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Sneyd Papers

A calendar of Clare correspondence in the Sneyd Papers

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T.3229

SNEYD PAPERS

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CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

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1/1-40	1784-1801	Letters from John Fitzgibbon, 1st Earl of Clare, Irish Attorney General, 1783-9, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1789-1802, to William Eden, 1st Lord Auckland, Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1780-2, Vice-Treasurer for Ireland 1783-4, Ambassador Extraordinary to France, 1786-7, and Joint Postmaster General, 1798-1804.
2/1-72	1784-5: 1787: 1795-1802	Letters to William Eden, Lord Auckland, from Irish correspondents like John Beresford, Edward Croke, John Foster and John Lees, and from British politicians like Pitt and Lord Hobart, about Irish affairs.
3/1	25 Nov. 1808	[Sir] Arthur Wellesley, [the Chief Secretary], London, to the Countess [Dowager] of Clare about the Co. Limerick shrievalty.
4/1-25	1827-50	Correspondence of the 2nd Earl of Clare with miscellaneous correspondents about Irish affairs.

SNEYD PAPERS: FITZGIBBON'S LETTERS TO EDEN

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
1-40	1734-1801	<p>Letters from John Fitzgibbon, 1st Earl of Clare, Irish Attorney General, 1783-9, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1789-1802, to William Eden, 1st Lord Auckland, Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1780-2, Vice-Treasurer for Ireland, 1783-4, Ambassador Extraordinary to France, 1786-7, and Joint Postmaster General, 1798-1804.</p> <p>[Long extracts from some of these letters have been printed in R.B. McDowell, 'Some Fitzgibbon Letters from the Sneyd Muniments in the John Rylands Library' in the <u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</u>, vol. 34 (1951-2); however, the letters are here given virtually in full, and without regard to what has previously been printed. They were acquired by the Keele University Library in 1957.]</p>
1	12 Jan. 1784	<p>Fitzgibbon, Dublin, to Eden about the change of government in Great Britain and the repercussions on Ireland.</p> <p>'I am but this moment returned from Castletown, after a very long Fox-chase with Conolly. Probably we have had better success than the King's hounds. I make no doubt they found their game. Probably e'er now he has proved himself an over-match for the royal sportsman.</p> <p>You may be assured I shall inspect the King's Letter appointing new Vice-Treasurers very minutely. Knowing the very peculiar situation of my friends in England, I had already determined not to sign a fiat for a new Treasury Commission without the proper deliberation. I need not assure you that your letter has not in any degree altered my opinion upon this subject.</p> <p>I find that my very gracious master has most graciously accepted Lord Northington's resignation. Can any man be found so adventurous as to come over here immediately to succeed him? I cannot help feeling strong apprehensions for the consequence to England of the struggle which must necessarily take place between the contending parties almost immediately. Most certainly, it will have very pernicious effects in this country. Lord Northington, much to his honour, is as anxious to preserve order and government in Ireland as if he were to remain here. He had nearly effected the quiet of the country. what effect the present confused and uncertain state of English Ministry may have upon our politics, it is at present almost impossible to conjecture.'</p>
2	29 Aug. 1784	<p>Fitzgibbon, Dublin, to Eden about the state of British and Irish politics, and the danger of separation between the two kingdoms.</p> <p>'You are now, I presume, settled at your farm, and not a little</p>

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happy at being somewhat disengaged from politics. Mr Pitt seems to have carried everything before him. He is, I believe, a man of uncommon ability. But surely he stands not a little in need of men of business to assist him? If I can judge from newspaper information, The Advocate excepted, he has not a man connected with him to whom he can look for support or assistance in the House of Commons. In this situation, I can't but wish that your political connections may allow you to go into a station of active duty, for I cannot suppose that there is any other impediment to it.

As to this country, there is no opinion, however unfavourable, of the people you can form, which their conduct will not justify. By way of reforming the constitution, they are about to subvert the government in church and state; and by way of encouraging trade and manufactures, a tarring and feathering committee is formed in the city of Dublin, who keep a set of ruffians in pay to execute vengeance on all descriptions of men who are obnoxious to them. For the present they have suspended their proceedings, of which public notice has been given in their gazette. But I know to a certainty that they gave out a list of men who were to be tarred and feathered, in which I had the honour of being named. I felt no other inconvenience from it than the necessity of always carrying arms about me. I should have taken up the printer of the gazette, The Volunteer's Journal, long since, but that I waited for a publication which I could fairly hang him for. This the scoundrel has at length furnished to me, and I have him now in Newgate under a charge of high treason.

The fact is, we now begin to feel the effects of the Duke of Portland's government. You know the very wise part which he acted. He told the Volunteers of Ireland very explicitly that the government of the country was in their hands, and that he depended upon support from them. The consequence was that they chose a parliament of their own which was to publish edicts for the assent of King, Lords and Commons as a mere matter of form. Not finding prompt obedience, as they expected, they told the people that the military convention which met in Dublin was the true and genuine representative body of Ireland, that the men who called themselves their representatives having refused to comply with the moderate and constitutional requisition of their sovereign lords the Volunteers, signified by the aforesaid convention, the people were no longer bound to obey any law which had been heretofore enacted or might hereafter be enacted by their misrepresentatives. The people very naturally listened to this doctrine with singular pleasure, and the consequence has been that a general spirit of resistance to the laws has gone forth, and all Ireland at this moment exhibits a scene of anarchy and riot and excess and idleness and extreme poverty. The gentlemen of the country see the necessity of beating down the rabble, but are afraid to come forth. The cry is, why should we expose ourselves to the fury and indignation of the people. We do not know that the present ministry of England will stand and we can't be certain, if there is a change of ministry, that we shall not be proscribed for supporting government.

As to a parliamentary reform, as it is called, in this country,

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2 contd		<p>if any alteration is made in the constitution of the House of Commons in Ireland, there is an end of any connection with England, unless it can be maintained by the sword. I have very little doubt that French gold is in circulation amongst the lower class of the people in this country. The Puritans of the North are become advocates for religious tolerance, and the Catholics profess a strong predilection for republican government the Puritans tell them, if you will assist us in reforming the constitution, we will assist you in shaking off every restraint which the laws of Ireland now impose upon you. If these worthy personages succeed in their projects, it does not require any great degree of sagacity to discover that we shall not very long have a Protestant government in this country. I am told the King of France is a very popular character in the North of Ireland, that he is considered as the great assertor of the liberties of the world. I would to God I could put some of these gentlemen who are so enamoured of French liberty under the government of the great assertor of the rights of mankind. I think I could effectively tame them in a very short time.</p> <p>As long as I live, I shall consider the rash and precipitate period which was put to Lord Carlisle's government as the greatest misfortune which has ever befallen this country.</p> <p>Sure I am, if you had remained with us to this time, Ireland would have been in a very different state indeed from that in which I now see her. I can truly assure you that nothing but a strong sense of duty could induce me to remain one hour in this country. There is a nasty, malignant, levelling spirit diffused generally amongst the people that disgusts me beyond the powers of description, and unless it is speedily beat down, most assuredly I will quit Ireland and very probably never return to it. I expect you will reprove me for entertaining this idea, but if you were condemned to live here at this time, I think you would join me in opinion.'</p>
3	4 Jan. 1785	<p>Fitzgibbon to Eden about his immediate movements: 'I will certainly see you at Beckenham on Friday ... but I am sorry to tell you that I must return to town to dine with the Chancellor. Surely there never was so childish and unguarded a proceeding as the publication of Mr Pitt's letter?'</p>
4	22 Aug. 1785	<p>Fitzgibbon, Dublin, to Eden about the failure of the commercial propositions and the forthcoming Speakership election.</p> <p>'As we have both a little breathing-time at this moment, I cannot resist the opportunity of reminding you of an old friend. You have the credit, or disgrace, of having initiated me in politics. Flood says you have ruined a very promising young man. However, be that as it may, I shall always reflect with great satisfaction upon my friendship and intimacy with my tutor.</p>

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4 contd		<p>Your friends in England have duped us completely. Whatever idea you may hitherto have entertained of the madness and folly of my countrymen, be assured it falls far short of their merits. Their very honourable and just indignation at the insidious offer of wealth and real independence of Great Britain which was made to them by Mr Pitt, must ensure to them the admiration and applause of every nation of Europe. God Almighty bless them! If my lot had not been cast amongst the fools, I could see them running to the Devil with perfect indifference. But I have acquired vicious habits of regard for this pitiful spot of the globe, which I hate myself for not being able to shake off.</p> <p>By the way, if your friends here had known how to avail themselves of their strength, and of the preconcerted perfidy of some of the Duke of P[ortland]'s connections, we should have made a bad fight of it indeed. But as they managed, we 'came off' with the <u>appearance</u> of victory. The Ponsonbys had pledged themselves to us to vote for the introduction of the bill, and they had agreed with the enemy to desert upon the question of committal. Very foolishly, the opposition divided the House upon the motion for leave to introduce the bill, supposing that we were not apprised of the good intention of the Ponsonbys and therefore that we should proceed with the business. However, we stopped just at that stage, which deprived them of such an accession of force, and on Monday bullied and abused Mr Flood for an attempt to move an hostile resolution against England which he had threatened but was afraid to propose. Such, however, was the temper of the House on Saturday morning, that if we had not got possession of the question of adjournment, I have not a doubt that he would then have carried the resolution which he wished to move, which was a direct censure upon the parliament of England.</p> <p>They have now set to work anew, and are endeavouring to get Mr William Ponsonby into the Chair. Here, Mr Pery had a fair opportunity of exercising his talents, and laid hold of it with his usual alacrity. I am afraid he had made his terms with the government long since. However, he did not intimate any desire to them to quit before the next session, until Wednesday last. For this manoeuvre he prepared the way by pretending violent indisposition in the Chair on Monday night. From the moment the House rose on Monday till 5 o'clock on Wednesday evening, he was employed in communicating his scheme to every man who wished the Duke of Rutland or his government at the Devil, and before Mr Orde had any inclination of his design of immediate resignation, your friends (political, I mean) had concerted all their measures. However, we shall turn the tables upon them most damnably. If Ponsonby stands the election, he will be beat hollow; and if he does not immediately surrender at discretion, he and all his friends will march out.</p> <p>The Duke of Leinster, with all the caution and wisdom which always marks his conduct, justifies himself to Foster for a breach of faith with him by acknowledging that the whole has been a trial of skill between his friends in England and the government here; that by getting rid of the bill for adjusting</p>

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the intercourse between the two countries, he had shaken the Duke of Rutland's government; and that by beating him in the election of a Speaker, he should drive him out of the country; and therefore he says Mr Foster ought not to be displeased, nor should the world censure blame him for breaking his word, which he admits he has done, when his party in England, as he calls it, is so evidently interested in his acting the scoundrel. At present, Mr Ogilvie is his great friend and adviser. This gentleman, you know, was originally a drummer in a Scotch regiment. From the drum he was preferred to a writing school in a village in the county of Kerry, from whence he was translated to a writing school in Dublin, from whence he was preferred to the Duke of Leinster's nursery in the capacity of private tutor to his children. Whilst in this station, he did his Grace the honour to get three or four bastards on the person of his Duchess, to which said bastards the present Duke has the honour to pay £10,000 each; and now, Mr Ogilvie having made an honest woman of his mother, that worthy and sagacious nobleman, his stepson, repays the many obligations which he has conferred upon him by submitting himself wholly to his management and direction.

The fact is, my dear Eden, that whilst English party exists in this country, she must go to the Devil. No man knows it better than you do. The Duke of Portland first adopted the system, and I am more and more convinced every day that we shall not see an end of the blessed effects of his government without a convulsion.'

5

25 Aug. 1787

Fitzgibbon, Dublin, to Eden asking him to obtain more Sevres china, and discussing Irish politics.

'... We are here in a state of perfect quiet. Except in a very small district in the county of Cork, the Whiteboys are not heard of, and even there they are not likely to give trouble much longer, as the independent gentlemen of that country [sic] who first set them in motion, begin now to see that they cannot oppose Lord Shannon with effect, and are everyday tendering their services to him. One of Longfield's ragamuffins in the House of Commons has openly deserted to him.

Orde leaves Ireland early in the next week, and I do not think he will return. The fact is, he labours so at business that even if he had good health, he could not stand it. But in his situation, the odds are that another session of parliament here would finish him.

Tell Cooke that his friend, Ellis, has weathered his last attack, but that I have strong hopes of him from his appearance. If he should twaddle to you upon the subject, as he did to me, pray inform him that he is a damned hypocritical scoundrel.'

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18 Nov. 1787

Fitzgibbon, Dublin, to Eden, [Paris], about Foster's Libel Act and about the success of the Rutland administration in Ireland.

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'I am not a little pleased with your commission, and if by any chance it should be known here that the French Minister has applied for information in Ireland to enable him to correct the licentiousness of the press at home, it will certainly immortalise the men who framed our act in 1784 for securing the liberty of the press by preventing the abuses arising from the publication of traitorous, seditious, false and slanderous libels by persons unknown. With us it certainly has had the best effects, and I do not see that Monsieur de Montmorin will have any difficulty in adapting the regulations of our act, so far as they go to restraining the abuses of the press, to the principles of the French government.

The great difficulty which we found was to ascertain the printers, publishers and proprietors of our newspapers. Our act, therefore, directs that no person whatever shall print or publish or cause to be printed or published any newspaper or anything in the nature of a newspaper, before he shall first have given in to the Commissioners of the Stamp Duties or the distributors of stamps in the country, an affidavit containing his true name and place of abode, and stating whether he be printer, proprietor or publisher of the paper, and the name of every person sharing the profits of it; which affidavit remains at the Stamp Office to be made use of as occasion shall require in actions or prosecutions for any libel contained in the newspaper, and is by the act made conclusive evidence of the printing or publishing or property in the man who swears it; and by the act, every proprietor as well as printer is bound to swear this affidavit.

I observe that the Parliament of Paris wants taste to relish a stamp tax or a land tax, which must surprise every rational man in England and Ireland, and without a stamp or something like it on printed publications in the nature of newspapers, Monsieur Montmorin, will I am afraid, be puzzled to avail himself of our very salutary regulations.

But if he can contrive to make a stamp, to be had only at an office appointed for the purpose, necessary to authorise any such publication, I do not see that he will have any difficulty, and as the aforesaid stamp is not to be made for the purpose of levying a tax, but merely to secure the liberty of the press, perhaps it may go down quietly.

When I state to you one other most excellent provision in our act, you will see the absolute necessity there is for a stamp. If any blackguard is found hawking, crying about or selling any paper containing a libel which is not stamped, we commit him summarily by the warrant of a magistrate, unless he will forthwith discover the printer or publisher of the same. We have also a clause making it highly penal in any printer or publisher of a newspaper to take money or other reward either for printing or forbearing to print a libel.

To speak seriously, I can truly assure you that this act, which I have never made use of but in two instances, has had the best

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effects with us, and guarded as the King's subjects are by the law in this country, I do not see that it can ever be made an improper use of. Whether that will necessarily follow, should the French government be enabled to establish similar regulations there, I will not take upon me to determine.

Yesterday I attended the remains of the poor Duke of Rutland to the water-side, and a ceremony so awful and affecting I have never before experienced. I really loved him more even than I was aware of whilst he lived. With some foibles - and they were few and trifling - he had as many great good qualities as any man I have ever met with. He was more beloved by all ranks of people in this country than any man who has been in his station. Although there were thousands of the populace in the streets through which the procession passed, there was nothing like riot or tumult amongst them, but the most profound and melancholy silence prevailed throughout the whole. I can safely assure you that he governed this country more by the weight of his personal influence than by the patronage annexed to his office, and if I do not very much mistake the situation of things at present, the Marquess of Buckingham will find that he has undertaken a more difficult task than he is aware of.

A thousand thanks to you and Mrs Eden for your trouble in choosing the china for me. Lees has paid me for Mrs Eden's gloves, so that I hope all scruples of conscience are now removed if she wishes for more.'

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24 Mar. [1795]

Fitzgibbon [now Lord Fitzgibbon], Dublin, to Eden, [now Lord Auckland], recounting at great length Fitzgibbon's personal experience of Lord Fitzwilliam and the Fitzwilliam administration. (The letter is marked 'Private', but cannot have been intended to be kept so.)

'In the present crisis, you will forgive me if I take advantage of you in troubling you with a very detailed answer to your letter, which did not reach me till yesterday.

With respect to myself, from the moment of Lord Fitzwilliam's arrival here, I took my determination never to go into his closet but by his desire. Fortunately for me, his invitations were very rare indeed, and when I had the honour of a conference with him, it was merely for the purpose of stating to me what his determinations were upon the great outlines of his government. He has always treated me with marked personal civility and attention in private, and in the article of personal civility, you will readily believe I have always taken care not to be outdone by him.

You know the ceremony to which every Lord Lieutenant must submit on his arrival here, of taking some ten or twelve formal dinners successively. At these dinners, Mr Ponsonby always assisted, and before his friend and kinsman had been here ten days, he had announced without reserve to the gentlemen who

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chose to sit and get drunk, that Lord Fitzwilliam had come over to Ireland for the purpose only of putting the kingdom of Ireland into his hands, that Mr Beresford certainly was the most attentive and efficient officer who had ever sat at the Board of Revenue, but that it was impossible to suffer him to remain there without defeating the great object of Lord Fitzwilliam's mission. This circumstance will elucidate to you the discretion of Lord Fitzwilliam's Cabinet, and the strict and conscientious attention which he was determined to pay to the great public trust committed to him, from the first moment of his arrival in Ireland.

Long before his appointment to the government of Ireland had been announced, Dr O'Beirne, a reformed priest whom he has since made a Protestant bishop, publicly pledged him to his old friends to remove every disability, civil and ecclesiastical, to which they are now subject, and informed them that they had only to prepare themselves for his arrival, and that whatever they could ask should be conceded. To Dr O'Beirne's representations, however, they did not pay much attention. But upon Mr Grattan's return to Ireland in December, his first act was to send for the leading members of Catholic Committee, and to press them to come forward with strong claims to be relieved from every clause in the statute book which now affects them, and with assurances that, if they would now advance their claims confidently and generally, Lord Fitzwilliam had determined to yield to them without reserve. I have the best reason to know, that if Mr Grattan had not then pressed the subject forward, it would have slept in quiet, and that he was cautioned by an old friend, who has been long playing the same game (Langrishe) to take care of what he was about, unless he was fully assured that he had explicit authority for the engagements he was about to make. Mr Grattan's answer (I know) was, "I believe I have authority, but if I commit them, they must go on with me." This circumstance will further elucidate the discretion of Lord Fitzwilliam's Cabinet.

On 13 December last, in consequence of Mr Grattan's solicitations, the Catholic Committee promulgated their orders to every county in the kingdom to come forward with petitions to parliament for a repeal of every act in the statute book which now affects Papists, and with addresses to Lord Fitzwilliam upon his arrival here. On 5 January he landed, and on 15th the Catholic Committee went up to the Castle of Dublin with an address to him, attended by a mob of about 500 persons, who were all admitted to his presence, and to whom he made the speech which I presume you have seen, in which he stated to them distinctly that their approved loyalty and cordial allegiance had made all discrimination between Protestant and Papist unnecessary and injurious to the common interests of the Empire.

I believe you will agree with me that a great subject never was disposed of by a great Minister in any country with more energy and expedition. The rapidity of his notions certainly was calculated to dazzle the eyes of the admiring multitude. It has gained for him the confidence of the people, which the poor gentleman seems to consider as a full indemnity to him for the censure and reprehension which I must presume awaits him on his return to England.

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7 contd		<p>Early in the month of February, for the first time, he summoned me into his closet, after a Council which had met at 4 o'clock in the evening, where he informed me that it had been his wish to have kept back the Catholic Question, if he could have done it. However, as it had been brought forward, it was his determination to support the claims of the Catholics handsomely in parliament. He then made me a speech of twenty minutes upon the expediency of uniting all men in support of the constitution at this crisis; that the gratitude of the Irish Catholics for past favours and favours now to be granted, would prove a tower of strength to the Empire; and concluded with expressing his hope that I agreed in opinion with him. I asked him how far he intended to go, to which he made answer that his determination was to repeal every clause in the statute book which in any manner affected Papists in Ireland. To this I replied that I must presume his Excellency was apprised that the name of Papist was in effect already blotted from our statute book; that the only civil disabilities to which Papists by name are now liable in Ireland are, a disqualification to vote at parish vestries where money is to be raised for the repairs of Protestant churches, and to carry arms unless possessed of an ascertained real or personal property; and therefore that the only laws which now bore upon the great body of Papists were the acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, the Test Act and the Bill of Rights, all of which affected Protestants and Papists equally in their provisions; that I did presume his Excellency had stated this explicitly to the British Cabinet and taken their opinions upon the practability of his measure, for that I had always considered a repeal of any one of the statutes which were in force before the Revolution or were enacted at the Revolution for the security of the Protestant establishment, to be beyond the legitimate power of parliament, and that the King could not give his assent to a repeal of any one of them without forfeiting his crown, as well for a breach of his coronation oath as of the act limiting the succession to the crown. I told him also that by the articles of Union, the King was bound to Scotland to maintain the Protestant religion as by law established in England, Ireland and Berwick-on-Tweed, and therefore that a repeal of the Test Act or the Act of Supremacy or Uniformity in Ireland in favour of Papists, would in my opinion be a breach of the articles of Union.</p> <p>Upon the point of policy and expediency, I told him that I had not a doubt upon my mind that, if Papists were ever allowed to sit in the parliament of Ireland, it must of necessity lead to a reform of parliament, as it was called, or in other words to a popular House of Commons, detached altogether from British influence; that to my knowledge, a deliberate and settled conspiracy had existed in Ireland from the year 1791 to separate this country from Great Britain, and that Catholic Emancipation, as it was most improperly and wickedly called, was the cornerstone of the system; that the principal conspirators were the men who had come up to the Castle of Dublin with an address to him; and that, if I had known his intention of speaking to me upon the subject on that day, I would have brought original papers in my possession, verified upon oath, which would satisfy him of the fact; that my duty to the King made it necessary for me to put</p>

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him in possession of this information, and therefore that I did request he would send to me on any morning when he had leisure for half an hour, and I would wait upon him with the papers which contained it. He said he would send to me for the purpose, but from that date to this I never heard from him upon the subject.

