

# CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE SITUATION TO WHICH

## IRELAND IS REDUCED,

BY THE GOVERNMENT OF

### LORD CAMDEN.

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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.

MISCEL. OBSERV. BY THE EARL OF CARHAMPTON.

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THE SEVENTH EDITION,

IMPROVED AND CORRECTED.

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TO WHICH IS ADDED,

*A COPY OF THE STATE PAPER!!!*

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D U B L I N :

PRINTED IN THE YEAR,

1798.



AT a future Day a much more enlarged View of the Conduct, and Consequences of the Conduct of the late Irish Government, will be laid before the Public.



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## CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

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FOR three months a rebellion has openly existed in this country. This rebellion, though its principles had been inculcated, and its plan had been formed some time previous to the arrival of Lord Camden, received a considerable addition both of force and order during his lordship's administration. The danger to the kingdom was increased by an invasion, threatened and prepared by a formidable foreign enemy.

From the time of the reports of the Secret Committees of both Houses of Parliament, Government were in possession of proof of the nature of the rebel principles, and of the means accumulated to carry them into effect. Government declared its determination of punishing the rebellion of its subjects, and of repelling the invasion of its enemy, *by arms*. No time was lost in application to Parliament for the necessary supply; and Parliament, notwithstanding the vehemence with which, by a particular party in both kingdoms,



doms, all measures of *coercion* were reprobate and those of *conciliation* recommended, granted every supply, and enacted every law which the military information, and the political wisdom of our rulers demanded or suggested. Wielding without controul the natural and political force of the kingdom, administration declared itself PREPARED for the utmost exigency of events.

The rebellion broke out, and has marked its progress like Attila, who boasted that the grass never grew where his horse had trod. As a measure of *coercion*, the military force has, without controul, been applied by the military skill of the state.

The rebellion IS NOT SUPPRESSED.

A state paper \* has appeared, which, notwithstanding some awkward, if not ridiculous circumstances, under which it labours, must be considered soberly as a leading measure of *conciliation*.

It is now proposed to enquire, whether this FIRST movement towards conciliation, could have been directed either by integrity or prudence. Previous to which, however, it will be necessary to

\* Vide a state paper which appeared in the Dublin Gazette of the 3d of July, without title, signature or address, but conjectured to be a Proclamation.



to advert to some peculiar characters by which the growth of this rebellion has been marked, and to some of the measures of *coercion* which have been applied to destroy it.

When it is said, that a rebellion exists in this country, the word rebellion must be understood in a particular sense. It can never be intended that all rebellions are equal in the moral scale. It can never be intended to insult the memory of the unhappy Scots rebel of 1745, by any comparison with the Irish rebel of the present day. The rebellion in Scotland was a lamentable sacrifice to misplaced affection, and to ancient, though mistaken loyalty; in which, though it became necessary to punish the act, it was impossible not to pity, if not to respect the principle.

But what are the marks by which the nature of the present rebellion may be known? It is not a rebellion of ancient affection, glowing even in its ashes. It is not a rebellion of those, whose knowledge having extended their views, shewed them consequences fatal to future liberty, from gradual and present abuses. It is not a rebellion of those, whose extent of property might make them feel in their own persons the particular weight of an oppressive government. But it is a rebellion of the *peasant*, supported by some presbyterian shopkeepers, and led and corrupted by some popish priests. It is a rebellion of the weaver, having re-set in his loom a new web of



the constitution, on a new pattern—of the blacksmith, hammering out a new system of government red-hot from his bellows. But it is not a rebellion of the peasant, detached merely from his allegiance and his ordinary obedience to the laws. It is a rebellion of the peasant detached from every virtue of the heart. It is not an attack upon the particular government of this particular country. It is an attack upon every tie of social life that ever existed in any government in the world. It is a course of domestic treachery, of cruel murder, and cowardly assassination.

Now, by what ladder have we mounted to this pinnacle of depravity?

