projected by the United Irishmen. Two brothers, of the name of Sheares, and other chiefs, were arrested on the 23rd of May. A large number of insurgents were collecting on the north and south of the metropolis. An immediate attack was expected. The garrison and the yeomanry were under arms during that night, stationed in the cattle-market. The scene has been described with some humour: "All the barristers, attorneys, merchants, bankers, revenue-officers, shopkeepers, students of the university, doctors, apothecaries and corporators, of an immense metropolis, in red coats, with a sprinkling of parsons, all doubled up together amidst bullock-stalls and sheep-pens, awaiting, in profound darkness, for invisible executioners to dispatch them without mercy, was not a situation to engender much hilarity." Yet in this motley assemblage there was hilarity. "The danger was considered imminent, the defence impracticable, yet there was a cheerful, thoughtless jocularity, with which the English nation, under grave circumstances, are totally unacquainted."* The rebels had learnt that the yeomanry of Dublin were ready to receive them, and had deferred their attack, after destroying the mail-coaches that were approaching the city. Skirmishes between bands of rebels and the soldiery were then taking place daily. Martial law was proclaimed. The insurrection appeared to be somewhat quelled, when it broke out with unexpected fury in the county of Wexford. It was headed by a fanatical priest, John Murphy, who, in the progress of his military career, had persuaded his followers that he was invulnerable. The rebels were generally successful when they fought in small bodies. There were great conflicts, which might be termed battles; but the system of these armed bands was little fitted for encounters with regular troops. They were in want of ammunition. Round stones and balls of hardened clay were the substitutes for bullets. They endeavoured to make their own gunpowder, which of course failed in explosive force. By a rapid onset they sometimes seized the cannon of the royal troops, which they contrived to fire with lighted wisps of straw. Armed with the pike, they were, nevertheless, very formidable. Had they submitted to any command, the rebellion might have had other results than a sanguinary struggle, in which either side was disgraced by a ferocity which had all the attributes of barbarism. They chose their staid

* Sir Jonah Barrington—"Historic Memoirs," vol. iii. p. 258.

tions on hills with a commanding prospect. Here they slept in the open air, both sexes intermingled, for many women were amongst them. Their commissariat was of the rudest description. When they could seize a herd of bullocks, or a solitary cow, they cut the carcase to pieces, without removing the hide, and each cooked the mangled lumps of flesh after his own fashion. Weather of unusual warmth and dryness was favourable to this rude campaigning.*

It would be tedious, as well as useless, to enter into details of the lamentable conflicts of the rebellion that commenced on the 23rd of May, and was almost entirely suppressed by the end of June in the districts where it had most raged. Wexford surrendered to the insurgents on the 30th of May; but it was retaken by sir John Moore on the 21st of June. The principal battles were those of Arklow, Ross, and Vinegar-Hill, near Enniscorthy, which town had surrendered to the rebels. On the 21st of June general Lake attacked the main body of the rebels at Vinegar Hill; dispersed them; and they never again rallied. The desolation of the districts to which this rebellion was confined, and particularly that of the county of Wexford, was excessive. The sum demanded by the loyalists as compensation for the destruction of their property was nearly a million and a quarter, of which Wexford claimed one half. The massacres, the military executions, were frightful. No quarter was given to the rebels; and when the contest assumed the sanguinary character of a religious warfare, the cry of revenge on "the bloody Orange dogs" was the signal for excesses which can better be imagined than described.

Earl Camden had been recalled, to give place to marquis Cornwallis, who was appointed to the offices of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Commander-in-Chief. He arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June. He found that troops had been landed from England; and that general Lake's arrangements for attacking the rebels on the 21st had rendered it unnecessary that he himself should proceed immediately to join the army. One of his first acts was to interfere to prevent the rash and often unjust severities of inferior officers of the militia and yeomanry. He issued a positive order against the infliction of punishment, under any pretence whatever, not authorized by the order of a general officer, in pursuance of the sentence of a general Court-Martial.† This order was signed by viscount Castlereagh, who was then temporarily filling the office of Secretary. Cornwallis wrote to the duke of Portland, "It shall be

* Gordon—"History of Ireland," vol. ii. p. 443-445.

† Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 355.

one of my very first objects to soften the ferocity of our troops, which I am afraid, in the Irish corps at least, is not confined to the private soldiers.* He further says, "I shall use my utmost endeavours to suppress the folly which has been too prevalent in this quarter, of substituting the word *Catholicism* instead of Jacobinism as the foundation of the present rebellion." In another letter about the same time, he writes, in the confidence of old intimacy, "The ardour of our friends, and their folly in endeavouring to make it a religious war, added to the ferocity of our troops, who delight in murder, most powerfully counteract all plans of conciliation." It is to the Irish militia that he especially applies these bitter words—a body of men that he describes in his official despatches as "contemptible before the enemy when any serious resistance is made to them, but ferocious and cruel in the extreme when any poor wretches, either with or without arms, come within their power." † They had encouragement from their superiors: "The principal persons of this country, and the members of both Houses of Parliament, are, in general, averse to all acts of clemency." Whilst himself advocating the most lenient measures, the Lord-Lieutenant writes—"Lord Castlereagh is a very able and good young man, and is of great use to me." The accusation so long repeated by party writers, that lord Castlereagh was the supporter of the system of repression by cruel and indiscriminate punishment, has about the same truth in it as another favourite assertion of Irish declaimers, that the rebellion was encouraged by Mr. Pitt, that he might have a plausible argument for the Union of the two nations. At the end of July the overt rebellion was almost at an end; but there was no law for town or country but martial law. "The feeble outrages, burnings, and murders which are still committed by the rebels, serve to keep up the sanguinary disposition on our side. . . . The conversation of the principal persons of the country all tends to encourage this system of blood; and the conversation, even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., &c.; and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company." ‡ This is the evidence of the chief administrator of Ireland—a brave soldier and a sound statesman. It is the most impartial testimony that can be desired to show wherein the great *political* evil of Ireland consisted—"the narrow hard-heartedness of a monopoly," which had banished from the minds of the leading men of the nation, "*habits of moderation,*

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 357.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 399.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 371.

lenity, equity, and justice."* But political discontents, and religious animosities, kept alive by French influence, which was denominated Jacobinism, were scarcely sufficient to have caused the revolt of several hundred thousands of the peasantry, both Catholics and Protestants, had there not been a great *social* evil which made men ready to fight for some vague good which was to be effected under a new order of things. Of the proximate incitements to the Irish rebellion, some allege that Catholicism was the chief. Others attribute the outbreak to Jacobinism. But no writer of those days hints that *Landlordism* kept the bulk of the people in a worse than Egyptian bondage; held them in ignorance of the real sources of their misery; exacted from them the highest rent that could be obtained by the sub-division of the land; and by this multiplication of small holdings left them to multiply upon the barest amount of subsistence, and with a total absence of the ordinary decencies and comforts of the humblest life. When the bulk of the people are wholly wretched in their domestic condition—when the moral ties that unite master to servant, and landlord to tenant, rest no longer upon the principle of reciprocal need and reciprocal obligation, but upon enforced obedience and slavish use and wont, then allegiance to the state is very easily loosened, and men become rebels without knowing exactly for what object they rebel. The leaders are hanged; the multitudes are shot down; the clique that governs Ireland by "monopoly" makes way for imperial legislators; another generation comes, and civil disabilities are removed; but still disaffection is rampant. Political agitation throws its veil over the social evil; and only after the pressure of a terrible calamity is it discovered that just government cannot save a people from ruin, under a systematic violation of those economic laws through which the earth yields its abundance, and without which the rain cannot fertilize or the sun ripen.

The sound discretion which the government had evinced in placing the chief military command of Ireland in the hands of an experienced officer, was sufficiently manifested in a very dangerous crisis at the end of August. A French squadron of three frigates had sailed from Rochelle on the 4th. On the 22nd it had landed eleven hundred men in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo. Eleven hundred men formed a small force with which to venture upon invasion. The French Directory had purposed to send a second division of six thousand men, but some financial derangements prevented its embarkation; and Humbert, the general of the eleven hundred, was left without support. † He was

* Burke—"Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 272.