In the course of this conversation, I asked him what part he would take in the British parliament, if a proposition was made for a repeal of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity and the Test Act, for the Emancipation, according to our fashionable phrase, of English Papists, or what part he would take if a proposition was made there for a repeal of any one article of the Bill of Rights. To this question he did not find it convenient to make an answer, and the conference ended in my informing him that I did presume he would despise me as much as I should despise myself, if I were capable of supporting him in this proposed repeal of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and I took occasion also to remind him of the oath of an English Privy Counsellor which I had taken, by which I was bound to the utmost of my power to maintain, protect and defend all jurisdictions annexed to the crown, by statute or otherwise, against all foreign princes, states and potentates; and I also took the liberty to remind him that one of the offences of James II was an arbitrary dispensation with this oath, in order to bring Dr Peters [sic] and some other Jesuits into the English Privy Council. Thus ended our first, and indeed our only, conference upon the subject of any of his Excellency's parliamentary projects.

With respect to the situation of Papists in Ireland, I have in effect very nearly stated it to you already. However, as it may possibly be essential that you should be distinctly informed of the gradual progress which we have made in the repeal of the Popery Laws since the year 1779 [sic], I will state it to you. With respect to all rights of property, they stand precisely in the situation of every other description of the King's subjects, and they never were subject to any additional tax in Ireland. They are admissible into the army and militia, to the bar and to practise as attornies. And they are admissible into our university, and to degrees in the faculties of law and medicine. They are allowed to have Popish schools without restriction, and to found any college, provided it is not founded exclusively for the education of Papists, and that it shall be a member of the University of Dublin. All Papists seized of a freehold estate of £100 per annum, or possessed of a personal estate of £1,000, are allowed to carry arms without restriction. But if their property is less, then to qualify them to carry arms, they must make affidavit at the quarter sessions that they have a freehold property of £10 per annum or a personal estate of £300. Papists not possessed of that property are disabled to carry arms, and I could wish that the same disability were extended to the same description of persons of all religions. Papists are allowed to appoint testamentary guardians to their children, and we have gone so far as to allow them to act as guardians to Protestant children. Marriages between Protestans and Papists are allowed, and no disability whatever arises to either party

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from such a marriage, or from educating their children Papists. They are allowed to vote at elections, are eligible into corporations, and may hold all civil offices without taking the Oath of Supremacy or subscribing the declaration, except the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioner of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief or Puisne Judge, Judge of the Admiralty, Master of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Lord Privy Seal (if we had such an officer), Vice-Treasurer or Deputy Vice-Treasurer, Teller of the Exchequer or Auditor-General, Governor or Custos Rotulorum of counties, secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, member of the Privy Council, Prime Serjeant, Attorney or Solicitor General, Serjeant-at-Law or King's Counsel, Master in Chancery, Provost or Fellow of Trinity College, Postmaster General, Master of the Ordnance, Commander-in-Chief, general on the staff, sheriff or sub-sheriff of a county, or any office contrary to the New Rules - "These relate merely to offices of trust in corporations, which are affected by the Corporation Act of England."

Papists are also capable of serving on grand and petit juries. In a word, there is not a civil disability now existing in Ireland upon a Papist, as such, save that which I have stated with respect to the carrying of arms and of voting at vestries for levying money for the repairs of Protestant churches: in every other particular, they stand precisely in the same situation with Protestants as to civil rights and capacities. If they will acknowledge the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of their lawful King, and disclaim what we are forced to believe the superstitious and idolatrous tenets of their religion, they are not incapacitated from holding any one situation which Protestants may hold, and some situations they may hold without taking the oaths which Protestants are bound to take. And with respect to their religious worship, they enjoy the most complete and perfect toleration. The only restrictions imposed upon them in this particular are, that they are not allowed crosses or steeples or bells to their churches, nor are they allowed the use of crucifixes or other ensigns of superstition publicly. They are also forbidden to maintain convents of regular professed friars, which however they do maintain by connivance in every part of the country; and at times their friars go about the country in their habits. I saw one myself in his full habit not far from my house in the country within a year. I should think, therefore, that Irish Papists have no very reasonable ground to complain of persecution and intolerance in a country in which, as yet, the established religion is Protestant; and if it is to continue the established religion of the country, I do not well see how we can go farther.

If we are to gratify the Papists of Ireland in their present pursuits, we must repeal the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, the Bill of Rights and the Test Act: or, in two words, we must abolish the Reformation and subvert the constitution as established at the Revolution in church and state. And how this can consist with the King's coronation oath, by which he is bound to maintain the Protestant reformed religion as by law established, I cannot conceive. How he is to maintain a Protestant church by a Popish state, is a state problem which can be solved only by the sagacity of Mr Grattan and his fellow-labourers in the modern system of Popish Emancipation. If any doubts can be entertained of the construction put upon the coronation oath by the parliament in the reign of King William, it seems pretty manifestly explained in the journals of the House of Commons. When the bill for establishing the coronation oath was in its progress, an amendment

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7 contd		<p>was proposed to it by way of rider, declaring that nothing contained in the oath should be construed to bind down the King or his successors not to give the royal assent to any bill which should be offered by the Lords and Commons for altering the Act of Uniformity, and this amendment was negative by a majority of eighteen. It is evident, therefore, that the coronation oath was considered by the parliament which passed it as binding the King not to give his assent to a bill repealing or qualifying the Act of Uniformity in favour of Protestant Dissenters, and it seems not to be a very forced inference that the same parliament must have considered the oath as binding upon the King and his successors not to give the royal assent to a bill repealing the Act of Supremacy or the Test Act in favour of Papists. But whatever doubts or cavils may be created upon the construction of the coronation oath, surely no man can doubt that the King, by repealing any clause in the Act of Supremacy or by doing any other act acknowledging the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Pope in any of his hereditary dominions, he [sic] is by such an act reconciled to the Church of Rome, which by the direct provisions of the statute which has seated his family upon the throne, induces a forfeiture of his crown? But if anything like a serious doubt upon the subject can arise, is this a time to make such an experiment?</p> <p>There is one other circumstance which bears in considering this subject, which you are particularly well-acquainted with. The oaths and declaration appointed to be taken and subscribed by members of the two Houses of Parliament in Ireland were enacted by the English statute of the 3rd and 4th of William and Mary, which amongst other English statutes were adopted here in 1782 by Yelverton's Act. You know well that the act of 1782 was considered as a solemn compact on our part to adopt all the British statutes which ought to be received and executed in Ireland at that memorable and ill-fated era when we chose to set up for ourselves. One of the English statutes adopted by that act is the Act of Resumption. Many English statutes restricting our trade are adopted by the same act. And therefore, I cannot but think that, independent of every other consideration, it is a strange policy on the part of English government to force a precedent in this country of a repeal of any British statute adopted by our law of 1782.</p> <p>As to the local policy of the measure, no man who knows the real situation of this country can hesitate to say that the Papists of Ireland are to a man averse to British interest and British connection. The Protestant Dissenters are all of the same disposition so strongly, that they have for the moment forgotten or stifled their old hatred and animosity against Papists and the Popish religion, in the hope of being enabled by an occasional alliance with the Papists to effect their favourite object of subverting the monarchy and separating this country from Great Britain; and how it has happened that the people of England nearly of all parties and descriptions could for the last three or four years have been mad enough to lend their cordial assistance to the project, against the opinion and remonstrances of every friend of British government in Ireland, seems to be beyond all human calculation. If Lord Fitzwilliam and his Ministers had not been checked at the instant, the mischief would have been beyond remedy; and it is but fair to say that since he has been checked by the British Cabinet, he and his Ministers have been unremitting in their efforts to do every possible mischief within their power to effect.</p>

T.3229/1/	Date	Description
7 contd		<p>You have seen the resolutions and addresses voted at all the mob meetings which have been assembled since Lord Fitzwilliam's recall. These meetings were openly solicited by his friends, and the resolutions and addresses were as openly drawn up by them, and sent down to the different meetings to be there echoed. His answers to them have been all calculated to encourage mischief and disturbance, and if these had not been sufficient to dam him as a Minister, he has within a few days distributed above fifty copies of two letters written by him to Lord Carlisle in his justification, which for folly, indiscretion, malignity and utter disregard of truth, I will venture to say stand unexampled. I do not know whether Lord Carlisle has complied with his injunctions in showing these letters in England. If he has, or if it has become known there that Lord Fitzwilliam has published them in this country, I do not see how the British government can pass them by unnoticed. In one of them, he quotes a passage from a private and confidential dispatch which he had received from the Duke of Portland, in these words: "If you can prevent a public discussion of the Catholic claims until we are at peace, it may be the means of rendering perhaps the most essential service to the Empire which has been achieved since the Revolution or <u>the Union</u>." You have seen Mr Grattan's answer to the address of the Papists of Dublin, and it is now plain that he has taken advantage of the gross breach of public trust and private faith committed by Lord Fitzwilliam in communicating to him this confidential dispatch, which he must have done long before he made it public in his letters, or rather the copies of his letters, to Lord Carlisle, which are now in general circulation through this town, and I presume will very soon be printed.</p> <p>He has also aspersed John Beresford in the most unwarrantable and infamous terms: so much so that, if I were to advise him, he ought to bring an action for defamation against Lord Fitzwilliam the moment he returns to England.</p> <p>I cannot suppose that Mr Grattan's answer to his friends who addressed him, has not long since made its appearance at London. The Whig Club have thought it right to publish their unanimous approbation of it as a most manly, seasonable and constitutional performance, and this approbation is signed and counter-signed by Mr Ponsonby and Mr Conolly. So that at this hour the standard of rebellion is raised by Lord Fitzwilliam's Cabinet Ministers and avowed friends, to whom he unequivocally surrendered his person and government from the first moment of his arrival in Ireland. Immediately after Mr Grattan's manifesto had appeared in print, I waited on Lord Fitzwilliam and told him that in the body of it Mr G. had most wantonly and cruelly introduced his name; that he had announced himself to the world as his Minister; and therefore that it was essential to the peace of the country, to the maintenance of King's authority, and to his own honour, that he should publicly and strongly mark his disapprobation of this most audacious and treasonable invitation to rebellion, before he quitted his government. To this proposition, however, he gave a direct negative.</p> <p>Yesterday he sent to me to inform me of his intention to go off tomorrow, leaving the government in my hands and the Primate's. I told him that I supposed he meant of course to send down a message that day to both Houses of Parliament to adjourn for a</p>

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T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
7 contd		<p>few days or three weeks. Mr Grattan had been with him the whole morning, and he peremptorily refused to send down any such message, or even to suffer Lord Milton to propose the adjournment. On which, I stated to him very explicitly that, if he was determined to leave the parliament sitting, I would not accept the commission of a Lord Justice. With some difficulty I prevailed with him to allow the Speaker and the Primate to accompany me to his closet this day, when at length he consented to send down the message, and parliament now is adjourned to the 13th of April.</p> <p>After what I have stated to you, need I give you my opinion that this poor gentleman is beyond all comparison the weakest man I have ever met with.</p> <p>Pelham came this morning; and what will surprise you, Lord Fitzwilliam peremptorily resisted his solicitations to adjourn the parliament. Pelham is my old friend and acquaintance, and I know no man more likely to do well in his situation. With a little temper, and unshaken firmness, on the part of the new government, I have no doubt that the ferment <u>raised</u> by Lord Fitzwilliam and his friends will subside. But anything like temporising or half measures will undo us.</p> <p>I think I have done pretty well for one letter. If you are at the trouble of reading this through, perhaps I may soon inflict another upon you.'</p>
8	[c.28 Mar. 1795]	<p>Fitzgibbon, Dublin, to Auckland on the same subject.</p> <p>'I sent the only copy which I had of Lord Fitzwilliam's valedictory appeal to the good people of Ireland, which made its appearance here in the shape of two letters to Lord Carlisle, by the post of Tuesday to Lord Westmorland, with a request that he would have it transcribed and send the copy to your Lordship. For many reasons I am anxious that you should be in possession of it, and for none more than that you may be enabled to advise Beresford in [sic] the conduct which he ought to pursue in consequence of the flippant and gross calumnies which this infatuated man has presumed to deal out against him and his family. I have written to Beresford recommending warmly that he should appeal to Westminster Hall for a vindication of his character. I should fear that the first idea that will suggest itself to him is to take the vindication of his honour into his own hands, which course, if he should ever be tempted to pursue, ought in my mind without doubt to be postponed till he has called upon Lord Fitzwilliam to make good his charges, which he may do, if he can with truth, in defending himself against an action for defamation.</p> <p>One circumstance, when it is understood, must forever damn him upon this subject. He landed in Ireland on Sunday evening. The next day he was confined to his bed. On Wednesday he sent Mr Bowes Daly to Beresford with a message of dismissal.</p>

SNEYD PAPERS: FITZGIBBON'S LETTERS TO EDEN

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
8 contd		<p>So that his enquiries into the acts of malversation with which he charges Beresford so boldly, and which he advances in his justification for removing him, must all have been made in this short interval, during which it is notorious he did not see any one man who was enabled to give him information upon the subject.</p> <p>I send you [not found] a squib which made its appearance yesterday, and in some passages has merit. I believe it is the production of Dr Duigenan, the Judge of the Court of Prograve.'</p>
9	18 May 1795	<p>Fitzgibbon, Dublin, to Auckland discussing parliamentary affairs subsequent to the departure of Lord Fitzwilliam.</p> <p>'Our session is now fairly concluded, and I should hope that what has passed in and out of parliament since Lord Fitzwilliam's departure from Ireland must have satisfied every sober and rational man in Great Britain that he was grossly mistaken in his representations of the temper and situation of this country.</p> <p>In my memory, there has not been so little heat and intemperance on the part of opposition in the Irish parliament as they have exhibited since Lord Camden's arrival. Not, as you will readily believe, from an inclination on their part to allay the storm which in the moment of political anger and disappointment they had endeavoured to raise: the fact is that they were deserted by the country gentlemen who, to their shame, usually lend their numbers to every faction, but on this instance, for once, took a right part, in gratitude for their deliverance, or rather in disgust at the folly and precipitation and rapacity which had brought the country to the verge of ruin. The numbers which appeared in the minority on the Catholic Question are to be attributed to the false and mistaken policy of Great Britain in 1793. Many of the county members who support the government voted for the bill against their conviction, to court the Popish influence in their counties, and many more voted in the same way under an apprehension that British government intended only to oppose the claim for the present, and would yield hereafter; and until this impression is completely removed, we shall never be at peace upon the subject.</p> <p>The Catholics are now distributed into three classes: the higher order, consisting of men of property and consideration, who are few in number; the agitators, who are much more numerous, and are to a man rebels and republicans, and many of them infidels; and the mass of the people, who are in a state of perfect barbarism and ignorance. The first class very naturally wish for a repeal of the laws which exclude them from the state and bear upon their religion, but they would not hazard a convulsion to gain the object, and I am confident, if they could once be satisfied that it cannot be attained without convulsion, they would resist the project as warmly as every other description of the King's subjects ought to do. The agitators, who have assumed to themselves the government of the whole body of the Catholics now for five years, look to separation from England,</p>

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T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
9 contd		<p>and of course to a subversion of the monarchy, and if they were to succeed in their present object of Catholic Emancipation, as it is most stupidly and wickedly called, it could only encourage them to proceed in their projects of treason. And, with respect to the mass of the people, they are perfectly indifferent and uninterested upon the subject, except that they are taught by the agitators to suppose that Catholic Emancipation means anarchy and plunder. The Whigs, as they are pleased to call themselves, have now taken up the Papists as political allies, and warmly inculcate the notion that sooner or later Great Britain must and will yield to the claims.</p> <p>Thus circumstanced, I think you will agree with me that it is essential to the peace of this country that all parties should be satisfied of the determination of the British government to maintain and defend the remnant of political strength which is left in the hands of the Protestants of Ireland. I hope that such is their determination, else they never can preserve this country to the British Empire. Under this impression it was that the Speaker and I and some few more friends of government were of opinion that the best way of getting rid of the question would be by referring the petitions which had been presented to the House of Commons, to a committee, and to send up their resolutions to the House of Lords for their concurrence. Perhaps it may have been as well that the bill proposed by Mr Grattan met with a simple negative. But if the claim should be renewed in the next session, I hope something decisive will be done upon it.</p> <p>I desired Lees to tell you that I shall be very much obliged to you to put my name down as a subscriber to The Moniteur. It will certainly be hereafter a very curious and valuable book.'</p>
10	22 Dec. 1796	<p>Incomplete letter (beginning at page 5) from Fitzgibbon, now Earl of Clare, Dublin, to [Auckland] about the state of Ireland and Irish politics.</p> <p>'... estate producing more than £10,000 a year suggested to Lord Camden the expediency of calling a meeting of his county, which he acknowledges to be in a state completely revolutionary, in order to petition parliament for reform. He gave it as his opinion, in which he was joined by many <u>respectable</u> gentlemen, that such a reform would conciliate the people and bring them back to their allegiance. He sent up the proposition which was made to him on behalf of the discontented people, and which he recommended to the adoption of the King's government. It set out by ascribing all their outrages to imperfect representation and the consequent maladministration of government, to remedy which, reform was necessary upon a broad basis of <u>population</u> and property, without distinction of sect or religion, and that the people were willing to stipulate their allegiance to a government composed of a King, Lords and Commons, <u>thus reformed</u>, <u>provided such government was wisely administered</u>. I know this</p>

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10 contd		<p>excellent politician intimately, and I give him full credit for good intentions in his advice. But is there salvation for a country in which such a man can be found to countenance such a project? Some of the Northern gentlemen have been so far roused by a sense of their danger as to apply to the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim certain districts to be in a state of insurrection under an act passed in the last session of parliament, by which the rioters would be subjected in some sort to a military control under the authority of the civil magistrates; but having prevailed with the executive government to arm them with such powers, they have declined to execute them, and permit the rebels to rest on their arms till they see a fair opportunity to make use of them.</p> <p>I have been led into detail more than I had intended when I sat down to state to you the very critical and alarming situation of this country. It is impossible that we should go on much longer in the present temper of the people without encountering a serious convulsion. The great misfortune is that the people of England know less of this country than of any other nation of Europe. But if tranquillity should be restored to Europe, the Ministers of Great Britain would do well to bestow their attention upon us and endeavour, if they can, to rectify the errors which have been committed for the last forty or fifty years, or at least to avert the calamities which are likely to flow from them. The whole system of British policy by which our connection with the crown of England had been maintained from the Revolution, is subverted, and nothing like a new system has been substituted for it. And I must repeat that Great Britain alone has subverted her power in Ireland: if she had not given it up in 1782, and at the same moment given up the supporters of it in the Irish parliament; if Englishmen of great political weight and character had not lent their countenance and authority to Irish faction, and for a course of years endeavoured in every instance in which the opportunity occurred to undermine and weaken the influence of the British crown, the solitary remaining bond of union with Ireland; and finally, if the British government had not in 1792 and 1793 been fatally misled to lend the most decided countenance and authority to a traitorous and rebellious democracy, which had been erected for the sole purpose of subverting the British government in Ireland - we could not now be reduced to the cruel situation of a country threatened with foreign invasion, torn by domestic treason and disaffection, and unsupported by a firm and concerted union of the rank and property of the nation. I have long been of opinion that an union with the parliament of England can alone save us. The difficulties upon that subject will be found great and multiplied, but difficult as the object may be to attain, I never will lose sight of it, because to my conviction it is clear that without an union with the parliament of Great Britain, another struggle for our connection with her is inevitable.</p> <p>Perhaps you will rejoice that I have not more leisure for our correspondence. I make no scruple to state my opinions freely to you upon every subject, and you know enough of this giddy country to judge for yourself of my statement.'</p>

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
11	2 Jan. 1797	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about the recent French invasion attempt.</p> <p>'You will have heard e'er now that the French fleet has been on our coast. On the 22nd of December they were discovered off Bantry Bay. Fortunately for us, the wind blew fresh from the East, which prevented them from working up. They continued at anchor till the 26th, when a furious tempest forced them to put to sea, and saved us. Their ships are now reassembling in the Bay of Bantry, many of them much crippled. The accounts from thence yesterday and this day state that one of their frigates had been wrecked, and of the crew but seven were saved. One of them, the ship's pilot, says their force consists of about forty-two sail of ships of every description, of which seventeen are line of battle ships, and that there are from twelve to thirteen thousand troops on board the fleet. If Hotche [sic] had been enabled to disembark his troops when he first made the coast, he might now have been within reach of Dublin. There were not two thousand men in and about Cork. Our weakness in that quarter is justified by a promise made on your side of the channel of a reinforcement of regular troops to Cork, which however was forgotten.</p> <p>Providence, however, has befriended us, and I hope and believe we have now a respectable force to meet the enemy if he should land. It seems to be altogether incalculable that a French fleet should have been on our coast for more than a fortnight, and that not a British ship of war should have made its appearance to molest them. Sir K. Elphinstone in The Monarch of 74 guns, with one frigate, was at Beerhaven when the French fleet first made its appearance, and as yet has miraculously escaped. I fear my friend, Colpoys, has been duped, and may by this time be safely moored in the Tagus.</p> <p>The dispositions of the people in the South are excellent, and from their conduct heretofore, I trust and believe, if the enemy should land, he will not meet the reception which he expected. I have no doubt this favourable turn is to be attributed altogether to the enrolment of yeomanry corps, which have in every instance displayed the greatest alacrity in tendering their services.</p> <p>In the Northern province, I am sorry to say, a very different spirit prevails. The people of that district have not only refused to come forward in defence of the country, but have openly avowed their satisfaction at the arrival of their French allies, and betray the strongest symptoms of insurrection, and we are now obliged to keep ten thousand of the best troops in the kingdom in that district, for the sole purpose of keeping down rebellion there.</p> <p>When Holland was invaded, you sent her immediate assistance; when Portugal was threatened, you sent her assistance. Surely, therefore, we have some right to expect not to be forgotten altogether, more especially when we raised twenty thousand troops of the line for our own defence, which have been all</p>