Our progress is to be found in our own laws, and our own conduct. We cannot obliterate the black letter of our own folly in our own statute book.

Towards the commencement of the present reign, some modern doctrines (which have since spread, and where they have spread have ravaged Europe) were broached, which then took the indefinite name of “liberality of sentiment.” The talk and the writing at that time, on this “liberality of sentiment,” excited the hopes, though it was too slow to gratify the desires of a certain class of men in this country. Then was born the new idea of quickening the legislature, by  
mixing



mixing a tolerable proportion of *fear* with this "liberality of sentiment." *Riots* were excited through the land, and were alledged to arise from the oppression of the legislative system then established.

As to punish, instead of to conciliate outrage, is the first and natural thought of brave and prudent men, the 3d George III. ch. 19, was immediately enacted; but being (like many other laws) defectively executed, the evil and the clamour still continued. At length the parliament, fatally for the country, was prevailed on to adopt a system which has since acquired the names of *concession* and *conciliation*. As a commencement of this system, the 13 and 14 George III. ch. 35, was enacted, and enabled a particular class of the king's subjects to testify, by an oath, their allegiance to him.

What followed?

The moment they had sworn allegiance to their king, they renounced their allegiance to their God; and in the same year that gave them the enabling statute above-mentioned, their horrid atrocities produced the necessity of passing the first of the *chalking* acts.

Oaths have been fatal to the morals of this country; for every man that took the oath of allegiance by day, a wretch took his stand at night,



night, armed with a knife, to maim the King's soldiers; and even the unoffending cattle of any subject, noted for his loyalty.

What followed?

Despising the lesson of experience, made uneasy and terrified by unremitting cruelty and outrage, parliament was tempted to another act of *concession*, in order to produce *conciliation*. The 17 and 18 George III. c. 49, was accordingly passed, to enable papists to take leases for 999 years, or five lives.

What followed?

Renewed clamour. The necessity (produced by extended and varied cruelty and outrage) of amending and extending the riot and chalking acts. (17 and 18 Geo. III. and 19 and 20 Geo. III.) Then also arose (from the blood spilled by the chalking knife) the modern race of patriots, with their list of grievances and oppressions, and their doctrine of unalienable rights: Napper Tandy,—Henry Grattan,—Wolfe Tone——

What followed?

To disarm the hand of the assassin, and to still the tongue of the patriot, parliament gave the act of 1782. Upon an express stipulation of plenary satisfaction, the papists received a full and perfect equality of *right to property*.

What



What followed?

The attack directly to establish a *right* of *power*. The subsequent union of the priest-goaded papist, with the unprincipled atheist and the restless presbyterian. The open avowal of a maxim long acted under, through never before acknowledged; the diabolical assertion, that it is right and moral to take advantage of public and imperial war and calamity, in order to enforce civil and local innovation. A short, but pointed history, of our progress, and arrival at our present state, may be read in the preambles to the 3d Geo. III. ch. 19, and to the act, commonly called the insurrection act. By the preambles to those acts, it appears that our *first* step was irregular riot, and our *last* systematic rebellion. The space between these extremities is filled up by acts of *conciliation*—*conceded*, first to the pitchfork and the chalking-knife, and latterly to the firelock and the pike.

Having thus slightly traced some of the outlines of our present body of misfortune, by which it appears that the principal end of its formation was anarchy, and the principal means assassination, I return to that period when our government took formal and recorded notice of the existence of the rebellion within the realm. I mean the period when the secret committees of both houses of Parliament made their reports.

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By these reports it appeared, that a body of 72,000 men were sworn and united in a scheme to overturn the throne and constitution. That they had arrayed themselves in arms, established a regular system of military discipline, subjected themselves to a species of civil government, collected money and large stores of all munitions ;—that they had committees of finance and WAR—which last power had led them into many and direct acts of attack upon the King's troops, and commanded them to many acts of assassination on the King's unarmed and loyal subjects. The contents of those reports amounting to public and notorious proof of an existing rebellion, acting by force of arms, my Lord Camden most firmly determined to subdue it ; and accordingly dispatched into the terrified and outraged provinces——his Majesty's Attorney General, armed with his gown and wig, covered in his front by the Crown Solicitor (Mr. Kemmis), having in his rear divers stores and munitions of parchment, with orders to overcome, subdue, conquer, and put down the aforesaid wicked and nefarious rebellion ?