† Thiers, livre xl.

prepared for the support of a disaffected population. He could scarcely have reckoned upon a further support in the cowardice of a large portion of a royal army—volunteers and militia—who fled before him without waiting to be assailed, and who never rested in their flight till they had put eighty miles between themselves and the enemy. General Hutchinson had assembled two or three thousand men at Castlebar. The French, with a large number of the country people, advanced to the attack; and “began a rapid charge with the bayonet in very loose order. At this moment the Galway volunteers, the Kilkenny and Longford militias, ran away.”* The writer of this account expresses his opinion that there was disaffection in the two militia regiments—that they were Catholics and sworn United Irishmen. The more rational solution of the conduct of these men is, that they were enervated by the licence of tyrannizing over defenceless people, when once brought to face a regular and determined foe. In their precipitate retreat the depredations they committed on the road exceeded all description; and they raised a spirit of discontent and disaffection which did not before exist in that part of the country.† Upon learning that the French had landed, lord Cornwallis immediately determined to take the command of the main army himself. Assembling troops of the line he made a rapid march from Dublin; but he so arranged his forces that he could cover the country, and afford an opportunity of rallying to any small bodies of soldiery that might be defeated. Humbert, after the affair of Castlebar, had moved into the heart of the country; and on the 8th of September had reached Ballynamuck, in the county of Longford. Here he was encountered by the troops under general Lake, and after an action of half an hour, the French surrendered at discretion. Bartholomew Teeling, formerly a member of the Irish Directory, but now aide-de-camp to Humbert, was amongst the prisoners. He said that “he conceived another column had attempted to sail, but had been prevented; that when they found themselves unsupported at Castlebar, they resolved to attempt something daring, and to march for Dublin upon speculation of insurrection.”‡ With an infatuation which no reverses could extinguish, the leaders of the United Irishmen who had as yet escaped the executioner, were urging the French government to new attempts which might keep up the hopes of the insurgents. On the sixteenth of September a

* Cornwallis—“Correspondence,” vol. ii. p. 393. Cooke to Wickham.

† Cornwallis—“Correspondence,” vol. ii. p. 396. Captain Taylor (secretary to Cornwallis) to Viscount Castlereagh.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 494.

French brig landed Napper Tandy and some men on the north-west coast of Donegal. He issued manifestoes; but found that he had arrived too late. On the 11th of October, the armament that was intended to co-operate with Humbert appeared off the coast of Donegal. It had sailed from Brest on the 17th of September; the squadron consisting of a seventy-four-gun ship, eight frigates, and two smaller vessels. Sir John Borlase Warren, with a superior force, had pursued the French, and after an engagement of three hours, in which the enemy fought with a desperate bravery, the ship of the line (the Hoche) and one frigate surrendered. The remaining frigates had made all sail to escape; but they were subsequently taken, with the exception of two. On board the Hoche was captured the famous Irish leader, Wolfe Tone. He was tried by court-martial in Dublin; was sentenced to death; cut his throat in prison; and died on the 19th of November.

The rebellion was at an end; but its termination brought no wisdom to those who believed that severity was the only mode of establishing obedience to authority. Lord Cornwallis speaks with honest indignation about the nonsensical clamour against his lenity. From England, lord Castlereagh had to learn that it was “the universal persuasion that lenient measures had been carried too far.” Lord Castlereagh answered the reproach by stating that exclusive of all persons tried at the assizes, lord Cornwallis had decided personally upon 400 cases; that out of 131 condemned to death, 81 had been executed; and that 418 persons had been transported or banished, in pursuance of the sentences of courts-martial, since lord Cornwallis had arrived in Ireland.* On the 6th of October, an Act of General Pardon received the royal assent; its exceptions were very numerous. The exceptions were calculated to include nearly all the leaders who had taken an active part in the Rebellion; but the greater number of these obtained a conditional pardon, and their followers had little to apprehend from the terrors of the law. Some of those who had perished by the executioner were objects of commiseration. In several cases, as in that of the two brothers, Sheares, the determined traitor involved his weak disciple in his fate; and no pity was shown by the executive to the wretched man who said, when too late, “I will lie under any conditions the government may impose upon me. I will go to America if the government will allow me, or I will stay here and be the most zealous friend they have.”† The

* Cornwallis—“Correspondence,” vol. iii. p. 90.