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T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
11 contd		<p>ordered on foreign service, and replaced by scabby, beggar, fencible regiments, which on their first arrival in Ireland had more the appearance of Falstaff's recruits than of soldiers to whom the defence of the country was to be entrusted. The Irish militia forms a very fine body of men, but their officers are so scandalously negligent and inattentive to their duty, that I do not know how to trust to them against a veteran army.</p> <p>Some of our English bishops have already set an example of emigration, and fled precipitately to England. You will agree with me that individually they deserve to be treated as emigrant priests. As providence has declared so decidedly for us, I am not alarmed, and if I were, I would not emigrate. But as yet we have not discovered any other ally.</p> <p>I had left town for a few days, in the hope of a little respite from business, but was called back almost as soon as I had got home. I left a very large packet with Cooke for you, which I hope you have received.'</p>
12	14 Jan. [1797]	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'Lord Bridport has been on his station off the Irish coast since Sunday last, so that I think we may fairly now say that we are out of all danger. The large French fleet quitted Bantry Bay on Friday evening, the 6th, but this day has brought us accounts from Cork which furnish strong ground of hope that Lord Bridport may still fall in with the enemy. A French frigate which had four hundred and fifty dismounted hussars with their accoutrements on board, was captured on Wednesday last off the mouth of the Shannon by one of Kingsmill's cruisers, The Druid, I think. He could have taken two others, if she could have spared the men to serve them. But The Unicorn was left in chase of them. The master of a Bristol trader reports that The Majestic sunk a French 74 off Cape Clear, and Kingsmill gives credit to his information. If an American is to be believed, who says he sailed through the French fleet on Wednesday, Lord Bridport was on that day within ten leagues of them, and was apprised of it.</p> <p>It seems now to be pretty well ascertained that Hoche has not been heard of since the French fleet left Brest; and if this be the case, he must have gone to the bottom, and the prisoners who have been taken declare that they waited his arrival only to disembark. On the whole, we have had a most providential and miraculous escape, as notwithstanding the strong and repeated information which was communicated to us by the British ministry of the probability that such an attempt would be made, we were totally unprepared to resist it. I mentioned to you that there was no force at Cork or in the neighbourhood of it. I understand that six pieces of artillery were the utmost which could have been mustered, and there was no depot of artillery, stores or camp equipage nearer than Dublin. In our militia there is scarcely an officer who has ever attended to his duty in any one</p>

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T.3229/1	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
12 contd		<p>particular, or who knows it even if he were inclined to act as becomes an officer. I met several detachments of the militia marching towards Cork on my return to town, and between Cashel and Harlingford [sic], the two towns at which they halted, in a march of sixteen miles I did not meet a single officer of militia marching with his men. The soldiers marched in straggling parties so small and detached from each other, that if the people of the country had been so inclined, they might have been cut off to a man. Yet, to the honour of the soldiery, I am well informed that in the march of more than six thousand of them, not a man deserted.</p> <p>When our staff is scrutinised, the utter neglect of discipline by the officers of the militia, considering the natural disposition of the Irish gentlemen, will not appear surprising. I hear from all quarters that Dalrymple, who commanded at Cork, acquitted himself extremely well, and that he was ably seconded by Coote. But we have an exotic plant at Limerick - such, I believe, as before has seldom been seen in command - Lt-General Edward Smith, a mad Methodist. He was a neighbour of Mr Pitt's in Kent, and I believe on the recent alarm has been his constant correspondent. We have some other military exotics of a different description - Major-General Fawcett, Major-General Eustace (the wits call him Useless) and Major-General Amherst. This last gentleman utters more treason than any United Irishman. We have also a very able commander whom you may have remembered, an aide de camp to Lord Carlisle, Brigadier-General Arthur Ormsby.</p> <p>In the department of finance, we are equally well taken care of. A loan of £1,200,000 was sanctioned by parliament, but such was the patriotism and economy of our Chancellor of the Exchequer, that he raised but £800,000. In raising so much, he did not think it necessary to take any security from the subscribers for their making good their deposits, and they have now declared their intention of availing themselves of his liberality by withholding the payments which ought to be made in this and the next month. The Commons passed a vote of credit of £300,000 in the last session. This sum the Chancellor of the Exchequer borrowed upon terms equally liberal to the subscribers. The Governors of the Bank agreed to advance the whole on Exchequer Bills in two payments, "provided they were allowed to demand repayment, whenever they found it their convenience so to do". To this condition, the Chancellor of the Exchequer agreed, and the Governors of the Bank, having advanced the half of the sum only, now insist on being paid; and if they persist in their demand, they have the means in their hands of enforcing a compliance with it.</p> <p>You see, then, the formidable state of defence in which his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland stood when the enemy made his appearance. If anything can awaken our countrymen to a sense of their duty, I should hope their narrow escape from perdition will do it. The zeal and fidelity of the soldiery has been exemplary, and the corps of yeomanry who had been embodied acted with the utmost alacrity in the public service in every instance in which they could make an exertion. The lower</p>

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T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
12 contd		<p>order of the people in the South also manifested a general good disposition in assisting the march of the army and in giving them every accommodation within their reach. In some few districts the people showed an inclination to plunder, but were soon reduced to order. If the enemy had landed and obtained any decisive advantage, I will not flatter myself that the same good disposition would have continued. In the Northern province everything bore the aspect of gloomy and fixed discontent.</p> <p>I am extremely glad to hear that Mr Pitt has taken the trouble to read my first letter to you. I should not scruple, if I had the opportunity of speaking to him, to do it with the same unreserved freedom that I use in writing to you.'</p>
13	12 May 1797	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about the findings of the secret committee of the House of Commons.</p> <p>'I have barely time to send you the report of a secret committee of the House of Commons, which will show you clearly the organised system of rebellion which has been suffered to go on for years unmolested here. Probably on Monday I shall be enabled to send you a report made by a committee of the House of Lords on the same subject.</p> <p>If we can prevail so far as to bring the contest to issue before the enemy can again appear on our coast, and before our army can be corrupted, I have no serious apprehensions for the event. But if we are to act merely on the defensive, and suffer the rebels to choose their time and opportunity for attacking us, they will probably succeed. The truth is that Lord Camden's good nature is such that he can scarcely be brought to give orders to a military force to act with effect against these traitors, although he is fully satisfied that nothing short of military execution can quell this organised system of treason. You cannot well imagine the vigour which Lord Moira's and Mr Fox's speeches have infused into this clan of traitors, nor how very considerably they have augmented their numbers.'</p>
14	19 May 1797	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'I would have sent you the report made by the committee of the House of Lords immediately after it had been printed, if it had contained anything of importance not stated in the report made by the House of Commons. You will observe from the dates stated in our report, that the correspondence proved to have been carried on with the French Directory took place prior to the laws to which Lord Moira and Mr Fox choose to attribute the discontents which now prevail here. These laws were not enacted till the session 1796.</p> <p>Lord Camden has at length issued orders to the military officers</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/in the</p>

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
14 contd		<p>in the disturbed districts to act according to their discretion for the suppression of this most desperate conspiracy. I have sanguine hopes that, if we can be roused to adopt vigorous and decisive measures, the public peace may yet be preserved. But such is the unwearied perseverance and activity of the traitors who have been suffered to establish themselves unmolested in almost every part of the country, that unless they are met at once and put down by force, I do not see a chance of our escaping some very serious convulsion.</p> <p>In addition to other calamities, we have scarcely money in the Treasury to pay the ordinary subsistence of the army; and so long as Sir John Parnell is suffered to blunder as he has done in the department of finance, I do not see any probable prospect of relief from our pecuniary embarrassments. If I were [to] detail to you his financial operations for the last year, well as you know this country, you would scarcely believe it possible that he could retain his situation, much less that he should have escaped anything in the shape of reprehension.</p> <p>If you have not seen a composition of Dr Hussey's, who has been placed at the head of our Catholic College, you will find it worth reading. This gentleman is a pet of Mr Edmund Bourke's [sic], and to him we are indebted amongst other favours conferred upon us, for his presence in Ireland. Within the last week, four soldiers of a regiment of militia have been shot by the sentence of a court-martial, upon clear evidence that they had accepted commissions in the revolutionary army now levying in Ireland, and had also engaged to desert the ranks at such time as might best conduce to the republican cause. I have earnestly requested that their trial may be published. If it should be printed, I will send you a copy of it. Has Lord Sheffield told you the plan of reform proposed by Mr Ponsonby in the House of Commons, which I sent him a few days since. You will scarcely credit me when I state that, notwithstanding everything which has appeared upon that subject, our worthy gentlemen here are almost to a man playing their little dirty game in and out of parliament as merrily as ever.'</p>
15	23 May [1797]	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about British policy towards Ireland.</p> <p>'I can readily conceive that a great majority of the people of England may be anxious to try any experiment in this country which they may suppose to be calculated to relieve them even for the moment from the alarms and embarrassments which must necessarily arise to the British government from the present disturbed state of Ireland. But I trust the British Ministers will pause before they come to a decision upon a subject of such momentous concern to the Empire.</p> <p>If they will look back coolly and dispassionately to occurrences which have passed in this country from the time when Lord Townshend was sent here to break down the Irish aristocracy up to the</p> <p>/present</p>

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15 contd		<p>present day, they will see that, just in the degrees in which the British government has departed from the system adopted at the Revolution for the administration of Ireland, have their difficulties and embarrassments increased in maintaining the interests of the English crown. In the year 1782 the Duke of Portland taught the people of Ireland to suppose that they had been able to lay the power and authority of Great Britain at their feet. You know as well as any man what the necessity was for the very precipitate concession made in Ireland at that time. In the year 1793 Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas were induced to go much beyond the precedent of 1782, for they received a repeal from a self-constituted Popish convention, made to the crown from the decision of the Irish parliament, and under the direct and avowed influence of the British Cabinet we were weak enough to concede the demands which had been made in the preceding year in terms of insult and intimidation, and were then rejected with becoming indignation. The lure held out was that, by yielding to the demands, we should detach the body of Irish Catholics from the republican Dissenters of the North, and "unite them in sentiment in support of the constitution". These were the words of the speech sent over to Lord Westmorland. How far the event has justified these sentimental expressions, our present situation pretty clearly explains.</p> <p>I should suppose that experience might have taught the people of England the consequences of concessions made to Ireland under the impression of fear, that by this time they might have learned that new demands will ever follow every concession which is made to Irish clamour and outrage, and that unless it is the resolution of the British Cabinet to give up this country altogether, if they go on in the system of concession whenever they may be threatened with rebellion in Ireland, the ultimate appeal must be made to the sword. The demands made by the Catholics of this day are unequivocally avowed by their leaders and directors to be an unqualified repeal of the Act of Supremacy and the Test Laws, and such an alteration in the present frame of the House of Commons as will give to them their full share and proportion in the representation of the people in parliament; and therefore, if they are to be conciliated, no concession short of these demands will attain the object. If any man in England can be such a dupe as to believe that a partial alteration of the Test Laws will satisfy them, and that their present leaders and directors will be induced by any partial concession to unite in sentiment in support of the constitution with the King's well-affected subjects, he will find too late that a partial concession will but give a fresh vigour to treason in Ireland; and if there is a man in England who supposes that by yielding the demands which are made in their full extent, the rights of the British crown can be maintained in Ireland, unless by the sword, he is an egregious dupe indeed.</p> <p>The truth is, my dear Lord, that from the year 1782 there has been nothing like system in the government of Ireland. We have seen nothing here but administrations of shifts and momentary expedients. No man in England will take the trouble to learn the real situation of this country, and the British</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/government</p>

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
15 contd		<p>government has itself only to reproach for the miserable, disturbed state of Ireland at this day.</p> <p>As to the meditated rebellion which has been lately so fully detected, I can state from my own knowledge that it was, with the fullest information on the subject to the government of Ireland, concerted in the year 1791, and if it had been met at the outset as it ought to have been, it might have been instantly suppressed. May, if it had been met with anything in the shape of vigour and decision for the last six months, we should at this moment be in a state of perfect security. Within the last week there has been some appearance of vigour, and it has already had the best effects, and unless by the timely interposition of Great Britain the rebels acquire new hopes, I have very little doubt that we shall be able to put them down in the course of one month, if we can but divest ourselves of the opinion that it is unfair to deprive men of the protection of laws which they are endeavouring to subvert by a concerted system of rebellion. We ought long since to have brought the contest to an issue with them.</p> <p>Believe me, my dear Lord, there are not many men left in Ireland who are anxious to expose themselves to hazard or inconvenience by fighting the battle of England in this country; and if in a moment of peevish intemperance the people of England shall induce Ministers to sacrifice the interests of the British crown and to compel the Irish parliament to concur in the sacrifice, they will never hereafter find a gentleman in this country who will expose himself to obloquy by endeavouring to stem the torrent of faction and absurdity in Ireland.</p> <p>I do not know whether you have seen the proposition which I sent you [not found]. It seems to be a good sample of the moderation of the Popish clergy in Ireland.'</p>
16	5 Feb. 1799	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland (letter marked 'Private') about the defeat of the union.</p> <p>'I very much fear that, in the present temper of the House of Commons and the unaccountable madness of the people, it would be a vain attempt to press the question of union for a decision in the present session of parliament.</p> <p>The miscarriage in the House of Commons will not surprise you, when you know that the subject was not mentioned to any person but me, until some time after my arrival at London, and that after it became the general topic of private discussion, little or no official communication was had upon it until within a fortnight of the meeting of parliament. Pelham's resignation was not known here till the month of November, and almost immediately after Lord Castlereagh's appointment to succeed him, he was sent for to attend Ministers at London, and returned here about a fortnight only before the opening of the session. So that, really, it is but natural, under all the circumstances which have concurred, that the measure should have been impeded in the House of Commons.</p>

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T.3229/1/	<div data-bbox="439 148 506 181">Date</div> <div data-bbox="966 161 1141 194">Description</div>
16 contd	<p data-bbox="419 218 1413 1306">In addition to other misfortunes which have attended it, certainly very many well-disposed men were disgusted extremely at the reserve which has been held upon all the measures of government, its marked severity in every instance where anything in the shape of excess has been committed in the suppression of rebellion, and a degree of very ill-judged indulgence to some of the most notorious traitors who have been engaged in it. The truth is that four of the five members of the Northern Executive Directory who were committed to prison by order of Lord Camden, have been set at liberty, and are now at large in the town of Belfast. The members of the National Executive (O'Connor, McNevin and Co.) who are still in prison, have heretofore been allowed as free an intercourse with each other and with all their friends, as if they were resident in their own houses. I took the liberty, when Lord Cornwallis was absent from Dublin commanding the army and these villains had the assurance to publish an advertisement contradicting the report of the secret committee of the House of Commons, of my own authority to order that they should be kept in separate apartments, and that no person should have access to them. This order was, however, very soon countermanded, and they were restored to the same freedom of intercourse as before, in which they have been indulged to within the last two days, although some weeks since, on searching the different jails in which these villains were confined, they were found to a man armed with French dagger knives, and many of them with firearms, and provided with ammunition. Dr McNevin has lately published a most treasonable pamphlet entitled The Philosopher, and O'Connor has also published a pamphlet with his name affixed to it, full of treason, in which he retracts everything which he confessed before the committee of the two Houses of Parliament. I am told that Lord Cornwallis is in possession of the original manuscript, but whether it be so, or whether he means to take any step against these worthies in consequence of their recent transgressions, I know not.</p> <p data-bbox="419 1336 1370 1524">In the meantime, there are constant meetings of the savages of the country, particularly of the county of Cork, for the purpose of swearing, and they are cutting down trees wherever they can find them for pike-shafts, I have no doubt under the orders of the late National Executive, communicated to them from his Majesty's state prison of Kilmainham.</p> <p data-bbox="419 1555 1423 1932">In this state of the country and its government, I think you will agree in opinion with me that it will not be safe or wise to press the agitation of a question on which the passions of all ranks have been so much inflamed. I should hope that, when the sober part of the community see from your debates what it is at which they have been so much alarmed, that [sic] they will open their eyes to the deception which has been put upon them, and I should hope that the recent cabals of the Catholics, who have been very bitterly employed since the opening of the session in consultation with the leaders of their own sect and with Mr George Ponsonby and his gang, will also tend to bring some of our country gentlemen to their senses.</p> <p data-bbox="419 1963 1391 2055">Pray do not scruple at any time to show my letters to Mr Pitt. I would write to him with the same freedom that I use with you.'</p>

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
17	[Feb. 1799]	Clare, Dublin, to Auckland: 'In the contest of last night for the Irish throne, the house of Foster was vanquished. The majority was twenty. We shall get about yet. I send you [not found] Dr McNevin's state lucubrations.'
18	[Mar? 1799]	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about the union and the state of parties.</p> <p>'I wrote to you last night rather in haste, although perhaps, from the length of my letter, you will say I was not much stinted in time.</p> <p>I do not think there is any danger of a strong opposition in the House of Commons to any measure of government, unless to that of union. The hint which some country gentlemen gave to Mr George Ponsonby on the second night of the session, has I believe convinced him that they are not much inclined to the faction connected with him, and the old friends of government who deserted them on the opening of the session, profess their opposition to be confined to the measure of union only, and that in every other question, they will support the crown as usual. The game which Ponsonby and Co. mean to play, will be to bring forward every question which has been stated as necessary to strengthen the connection with England and to quiet the people - the questions of regency, which they profess their readiness to settle on the principles of the act of annexation, of tithes, the Channel trade, etc., etc. I cannot suppose, however, that government will suffer them to play such a game.</p> <p>Gorry is a man of polished manners and great assiduity. When he was in opposition, he was up almost every half hour in every day, and could talk upon all subjects with great flippancy and for any given time. Since he came into office, he has been extremely costive, but I should hope that, being now in a very important and confidential situation, he will come forward as becomes it, and I am confident that no attention will be wanting on his part in the very material department of his office. He certainly has one great advantage in being Parnell's immediate successor, who was the most brutal, blundering, inefficient financier in the habitable world. You have probably heard of poor little Bushè's observation on one of his budgets, after he had opened it: "He is brave and unintelligible."</p> <p>I have been favoured with Mr O'Connor's last publication, and from the advertisement at the front of it, it would seem that government have been in possession of the original manuscript since the 16th of January. This most audacious libel is replete with falsehood, and most particularly in the passages in which he alludes to me, as I told him and the other two most distinctly, when they pressed that a stipulation should be made for their immediate enlargement, that it would be impossible to make any such stipulation, "That of course the government would be glad to get rid of them as soon as they could, but that it would be impossible to suffer them to quit their prison till the necessary provisions were made by the British parliament to prevent their going into Great Britain."</p>

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18 contd		<p>By the way, Mr Sampson, who was suffered to embark for Lisbon on pretence of bad health, has been nearly two months in Carnarvonshire, disseminating treason with great industry. If the Duke of Portland will have him arrested and sent over here, he may be hanged on identifying his person and proving the fact of his being at large in Wales after his discharge from prison. Probably this may be thought an indelicate proceeding.'</p>
19	[Apr. 1799]	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about Foster's speech [on the Regency Bill].</p> <p>'I have only time before the departure of the mail to send you two copies of Foster's speech, which made its appearance only this day under his authority. The second copy you will send Mr Pitt with my best compliments. It will be utterly impossible, I should suppose, at this period of our session to undertake the measure of an income tax. In the interval between this time and the month of October, perhaps a plan may be digested to be then laid before parliament. But from the general combination which prevails in this country to defraud the revenue in every branch of it, very serious difficulties will occur in levying the tax.'</p>
20	22 June 1799	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about the union.</p> <p>'I have sent by the way of Chester a small cask of Shannon salmon pickled, to Lady Auckland, directed to Old Palace Yard, which, if I succeed in this as well as I did in the last cargo which I sent to London, she will find better than any that can be had in England. I wish I had a chance of seeing you and her on the banks of the Shannon, where I hope to spend the best part of the summer.</p> <p>The public mind here has, I think, taken a right turn on the subject of union. Lord Castlereagh is, I believe, making his best exertions to get the better of all the folly and corruption which he will have to struggle with, but I am sorry to learn that one of our great leaders who is just come over, the Marquess of Downshire, is still very adverse to the measure. I do not think, however, that he will ultimately quarrel with his friends upon it.</p> <p>I did not write you or Hobart a twaddle on Lady Hobart's marriage, because I am quite sure you will both give me full credit for feeling the most lively satisfaction at the event.'</p>
21	[June ? 1799 ?]	<p>Clare to Auckland (letter marked 'Private and confidential') about the projected union.</p> <p>'The subject of your private note</p>