What followed ?

Mr. Kemmis grew fat and rich—the Attorney General became melancholy and ashamed—the judges were disgraced and insulted—the jurors chose to be perjured rather than to be murdered—the assassins were acquitted, and the witnesses were assassinated.

It



It had been some time before mentioned to my Lord Camden, by a nobleman of good sense and quick conception, that, “ if his Excellency gave them liberty to go to *war* with us, and only gave us liberty to go to *law* with them, the issue of the contest could be foreseen without the aid of any peculiarly enlightened understanding.” My Lord Camden, at the time this observation was made, conceived it to be some joke; and, as he did not find any clause in his patent directing him to unravel the wit of his Majesty’s subjects, he smiled, as is usual; but after this defeat of his Majesty’s Attorney General, the odd juxtaposition of the words *war* and *law*, jingled on his memory, and he determined to ponder on the matter, and perhaps to ask the noble Lord, who made the observation, for his assistance to explain it. In this state of ponderation, his Excellency continued proceeding from the Castle to the Park, and from the Park to the Castle, going *to take the air* every day at two o’clock, as has been usual for every Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to perform; and sometimes relieving the dulness of these cares of state, by going to Moore abbey, to shoot cocks, until authentic information was received, that on the 23d of April, the Castle of Dublin was to be surpris’d, the person of the Lord Lieutenant seiz’d, and that this surpris’e and seizure was to be aided by a previous setting fire to different parts of the capital, and a massacre of the principal inhabitants.

What



What followed ?

His Excellency became firm and resolved. With the most consummate prudence he determined to postpone an investigation into the meaning of his noble friend's joke until an opportunity of more leisure. With infinite resolution and spirit he barricaded the Castle-yard, planted artillery (slow match lighted) at the gates, and committed the care of the rest of the capital to God and the Yeomanry.

God and the Yeomanry saved the capital, and left his Excellency *time to consider what was to be done.*

While Lord Camden was deeply employed *in considering what was to be done*, the rebels, by the providence of God and the spirit of the Yeomanry, having been disappointed in their plan of seizing the city, broke out into general insurrection. Lord Camden then consulted his cabinet, and asked, *what was to be done ?* His Excellency was humbly advised that, as the rebels had *commenced* the war on their part, it would be prudent for his Excellency to *commence* the war on his part ; which advice (as his Excellency could not discern any alternative) he, with a firmness and resolution becoming his character, determined to pursue. Accordingly his Excellency issued orders (but not to the Attorney General) for the commencement of the war.

And



And here, having brought both parties to an issue of war, I feel and lament the advantage which Cæsar enjoyed, of being able to combine the talents of a soldier and an historian. I cannot enter into military detail, and if I could, I fear the majority of my readers would not receive much information from my labours. Ordinary men can only judge of causes by their effects. They consider him as the victor who quietly enjoys the power; and they humbly conceive that where opposing possession and obstinate contest remain, conquest and subjugation cannot be said to exist. By this plain rule, and by applying every man's ordinary information to the measurement of the relative forces of both parties, I mean to try the wisdom of the leaders of each.