† See a facsimile of the letter of Henry Sheares to Barrington, written a few hours before his execution. “Historic Memoirs,” vol. ii. p. 266.

brothers died hand in hand; and some honest tears were shed for them. For the banished, too, there was deep feeling. Many a heart responded to the sympathy of Thomas Campbell, when, having met Anthony Maccan, one of the proscribed, at Altona, he wrote a lament for "The Exile of Erin" who still

"Sang the bold anthem of Erin go Bragh."

During the short period of this unhappy conflict, it is calculated that seventy thousand perished, either in the field, by military execution, or by popular vengeance. Of these it is held that fifty thousand were insurgents; and that twenty thousand were soldiers and loyalists. Of the miseries that resulted from the burning of houses; from flogging for the purpose of extorting confession; and from "free quarters, which comprehended universal rape and robbery throughout the whole country."*—who can form an estimate?

In the king's message to the British parliament on the 22nd of January, 1799, the proposed measure of the Union was first formally announced. † A similar announcement, though in less direct terms, was made by the Lord-Lieutenant to the Irish parliament, in the speech from the throne on the same 22d of January. The question was not hastily taken up by Mr. Pitt. It formed the constant subject of correspondence between the English ministry and lord Cornwallis. In September, 1798, whilst the Rebellion still demanded the utmost vigilance of the Lord-Lieutenant, he wrote to the prime-minister, "The principal people here are so frightened that they would, I believe, readily consent to a Union, but then it must be a Protestant Union." ‡ Cornwallis saw, from the determination of the leading persons in Ireland to resist the extension of its operation to the Catholics, that the measure would be incomplete. He determined, however, "not to submit to the insertion of any clause that shall make the exclusion of the Catholics a fundamental part of the Union." He was "convinced that until the Catholics are admitted into a general participation of rights (which when incorporated with the British government they cannot abuse), there will be no peace or safety in Ireland." § However Mr. Pitt and lord Cornwallis might be anxious to connect with the Union a great and final measure of relief to the Catholics, it is clear that no pledge was given on the part of the Irish government that disabilities for civil office on account of religion should then come to an end. Mr. Pitt, on the 17th of November—about

* Cornwallis to Ross—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 89.

† *Ante*, p. 107.

‡ Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 216.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 417.

two months before he brought the proposed measures before the British parliament—wished that in Ireland "time should be given for communication to leading individuals, and for disposing the public mind." In writing to the Lord-Lieutenant he says, "Mr. Elliott when he brought me your letter, stated very strongly all the arguments which he thought might induce us to admit the Catholics to parliament and office; but I confess he did not satisfy me of the practicability of such a measure at this time, or of the propriety of attempting it. With respect to a provision for the Catholic clergy, and some arrangement respecting tithes, I am happy to find a uniform opinion in favour of the proposal among all the Irish I have seen; and I am more and more convinced that those measures, with some effectual mode to enforce the residence of *all* ranks of the Protestant clergy, offer the best chance of gradually putting an end to the evils most felt in Ireland."* Pitt doubted the practicability of Catholic emancipation by an Irish parliament. He feared the discontents of the Irish Protestants at such a measure. The principal Catholics themselves, as Cornwallis believed, did not wish the question of admitting Catholics to parliament to be agitated at that time. "They do not think the Irish parliament capable of entering into a cool and dispassionate consideration of their case. They trust that the United Parliament will, at a proper time, allow them every privilege that may be consistent with the Protestant establishment." † After a little while the Lord-Lieutenant thought he had been too sanguine when he looked to the good inclinations of the Catholics. They made no violent opposition to the measure; some gave it a very cold support. But although no pledge was given by the government, the hopes which had been encouraged by the highest in office placed Mr. Pitt under a responsibility which he felt most deeply, when resistance to a measure without which the Union was a delusion arose out of the personal feelings of the sovereign. The history of the first thirty years of the nineteenth century offers a painful exhibition of the dangers and miseries that resulted from the obstinate though conscientious views of his duty entertained by George III. His example was pleaded by his successor, whose conscience was far from tender, and it always afforded a rallying point for the bigotry that called itself sound Protestantism. Mr. Pitt found himself powerless, not only to propose a general measure of Catholic relief, but even to deal as he wished with tithes and a provision for the Catholic clergy. The chief difficulty in carrying the Union in its incompleteness arose out of the necessity

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 442. — *Ante*, p. 107. † *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 8.