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21 contd		<p>is certainly very interesting to me. In the great object of rescuing this giddy country from ruin, you will readily believe that my personal situation has had no manner of weight with me. I can most truly assure you that I am so completely sickened with the folly and madness and corruption of my countrymen, that nothing short of a strong and just sense of duty should induce me to continue an actor in Irish politics on any terms. But if for a moment I had looked at my personal objects, I very well knew that in Mr Pitt's hands they were perfectly safe, and that he never would in any final settlement suffer me to remain in an unpleasant or degraded situation.</p> <p>What you have mentioned, from the warmth of your feelings for me, would certainly be a very honourable and flattering mark of favour to me. But to that or any other object I shall never look at a time when the attainment of it can throw a difficulty in the way of Mr Pitt in his progress to the great object of settling this country. Whenever he feels the time to have come when such a mark of distinction can be conferred upon me, I should be much wanting if I were not to thank him for it as the most honourable reward that I could receive.'</p>
22	[June? 1799]	<p>Clare to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'I have had a very sharp attack, which threatened me for some days with fever, and has ended in a fit of gout and rheumatism, by which I am for the moment completely crippled. My physician advises me to get down to the country as soon as I am able to move, of which at present I see very little prospect.</p> <p>Immediately before I was confined, Lord Cornwallis showed me a letter from the Duke of Portland in which he stated his wishes very strongly that I should go over to London with Beresford, Corry and Lord Castlereagh, who tells me that they are to be there early in August, and I then signified to Lord Cornwallis my readiness to obey the summons. But I am so much shattered and pulled down at this time, that I very much fear, unless I have some respite from labour during the summer, I shall be utterly unserviceable when I can be of most use to the common cause. The truth is that I have undergone such unremitted labour and anxiety of body and mind for the last two years, that when I look back upon it, I only am surprised that I have stood it so long.</p> <p>As to the details which are to be settled, in most of them I am very little qualified to assist, but if my presence should be deemed necessary, I will at all hazards go to London before the meeting of our parliament.</p> <p>The Duke of Portland mentioned also in a private letter which Lord Cornwallis showed me, the intention of conferring a British peerage upon me. On this subject, you are already so fully possessed of my sentiments, that I shall say no more at present. At a proper time, I shall not fail to express to Mr Pitt as I ought to do, my sense of this favour.</p>

/When

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
22 contd	<p>When I was last at London, I sent to Mr Hoppner for a picture, of which Hobart's is a copy, and Boydell desired my leave to make an engraving of it. This I gave him, of course, and desired that, when the prints were engraved, he would send you a proof impression from me. I believe the truth is that, having been fool enough to pay Mr Hoppner one hundred and twenty guineas for the portrait, before it was finished, he has suffered it to remain in the state in which I saw it in the month of November last. If you should by chance pass by St James's Square, Mr Hoppner will tell you whether there is any chance that Boydell may be enabled to execute my commission for you. In the meantime, I will sent you a print taken from a miniature by Cosway, for which I sat in the days of my youth. There is a vile bad one extant from a full-length drawn by Stewart [sic], which I should be ashamed to send you. ...'</p>	
23	26 Aug. [1799]	<p>Clare, Mount Shannon, [Co. Limerick], to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'I am glad to tell you that five weeks' idleness at my farm have very nearly set me up altogether. I am threatened, however, with an invitation to London in the course of the next month, which I shall not decline if I receive it, although I do not feel that I can be of any great use in settling the details which must be gone into previous to the meeting of the parliament.</p> <p>Beresford is gone to Buxton, I fear seriously ill. Cooke tells me that apprehensions are entertained by his physicians that the swelling in his legs is of dropsical tendency.</p> <p>I think we now go on triumphantly with the union. The sober part of the community, if any proportion of it will bear that description, seems to be completely reconciled to it, and I think, from the report made by Cooke and Lord Castlereagh, they are pretty certain of being supported by one hundred and twenty members of the House of Commons. Lord Downshire acts a very extraordinary part. He professes rank hostility to the measure, although he was formerly a violent stickler for it, and yet is a daily suitor for every species of job at the Castle. Foster is now in England. I think, if he sees the cause on his part desperate, he may be brought about on the terms of the union, and in the present very miserable state of support which the government have to expect from the officers of the crown in the House of Commons, it would be most desirable to have Foster.</p> <p>I forgot to thank you for renewing my subscription to Malet du Pin.'</p>
24	[Oct./Nov.? 1799?]	<p>Clare, Bath, to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'I shall return to town on Monday, where I hope most earnestly not to be detained beyond the end of the</p>

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T.3229/1/	Date	Description
24 contd		<p>week. My principal business will be to see Mr Pitt, who Lord Castlereagh told me desired that I should call upon him before my return to Ireland. There are some points also on which I wish to have communication with him. If he should not be in town, I am pretty certain he will allow me to break in upon him for an hour at Holwood.</p> <p>If you can give me up about the same portion of your time on Wednesday or Thursday next, either at your farm or in town, I think I shall be able to settle all my business, and I need not say how happy it will make me to spend a day with you, if your engagements and my business will allow me. But, circumstanced as I am, it will be a great object to me to get back to this place as soon as I can.</p> <p>I have for the first time of my life tried the effects of drenching my stomach with hot water, and it certainly has hitherto been of singular advantage to me. I am anxious, therefore, to complete the time prescribed to me for continuing this regimen, before I go to Ireland, and it is absolutely necessary that I should go down to Mount Shannon for a very few days before the meeting of parliament; so that you see I shall have very little time at command in this interval.</p> <p>Let me have one line from you on Monday or Tuesday, directed to Lord Abercorn's, Grosvenor Square, and perhaps to ensure its being sent there, you will take the trouble in any of your communications with Fr[e]eling to desire him to signify at the Post Office that I shall return to town, as on my leaving it I desired that my letters might be forwarded to this place.</p> <p>I have been a good deal surprised to find that the law-term has been suffered to pass by, without taking any step towards the punishment of Morris and Tandy. Surely, if it is not intended to have them hanged, there is no good sense in having transmitted them to Ireland?</p>
25	14 Jan. 1800	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about the murder of Clare's steward, the union, and the vacant archbishopric of Dublin.</p> <p>'I remained in town but one day after my return to this country, as I was extremely anxious indeed to investigate the murder of my unfortunate steward, and if possible to trace the cause of it; and I hope I have succeeded completely in both.</p> <p>A villain who had been a domestic servant in my father's house and mine for thirty years, a very few days after I left home in September last headed a gang of rioters who attacked a farmer in my neighbourhood at midnight, and scourged him with nettles and white-thorn bushes till he submitted to swear</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/that</p>

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
25 contd		<p>that he would sell them milk at the price which they chose to put upon it; and to enable them to carry this exploit into execution, this savage stole two brass barrelled blunderbusses from my house, with which my steward met him and another of the gang, who was a tenant of mine and constantly employed as a labourer about my house, either going on the whipping expedition or returning from it; and well knowing that he would apprise me of this outrage and that they were parties concerned in it, on my return home, they determined to murder him. Two gentlemen, their friends, from pure love of blood agreed to assist them in it, and I have the four now in custody, I hope with evidence of their guilt sufficient to ensure their conviction.</p> <p>Lord Castlereagh feels quite confident of a very decided majority for the union in the House of Commons. The opponents; I believe, are now of the same opinion, as they talk openly of the certainty of mobs in the city, and with approbation of them. Mr Grattan comes into the House of Commons for the borough of Wicklow, and Mr Curran says that he has arranged matters for procuring a seat there also. I can not say whether we shall have mobs in the streets, but I am quite certain that the House of Commons will exhibit a very disgusting mob indeed.</p> <p>Our Primate is dead. Cleaver and O'Byrne [sic - O'Beirne] are amongst the candidates to succeed him. As to O'Byrne, I consider his claims too ridiculous to be attended to for a moment, but I have some reason to believe that the other will be strongly supported in England. I wish the Archbishop of Canterbury only to enquire into his character and dispositions, and if he does not find both a very striking contrast to his own, let him be put at the head of our church. He is the most intemperate, overbearing priest I have ever met with, and in managing the estate of his see, avows that he acts solely upon a table of calculation which he bought for half a crown. I mentioned to you that he had demanded so exorbitant a fine from the Governors of Swift's Hospital for lunatics, that they were driven very much to distress the miserable objects of the charity, to enable them to comply with his demand. He was requested by the Governors to attend at a meeting of them, at which I ventured to suggest to him that he might with a safe conscience lay down a different rule for the Hospital from that which he imposed on his other tenants, and renew to the beggars maintained in it on the terms prescribed by his predecessor. In this I was seconded by many of his brethren who are Governors of the Hospital, but so far was he from complying with our request that he rejected it in terms of very brutal violence and indignation, and was very personally uncivil to many of the Governors of the Hospital, most particularly so to the Archbishop of Dublin. It is of the last importance to us to have a <u>meek</u> and <u>firm</u> man, who would exert himself with persevering moderation to correct the abuses which prevail in our church. Placed at the head of it, he ought not to be a politician nor a rapacious man; either vice will induce him to acts of very serious and extensive public mischief. I know your friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, must feel as I do on this subject, and to his</p>

/care

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25 contd		<p>care I could wish to commit the Church of Ireland in recommending the person who is to be placed at the head of it. I only wish that, if Cleaver should be pressed upon him, he will enquire of those who know him whether he is a man who ought to be entrusted with such a situation. The last poor man was utterly unequal to it.</p> <p>I heard this day that the curates of the diocese of Down are about to summon a convention of the curates of every other diocese, at Dublin, to procure an increase of stipend, and I am pretty confident that my information is correct.</p> <p>If anything should pass in either House of Parliament tomorrow worth communicating, you shall have a line from me.'</p>
26	16 Jan. [1800]	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about the successful opening of the session.</p> <p>'I have only time to tell you that our parliament has opened auspiciously.</p> <p>In the House of Lords there was an appearance of opposition, but the party cowed, and the addresses were voted nem. dis. In the Commons, an amendment was moved to the address, and negatived by forty-two majority. But what is equally material, the tone of the debate was good. Lord Castlereagh very early in the night carried the war into the enemy's quarters, and I hear universally that they had the worst of it. Thirty-five new writs were ordered, and I understand all the vacancies will be supplied by the friends of government.'</p>
27	3 Mar. 1800	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland congratulating him on the forthcoming marriage of his daughter, and discussing the union and Clare's speech on the subject.</p> <p>'... I have with infinite labour endeavoured to make sense of the note which was sent to me of my speech in the House of Lords, and send you the results. You will readily conceive the task to which I have been obliged to submit in the midst of the business of my court and of parliament, when I tell you the only assistance I received was a copy of The Dublin Journal sent to me by Cooke, although I gave him full notice that, unless he would employ some person to take a note which I could correct, I would not attempt to furnish him with anything for publication. I have not had time to read the pamphlet, but such as it has appeared, I send it to you. Long before Mr Pitt can have leisure to read it, if he ever should do so, it will be published at London. Therefore, I do not think of sending a copy to him. But I shall thank you to send one to Hobart and the other to our friend, Sylvester Douglas, who is as anxious as every good and sober man ought to be for the success of the measure.</p> <p>I send you for your own use Foster's last composition, by which you will see he has determined to fight the battle to the last. The present game of opposition is, in which I</p> <p>/thank</p>

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
27 contd		<p>think they have been very foolishly indulged, to produce every vagabond whom they can bring to the bar of the House of Commons, to be examined as a witness. If the indulgence proceeds, I see no end of this sort of enquiry. But if this scheme for delay is defeated, I should hope that the whole may be completed here so as to open the subject for consideration by the British parliament immediately after the Easter recess.'</p>
28	6 Mar. [1800]	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about the unpopularity of the provisions of the bill of union with regard to the Irish peerage.</p> <p>'I find great dislike on the part of many of our peers to that part of the treaty which leaves it open to the crown to create Irish peers after the union. When you see Mr Pitt, mention this to him, and he will consider, if the opposition to it is like to be strong, whether it be an object worth pressing. I would write to him on the subject, but that I neither wish to encroach on his time by giving him the trouble to read or to answer my letter, and you can take the opportunity of his leisure to mention the subject to him.</p> <p>I feel perfect confidence now of success in the measure, and think, if it is not clogged on your part, that we may fairly look to the final completion of it here before the 1st of August. Give to Mr Pitt the pamphlet of my speech with my best compliments, and assurances that I do not insist on his reading it. ...</p> <p>I write this letter in my chamber at the House of Lords, and have been applied to very seriously since I signed it by two or three peers who have supported the measure throughout, and feel sore in the extreme at the idea of continuing a power to the crown to create Irish peers. Indeed, they told me that a deputation of twelve of their body meant to wait on me to remonstrate against it, and that nothing short of a conviction that their voting against this particular provision would defeat the general measure, should induce them to acquiesce in the proposed regulation. They say that the sacrifice to be made by the peerage of Ireland is much greater than that of any other members of the community, and that it will be a great degradation of them and their descendants to be put in a worse situation than the peers of Scotland stood in after the Scotch union. Will you, therefore, take as early an opportunity as you can to see Mr Pitt and communicate to him the contents of this letter, explaining to him that my sole reason for making this communication through you, is a wish to save him trouble. I should have written sooner upon it, if I had been aware of the strong and general feeling of our peers on this subject. Lord Castlereagh has written to the Duke of Portland, and I cannot but state my very decided opinion that the object is not worth pressing against the strong dislike which is entertained to it.'</p>

/20 Mar. 1800

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
29	20 Mar. 1800	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'I hope we shall be able to scramble through the peerage question. It has occasioned much cabal and ill-humour, and I will freely own to you, I cannot see any wisdom on either side of the question in adhering pertinaciously to it. I was to have moved the fourth article this day in the House of Peers, and at 5 o'clock was obliged to adjourn it to Saturday, after having kept a very full House waiting for me to that hour under my positive assurance that I should proceed in the business. You will not much wonder that I feel very much teased by this sort of cabal about nothing. I am much more teased by the apprehension that all this folly will throw us back in the general measure. If we should not be enabled to complete the business in the House of Lords in the next week, and send it down to the Commons before Saturday se'ennight, I very much doubt the practicability of sending over our address before the first week in May to Great Britain.'</p>
30	15 Apr. 1800	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about the completion of the union, and the conviction of the murderers of Clare's steward.</p> <p>'I write this day to Cooke to desire him to press forward the preparation of the necessary bills to be passed in both countries for the completion of the union. It is most material that they should be ready at the time of the next meeting of our parliament, and that they should not be left altogether to the precision of our Attorney General.</p> <p>Let me congratulate you and Lady Auckland, which I do very cordially, on the marriage of your daughter. I heard with infinite concern since I returned to town that Lady Hobart has been ill. Cooke, however, tells me that she has got much better since she went to Ham. If she should not recover completely before the end of the summer, pray suggest the necessity of her getting into a Southern climate. Ask Lord Winchelsea what effects he felt from the experiment thirty years since.</p> <p>Our loan was contracted for this day by Mr Luke White at ninety pounds five shillings. Last year he had it at £92 5s Od. So much for the ruinous measure of the union. On the lottery, we gain still more in proportion. The anti-unionists make but a bad hand of their attempts to excite fresh clamour, and I think loan and lottery will put them down still lower.</p> <p>I have convicted four villains on the clearest evidence of the murder of my steward. Three of them have been executed. The Judge by my desire respited the fourth, that I might have time to satisfy myself of his guilt, as the other three vehemently asserted his innocence. I am, however, perfectly convinced that he was privy to the murder, and assisted very essentially in the perpetration of it, so that I shall leave</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/him</p>

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
30 contd		<p>him to his rate. There is a fifth villain concerned in the murder still at large, but as I have not evidence to convict him on a trial, I shall not take any steps to apprehend him till I can complete his outlawry. ...</p> <p>Did you not say that you would order a pipe or two of port wine for me?'</p>
31	17 May 1800	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about the union.</p> <p>'The alterations made in our resolutions by the two Houses of the British Parliament have been all adopted by the House of Lords and House of Commons, and on Monday an address to the King will pass to communicate our concurrence. You will see, therefore, that nothing now remains to protract the final completion of this great measure, but the eternal and inexhaustible theme of countervailing duties. This, however, will I hope be got over soon enough to enable the parliaments of both countries to quiet the question forever before the 1st of July.</p> <p>I have never in any instance seen the force of truth to prevail in this country, as it has in this. Even the shopkeepers of Dublin are silenced; and what seems more incredible, faction is put down in the Irish House of Commons.'</p>
32	19 June 1800	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland about the union, and the defeat of Auckland's bill making it illegal for the parties to an adultery to marry each other.</p> <p>'I congratulate you on the final success of the great measure of union. The bill enacting it will, I presume, e'er you receive this letter have been returned with a commission to give it the royal assent. Some of the warmest opposers of it in its progress have declared their resolution now to support it with all their exertions, and even in the city of Dublin all heat upon the subject has completely subsided.</p> <p>I see your bill has been thrown out in the House of Commons. My opinion is unaltered that you are to look for the root of the evil which must alarm every sober man, to the dissolute habits of the higher ranks of men, who consider marriage as a mere traffic for private or political purposes, and that they are therefore fully at liberty to treat their wives with the most contemptuous neglect at best. I am quite satisfied that it is the nature of womankind to behave well to every husband who treats his wife as becomes him, and therefore I shall always feel reluctant in agreeing to any law which is to bear hardest upon the party who in most instances has the first and most cruel injuries to complain of; and as to a law which is to prevent the marriage of an adulteress with her seducer, I am perfectly satisfied that it will have the opposite effect to that which is hoped from it. I am perfectly certain that, at the outset of an intrigue,</p>

/the

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
32 contd		<p>the lady's great argument to herself is that she will escape detection, and that in the early stages of an amour, the prospect of marriage with the lover never occurs to either party. Nay more, I am decidedly of opinion that nothing would stagger the tribe of cuckold-makers so much as the probable prospect of an intrigue ending in the marriage of the parties. So much so that I do really believe, if they were compelled to marry on detection, that this class of profligates would in most instances be deterred from the pursuit of any married woman. If I were to embark in such a pursuit, I do very truly assure you that I should consider such a penalty much more seriously than I could consider any other that could be inflicted upon me. The prevention of marriage surely will never in any instance be considered by the gentleman as a misfortune. I shall probably see you in the course of next Winter, as I mean to go to Bath at Christmas, when we will talk this subject over.'</p>
33	21 Sep. [1800]	<p>Clare, Mount Shannon, to Auckland about Lord Cornwallis's mistaken lenity, the basis on which Clare would be prepared to attend the United Kingdom Parliament, and the state of the potato crop.</p> <p>'I have been settled here quietly since the prorogation of our parliament, with the intermission only of four days, which I gave up to escort my little boys to Dublin on their return to school at Sunbury [sic].</p> <p>I am sorry to say that I have found this county in a very disturbed state indeed. I have some hope, however, that we shall get it into a state of better order soon, as Lord Cornwallis, who was with me here for four days, has yielded to the strong representations made to him on the subject, and given powers to the general officer commanding this district to act with vigour and effect against the insurgents. Lord Cornwallis's caution certainly proceeds from the best possible motives. But in the strange, barbarized state of Ireland, I cannot but think it much misjudged.</p> <p>If it is desired, I will certainly attend the United Parliament at its opening, and as long as my presence may be judged necessary. But if I am likely to be often called away from my post here, two arrangements will become absolutely necessary. They must give me an efficient Master of the Rolls who can dispatch the business of the court of Chancery in my absence, and they must also send over a standing commission for the custody of the Great Seal, to consist of the twelve judges or any <u>one</u> of them, when I may happen to be called away. I feel the good effects which have resulted from the steady administration of justice in the court of Chancery since I have sat there so strongly, that it will be with great reluctance indeed that I shall see it transferred into other hands, so long as I continue to hold the Great Seal.</p> <p>It is painful to see distress and discontent prevail in</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/many</p>

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
33 contd		<p>many parts of England from the high price of provisions. Our corn harvest has been plentiful and fine beyond example. The long continuance of dry weather has, I fear, injured potatoes in many parts of the country, which however have improved much since rain has fallen. Whether this circumstance, added to the exhausted state of the last year's produce, will prevent our usual export, it is not yet possible to ascertain. I should hope that we may in the course of the Winter and Spring assist you with a considerable supply of oats.</p> <p>May I trouble you to put a cover over my letter to Lord Robert Fitzgerald, who has sent me a pamphlet, I presume written by him, on the late quarrel with Denmark.'</p>
34	16 Jan./1801/	<p>Clare, Mount Shannon, to Auckland about Clare's illness.</p> <p>'I have been certainly more out of order for the last month than I can ever remember to have been. What I feel most at present arises from the consequence of a very violent bleeding at the nose, which lasted without intermission twenty hours. The moment I can undertake the journey, it is my intention to set out from hence on my way to London, where I can have the best assistance. My Limerick doctors assure me I may travel with safety in less than a week.'</p>
35	'Saturday' [early ? 1801?]	<p>Clare, [London], to Auckland: 'I dine with that great statesman, Lord Darnley, and will call on you in Palace Yard at 9 o'clock this evening. ...'</p>
36	[early ? 1801]	<p>Clare, London, to Auckland about Archibald Hamilton Rowan.</p> <p>'Will you have the goodness to direct the letter which is sealed with the impression of my coat of arms, to "Archibald Hamilton Rowan Esq., Gross Berg Strass[e], Ancona", that which is sealed with my cipher, to Messrs Gogel, Frankfort. Rowan certainly has been a traitor, but if ever there was a sincere penitent, I am confident he is.</p> <p>As yet I see no immediate prospect of being allowed to quit this agreeable town. I still undergo the same daily ceremony, which begins now to produce an irritation very much resembling that I have felt from a very different cause some thirty years since. ...</p> <p>They now talk of a prorogation on Thursday next.</p> <p>On consideration, I thought you might wish to put your seal to my letters. I have therefore closed them with wafers, and put the address on paper in the cover of each.'</p>

/10 Aug. [1801]