My Lord Camden commenced the war with a military force of about eighty-thousand men. This army has been since increased by British auxiliaries to about ninety-four thousand. A train of artillery, arms, ammunition, commissaries stores, camp equipage, trenching tools, and general officers, were provided by estimates, even beyond the wants of so numerous a body of men, gallant in their persons, high in their expectations, of untamed spirit, and untainted loyalty. Any man who, in this speculating time, walked the streets of Dublin, and saw the ragged squalor, to which the laborious days and sleepless nights of Lieutenant General Pakenham, had reduced his person,



person—who saw the quantity of tobacco he chewed, and heard the volumes of amphibious oaths he uttered, in stimulating the body of artificers under his command, must admit that every exertion was apparently made to put this tremendous body of ordnance into motion. On the side of the enemy, the insurrection was not, as it had been expected, general ; and it was not, as it had been expected, aided by the addition of any foreign force, or of any foreign supply of arms or ammunition. The north of Ireland, from whence the greatest danger, as to numbers of men, provision of arms, and forwardness of discipline, was to be apprehended, remained (in one abortive instance excepted) undisturbed. In the west not the accent of riot was heard, and in the south-west no motion of importance was undertaken. The field for the employment of the talents of Lord Camden, and of the force those talents directed, was confined to the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, Wexford, and some districts of Meath, Carlow and Kilkenny ; which last were more involved by the contiguity of their situation, than by the spirit of their inhabitants. In those different districts, different hordes of peasants, armed with pikes, a few bad firelocks, and some old ship guns, plundered from the wrecks on the coast, arose in terrible array.

What followed ?

O ! for



O ! for a muse of fire, that would ascend  
 The brightest heaven of invention !  
 A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,  
 And monarchs to behold the swelling scene !  
 Then should the warlike Camden, like himself,  
 Assume the port of Mars.

The city of Dublin, the capital of the kingdom, the grand depôt of military stores, and even more,—the residence of the representative of Majesty itself, was actually in a state of blockade for above a fortnight,—all communication between it and the south, south-west, and south-east parts of the kingdom was actually cut off,—some of the fairest, most decorated, and most fertile parts of the surrounding country were ravaged,—the buildings consumed by fire,—the provisions carried off or destroyed, and the wretched loyal inhabitants put to death with circumstances of cruelty too dreadful to contemplate.

Fortunately the active spirit, and unceasing watchfulness of the yeomanry, kept the capital itself in profound peace, and left my Lord Camden *time to consider what was to be done.*

His Excellency having taken *time to consider what was to be done*, opened a communication with his troops near the Curragh of Kildare, and by a combination of well *considered* manœuvres, caused a body of about four thousand rebels to be surrounded. His Excellency upon this first splendid



splendid success of his arms, with a magnanimity, which it is hoped may hereafter be considered as inimitable,—let the whole body of rebels *go about their business*. Fortune seemed peculiarly to favour his Excellency at that moment; for tho' those rebels, with the most unremitting ferocity, both before and after their captivity, ravaged and destroyed whatever came within their power; yet during the whole time they were surrounded by Lord Camden's troops, \* “ THEIR SORROW  
“ AND REPENTANCE SEEMED COMPLETE.”

It is true, that the whole effect which probably was expected from this magnanimous conduct of his Excellency, did not follow. The rebels obstinately kept possession of the town of Kildare, and by that possession still cut off the southern communication; but General Sir James Duff fortunately, on this occasion, saved his Excellency the trouble of taking *time to consider what was to be done*, and, by a march of unequalled rapidity from Limerick, arrived at Kildare, drove the rebels out of the town, and thus raised, for that time, the blockade of Dublin.

During these transactions other bodies of rebels had ravaged the whole county of Wexford,—had destroyed some of the principal towns,—had commenced

\* Vide his Excellency's Bulletin, giving an account of the miraculous captivity, and the no less miraculous emancipation of the rebels near Kildare.



commenced their massacre of the protestant inhabitants, by putting them to the pike ; but this method being tedious, they had proceeded to inclose them in barns, and burn them by divisions.

As soon as the state of affairs in Wexford had been laid before his Excellency, he immediately proceeded to take time to *consider what was to be done*, and then determined to send troops to its relief.

The hopes of the war were centered on the success of the expedition to Wexford ; and it was determined so to surround the rebels by superior skill and superior force, as to render all resistance impotent, and all relief impracticable. Frigates were stationed to prevent the escape of those rebels by sea, and their own boats were burnt to prevent even the possibility of such an attempt.