SNEYD PAPERS: FITZGIBBON'S LETTERS TO EDEN

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
37	10 Aug. [1801]	<p>Clare, Mount Shannon, to Auckland about Clare's state of health, the peace negotiations with France, and [Lord Cornwallis].</p> <p>'I have got down to my farm here without having experienced any inconvenience from the journey or voyage, and this day for the first time got upon a horse. I did not, however, go beyond my own boundary, nor put the nag out of a walk, but sauntered about the fields for more than two hours. Certainly, no man has ever had more reason to vouch the skill and attention of medical advisers than I feel upon my very trying occasion for their services.</p> <p>I do not know how to be sorry that the negotiation with the Corsican has broke off. If he were to make peace with us, the burthens of war could not be very much lessened, and the arrogance of his preliminary proposition can excite but one sentiment in the mind of every good subject of this kingdom. I cannot believe that Buonaparte has any serious intention of attacking England: that he will make an effort to invade this country, I have not a doubt, and although he would certainly be baffled ultimately, the mischief would be incalculable, if he should be enabled to throw any considerable force into Ireland. The mass of our people wait only for the assistance of a foreign enemy to indulge all their natural savage propensities, and the temporary quiet of the country at this moment is to be attributed more to the orders issued by the leaders of rebellion to suspend all exertion till their friends arrive here, than to any other cause.</p> <p>That preposterous, old mule who has just quit at the government of Ireland, did more mischief here than he could repair, if he were to live to the end of the new century.'</p>
38	19 Sep. [1801]	<p>Clare, Mount Shamnon, to Auckland discussing Clare's bad relations with the new Irish administration.</p> <p>'You will be glad to hear that I get on very well. I have so far recovered from the effects of my accident as to be enabled to ride nearly as well as ever. You will also be glad to know that in the memory of man there has never been so fine and plentiful an harvest in Ireland as that of this year, and there is a very considerable stock of the last year's growth on hand. Wheat, which was up to three and four shillings the stone at Limerick in the last Winter, is now sold at twenty pence, and oats of the last year, which were up at half a crown, are now to be had in great plenty at one shilling the stone.</p> <p>Private, and confidential. I am much disappointed in Lord Hardwicke, who I was given to understand to be a sensible man. He seems, however, to be a mere puppet in the hands of a Scotch parson, Dr Lindsay, and Mr Abbot, his Secretary, who is without competition the most arrogant, presumptuous,</p>

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
38 contd		<p>empty prig I have ever met with or heard of. His first act after his arrival in Ireland was to send a circular mandate, of which I enclose [not found] a copy to you, to every office in the civil and military departments. The headings, as he calls them, in the paper which accompanied this mandate are, as I recollect, "The salaries, fees and other emoluments of every person employed in the office, by whom they were appointed, what their tenures are, at whose recommendation the different appointments were made, what the duties of each officer are, how they are executed," etc, etc, with some others which I do not immediately recollect. I collect from that great and able statesman, Mr Isaac Corry, whom I saw at Dublin in the last week, that it is Mr Abbot's intention to lay the returns which shall be made to this inquisition on the table of the House of Commons in the next session of parliament, and to have them referred to a committee; I suppose to furnish Mr Abbot with materials for one or two additional volumes of his financial reports. The observation made to me by his brother statesman was that this proceeding was so very obvious to opposition that Mr Abbot thought it wise to take the merit of it to himself.</p> <p>This proceeding will, I think, complete the system of good faith which has been kept with the friends and supporters of the union in Ireland. I sent a copy of Mr Abbot's headings to Lord Pelham, who will I doubt not show it to you or Hobart, if you wish to see it. But it is extremely necessary that both of them should consider what a source of Irish cabal and Irish faction in the House of Commons and elsewhere, and of clamour in every part of the kingdom, Mr Abbot has been so good as to open. If he has had the authority of the Cabinet for this proceeding, they will not find any very warm support from Irish members in either House of Parliament: if the little coxcomb has dared to take such a step without the immediate sanction of the Cabinet, they deserve every species of ill-treatment, unless they remove him from this country instantly.</p> <p>Another most curious proceeding has taken place within the last ten days. Dr Lindsay has written a circular mandate to the general officers commanding in districts, to return without delay to the Rt Hon. Charles Abbot a detailed military report of the state of each district, what number of troops are under the command of each general, distinguishing troops of line, militia, yeomanry, etc, etc, what the military posts are, how they are to be defended in case of invasion, what the dispositions of the troops are, whether loyal or rebellious, particularly the militia and yeomanry, with many other details equally interesting and novel as between a Lord Lieutenant's Secretary and a general officer on the staff.</p> <p>In the meantime, Sir William Meadows [sic - Medows], who is passed by altogether by Mr Abbot, is on a military tour through this province, where from what I can collect, his enquiries have been very much in the spirit of Mr Abbot's. This county has been more disturbed than any other part of Ireland for the last two years, and Lord Cornwallis did at my earnest</p>

/recommendation

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
38 contd		<p>recommendation, after a very minute enquiry into the state of the country, when he was here in the last Summer, give to Sir James Duff, who commands at Limerick, a discretionary power to execute sentences of military tribunals for corporal punishment, without awaiting the confirmation of the Lord Lieutenant. This power has been revoked within the last week by Mr Abbot, without the slightest communication with me, although it is notorious that the power was given to Sir James Duff at my recommendation, and that it has done more to restore quiet in this county than any measure taken since the disturbances broke out; and now Mr Abbot's orders are that no sentence shall be put in execution until it shall be transmitted to him, and he shall signify the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure upon it.</p> <p>He has, I am confident, induced Lord Hardwicke to make a very improper and disrespectful proposition to me, upon a probable vacancy on the bench, to which, however, I have given such an answer that I do not think a similar experiment will be again made on me. Lord H. originally desired me to recommend to him a proper person to succeed to the bench in case the vacancy took place. Afterwards, he wrote to me <u>on consideration</u> to return him the names of three persons, that he might select one of them: in other words, that Mr Abbot might scrutinise the return.</p> <p>To one of our judges he has not acted with so much caution, as you will see by the correspondence which I enclose [not found] to you. To the judge he gives positive orders how he is to discharge his duty on the bench. Sir Henry Hayes and Murphy were indicted and tried on the same statute, each for carrying off a woman by force with intent to marry her. Murphy succeeded in ravishing his lady. Sir Henry Hayes attempted to ravish his, but did not succeed, because the cock would not fight, and after standing out all legal process for five years, and bidding defiance to two proclamations offering a reward of five hundred pounds for apprehending him, he was at length brought to trial, found guilty, and respited by Mr Day, upon a silly doubt in his mind on a point of law. Poor Murphy has been hanged, and Sir Henry Hayes has been pardoned. Another poor wretch of the name of Lupton was hanged almost at the same time upon the same statute. His crime was assisting a friend in carrying off a woman whom he wished to marry. And certainly, if ever any crime deserved capital punishment in a civilized country, Mr Murphy's, Sir Henry's and Mr Lupton's did merit it. But it will be difficult to persuade the lower orders of the people that equal justice has been administered to rich and poor. Burn the papers which I enclose to you after you have shown them to Hobart. Of course, he will not quote me as the person from whom he has learned the contents of them. The correspondence upon the fate of Sir Henry Hayes was sent to me by Lord Hardwicke's desire, upon Cooke's having stated to him my extreme surprise that a pardon should be granted to Sir Henry Hayes, and I took the liberty to state to his Excellency that the style of his Secretary was much too dictatorial.</p> <p>The fact is, if this little gentleman is not very speedily and effectually controlled he will do more mischief here than</p>

/Mr

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
38 contd		<p>Mr Addington can be aware of. I have had no intercourse whatever with him, but from everything I have learned of others, he has given more general offence to every man with whom he has any intercourse in the short space of two months, than I thought could be accomplished by any fool or coxcomb in twenty years.'</p>
39	22 Oct. [1801]	<p>Clare, Mount Shannon, to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'I am sorry that so much dissatisfaction should prevail in the commercial world at the terms of the peace. I feel sensibly that we had only a choice of evils, and I have no doubt the lesser evil has been submitted to.</p> <p>Will the Ministers of the Empire ever condescend seriously to look to the situation of this country, and to adopt a rational system of government of it? What with the presumption and folly of Lord Castlereagh and his colleagues immediately after the union, the unaccountable insanity of Mr Pitt and his colleagues in subscribing to it, and the intolerable insolence, folly and arrogance of Mr Abbot, which he boasts Mr Addington is pledged to him to countenance and support, there is no other feeling in any class or description of men in Ireland but disgust at and execration of the union.</p> <p>The mass of the people are disaffected and ripe for revolt. The Popish clergy cherish this disposition with all their influence, every provincial school is a seminary of rebellion, and no Papist dares on peril of excommunication to send his child to any but a Popish schoolmaster to be educated. The best that can be expected from that class of men who have heretofore stood forward to save this country and to preserve it to the British crown, is a cold apathy. But many of them now speak openly the language of Irish rebellion, and declaim against British connection. I feel almost ashamed to lift my head in society, and seriously think that the supporters of the union may be charged with crime and perfidy to every loyal gentleman of this country.</p> <p>From what I have seen of Mr Addington, I am free to say that I expect little from his energies. But, however unwilling I may be to act with hostility to him, I never will submit to be gibbeted in this country by the insolence or impotence of any little coxcomb whom he may send over here to goad and degrade every gentleman of Ireland. I had heard that the Grenville family are all decidedly hostile to Mr Addington, and that they are determined to condemn the peace. It is supposed also that Lord Spencer is inclined to hold the same language, and that Mr Windham will with his usual discretion assert the necessity of a war of extermination. However interesting the scene may be, I am not at all sorry that I shall not be an actor in it. The truth is, I feel so completely disgusted with the whole that has passed in Ireland since the year 1792, and so bitterly disappointed in my expectations of the consequences which ought naturally to have resulted from the</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/union</p>

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
39 contd		<p>union, that if I could reconcile it to my love of my children and the duty which I owe to them, I never would enter an House of Parliament for the remnant of my life.</p> <p>Cooke has finally retired from office, and is now branded by Mr Abbot as a presumptuous clerk, and by a little pettifogger* whom he brought into his office as an assistant clerk, who has succeeded him, as a slovenly and inefficient man. I feel very sorry that his apostasy should have brought him into such a situation, acknowledging, however, that nothing which he has or can experience is not a just visitation upon him.</p> <p>I shall be obliged to return to Dublin in less than a fortnight, to see if I can bring back the court of Chancery to a little order, which has got into sad confusion in my absence; and unless the Popery project should be brought forward, I do not mean to go to England before the beginning of March.'</p>
40	17 Nov. [1801]	<p>Clare, Dublin, to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'It is heart-breaking to see the jumble and confusion which has arisen from the precipitancy, folly and duplicity of the last Irish government immediately after the act had passed for the Irish union, and the infatuation of Mr Pitt in having abetted it all in gross. Nothing was wanting to complete the system of perfidy to this country but the miserable imbecility of Lord Hardwicke, who is the mere tool and instrument of Mr Abbot.</p> <p>You have had repeated proofs of his insolence and folly, which increase every day. The conduct which has been observed towards me is such that I will never enter the council chamber or hold any political communication with Lord Hardwicke, whilst he remains in Ireland. He has thought fit to appoint a stupid man of the name of Moor [sic] to be a King's serjeant, and the first and only intimation which I had of his appointment was from the Clerk of the Hanaper, when he brought me Mr Moore's patent for the seal. I am told, and I believe there is not a doubt of the fact, that he has recommended a Mr McClelland, a very young man and a man without the bar, to succeed to the office of Solicitor General, without any communication with me, and probably the Clerk of the Hanaper will in like manner be the person to communicate this promotion to me. I understand that the pretence for these affronts to me is a letter which I wrote to his Excellency in the course of the last Summer. When Baron Metge authorised me to signify his wish to retire from the bench, his Excellency was pleased to say that my recommendation of his successor should be decisive. I mentioned to him our Attorney General, who declined the situation. Upon my communicating this refusal to Lord Hardwicke, he repeated his former language, and I then told him that, before I committed myself on the recommendation of another, I should wish to consult one or two of the judges, in which he acquiesced. In a very short time, however, I received a letter from him to</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/desire</p>

*Alexander Marsden

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DateDescription

40 contd

desire that I would return to him three persons for his scrutiny and selection, or rather for the scrutiny and selection of Mr Abbot. Feeling that his Excellency meant to give me precisely that degree of credit which is extended to a sheriff going out of office, I did in very peremptory terms refuse to make the return which he required of me, as degrading to the situation which I hold. I told him that, if I was called upon by him to recommend a judge, I would not submit to an appeal from that recommendation or a scrutiny of it by any man, but that if his Excellency would name any person to me whom he wished to recommend to his Majesty for promotion to the bench, I would give him the best information I could of his qualifications.

Is it possible that Mr Addington can authorise Mr Abbot, for he is the Chief Governor of Ireland, thus to affront every gentleman of this country, or does he suppose, if it is permitted, that he will meet with support or assistance from any one of them? I do believe that Lord Hardwicke feels that I am not in the best possible humour with him. He wrote a civil letter to me to desire that I would call on him at the Castle on Saturday last, that he might ask my opinion of the expediency of sending down a special commission for the trial of some rebels in the counties of Wicklow and Kildare. I plainly perceived by the embarrassment of his manner that he wished me to open the subject of his civilities to me. If he had known me, he might have been assured that I never would stoop to a complaint to him on that subject. But from Mr Addington I shall certainly in due time require a full explanation upon it.

Is there any chance that Mr Addington and his colleagues will have fortitude fairly to look to the situation of this country in the next session of parliament? We have a body of three thousand Popish ecclesiastics let loose from any species of control, civil or ecclesiastical, who avowedly exercise and execute a government independent of the state, over a great majority of the people, members of their communion. Lord Cornwallis has from the throne of his government pledged himself and the ex-Ministers of England to the support of whatever they may desire, without limit or definition. Every traitor who calls himself Papist may, as the law now stands in Ireland, open a school without license. There is no authority in the state or in any member of it to silence him or shut up his school. The Popish bishops indiscriminately have issued an order prohibiting any Papist on pain of excommunication from sending his children to a Protestant schoolmaster, which order has been so generally and implicitly obeyed that, unless it be in a few of the considerable provincial towns, where there are schools so endowed as to enable the master to live without attending to the duties of his school, there are none but Popish schools in any part of the country of Ireland, so that the few Protestants who reside in remote districts are reduced to the alternative of breeding up their children illiterate or of sending them to Popish schools. It is notorious that in every part of

/Ireland

T.3229/1/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
40 contd		<p data-bbox="431 276 1473 437">Ireland which has been lately disturbed, the country schoolmasters have been the prime movers of sedition and treason, and their orders and intelligence to their accomplices are generally communicated through their pupils. So that, in effect, every country school is a seminary of treason.</p> <p data-bbox="431 471 1381 663">The disgust very naturally excited in the minds of the loyal men here by Lord Castlereagh's and Mr Pitt's project of Emancipation, has been so increased by the insolence and folly of Mr Abbot, suffered by Lord Hardwicke and abetted by Mr Addington, that the best feeling of that class of men towards English government and connection is mere apathy.</p> <p data-bbox="431 696 1411 1013">It is pretty clear that the patronage of the Popish church in Ireland will in future be in the hands of Buonaparte, if he chooses to claim it, and British Ministers are in full possession of proof that in the latter end of the last year an attempt was made to form a treasonable Protestant committee of Irish correspondence at Paris; and yet, with all this complicated mischief staring them in the face, I shall not be surprised to find the British Cabinet decided to blink it, and to leave Ireland to shift for itself, from pure fear of agitating what they call the religious question.</p> <p data-bbox="431 1046 1411 1234">God bless you, my dear Lord. If I had not children, I should look forward to new scenes of misery and confusion here, perhaps, after all that is passed, with very little feeling. But I own, when I look to them, I am sickened at the scene in which I have lived for the best years of my life, and which I fear I shall live in for the remnant of it.'</p>

SNEYD PAPERS: GENERAL IRISH CORRESPONDENCE OF EDEN

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
1-72	1784-5: 1787: 1795-1802	Letters to William Eden, Lord Auckland, from Irish correspondents like John Beresford, Edward Cooke, John Foster and John Lees, and from British politicians like Pitt and Lord Hobart, about Irish affairs.
1	27- 8 Feb. 1784	<p data-bbox="694 495 1445 621">E[dward] Cooke, [private secretary to the Lord Lieutenant], Dublin Castle, to [Eden] about the state of Irish politics at the opening of the Duke of Rutland's administration.</p> <p data-bbox="397 654 1386 780">'The Duke arrived here on Tuesday. I came in the yacht with the whole family. His Grace tumbled from his horse in setting out from Belvoir, bruised his foot shockingly, but it is growing well.</p> <p data-bbox="397 814 1386 1002">Yesterday Lord Northington made his public exit; his levee and attendance to the waterside numerous and respectable. He retired, as Lord Carlisle did, into the Pidgeon House, and in the retreat of the crowd went to Mr Conolly's in Dublin, and is now at Castletown, where he remains till Monday, when he intends sailing.</p> <p data-bbox="397 1035 1415 1289">My note from Sack[ville] Hamilton, which I desired Pelham to send you, deceived me, for I find Lord Northington recommended my salary to be £300 only. I learn that he appeared much averse to recommending it in any shape, and that unless Sack Hamilton had repeatedly urged it in pursuance of my letters, he would have cut me entirely. I now lose £100 per annum. The £300 is recommended to commence from whatever time the Lords of the Treasury shall think fit. I am a bad person in my own affairs.</p> <p data-bbox="397 1322 1386 1448">The D. of Leinster yesterday denounced opposition by negating the usual address of congratulation on the D. of Rutland's arrival. As he is not likely to be followed, perhaps from every motive of private and party interest he will relent.</p> <p data-bbox="397 1482 1341 1537">We know nothing of the consequence of your address on the Friday. I felt happy that you brought affairs to a crisis.</p> <p data-bbox="397 1570 1356 1636">I can hardly persuade people that I continue as I was. Some conceive me a great Minister, and others a great rat.</p> <p data-bbox="397 1670 1341 1796">Saturday 28th. This day the King's letter for superseding you as Vice-Treasurer arrived, and I suppose the patent will pass within a few days. I shall only wish ad majora et magnificentiora.</p> <p data-bbox="397 1829 1311 1860">I hear Lord Northington will not sail till Wednesday. ...'</p>

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2	4 Mar. 1784	<p>[General] R[obert] C[uninghame], Dublin to [Eden]: the same.</p> <p>'You'll have seen Lord Northington before this can reach you. He sailed this morning with a fair wind. Nothing new here. Things in parliament are jogging on in their common course. I think our whole business may be over - that is all our bills gone to England - in three weeks.</p> <p>The D. of Leinster has declared the most perfect attachment to Fox, and opposition here of Fox pleases. He considers himself as out of the question for the Post Office, and I am a total stranger to Lord Clermont's [Cuninghame's brother-in-law] situation since the arrival of the D. of R. He is going the round of state dinners. I was asked to the Primate's, but declined having any communication with them, till I knew why. I have bowed to the Duke at levees, but that is all. I had a full conversation with Orde [the Chief Secretary], and showed him my letter to Lord Sydney, in consequence of which he may have wrote to England.</p> <p>Lord Annaly, I am afraid, dying - certainly in a high fever. The D. of R. walks about the town, and seems very indifferent about what is going on. The whole is left to Orde. Lord Carysfort is to be invested tomorrow in St Patrick's Hall.</p> <p>Fitzgibbon has done himself infinite honour in the Ely cause at the bar of the Lords. His speech of some hours was universally allowed to be the greatest and soundest law pleading ever exhibited here. There is but one opinion about it. He was far superior to the rest of the barristers. Next week it must be decided, and will go for Loftus. ...</p> <p>When your disputes will end, I cannot conjecture.'</p>
3	14 May 1784	<p>Edward Cooke, Dublin Castle: parliamentary news and the state of the country.</p> <p>'I enclose [not found] the speech. The addresses are extracts. Yesterday an address to the King was allowed on the state of manufactures, the words scarcely, if at all, stronger than those of the speech.</p> <p>We have some little heat and discontent in Dublin, Roman Catholic priests and emissaries at the bottom, and Presbyterians blind enough not to see the tendency. There has been also long and real distress among the woollen and silk manufacturers, whose silly hopes in [sic] the effects of a free trade have been baffled, as was foreseen and foretold. The idea of asking a foreign market in which there was to be a competition with England on a parity of freight and duties, was absurd, when England undersold Ireland in her own market, with the disadvantage of freight and duties against her. Then, consider the effects of two bad harvests, and the reduction of the inland corn bounty</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/and</p>

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<p>3 (contd)</p>		<p>and the stoppage of the American market, and you are at no loss for the cause of complaint.</p> <p>Volunteering has in general declined, till the late discontents have renewed a spirit in the capital. They are now mischievously arming the lower classes of artisans, who are all Roman Catholics, and it is believed that foreign influence is at work. I hope all assassination plots are over. They were certainly once in agitation and nearly in action.</p> <p>I am sorry to find that Charles Fox rejoices in our turbulence here. It may be fine matter for declamation, and were it matter for nothing else, it should be at his service.</p> <p>Foster seems happy in his gown, and will I suppose be very popular next session, and he has laughed at and despised or opposed the recent attacks against him with good humour or manliness or resolution, as each were [sic] necessary. Fitzgibbon takes the lead as Attorney General, and maintains it rather too forward in attack for an Irish Minister, but excellent in taking his ground. Carleton has come forward with spirit in parliament; he is not so whittled as he used to be. Daly has been cordial and firm, but reserved. Grattan very steady and decisive for government, but he was allowed to carry his resolutions for succession in the Revenue: that is, he was allowed to transfer the patronage of government to Beresford; so he took <u>in</u> himself and government, and Beresford laughs and enjoys it. The Ponsonbys support. The Duke of Leinster, after hesitation, at length opposes.</p> <p>I am very anxious to get into the clerkship of the H. of C., but Lazarus e [? mortius]. He cannot, however, be able to act again, so I must allow an annuity. Independence in these times is not to be overlooked.</p> <p>Lord Earlsfort has not yet asked to be a viscount. Lees happy in completing all his Post Office arrangements. Beresford has just made his son Register of Tobaccos.</p> <p>The governments of the two kingdoms are the reverse of each other. With you, they fear the House of Commons only. Here we dread the House of Lords and the people. The stability of the present ministry is a proverb, for what can remove an administration which has a majority for them, when they can stand and succeed with a majority against them? You may be indignant but ([? pace] vestra [? Dixerim]) I sincerely lament that you are not in administration - I do not say hac vel illa.'</p>
<p>4</p>	<p>[16 Aug. 1785]</p>	<p>[General Cuninghame], Dublin, to [Eden], Dublin, about Fitzgibbon's duel with Curran.</p> <p>'Since I wrote in the morning, Fitzgibbon challenged Curran for words that passed last night in the House /of Commons.</p>