The blockade being complete behind, the troops were collected, and the columns ordered to advance from different points to a common centre. The chosen column, which was to advance through the most difficult country, was placed by Lord Camden's special order under the command of Colonel Walpole. This officer had furnished a mind well adapted by nature to the accumulation of such materials, with a prodigious quantity of military information, which he had collected in the Upper Castle-yard in the Aide-camps room, and in the various *airings* which

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he had the honour of taking from two to five o'clock with his Excellency.

Colonel Walpole set forward. "Hope elevated, and joy brightened his crest." The eyes of a harassed nation anxiously followed. COLONEL WALPOLE, in a wild Irish mountain called Sleevebuoy, was surrounded—killed—his column defeated, his artillery and stores taken—by the *superior tactics* of FATHER DUMPHY.

What followed?

Of the columns of troops which depended mutually on each other for support, some were obliged to fall back, and others to remain stationary, until his Excellency should *take time to consider what was to be done.*

Soon after the troops from England arrived at Waterford. With this timely succour to his eighty thousand men, Lord Camden was enabled (after having *taken time to consider what was to be done,*) to order the columns again to move forward.

What followed?

The outposts of these ragged barbarians, unable without artillery to resist artillery, were driven in, and in about one month from the time the rebels had first seized Wexford, the King's troops



troops *encamped* on the heights above the town, when the rebels very prudently withdrew,—some over the bridge of Wexford, and some into the Barony of Forth. The King's troops found every where marks of the most dreadful devastation and massacre. Into the Barony of Forth, or over the bridge of Wexford, it remains yet to be discovered, whether the rebels were pursued or defeated. Here ends the campaign of Wexford, and the ostensible administration of Lord Camden.

His Excellency having thus demonstrated o  
all mankind, that \* “it was in the power of His Majesty's generals, and of the forces under his command, entirely to destroy all those who had risen against their sovereign and his laws,” *when-  
ever they should think proper to perform the same*, the public were congratulated by all his Excellency's friends on his good fortune, in having been able to *terminate* the rebellion, without the horrid necessity of *subduing* the rebels. His Excellency having thus left scarcely any thing to be done, but to treat and to conciliate, descended to the water edge in a splendour of *military* triumph, which Marius, after he had overcome the Cimbri, would have looked at with envy, leaving Lord Cornwallis to enjoy, if he could earn it, the secondary honours of an *ovation*—I say, an *ovation*, because the first act of state  
which

\* Vide the state paper said to be a Proclamation, but without title, signature, or address.



which appeared in my Lord Cornwallis's administration, was a proud, though a conditional offer of amnesty, coming from an *all-conquering* party, who had it "*in his power to destroy all those who had risen,*" &c. To conquer over again, therefore, those who had been already conquered by his warlike predecessor, could hardly be expected from the magnanimity of Lord Cornwallis.

PEACE therefore was to be his sole pursuit.

Before I proceed to examine this first act of state in Lord Cornwallis's government, I cannot avoid observing on a singular fatality which frequently attends *Irish* affairs. The circumstance to which I allude at present is, that Lord Camden, who certainly was not a *military man in any sense of the word*, had been left here to fight and to overcome the rebels; and that Lord Cornwallis, who certainly is a *military man in every sense of the word*, should then (and not till then) have been sent over to negotiate a treaty of peace with the beaten party; in the *projet* of which treaty it appears likewise something singular, that the *status quo* with rebels should be adopted as a foundation. I do not mean to reflect on Lord Cornwallis's talents for negotiation, or on his experience of its arts. He negotiated at York-town—he negotiated at Seringapatam. At the first he had been conquered,—at the last hewa sa conqueror; and in both, his honour and his talents were unimpeached. At the first he negotiated with *rebels*; but