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<p>4 (contd)</p>		<p>of Commons. They met at one o'clock and fired one shot each, when their seconds interposed and reconciled their differences. Ogle was second to Fitz., and Richard Longfield to Curran. No harm done, which rejoices me, as Fitz. would have been an inestimable loss to the country. He does himself more honour than I can express, and is the best support British government ever had in this country.'</p> <p>Underneath, [Eden] has added: 'On Fitzgibbon saying that the Irish nation were easily angered but easily appeased, Curran replied that the Rt Hon. Gentleman formed his opinion of the nation from his own individual character. By the bye, Fitzgibbon is a little indiscreet, but an excellent filly.'</p>
<p>5</p>	<p>20 Nov. 1787</p>	<p>[Sir] A[rchibald] Macdonald, [the British Solicitor General], London, to [Eden] about British and Irish libel legislation [see also /1/6].</p> <p>'It would have been easy to have given a short and immediate answer to the letter which I had the pleasure of receiving from you relating to the regulation of the press in this country, but as that subject at present occupies the attention of so great and respectable a magistrate, I thought it would be more satisfactor to you to recall to your mind the outlines of the legal history of the press in this country. From thence it will be seen that, after many experiments, we have been able to fix upon no other principles than those which have been adopted for nearly a century past, and I much question whether in any country it will be found possible to encourage learning and yet to repress licentiousness in any other manner.</p> <p>The whole law upon the subject, as it stands at present in this country, is this. We have no previous license or control whatever. Print what you please, but you must be responsible afterwards for what you print or publish. We have a twofold responsibility, either civil or criminal. The former is at the suit of the private party injured by any publication, to whom a pecuniary recompense is awarded. The latter is at the instance of the crown officers, and upon conviction is punished by any <u>one or two</u> out of the three punishments of fine, pillory or imprisonment. The measure of those punishments is not defined, our constitution having wisely (as we think) contented itself with forbidding excessive fines or imprisonment. Fines must of course be proportioned to the ability of the delinquent to pay, and imprisonments have been known to extend to three years. We apply the same principles to all indecent, immoral or blasphemous publications, and indeed, by our law, every libel is a crime punishable in the manner above-mentioned, whether it be against an individual or against the state, as all libels tend to a breach of good order, by creating animosities in society. But in the case of a private libel, if the party betakes himself to a pecuniary reparation for the private injury, the Attorney General usually withdraws the use of the King's name, and thereby prevents the offenders' being twice punished - that is, once /in</p>

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5 (contd)		<p>in a civil and once also in a criminal mode.</p> <p>The course of experience which has led us to settle our law in the manner I have shortly stated, has been this.</p> <p>The art of printing, which was introduced into England in 1471, had not been practised more than 85 years, when it was thought expedient to impose upon it the heaviest possible control which monopoly and unlimited powers of search, confiscation and imprisonment could afford. The Stationers Company was then established by letters patent (i.e. in 1556), and all those powers vested in them, together with a necessity of registering all publications in their books. It has always appeared to me that if it be practicable consistently with the interests of science to place any <u>previous</u> control upon the press, this delegation of outrageous power to a set of interested monopolists was the surest way to render it impracticable, and this too in the very first instance of attempting such a measure. The Star Chamber did not fail to come in as a powerful auxiliary to the Stationers Company, an offensive alliance took place in the very same year, and they actually took the field and made a very distinguished campaign - distinguished at least on the musty shelves of a lawyer. The Star Chamber in that year made two decrees, the one regulating the manner of printing and the number of presses which was to subsist, the other directed the previous licensing of every book. Both were full of restraints, penalties and punishments. The Company and the Star Chamber, notwithstanding their vigorous efforts, did not however suppress libelling, but were themselves suppressed in 1640. The Company, indeed, was not entirely suppressed, but as to this purpose it was, the parliament having declared that the restraints on <u>unlicensed</u> printing by patents to the Stationers Company were <u>illegal</u>.</p> <p>Previous license was for the present at an end. But in the course of four years, the Long Parliament found the licentiousness of printing to be so great that they restored the <u>license</u> and <u>entry</u> in the books of the Stationers Company. This did not pass unobserved, for in that very year (1644) Milton published his famous speech against this ordinance, and in favour of unlicensed printing.</p> <p>After the restoration of Charles II (in 1662), a licensing act passed, which prohibited the printing of any book unless first licensed (by an officer for that purpose) and entered with the Company. This act was often renewed for a limited time during this reign, and those of James II and William and Mary, and finally expired in 1694. In the five succeeding years, many attempts were made to revive it, and a bill to that effect actually passed the House of Lords, but was rejected by the Commons, on account of the re-establishment of the <u>licenser</u>. Upon this footing the law has stood in England ever since the year 1694. But as some measures have been taken of late years in Ireland to suppress improper publication, I have thought it might contribute to Monsieur de la Moignon's information to enclose [6] a precis of that act, especially as I learn from one of the judges of that country* who as Solicitor General at that time was</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/concerned</p>

*Hugh Carleton

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5 (contd)		<p>concerned in framing the act, that it has had considerable effect. When you look at the Irish Act, you will observe some provisions in it much too strong for the English market, particularly the making justices of the peace, judges of the question "libel or not" in a summary way.</p> <p>I fear I have been tedious, but as we have fully tried the experiment of <u>previous license</u> in this country, it seemed necessary to give to a stranger the course and the result of it. Upon the whole, my own poor opinion is that previous license is inadequate to the purpose of suppressing libels, and gives the licenser the power of suppressing useful works. If I might be permitted to hazard a conjecture upon a subject with which I can be but little acquainted, I should conceive that a subsequent responsibility might in France be rendered sufficiently effectual. They are not obliged to take the opinion of a jury but of judges - consequently many nice questions with which we are often entangled cannot there arise. Were the proper officer of the Crown to bring to justice uniformly every author (if he can discover him) and every seller or distributor or printer of libels against the public, and in some well-selected instances even in the case of individuals, and were the punishments inflicted moderate but infallibly certain, much might be done. Entries of the names and places of abode of the printers of publications of particular descriptions, of the nature of those adopted by the parliament of Ireland, attended with a summary conviction, might be of use.</p> <p>If I rightly understand the scope of Monsieur de la Moignon's question, the next object of which he wishes to be informed is the state of the privileges belonging to printers or authors in this country. Certain privileges are by law given to the Crown, the universities and individual authors. The King, either as Head of the Church or as representing the community which bears the expense, has an exclusive right of printing bibles, prayer books and extracts or compilations from them; also, acts of parliament, proclamations enforcing the execution of the acknowledged law, and certain other state papers. The two universities have the right of multiplying copies of certain works vested in them by act of parliament, and a <u>previous imprimatur</u> is for obvious reasons allowed to the academical press. With regard to individuals, every author, his representatives as to his personal property, and purchasers from him or them, has by act of parliament an exclusive right to multiply copies during fourteen years, and if he personally should survive that period, for fourteen years longer. This monopoly is by the determinations of our courts adjudged to extend to musical compositions and engravings.</p> <p>This little detail seems to me to embrace the whole extent of Monsieur de la Moignon's question, but if in your absence he should wish for more minute information on this point, or should wish to be made acquainted with any other point in our jurisprudence I shall think myself much honoured by receiving his commands, and shall give them every attention in my power.'</p>

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6	[20 Nov. 1787]	<p>'Extract of act against libels passed in the parliament of Ireland, 1784.</p> <p>No person to print or publish any newspaper or paper of intelligence, etc., without oaths made before the commissioners or distributors of stamps in the town where such printer lives, of the names and places of abode of every person having a share as proprietor in such newspaper, etc., the affidavit to be recorded in the office, and to be made afresh upon any change or transfer of property in such newspaper, etc. Publishing without such affidavit is subjected to the forfeiture of £100. Every transfer of property to be declared at the Stamp Office within twenty-four hours.</p> <p>Persons carrying about, or exposing to sale any libel not requiring to be stamped (as newspapers are) may be committed on conviction by one or more witnesses to the house of correction for three months, unless he discovers the name and place of abode of the printer. Every person has power to apprehend the distributors of such libels.</p> <p>Making a false affidavit is made subject to the penalties of perjury.'</p>
7	6 Apr. 1795	<p>Edward Cooke, Dublin, to [Eden], now Lord [Auckland], about the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam and the arrival of Lord Camden.</p> <p>'Lord Camden's entry was in general properly attended and respected, but towards evening some of the collected mob grew mischievous, and there is some reason to believe that the attacks they made were concerted. The Chancellor, going from Council, was violently struck, the Speaker's windows were broke, and the Custom House was attacked, where a man was killed by John Beresford. The <u>sole</u> objects of attack are proof of design. When parliament meets, there will be more attempts of intimidation, unless the government be peculiarly vigilant. The old leaders in the Liberty are very active.</p> <p>As far as I have intelligence of the state of the country, it is quiet, and likely to remain so - at least the Popery question will not produce ferment. None of the Protestant gentry are sincere in it. They all wish it to be defeated, and where they seem to countenance it, it is merely for electioneering purposes. The North in general is indisposed to the question, and in no part inclined to it but as leading to reform in parliament; and the coupling of the questions makes against the Catholics. The shopkeepers in the towns are the only body to be dreaded. They are violent in Dublin, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Cork, etc., but fortunately these are not many towns, and the corporations of them are Protestant. The lower classes of the farmers are quite indifferent on the subject, and the nobility and clergy do not at cordially with the Committee in Dublin, who are are [sic] a set of democratic deists, and many of them United Irishmen.</p>

/There

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7 (contd)		<p>There will I think be great violence in the House of Commons, and the opposition are the best speakers. But Grattan's conduct and Lord Fitzwilliam's publication give the friends of Government excellent ground, if it be taken advantage of with spirit, but unluckily our leaders are for moderation and trimming. There are some, however, who are ready to take Grattan by the beard. The opposition will not I think be strong in numbers.</p> <p>The chief attack is levelled at the Beresfords, and it will be necessary I think for Mr Beresford to come over soon, and a statement must be made to the public in refutation of calumnies. I do not like to give him my opinions, but I think before other measures be taken, a quiet refutation of charges should be laid before the public, and no man is more equal to that task than himself.</p> <p>I have not yet received an intimation of what is to be offered me [Lord Fitzwilliam had dismissed him as military under-secretary at the Castle], but Lord Camden sent me a civil message by Mr. Pelham to desire I would act with his administration. When matters come [to] an arrangement, you shall know it.</p> <p>Your Lordship must have been astonished at Lord Fitzwilliam's letters. They are very disgraceful to his head and heart. In the enclosed papers [not found] there is the beginning of the calm refutation of them, which I understand will be continued.</p> <p>The kingdom is in so flourishing a state that commotion is not apprehended in general, and though corn will be high, there is no danger of scarcity. The Revenue rose last year £300,000, which is a fifth - an unexampled rise.</p> <p>I assure you, very few regret the sudden end which was put to the reign of the Ponsonbys.'</p>
8	27 Apr. 1795	<p>Copy of a letter from John Beresford, Bath, to Lord [Carlisle, printed in the Rt Hon. William Beresford (ed.), <u>The Correspondence of the Rt Hon. John Beresford</u> (2 vols., London, 1852), ii, pp 105-7).</p>
9	20 Oct. 1796	<p>Edward Cooke, Dublin, to Lord Auckland about the state of the country, with particular regard to the maintenance of law and order.</p> <p>'I sent your letter to General Smith. His complaints are characteristic, and accordingly require to be humoured.</p> <p>I trust you are satisfied with our short session. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act with a minority of 7, the rejection of two questions in favour of the Catholics with minorities of 13 and 19, an unanimous bill for arming the counties, and an unanimous vote of credit of £500,000, make altogether a brilliant week.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/Opposition</p>

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9 (contd)		<p>Opposition began with the hope of intimidating through the medium of the Catholics, and they retired with humbled tones, deprecating the imputation of bad motives, which they had even assumed as principles.</p> <p>The Catholic Committee has been consistent: originally democratic, originally United Irishmen, they have persevered most daringly, and by opposing the army of the country by every effort in their power, by personal exertions in the metropolis, by letters and emissaries through the country, they stand unmasked to the whole Protestant community and to the well-disposed of their own.</p> <p>The associations are going on rapidly. In a few weeks many thousands will be established, and I only trust that government will not be niggardly in numbers or encouragement. There is, as I knew there would be, a real and a general spirit among the Protestants, and they are sufficiently numerous of themselves both to give protection and to overawe the disaffected.</p> <p>The North is still in a bad state. Through the county of Antrim and parts of Down all are sworn to the oaths of the United Irishmen, and disposed to second an invasion. The late apprehensions of persons for high treason have not checked the spirit, but rather embittered it, and the numbers are very formidable and their arms numerous. The general associations will alone have the effect of driving them to despair, and in proportion to the opposition against the county armament must be the exertion of government to establish it.</p> <p>If we are not invaded within a month, I think we may court invasion afterwards, except so far as the North is concerned.</p> <p>All my predictions have proved true, and all the information I have collected Nothing exaggerated. But I was long, long, disbelieved. But now, when the most indulgent landlords in the North find that their tenants refuse to take the oath of allegiance, when the most subservient patriots see that they are abandoned by the people and left without a shadow of influence, the real state of the country is at length acknowledged.</p> <p>You will see my friend Lees, who will tell you everything.</p> <p>I rejoice in the good accounts from the Continent, but whether I hope for immediate peace or not, I scarcely know.'</p>
10	26 Nov. 1796	<p>Cooke, Dublin, to [Auckland]: the same.</p> <p>'If you keep us from invasion, we may do well. But by what I hear from Brest, I fear we may have a visit. I understand the expedition is to be gigantesque; the comfort is that it cannot, in this case, be unknown'</p> <p>The yeomanry is doing well, and is the fashion: above 300 /offers</p>

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10 (contd)		<p>offers of troops and companies already accepted, and in the course of drilling and arming.</p> <p>The North very bad. In Antrim and the borders of Tyrone, Derry and Down, not a man will come forwards [sic] or take the oath of allegiance. The United Irishmen boast they have 150,000 sworn, including Defenders, and I really believe they have two-thirds of the numbers.</p> <p>The Catholics in Dublin still hold back. The yeomanry may yet save us. But I could wish there were two or three steady <u>English</u> regiments in the North. When we apply for troops, you offer us Irish alone.</p> <p>Lord Malmesbury's and Delacroix['s] correspondence is of the new diplomatique in the [? decadary] style. Thank God the Directory were more insolent than artful. Had they used the cajoling vein, talked of love for the people of England, breathed regard for their love of freedom, and pretended to court fraternity and alliance, we had been lost.</p> <p>Let no man act or think upon any other ground except that part of the North of Ireland is in the most dangerous, smothered rebellion, the more quiet, the more hostile.</p> <p>I see your budget causes much hesitation.'</p>
11	24 Dec. 1796	<p>George Canning, Downing Street, to [Auckland] explaining that the rupture in the negotiations with France compels him to postpone his visit to Eden Farm, [Beckenham, Kent].</p>
12	26 Dec. 1796	<p>J[ohn] L[ees], Secretary to the Irish Post Office], Dublin, to [Auckland] giving news of the French descent on Bantry Bay.</p> <p>'...The troops from Cork and vicinity to the amount of upwards of 4,000, marched towards Bantry on Friday night. Other troops follow in succession from every quarter to that point, and I am satisfied that not less than 20,000 of as good troops as any in Europe will be in a situation to oppose them in the most difficult country (go to the Duke of York's and see Vallancey's charts, the country I know), perhaps in the world - every inch is a station of strong defence.</p> <p>I think the attempt is a most fortunate event, and unless God Almighty, for the punishment of our past sins, means seriously to fight with devils against us, it is not possible that either ship or man can get out of the net they have entangled themselves in.</p> <p>In Cork the yeomanry there, my letters today tell me, enable every man to march. In Youghal Lord Boyle's (Lord Shannon's son's corps) corps [sic] take the charge of that district. In /Dublin</p>

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12 (contd)		<p>Dublin my Lord Lieutenant is enabled not only to detach the whole of the camp at Loughlinstown, and they actually marched last night through this city, 2,200 men in high spirits, but he may even spare every man from the garrison of Dublin, such is the spirit of the yeomanry corps in this quarter - not less in number than 3,000 perhaps of the finest fellows in Europe, sufficient to bring back the spirit of old Fred. of Prussia from his grave - and in addition to all, ludicrous as it may appear, connected with this account of the military force of the country, Lady Camden is at this hour employed in stitching flannel jackets for the troops sent down to the South. ...</p> <p>Be at peace about us. We shall extricate ourselves, even if Lord Bridport should not get at us. Only don't try experiments, and again attempt to substitute a Catholic for a Protestant establishment and constitution in Ireland. With all the wisdom and ability of your Cabinet, you do not know so much of us as you ought to do. ...'</p>
13	27 Dec. 1796 .	<p>John Beresford, [Chief Commissioner of the Irish Revenue], Dublin, to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'... We have accounts from Belfast. The account has reached them, and all remained quiet. ...</p> <p>Let this business end as it may as to the enemy, it must have the very best effects as to our internal foes; for it has brought forward such an host against them as will make them feel their own inability to do that mischief which they flattered themselves they were able to do.</p> <p>Be assured, this country will assume another appearance, particularly if we have peace. The damned demagogues and the United Irishmen will be run down. I am in such spirits and so sanguine at the appearance of things, that I hope I do not deceive myself. ...</p> <p>I certainly heard of the report you mention, and saw it in the papers, and Lord Camden has more than once asked me if I knew anything about it. I certainly answered, as I shall continue to do, that I did not. Whatever be the issue, my best wishes are not wanting for the best. I could say much upon the subject, but this is not the time.'</p>
14	[late Dec. ? 1796 ?]	<p>Edward Cooke to [Auckland]: the same.</p> <p>'... The storms have saved us - only 17 vessels ever entered Bantry Bay. ...</p> <p>I must say this, that the French were not expected here. By all my private information, they were not expected till spring. Ireland is I think now safe.</p>

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14 (contd)		I believe and am certain this olive branch was intended for us.'
15	1 Jan. 1797	<p>William Pitt, [the Prime Minister], Downing Street, to [Auckland]: the same.</p> <p>'... The conduct of the people of the country near Bantry showed great zeal and good disposition. On the whole, the event will I think prove a most fortunate one, and we have a good chance that the new year may begin at least as well as the old one has closed. We have also accounts from Portugal mentioning that the Spanish troops were retiring from their frontiers. This looks as if that menaced attack in that quarter had been only a blind.'</p>
16	2 Jan. 1796 [sic - 1797]	<p>George Canning, Downing Street, to [Auckland]: the same.</p> <p>'... Were there ever seen seven Frenchmen in Dublin before?'</p>
17	7 Jan. [1797]	<p>Edward Cooke, to [Auckland]: the same.</p> <p>'...I should hope the Admiralty have a good statement for us to make to our friends and foes. At present we are nonplussed by both. The French now near a month from Brest, and no British ship near them.'</p>
18	8 Jan. 1797	<p>William Pitt, Hollwood, [Kent], to [Auckland]: the same.</p> <p>'I send you [not found] the little there is material in the additional information received from Ireland today. Any serious attempt to land seems nearly out of the question, and it only remains to see whether any of our ships have the luck to fall in with what may remain of the scattered divisions of the enemy. The explanation of Colpoys's being obliged to return when he did, and of Lord Bridport's being unable to sail sooner, is quite satisfactory, and will be sent to Ireland.'</p>
19	10 Jan. 1797	<p>Edward Cooke, Dublin, to [Auckland]: the same, and with comments on the state of Irish finance.</p> <p>'Our alarm is over, with credit to administration, to the gentry, /to</p>