but with *rebels* who were bound by the ordinary ties of christian faith, and of gentlemanly honour. At the last he negotiated with a *barbarian*; —but with a *barbarian*, elevated by high dignity, proud from immense wealth, and habitual sovereignty; yet with all this, *almost* the circle of experience, there was one point of diplomatic art left unexplored by Lord Cornwallis, and which the fortune, if not the talent, of Lord Camden discovered. He brought Lord Cornwallis to negotiate with a *barbarian* enemy, destitute of pride, dignity, and property; and with a rebel enemy, as destitute of christian faith as of gentlemanly honour; —in whom there existed but one class of qualities, of which Lord Cornwallis, from his experience, could avail himself. It must be admitted, he had to negotiate with a *barbarian enemy*, as insatiate of blood, and as deep in treachery as either Tippoo Saib or Hyder Ali.

The state paper to which I have alluded, and which is the only material act of government left without having been considered, appeared in the Dublin Gazette on Tuesday 3d of July, but had been printed by the King's printer, and circulated through the news-papers for several days before. Without signature, or counter signature, it was to be regarded as authentic; without address, it was to be discovered by those *whom it might concern*; and, without title, it was to be revered as a proclamation. \*

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\* Sir B. R. declares he had no hand in the composition of this paper; but he observes, that a *considerable* part of it is not



The first sentence contains an assertion, that  
 “ it is in the power of His Majesty’s generals, and  
 of the forces under their command, *entirely to  
 destroy* all those who have risen in rebellion,”  
 &c. Now, this assertion is either *true*, or it is  
*false*.

If it be true, how has it happened that *subse-  
 quent* to the time of such an assertion having been  
 thus publicly made—how has it happened, I re-  
 peat, that the capital of the kingdom has been  
 again reduced to a state of blockade, its supplies,  
 and its communications, in some instances, en-  
 tirely cut off, and in others suspended—that the  
 town of Naas has not been relieved from block-  
 ade, nor its garrison protected from insult—that  
 Kill has been plundered—that the remainder of  
 unfortunate Blessington has again submitted to  
 fire, and has been totally reduced to ashes;  
 that Donard, Hacketstown, and Carnew, have  
 all been attacked, and all destroyed;—that  
 from the whole face of the fertile country,  
 where these unfortunate towns DID exist, the  
 provisions have been swept off, and nothing  
 left for our troops to protect but the lime and  
 stone, part of the towns which, fortunately, was  
 not physically subject to the action of fire?—  
 How has it happened that, while I have been  
 writing, and within the very view of your City  
 outposts, the houses of peaceable men have been  
 attacked,

not liable to the least cavil, as he cannot see what exception  
 can be taken to that part which it *filled up by blanks*.



attacked, their persons put to the torture, and their property carried off? How has it happened, that at this moment large bands of undestroyed assassins menace your proud city from its adjoining hills—that detachments, to the number of some thousands, have crossed from the southern hills through the county of Kildare, into the county of Meath, and have seized on strong posts there, and in the northern part of the county of Dublin; from which no account has yet arrived of their having been dislodged?

Can such a series of transactions have passed, and can such an assertion, as that contained in the state paper, be true? I leave it to Parliament, on Tuesday next, to enquire.

The next remarkable feature in the production alluded to, is the promise of *protection* which it pledges to the assassins in rebellion assembled. It promises, (upon certain conditions, that “they will receive a certificate which will entitle them to PROTECTION.”

Whether the certificate in the state paper mentioned, would or would not be a *protection* from the pains and forfeitures consequent on rebellion, appearing to me to be a question of *law*, I did not venture to determine it myself, but resorted for advice to a friend of mine, who is a corporal in the Attornies corps. The corporal assured me that, in his opinion, “the aforesaid instrument,



ment, called a certificate, was no manner of *protection* whatsoever; and, that if any rebel should produce a certificate signed by all the general officers on the staff," (of whom the corporal shewed me a list, which, at first, I mistook for the muster-roll of his company) "such rebel would, notwithstanding such certificate, be liable to be tried for, and convicted of High Treason, and, if convicted, would be further liable (notwithstanding such certificate) to be carried back to the place from whence he came, and from thence to be drawn to the place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck, cut down alive, his entrails burnt before his face, his head cut off, and his body divided into four quarters, to be disposed of at the King's pleasure." The corporal, who (having now nothing to do as an Attorney) is an honest and humane man, added, that he thought "it was a very cruel *deceit* to put on ignorant men, however criminal, to endeavour to entrap them under pretence of protection into a surrender, which would expose them to so horrid a punishment.

Whether the corporal, as a lawyer, was right in his judgment, and as an honest man was right in his feeling, I leave it to the wisdom of Parliament (where, no doubt, the measure of this state paper will be canvassed) to determine.

The last part of this wonderful paper exhibits the form of the oath required to be taken by those  
 unfortunate



unfortunate wretches, to whom it holds out a vain and inefficacious protection. This form first contains the oath of allegiance, and then calls upon the wretched and deceived culprit, to “renounce and *abjure* all *oaths* and engagements of every kind whatsoever, which are in any degree *contrary* thereto.” Did the unblushing compiler of this violation of all principle and decency, know what the *abjuration* of an *oath* is? Did he know, that it is to swear to commit perjury?—to swear to be forsworn?—Does he conceive that an instrument which renounces and derides the strength of all moral obligation, derived from the sanctity of an oath—which obliges the polluted soul to swear, that his attestation before his God shall not be as any bond whatsoever?—Does he conceive, I say, that such a corrupted lump of mutually repelling materials, can ever be the cement of future peace, good-will, and mutual confidence among men? Circling the globe, from the *reasoning* disciples of Confucius, and thence westward to the *feeling* Peruvian children of the sun, on what altar did he find such an offering, except on that of the Goddess of Reason in the Champ de Mars:—

They say the state is full of couzenage—  
As nimble jugglers that deceive the eye,  
Disguised cheaters, *prating* mountebanks,  
And many such like libertines of sin.

SHAKSPEARE.

One circumstance I had forgotten: I am told  
that the deluder has been deluded. I am told  
D that



that the wary rebel has taken advantage of this protection—that he has come in, even to the city of Dublin—taken this oath—received his protection, and then departed with a fresh supply of arms, ammunition, and intelligence to the rebel camp. As a proof of this, it is publicly asserted, that many of the rebels have been killed, and taken in the act of fighting the King's troops, with these certificates of protection in their pockets.

The public must not, cannot conceive this state paper to be the production of Lord Cornwallis, or that he had any connexion with it, except that it was published immediately after his arrival, as a sort of continuation of the former system. Lord Cornwallis had not time to become acquainted with any of the matters which the paper states as existing facts. He must have trusted as to facts to those whom he thought had some degree of political information; and as to forms, he would probably rely on those officers of forms, who were introduced to him as possessing some degree of civil experience, and some share of moral decency. The paper, therefore, I consider as the act of the former government.

I have now travelled through the several experiments which have been made by the late administration on this unhappy country :

First,



First, to govern it by LAW ;

Next, to coerce it by ARMS ;

And lastly, to conciliate it by PARDON.

It will be for the wisdom of Parliament to decide, whether there has been a sufficiency of legal acuteness displayed in the first,—of military energy in the second,—and of sober, well-timed mercy in the last? Or whether, on the contrary, the skill of the lawyers has not been baffled, and the gallant spirit of the army benumbed by the torpid influence of an inert government, in the first and second instances? And in the last, whether that government, instead of the slow and dignified march of mercy and power combined, has not exhibited an anxious and premature desire to get rid of the hazards of the present war, at the expence of truth, morals, and decency?

It will be asked, Why these questions are now put? Has not Parliament already decided? The answer is, that Parliament has paid some personal compliments to a departing Viceroy; but that even if Parliament had already decided, it is competent to review its own decisions.