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19 (contd)		<p>to the yeomanry and the common people in the South and West. Had a complete landing been fully effected, I fear there would have been another tale. But we are now secure, and another attempt by the French, were they to escape both fleet and storms, would be defeated and would produce no confusion.</p> <p>It is shocking to reflect that the army of Great Britain is now so circumstanced that, except with cavalry and the Guards, it could not send a man to Ireland. This should be remedied.</p> <p>There is much murmur against the Admiralty for suffering a French fleet to ride in the Irish ports unmolested for three weeks. "The Powerful" alone came from Colpoys.</p> <p>There will be a run, I think, against the absentees. They deserve it. They are the cause of all the disaffection which has happened, and they have done nothing on the late occasion.</p> <p>I wrote to you in the summer that our Treasury was in feather. You will be therefore surprised at our late want of cash. The case is this. Our balance in the Bank was of course under Bank dominion and they played with it. The demand for money in England and the price of it abroad, drew away guineas. Our 5 per cents payable in London were near 10 per cent lower than the same stock payable here. Much cash went over to purchase in London. The Northerns drew all the guineas they could from Dublin. Thus the Bank became pinched and could not accommodate. The subscribers to our late loan could not find purchasers for stock to make their payments. The British Treasury owed the Bank here 90,000 guineas, and they accommodated government with holding over a large quantity of Treasury bills. With spirit and management, all will go on again, and it will be recollected we have no arrear on our establishments, civil, military or extraordinaries. This session, however, will require much exertion, and as I told you, there are easy resources. Strike off the inland bounties on corn,</p> <table><tr><td></td><td>£</td></tr><tr><td>We gain near</td><td>100,000</td></tr><tr><td>6d a gallon on spirits</td><td>100,000</td></tr><tr><td>Equalizing sugar</td><td>25,000</td></tr><tr><td></td><td><u>225,000</u></td></tr></table> <p>such duties would not be felt, and the taking off the bounty would be a benefit. But I know not yet what will be proposed. ...</p> <p>Mr Pelham has been shook by this bustle and his Excellency has a cold. I do not mind it.'</p>		£	We gain near	100,000	6d a gallon on spirits	100,000	Equalizing sugar	25,000		<u>225,000</u>
	£											
We gain near	100,000											
6d a gallon on spirits	100,000											
Equalizing sugar	25,000											
	<u>225,000</u>											
20	14 Jan. 1797	<p>John Beresford, Dublin, to Auckland about the attempted invasion, the death of a daughter of Theophilus Clements, and Beresford's attempt to secure the deanery of Kilmore for his son.</p>										

/21

T. 3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
21	20 Jan. 1797	Printed address from Arthur O'Connor, Belfast, to the free electors of the county of Antrim.
22	9 Feb. 1797	Edward Cooke, Dublin, to [Auckland] about the military and financial state of Ireland. 'I enclose [not found] according to your desire Keating's pamphlet, which is good in its way, and has been useful to friends and enemies. We expect a second attack: Buonaparte's success must give new spirits, and I have this day an account from Brest of the 19th stating that measures for a second expedition were in activity. We have a good but inexperienced army of near 40,000, officers included, and 30,000 yeomanry in drill - a force nearly sufficient, if well conducted, well disposed, well officered, well generalled. But herewe fail. I own myself that, from the beginning of the war to the present hour, I have seen nothing of military system here or in England. The miserable routine has been wretchedly followed, and there is certainly no genius, no effort, in the military departments of either country. I remember when I was in the military office a few ideas were suggested by men of good disposition here, but all was so counteracted at headquarters and in the Castle, that I despaired and latterly my friends never proposed anything. At that time, however, there was no imminent pressure: now all is at stake; and if there is any ability, genius, vigour, it ought to be called forth. But we have the laziness of an old and perishing system about us. We want a general who can give confidence. Sir Charles Grey was asked to come to Ireland; he refused; and yet he is on the staff. What is to become of you, if men of experience refuse to serve where their talents are wanted? We expect Hoche with the Vendean and Pyrenean armies and all their good artillerists and generals. Whom have we to oppose to them? Lord Carhampton, quick but flighty, inexperienced, unsystematic. Dalrymple, of the old school, but unwieldy, and incapable of great exertion. Smith, busy, confused, wild, mad. Yet tis on these we depend. The public wants a general on [sic] whom they can have confidence, who they know can manage and fight 25,000 men. We have not the man, and the public are in despair. Money matters are of less consideration. They are in the ablest hands, and we shall not fail from want of that arm. The object of the enemy is Cork. If in possession of Cork, they get an impregnable harbour, and they will be able to fortify the town. England is lost if Cork be taken. And it was within six hours of being lost. Count not on our loyalty. We follow the strongest. The principle is fully as much in favour of France as of England /in

T. 3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
22 (contd)		<p>in the South, and in the North entirely French.</p> <p>I spoke of Smith. I fear seriously that he is failing. Had you seen his letters during our alarm, could you be fully acquainted with all his orders and measures, you would lament an old friend who had survived his talents. I hear and hope he is going to England, and that he will be kept there. His head, be assured, is gone.</p> <p>We shall I fear be in troubled waters. The respectable Catholics will come forward modestly, the violent are caballing for reform, the North are really disaffected Presbyterian republicans. Our atmosphere varies with French successes. You know how discordant is our state from the natural effect of its religious divisions, you feel how present affairs aggravate these divisions.'</p>
23	7 Mar. 1797	<p>John Beresford, Dublin, to Auckland about the birth of a daughter to Lady Auckland, the Battle of St Vincent, the murder of Dr Hamilton in Co. Donegal and parliamentary affairs.</p> <p>'... Government have been so backward and so unwilling to take strong measures, that every loyal subject in the kingdom has been dispirited, and matters were very near going to a disagreeable length. However, I hope all will end well. Proper orders are now given to the army of the North, and I trust the most vigorous measures will be pursued. Nothing else will or can save us from ruin in that country - the loyal men so kept down they dare not show themselves. Nay, thousands took the United Men's oaths through fear. I trust they will now rally and flock to the King's standard.</p> <p>In the House of Commons we were also near confusion. I saw it long, and warned Lord Camden of it. People were left to themselves. I need not tell you the consequence. However, we have weathered the storm, and all will go well I hope.</p> <p>You mention the absentee tax. We shall have it here before many years, if the absentees do not alter things. As to my sentiments, I am inclined to it, for reasons which may easily occur to you; at least, I am a friend to holding out the idea, but in the humour the House were in, I could not assist in lowering the authority of government, and therefore we all voted against it. Shannon's people stayed away.</p> <p>I shall have a busy time now for a fortnight - revenue business succeeding money bills. I am here with a violent cold and pain in my breast, but better this day.'</p>

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T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
24	15 May [1797]	<p>John Lees to [Auckland] about parliamentary affairs and the state of the country.</p> <p>'Mr Ponsonby perseveres tonight in his ill-timed motion [for] reform. Mr Pelham moved the question of adjournment. The House is very full, and much warmth and a long debate expected. We wanted not this incitement to further discontent and sedition.</p> <p>The streets are much crowded with mob [sic] of all descriptions. The troops are of course in readiness at the barracks, and the yeomanry are in motion in every quarter, both anxious to come to blows with our agitators, the United Irishmen. I am not alarmed. The troops are firm, and we have in Dublin alone not less than 4,000 yeomanry, eager to do their duty as becomes faithful subjects.</p> <p>On Saturday the Ancient Britons had an alert with, it is said, about 500 of the United gentry in the neighbourhood of Dundalk. They killed 12, wounded 30. Ten of the latter, most desperately hacked, they brought in with them to Dundalk, and were hunting the rest of them among the Fews Mountains.'</p>
25	26 Oct. 1797	<p>George Watson [private secretary to the Lord Lieutenant], Dublin Castle, to Auckland informing him, because of the interest Auckland has taken in his career, that Lord Camden is making him Keeper of the Records in Birmingham Tower.</p>
26	29 Nov. 1797	<p>John Beresford to Auckland about Beresford's domestic afflictions.</p> <p>'The trials which I have had, and what I am undergoing, are severe indeed, for it has pleased the Almighty not only to take away the prop and support of my family, my pride and my dependence, but I am just about also to lose the adopted mother of my little children, My poor Emily lies this day in the forty-third day of a fever, without hopes of relief. Were I to recount my misfortunes where should I begin, or where end? But I know that it is my duty to submit, and I shall endeavour to do so with resignation.</p> <p>My poor Mark is an irreparable loss to my wretched family, at the age of 33, at the head of his profession, making above £6,000 a year, with a reputation as high as ever man held in this country, loved and regarded by everybody, sure to have made a fortune and a family, cut off at once, and I may say in good health, for he had not been so well for a long time as he was the Saturday he came down here with me. The very next day he got a pain in his bowels, all passage stopped, and he was dead on Thursday morning. The regard which has been shown to him was very marked indeed. He directed that he should be buried as privately as possible. I accordingly obeyed, but</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/the</p>

T. 3229/2/	Date	Description
26 (contd)		<p>the whole bar of lawyers found out when he was to pass Dublin, and were every man at the Rotunda in mourning, and walked two-and-two after his body from thence to Kilmainham, an honour never before bestowed on any man of their profession. There were, as I am told, above five thousand people followed him - but why do I dwell on such matters?</p> <p>Poor Mrs Charles['s] fever has never abated, and her legs are now swelled to a great size, and dropsical: in short, my dear Auckland, I have no hopes of her.</p> <p>Thus am I situated. I have lost the person upon whom I depended for the care of my family when I was called away, and I am just losing her in whose care their dear mother placed my little ones.</p> <p>Under all these afflictions and distresses, I endeavour to support myself. I am as yet undetermined what I shall do with myself, whether I shall retire or go on in business. I know my life and my exertions are now more necessary than ever for my family, but I really think that they will [avail] little. I see a determination, as it were, against any pretensions of mine.'</p>
27	1 Feb. 1798	<p>Beresford to Auckland (letter marked 'Private') lamenting the opposition to his son's promotion to a bishopric, and criticising Lord Camden's administration.</p> <p>'I have written you a very long letter indeed, and it is unreasonable to write a second, for I could not express in a letter which you may think proper to show to our friend Rose at some time, what pleasure I feel at the concluding part of your letter, and of expressing a circumstance which indeed principally led me to write you so long a detail.</p> <p>It is this. From a hundred different circumstances, I have reason to imagine that Mr Pelham does not mean to stay here after the session is over, in which case a new Secretary will come, and it may be possible that Mr Pitt might be induced to go further than a cold recommendation of my son. There is not only not a Minister, but there is scarcely a man of fashion in England, who does not recommend a bishop. Is it not beyond measure provoking to me to see four or five of the Duke of Portland's bishops, two of Mr Fox's, one of Lord Mansfield's, etc., etc., and that Mr Pitt should not serve any friend of his, and at a time when he must see that his Excellency is going out into the streets and highways to invite in those he makes bishops. If serving my son could embarrass his Excellency's administration, if there were any political dispute among parties, it might be improper to impose a person on his Excellency who might injure his government, but when these things are going a'begging, I do not think the same reasons apply.</p> <p>Is it not also provoking to see Lord Abercorn, Lord Donegall, /the Speaker</p>

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T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
27 (contd)		<p>the Speaker, Lord Northland, etc. etc., in this country making bishops, but it is improper in me to look to it. I trust I have been as faithful a servant to government as any of them, and to English government. I have been hunted and persecuted for that cause alone, and I am neglected by that government because they think themselves sure of my service. Hard usage.</p> <p>Now, one word more. I have reason to think that Lord Camden himself is grown tired of this country, which is in great confusion for want of exertion. Much outrage locally, but no steady and general exertion. The session is a calm. No man says a word; all is hollow; and yet there are angry men and those of the bar, and be not surprised if Lord Camden is in hot water before long.</p> <p>If an arrangement is looking for, it may not be amiss to state thus much.'</p>
28	12 Mar. [1798]	<p>Edward Cooke, Dublin, to [Auckland] about Sir Ralph Abercromby's very controversial general order, and about the seizure of United Irish leaders at Oliver Bond's house.</p> <p>'Your invective on a late general order does not surprise me. When I heard of it, I disbelieved; when I read it, I still disbelieved. It struck me in the moment as a fatal blow to the government. By the good-natured disposition of men here to the government, by their conviction that it was issued without the knowledge of government, by their belief that it was not intended to convey the meaning which it is obviously calculated to impress, the affair was slurred over. What may be the consequence of the [? blaze] in the English prints, I know not; but if opposition be as mischievous as I believe them, such an opportunity cannot be missed.</p> <p>Our late seizure has been fortunate. It cost me much anxiety, but it was well executed. Had not O'Connor been seized, we should have all the leaders. This blow, if followed up, will quiet us. Lord Edward has fled by the North. The loyal are in spirits. ...</p> <p>Mr Pelham very, very ill!'</p>
29	13 Mar. [1798]	<p>John Lees to [Auckland]: the same, with comments on periodicals of opposite political tendencies, Abercromby, Lord Townshend's continuing popularity in Ireland, etc</p> <p>'Today has been taken up by the Council in examination of papers. Lord Edward has made his escape.</p> <p>Cooke promised me this morning to write to you. Many thanks for your letter of the 10th received this morning. I do not /find</p>

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
29 (contd)		<p>find that the <u>Press</u> is sent to Lord Carrington by any of the Clerks of the Roads. It is sent to his Lordship, as it is to many others of rank, both for and against government, by the agents of that damnable paper, with a view to mislead and corrupt. My friend Freeling [Secretary to the British Post Office] sent me today the Anti-Jacobin for which I thank you.</p> <p>Sir Ralph did not consult, I have reason to believe, those who could have given him better advice. The order or address never found its way into any of our papers. I had heard, and with real concern, much of it. The performance was entirely his own, and sent, as I understand, in his own handwriting to the Adjutant-General late at night, before he set off early next morning for the North. He was remanded back suddenly, whether on account of the order I know not; but I understand the mischief will be explicitly and unequivocally done away. It is very necessary that it should.</p> <p>Blaquiere who, with a manly mind, in other respects has all the vanity of a foolish boy of fifteen, wishes you to read what he said in the House of Commons. He refers me to the Freeman's Journal, which I enclose [not found], but which I have not had time to read myself; and if you approve what he has said, say so when next you drop me a line. It does not surprise me that he should wish to be thought favourably of by you.</p> <p>I have some vanity myself in showing you how well my patron and friend Lord Townshend, continues to be respected by his Irish friends. Therefore, read the paragraph I have marked in Faulkner's Journal. I am sure of getting a headache once a year by the celebration of his birthday. Last Saturday was the thirtieth year we had kept it.</p> <p>Much treason has come out today in examining the papers found with the twenty-one devils taken up yesterday. I think we shall be even with them all at last. Mannix is getting well, and so is Mr Darragh. We all find it necessary to keep pistols in our pockets.'</p>
30	15 Mar. 1798	<p>John Beresford, Dublin, to Auckland (letter marked 'Most private and confidential'): the same, with comments on the Orange Society.</p> <p>'I have been employed with his Excellency and confidential friends in examining those traitors taken up on Monday, who are all committed to gaol, except one, who [sic] curiosity brought up out of the street into the room after the arrest was made, he being next-door neighbour to Mr Oliver Bond. Numbers of papers and accounts have been seized, all which confirm to a certainty what we knew before: their treasonable designs and actions. How far they may be legal evidence to convict them in a court of justice, I cannot say. It is not yet determined what shall be done. But I see such a spirit and /determination</p>

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
30 (contd)		<p>determination in both Houses of Parliament that I am pretty certain they will force strong measures, whether government choose it or not. They say that their lives and properties depend on exertion, and that they will not be restrained.</p> <p>The meeting was a provincial committee consisting of two delegates from each county of Leinster, assembled to report to the Executive the number of men and arms, with the quantity of ammunition in each county, with the amount of the contributions received, and to report the names of two colonels, one of whom in each county should be chosen by the Executive to be adjutants general.</p> <p>Several of those fellows were very low people, as I before mentioned to you. But what I dislike is that four of them were yeomen. All this to yourself and Rose, who will [see] full accounts and the evidence sent to the Duke of Portland. Lord Edward Fitzgerald is not yet taken. I see that government will not please parliament, and that the latter will force the former.</p> <p>I am very sorry to tell you that Pelham is very dangerously ill. He has been ill for four or five days, but this day is very dangerously so. I am going out in order to call at his house. I have been there. My answer was, the same way; but I find that some of his physicians think him in extreme danger. This is very unlucky at this moment.</p> <p>There is an anti-United Irish association called Orangemen, who unite by oath to fight for the King and to defend him and the constitution in church and state. Their institution is to be ready to receive arms from government, and resist the foreign and domestic enemies. These men make no secret of their association. Twenty of them have told me everything they do. There are already sworn 172,000 of them, and they are not a month old. They are not the mad people who first associated under that name, and began a religious war. But as the United Men style all Protestants Orangemen, by and by we shall come to a war of religion.'</p>
31	24 Mar. 1798	<p>Beresford, Dublin, to Auckland, lamenting the government's lack of exertion.</p> <p>'This day at 2 o'clock, two state prisoners have been brought up from Cork. The Lord Lieutenant goes to the House to pass the money bills; so we had not time to examine them, but meet for that purpose tomorrow after church.</p> <p>The state of the country is dreadful beyond description. The late military orders have done unspeakable mischief. I wrote you lately that Sir James Stewart had made strange declarations. before he went to Cork, but he has issued orders of the most extraordinary nature. I send you a copy. By an order of Sir James Stewart, "the yeomanry corps are to give up the two exercising days, and are to have nightly patrols under the /command</p>

T.3229/2/	<div data-bbox="409 132 485 171">Date</div> <div data-bbox="988 132 1170 171">Description</div>
<div data-bbox="228 198 338 261">31 (contd)</div>	<p data-bbox="417 198 1377 327">command of a magistrate and constable, to protect innocence, not offend it, to use severity in cases only where it is unavoidable, and to take the utmost care to discriminate and discover the guilty". These are the words of the order.</p> <p data-bbox="417 358 1392 582">This order speaks for itself. I shall make no other comment than to say that the law which authorises the yeomanry leaves them totally free from the command or control of the military law, until they come forward voluntarily and offer their services, and General Sir James Stewart had as much right to put them under the command of a magistrate and a <u>constable</u>, as under the command of General Buonaparte.</p> <p data-bbox="417 613 1437 799">But he was not content with this order; he issued another, directing that no officer who was a magistrate should act as such, directly counteracting the very design and purpose of government, who appointed certain military officers magistrates, in order to enable them to act in a double capacity, where necessary.</p> <p data-bbox="417 830 1460 1742">What is to become of us if such conduct is to go on? The country is highly exasperated. Both Houses are at this moment in a smothered flame. It will not long be so. I tell you, they will force strong measures, for they will not sit down quiet and suffer their lives and properties to be tamely sacrificed. The universal opinion is for military law, and for proceeding by way of bill of attainder. But this may be easily modified to any effectual measure which may be pointed out. Everyone sees the rebellion, the intention of overturning the constitution and murdering every man of property or loyalty, and that the laws as they stand do not reach the villains who are concerned in the plot, who act under the direction of counsel to steer as far as they can within the law. Their plans are carried on from the principle of terror in every instance - burglaries, murders and assassinations, with threats of every kind, intimidate individuals, stop the course of justice, and enable them to evade that punishment which is due to their crimes. How, then, are such monstrous proceedings to be met? Not by the regular process of laws calculated for the ordinary administration of justice in ordinary times, but by the full force of government, civil and military, by the executive power acting under the dictatorial power "that the Republic should sustain no detriment"; and the individuals must be met by the power of that legislature which they mean to overturn; and as to means, they must depend on circumstances, which will not wait for question and answer between Dublin and London. Full powers must be given and acted upon, and it is a joke to imagine that anything else will now answer or be submitted to.</p> <p data-bbox="417 1773 1430 1960">I speak out fairly to you the universal sentiments of all the King's loyal subjects of Ireland. We are in a most perilous situation, but we have strength and courage enough to extricate ourselves, if there be energy applied in time. A week may destroy us. Everything ought to be done directly, before the /French</p>

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
31 (contd)		<p>French can come. They will never unite cordially until the <u>French</u> do come. They can therefore be suppressed. Let <u>them</u> come, and no man can answer the event. If steps of vigour are taken soon, the French will not come here. We see by the papers seized that they are not convinced of a firm support in this country. Therefore it is that the United Men are using the utmost exertion to organise every part of Ireland. Let them be stopped before they can accomplish their plan.'</p>
32	24 Mar. 1798	<p>Edward Cooke, Dublin, to [Auckland] (letter marked 'Secret'), mainly about Abercromby.</p> <p>'The South is troublesome, but if it had not been for a change of Commander and a little relaxation of vigour, it would have been before subdued, and may be now. If we treat rebellion as rebellion, we are safe.</p> <p>Every kindness and attention has been shown to Sir Ralph: patience by the parliament, flattery by Ministers - in vain. He resigns. He has done much harm, and I never knew any man that did not do harm who in difficult times, without exclusive power, presumed to think and act for himself, without concert, and when new in command.</p> <p>I send you [not found] a ridiculous imitation of Sir Ralph by Sir James Stewart. It is very foolish and contemptible, but it has given great offence.</p> <p>You will see by the Speaker's speech at the bar of the Lords this day what he thinks. It was imprudent and improper of him to make the allusion to Sir Ralph, when government had determined to slur it, but you will find from it the popular and general feeling of the House.</p> <p>Mr Pelham's fever is abating, but it has a tendency to lurk. He has now a pain in his side, which alarms. The lungs are thought affected. I do not think he will ever be able to resume his secretarial functions. The idea of Lord Cas. was on the instant [sentence incomplete]: no delay admissible, wanted a man who knew the country, who had ability, who was a friend and confidential, who had shown personal active spirit. These requisites are I think possessed. It is easy to state general objections.</p> <p>There is a difference between a Lord Lieutenant's situation on his first appointment and after three years' experience.</p> <p>I think Sir Ralph's [? language] the most unfortunate that could have happened. It has done inexpressible harm, and will be long felt. I think his coldness and obstinacy in refusing conciliation and explanation after all the kindness and attention shown him, inexcusable; and if he retires, I trust he will be made to feel that all the embarrassment occasioned is of his own making and of his own seeking, and that he will not be smiled upon. You must coventry him.'</p>

T. 3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
33	20[78] Mar. 1798	John Lees to [Auckland] reporting various skirmishes, conspiracies and arrests.
34	[pre 14 Aug. 1798]	Cooke to Auckland (letter marked 'Secret') outlining Cooke's thoughts on the projected union.

'Since you have asked me for my thoughts, I have literally had no time to think.