These questions have been therefore put, and this statement has been therefore made; and with an humble hope that what is talked of in a desultory manner without doors, may, by being collected



lected together, gain the attention of honest, wise, and independent men within doors; that Parliament may, if any propositions should be made to it by any part of an administration whose conduct has been so questioned, weigh those propositions well, and decide with spirit, dignity, and vigour;—that Parliament may not suffer itself to be whined and canted out of its energy;—that Parliament may recollect that, though some men thought a system of *coercion* more likely to succeed than a system of *concession*;—and some again gave a preference to the latter; yet, that there was one mode of proceeding which by all honest men of every party was equally condemned; and that was a system which, by *weakly* attempting a mixture of both, became neither *coercion* nor *concession*. A system from which the inevitable result was,—that the guilty met as small a share of punishment as the innocent found of protection.

16th JULY,  
1798.



# " STATE PAPER."



## A PROCLAMATION.

**W**HEREAS it is in the Power of His Majesty's Generals, and of the Forces under their Command, entirely to destroy all those who have risen in Rebellion against their Sovereign and his Laws; yet it is nevertheless the Wish of Government, that those Persons who, by traitorous Machinations, have been seduced, or by Acts of Intimidation have been forced from their Allegiance, should be received into His Majesty's Peace and Pardon:

commanding in the County of

specially authorized thereto, does hereby invite all Persons who may be now assembled in any Part of the said County against His Majesty's Peace, to surrender themselves and their Arms, and to desert the Leaders who have seduced them; and for the Acceptance of such Surrender and Submission, the Space of fourteen Days, from the Date hereof, is allowed; and the Towns of

are hereby specified,



cified, at each of which Places one of His Majesty's Officers, and a Justice of the Peace, will attend; and upon their entering their Names, acknowledging their Guilt, and promising good Behaviour for the future, and taking the Oath of Allegiance, and at the same Time abjuring all other Engagements contrary thereto, they will receive Certificates which will entitle them to Protection so long as they demean themselves as becomes good Subjects.

And in order to render such Acts of Submission easy and secure, it is the General's Pleasure, that Persons who are now with any Portion of Rebels in Arms, and willing to surrender themselves, do send to him or to any Number from each Body of Rebels not exceeding ten, with whom the General or will settle the Manner in which they may repair to the above Towns, so that no Alarm may be excited, and no Injury to their Persons be offered.

29th June, 1798.

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DUBLIN: Printed by GEORGE GRIERSON, Printer to the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

CERTIFICATE



CERTIFICATE OF PROTECTION.

THIS is to certify, that the Bearer hereof,  
of the Parish of \_\_\_\_\_ County \_\_\_\_\_ by  
Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ has surrendered himself, con-  
fessed his being engaged in the present Rebellion,  
and \_\_\_\_\_ has given up all his Arms, and dis-  
covered of those which he knew to be concealed;  
has taken the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty,  
His Heirs and Successors, and has abjured all for-  
mer Oaths and Engagements in any wise what-  
soever contrary thereto, and has bound himself  
to behave for the future as a peaceable and loyal  
Subject; in Consequence whereof this Certificate  
is given to the said \_\_\_\_\_ in order that his  
Person and his Property may not in any wise be  
molested. And all His Majesty's Officers, Ma-  
gistrates, and other His Majesty's loving Sub-  
jects, are hereby enjoined to pay due Attention  
thereto, in Pursuance of the Proclamation issued  
General \_\_\_\_\_ dated the \_\_\_\_\_ of  
1798; and this Certificate is to be in full  
Force so long as the said \_\_\_\_\_ continues to  
demean himself as a peaceable and loyal Subject.  
Dated at \_\_\_\_\_ the \_\_\_\_\_ Day of \_\_\_\_\_ 1798.

# OATH



## OATH TO BE TAKEN.

I do solemnly promise and swear, that I will bear true Allegiance to His Majesty King GEORGE the Third, His Heirs and Successors; and I do hereby renounce and abjure all Oaths and Engagements of every Kind whatsoever, which are in any Degree contrary thereto.

*SO HELP ME GOD.*

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Most Excellent Majesty.

F I N I S.