Ireland is a Protestant state giving every toleration to Catholics short of establishment. This situation does not satisfy. One party says, in order to satisfy give the Catholics equal political capacity, but keep up the present form of parliament. The Protestants will then keep the power, and the Catholics have no grievance. This project I always thought a silly one. It goes upon the supposition that the Catholics are blind and fools. This is Lord Fitzwilliam's. Another party says, in order to satisfy give the Catholics not only equal political capacity, but proportionate political power, by a fair reform of parliament. What then becomes of the church establishment or of the right to maintain it? This is Lord Moira's. A third party says, our great object is the demolition of the church establishment, and therefore we want reform and Catholic Emancipation. This consists of the United Irishmen who do not want separation. A fourth party wants separation. These are the real United Irishmen.

Difficulties appear on all sides, and the knot is then cut with an union.

An union is of the utmost difficulty, but whilst British party remains, I think it will be impossible to retain Ireland without it. Scotland, of much less power and population, was found impossible to govern but through an union. How many times has Ireland been fought for already, and were not the last two rebellions of 1641 and '88 the consequence of British party? Was not America severed from England by British party? Did not British party take up the principle of Irish independence, did they not defeat the commercial settlement, did they not lay the principle of separation at the Regency, have they not fomented all the late discontents and approved the rebellion? Have not the Catholics the reversion of Emancipation from the Prince of Wales? Have they not the promise of reform on a change of ministry? No discontent at any time can possibly take place in Ireland which British party will not countenance, no alleged grievance which it will not promise to redress.

But is an union practicable? If there was any certainty of keeping off the French, I think that, had a very high tone of government been continued against the rebels, and if the Prince of Wales had made his intended speech in favour of rebellion, and if a large body of English troops had been poured in with some money, and the measure determined upon, *coute qui coute*, it might have been carried. Enclosed is a plan [not found]. I

/doubt

T. 3229/2/

DateDescription34
(contd)

doubt if anything can be done now. Till a formal settlement be made, I see no alternative but remaining as we are. The United Irishmen have shown that separation was their object, and that they stuck at no means. They are deeply in the wrong, and so deeply as to be past justification; and they feel it.

Whilst invasion threatens we cannot be on velvet. But we are growing better.'

35

14 Aug. 1798

William Pitt, Walmer Castle, to [Auckland]
commenting on the plan enclosed in /34.

'I return [not found] your Irish papers. That from Cooke is extremely worth reading, and perhaps the other as much so (if it were legible), for an opposite reason. On many points, my thoughts (which have been occupied in the course of all my rides on Ireland - tithes and contribution) have run much in the same train, in many respects, as what is suggested in Cooke's plan. I have put down very hastily a memorandum of the chief points on which I want explanation, or am disposed to alter the scheme. Perhaps you may confidentially put them to him for consideration, but without naming me. I shall probably be at Hollwood next Monday or Tuesday, but not to stay, as I mean if possible to go for a week to Somersetshire. But I do not mean to let this intention be known. When I have fixed my day, you shall hear again, and I trust you will be able to meet me. ...

Pray return my notes, as I have no copy, and may perhaps wish to enlarge them, or rather to abridge by the help of them a much longer paper which I had written before.

Notes on the plan of union, August 14, 1798.

1. What is specifically meant under these general words? I can conceive nothing but some such security for the Protestant establishment as that provided for the Church of England by the articles of union with Scotland.

2. The reducing the places to 100 sending one [member] each and striking off 50 places, is in many respects a good mode. But will not the selection be invidious and stir too much the principles of parliamentary reform? Another mode might be to choose 50 from the 33 counties and 17 most considerable cities or towns (one for each), and the remaining 50 from the other 100 places (two places choosing one member either jointly or alternately). Can the restrictive right in close corporations be extended to freemen and freeholders, without a breach of charter and danger of stirring the question of reform? Must compensation be given to the places whose franchise is taken away or rendered less valuable, and how?

3. The number of peers is not very unreasonable, but 30 might be sufficient, and six of them bishops.

/4.

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
35 (contd)		<p>4. The first part seems unexceptionable, and is exactly what I wish (supposing the present oath, as settled by the Irish Act 33 Geo. III, c.21, to be satisfactory to the better part of the Catholics, which should be ascertained). But if this oath is sufficient for office, why require a different one for parliament? And why are corporation officers to be exclusively Protestants, when those of the state may be Catholics?</p> <p>4. [sic.] Each country should certainly remain charged separately for its own debt already contracted. But why may not the taxes of Ireland be continued applicable to a certain fixed proportion of military establishment (at the present amount or such as may be now agreed on), to her civil government as it will remain after the union, to her debts while they remain; and the surplus (either arising from the extinction of the debt or increased produce of revenue) to be exclusively appropriated to local improvements in police, agriculture, ecclesiastical institutions, etc. This will be still more advantageous to Ireland than what is <u>proposed</u>.</p> <p>5. If a plan of general contribution of all leading descriptions of income can be settled here, it must be extended to Ireland. Future expenses will be provided for (as far as this contribution goes) in a just proportion, varying always with the means of each; and the interest of any part of the expenses supplied by loans, or any sum to be raised by other taxes, might be defrayed in the same proportion as that in which the contribution falls on each country. This would be more just than imposing the same new or additional tax on identical articles, which though nominally equal, might apply very differently in the two countries. The Land Tax would of course make a part of a general tax on income.</p> <p>6. This is quite reasonable, but it is desirable gradually or immediately to go farther, and make the intercourse duty-free, except as far as to countervail a difference in internal or import duties.</p> <p>7. This point need not be settled by the union, but is essential for the peace of Ireland and the improvement of both countries, and may be accomplished (more effectually than by any modus hitherto practised) if the principle of the redemption of the Land Tax is extended, under proper regulations, to tithes. This must be accompanied by some competent provision (at the pleasure of executive government or of persons especially appointed) for a reasonable number of Catholic clergy. Their influence cannot be at once destroyed, and should be enlisted on the side of government.'</p>
36	21 Oct. 1798	<p>John Foster, [Speaker of the Irish House of Commons], Collon, to [Auckland] replying to a letter in which Auckland had been sounding his opinion about the union.</p> <p>'I trust you will excuse my having delayed for a few days to /thank</p>

T. 3229/2/	Date	Description
<p>36 (contd)</p>		<p>thank you for your very kind letter and the good news it contained of Buonaparte's defeat and the plan of Nelson's battle. In truth, I wished to have had some news of the expected French fleet here to have sent you in return, but from my not going to town, it must have reached you from thence before any letter from me could.</p> <p>As to your friend's library, I cannot ever think of his situation without sincere regret, but if he must and <u>can</u> sell it, I hope it will be ours [the Dublin Society's ?]. The board has done its part by entering a resolution approving of the purchase, and for so far appropriating the money.</p> <p>The other subject you mention is a momentous one indeed. I never turned it in my mind, never thinking a day could arrive in which it could seriously come into consideration in either kingdom. However, I shall not hesitate to communicate such thoughts on your questions as suddenly occur, relying on the confidence in which you have written, and that what I say will be communicated only where you mention [Pitt ?], and will be understood by you both as said in the way of conversation, and not as conveying an opinion.</p> <p>If I understand you right, you propose the measure as an expedient for carrying on the government of this kingdom, which you apprehend to be in danger from the state of the country and the disposition of the people. I own to you, I do not see the danger, if the government supports the constitution and its establishments firmly and decidedly, and it is my sincere belief that we should not have had the rebellion, from which Lord Camden's vigour and wisdom has saved us, if the British Cabinet had not interfered to force the Catholic measure against the decided sense of our House of Commons, teaching the Catholics thereby to choose representatives for themselves and separate themselves into a distinct body from the Protestants, which sound policy ought to have avoided as it would a civil war. This led their agitators to attempt the overthrow of the established religion, which (thanks to providence) seems now to have gained strength from the attack, and I am persuaded, while you support us with the vigour [sic] and decided spirit you are now doing, we shall stand secure, and by degrees glide into tranquillity.</p> <p>But, supposing the danger to exist, I do not see how the measure you mention will at all apply to it. If you will briefly mention your ideas to me, I shall be much better able to consider the business.</p> <p>I think the great difficulty in governing Ireland arises from a want of the knowledge of the comforts of life in the lower orders, and of course a want of education, of veneration for the laws which promote and protect wealth, and a want of industry or exertion to procure it. This difficulty has been gradually lessening for the last fifteen years, during which the country was increasing into wealth and prosperity beyond even our most sanguine expectations; and so convinced am I of /the</p>

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
36 (contd)		<p>the soundness of this principle that I have the vanity to think that, if I could have gained attention to my opinion when the King's forces overthrew the rebels in Wexford and Wicklow, these countries [sic] would have been quieted long since. The rebels being dispersed, it should have been the object of those in power to have endeavoured to induce them to return to their allegiance and become peaceful subjects again, and so far as pardon could attain this, it was attempted. But what was the pardoned man to do? His home was without a house for him to go to. Most of the wealthy who gave him work had fled or were disabled by the want of their rents from continuing to employ him. It would have been vain for him to have looked for work or residence in other counties who would not receive him. The pardon, therefore, not giving him food, could not alone have the effect desired, for human nature will not starve voluntarily. My wish was instantly to have had great works begun, such as the navigation of the Barrow, new roads through the mountains, draining of bogs, etc., at the public expense, in these counties, with temporary huts etc.; to have taken immediate means for replacing to the farmers the cattle for their tillage, particularly as it was the season for fallows; to have contracted with the proprietors of the soil or of the great landowners for the speedy rebuilding, of the habitations: in short, to have every channel opened for giving full employment to every man who would work, and I did presume that after the misery they had experienced, they would have thus become interested against new tumults, and learn to respect the government that not only pardoned, but gave them easy means of subsistence, not as beggars, but by honest industry.</p> <p>Instead of this, a commission was appointed to enquire into the losses of the loyalists, and only to enquire, grounded on the model of your measure for the American loyalists, without adverting to the want of the similarity in the two cases. There, you had only one object - the American loyalist - for you had lost the country. Here, we had other objects: to restore the country from the ravages of the rebellion, and to reclaim the rebels, as well as to compensate the loyalists. But the great political consideration was to restore the country, without which experience has now shown tranquillity cannot be attained.</p> <p>I dwell too long on this, but it will show you more strongly the ground of my opinion as to the tranquillising the kingdom, and I should fear any measure which goes to undo the work to which the sudden rise of our prosperity is generally attributed here - I mean the independence of our legislature would have the very opposite effect. I should think, too, that no time could be more dangerous for trying the experiment than the present, when Great Britain stands forth against the new-fangled and hazardous doctrine of innovations on established governments, and therefore these ought rather to prevent so great a change as that of the kingdom surrendering its legislative independence.</p> <p>But I am getting unwarily into the question on its principle, /which</p>

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
36 (contd)		<p>which I do not need to enter into, only simply to say that I do not see the difficulty you do in governing the kingdom, nor that the measure you propose can have any tendency to remove it. On the contrary, I am inclined to believe that every country is most easily governed under laws made by its own legislature, and I have for years been taught to believe we enjoyed the happiest sort of constitution we were capable of, in an inseparable union with Great Britain by the executive power being always the same, with a legislature as free and independent as that of Britain. If I mistake not, the union of Scotland was pressed in both countries to prevent a separation of the crowns, which must have happened from the Scotch Act of Security on the death of Queen Anne.</p> <p>I must lengthen this long letter to tell you the pleasure I feel in your free communication with me, and in so strong a mark of my holding that place in your thoughts which I shall be ever proud to retain.'</p>
37	27 Oct. 1798	<p>Edward Cooke, Dublin, to Auckland (letter marked 'Secret') about the tactics and terms of the union.</p> <p>'I have your letter of the 22nd. The British Navy does well.</p> <p>If you are serious as to union, it must be written up, spoken up, intrigued up, drunk up, sung up, and bribed up; and we must have activity, splendour, popularity, etc. in the administration, exclusive of talent, resource, enterprise, courage and firmness and a few more political qualities. Hitherto, I have not heard much disposition to the measure, but it is not understood.</p> <p>I have been [? running] over your ideas of three or more places returning one member. It is very difficult. Begin with the boroughs in Antrim. Antrim, potwalloping in the Massereene family. Belfast, close, a sovereign and twelve burgesses belongs to Lord Donegall. Carrickfergus, burgesses and freemen, many electors, belongs to Lord Donegall, though often disputed. Randalstown, close, Lord O'Neill's. Unite Antrim and Belfast: Antrim will return the members, and Lord Donegall's interest will be extinguished in Lord Massereene's. Unite Carrickfergus and Randalstown: Carrickfergus will make the return, and Lord O'Neill's interest will merge with Lord Donegall's.</p> <p>Swords and Newcastle are the only two boroughs in the county of Dublin. Newcastle is close and belongs to Mr Latouche. Swords is dirty and potwalloping and subject to Revenue influence by the Beresfords. Unite them: Newcastle merges in Swords.</p> <p>My idea, therefore, was to lop off the 50 last-created boroughs. Compensation to proprietors might be by annuities. But, in order to get rid of all these difficulties and the compensations, I submit the enclosed [not found] plan.</p>

/You

SNEYD PAPERS: GENERAL IRISH CORRESPONDENCE OF EDEN

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
<p>37 (contd)</p>		<p>You ask me who are the leading interests for my Lord Lieutenant to talk to. The Speaker, Parnell, Lord Shannon - everyone. Whom can the Duke of Portland influence? Think of Mr Erskine, the Pope's Nuncio, Lord Kenmare. The Synod of Ulster. The Catholic clergy will never take a stipend from the state, unless the Pope orders it. The absentee lords should use their influence.</p> <p>I see not much objection to referring the question to a committee of the Councils. It is fair. But I am no judge, not having all the plan before me.</p> <p>I have not had time to reflect much on the scheme I enclosed but it strikes me as very accommodable.</p> <p>The election of the 16 peers is the constitutional precedent.'</p>
<p>38</p>	<p>28 Oct. 1798</p>	<p>William Pitt, Woodley, to [Auckland] (letter marked 'Private') commenting on /36.</p> <p>'The letter which you enclosed to me is one not very easy to answer, as the true reason for the measure in question is one directly contrary to the opinions of the writer: viz., that the old Irish system neither can last in its present shape, nor be corrected by anything in Ireland. I believe the best thing to be done would be to send a short abstract of the plan (as we have talked it over) quite as a confidential communication, and to accompany it with stating a firm persuasion that the support from hence, both in men and money, will not long be given for the support of such an exclusive system as he aims at.</p> <p>I will endeavour (especially if we have another rainy day tomorrow) to put down something on this idea, and therefore do not return the letter today. His idea of finding employment for the disbanded rebels seems to me a very judicious one.'</p>
<p>39</p>	<p>29 Oct. [1798]</p>	<p>Edward Cooke, Dublin, to Auckland (letter marked 'Most secret and confidential') about John Foster's attitude.</p> <p>'I took occasion to write a note to the Speaker the other night. His answer was confidential, and is to this purport: "That he is ever willing to do his utmost for the public good, but when he finds himself treated in a manner so different from that in which he has been treated by every government for twenty years, he should feel himself censurable for assuming the part, [of] or for exposing himself to the imputation of [being], a confidential adviser, when he is so completely excluded from confidence."</p> <p>I thought this might be the case, and I lament it. There is no person that I know more free and firm in his advice than the Speaker. If he now and then pushes his own opinions further /than</p>

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
39 (contd)		<p>than is convenient, it is the natural failing (if it be a failing) of a man really possessing great talents and information and feeling confidence in them. I think he is to be softened.</p> <p>We have an indistinct account of another squadron of four French ships being off Killala. ...'</p>
40	30 Oct. 1798	<p>Cooke, Dublin, to Auckland (letter marked 'Most secret and confidential') about the post-union representation of Ireland, and the opposition to the union.</p> <p>'I showed my last idea to Lord Castlereagh. Instead of the 300 electing 100, as I suggested, by ballot, he suggested by lot; ballot is the parliamentary word for lottery in choosing election committees. We agree that this mode may be varied so as to meet the greatest number of objections, and to solve them. ...</p> <p>Lord Charlemont is violent against union. His member, Plunket, an able, eloquent lawyer, is intriguing for a meeting of the bar. The bar are of course averse to an union. I think with you that every means should be taken to prevent the public mind being run away with and pledged. But how is that to be done if the leading power of government does not move? How can the subalterns of administration be active, if the head takes no part? And he has at present no second. I think Lord Castlereagh a most ill-used character, and I am surprised at his patience. All is at a stand here, except discontent, which is growing very fast.'</p>
41	'Thursday morning' [Nov. ? 1798 ?]	<p>[The 1st Viscount] L[oughborough, Lord Chancellor of England], to [Auckland, possibly referring to John Foster*].</p> <p>'The same report you mention I had heard yesterday. I was also told that the answer was most affectionate, though decided upon the point.</p> <p>If you will be at home between twelve and one, I will send over to you. The Speaker has desired to see me, and I must be with him first.'</p>
42	2 Oct. 1799	<p>William Pitt, Downing Street, to [Auckland] about the discussions of the terms of union.</p> <p>'Our Irish friends being now all collected, I am desirous of setting them at work without delay to arrange the details of the union, in which the commercial part and the proportion of contribution will require the most discussion.</p>

/In

* It is on this assumption that the conjectural dating has been based.

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
42 (contd)		<p>In all this, I count on the benefit of your assistance, <u>at least on this side of the water</u>, where in fact I believe the whole may now be settled. A few mornings in town, or possibly some conferences at Eden Farm, will probably be sufficient for the purpose, and if you can without inconvenience be here at eleven tomorrow, I would appoint Lord Castlereagh, Beresford, Corry, Pelham and Douglas to meet you, and we may then put the business in train.'</p>
43	7 Nov. 1799	<p>Lord Hobart, Nocton [Lincolnshire] to Auckland [his father-in-law], discussing the terms of the union, with particular reference to Catholic Emancipation.</p> <p>'... I do not know upon what principle you have charged the proportion of Irish contribution, but I am inclined to think that a similar proportion both for peace and war will be best understood and is altogether more reasonable, especially because I believe the proportional ability of Ireland in time of war to bear her share of expense is to the full as great, if not greater, during that period than in peace. Her chief source of wealth, her linens, certainly do not fail her at that time, and there can be no doubt of the increase of her provision trade. Such an arrangement would also, I think, be more palatable here.</p> <p>I wrote to Mr Pitt on Sunday apologising for my absence, and took that opportunity of urging him as strongly as I could venture upon the Catholic question. I had been led to this from reading an address to Lord Cornwallis from the Galway Catholics, with his answer.</p> <p>It appears to me that the Irish government are nearly in distinct terms telling the Catholics that the effect of the union must be to admit them into the state and into the parliament, and calling for their support upon that ground.</p> <p>You know better than I do how certainly that expectation will be disappointed. It is therefore not only an unwarrantable political fraud, but it destroys the great principle upon which the union would be found to operate beneficially for the empire, by so closely connecting the Protestant strength of both kingdoms, as to leave the Catholics without hope of effecting their objects by disturbing the internal tranquility of Ireland.</p> <p>The language of the Irish government holds up the Irish Catholics as a body of men to be courted by the Dissenters of all persuasions in both countries. It encourages them to persevere in that line of conduct by which they have already obtained so much and given us rebellion in return, and it founds their next rebellion upon the bad faith and elusive promises of Mr Pitt's administration.</p> <p>Sanguine as I have been throughout with regard to the union, I am not without the most serious apprehension that the language of the Irish government in the progress of it will have so far /brought</p>

T.3229/2/	Date	Description								
43 (contd)		brought forward the Irish Catholics so far as to make them feel a degree of strength sufficient to induce them to demand a specific decision upon their subject. It is a difficulty that will only now be avoided by private assurances of early concession, and in those assurances I see a total annihilation of every advantage the union was calculated to produce, accompanied by the discredit and perhaps the ruin of the administration by which it has been conducted. My language to Mr Pitt has not been quite so strong as this, but not far short of it, and if he has suffered Lord Castlereagh to leave England without an <u>explicit conversation</u> with him upon the subject (which was the object of my letter), he will very soon have ample cause to regret that he had not taken my advice.'								
44	12 Dec. 1799	<p>Edward Cooke, Dublin, to [Auckland] (letter marked 'Secret')) about the numbers for and against the union.</p> <p>'I am impatient to see the amended resolutions.</p> <p>We seem to be going on well in the way you wish. We gained a deserter yesterday from their foremost ranks. We rely for the first day at present on the following numbers.</p> <table><tr><td>For, present</td><td>148</td></tr><tr><td>Absent and vacant who will appear and be re-elected before the union comes on</td><td><u>32</u> 180</td></tr><tr><td>Doubtful</td><td>38</td></tr><tr><td>Against, some of whom will be absent</td><td><u>82</u> 300</td></tr></table> <p>Four of Lord Downshire's members are either placed doubtful or against. Lord de Clifford's are placed doubtful, though I believe we are certain of his four.</p> <p>I wish you would not make this public yet; for I do not like to be sanguine, the Irish mind is so volatile, and we have so much cabal.</p> <p>The Speaker uses most confident language. He has nothing else for it.</p> <p>I know not how to speculate about foreign affairs. But if the Russians quit the field, I think that Bonaparte will have another campaign and a successful one.</p> <p>I see the Irish exchange dealers are plaguing Mr Pitt. I hope he will not let them induce him to take a part.</p> <p>This has been a season of uncommon import and uncommon paucity of export. Things will come to their level. Absentees and kite-fliers will be distressed, but the nation will not be affected. Our good weather has given us a fine potato harvest, and at present there is no distress.'</p>	For, present	148	Absent and vacant who will appear and be re-elected before the union comes on	<u>32</u> 180	Doubtful	38	Against, some of whom will be absent	<u>82</u> 300
For, present	148									
Absent and vacant who will appear and be re-elected before the union comes on	<u>32</u> 180									
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Against, some of whom will be absent	<u>82</u> 300									

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T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
45	13 Dec. [1799]	<p>Lord Castlereagh [the Chief Secretary], Dublin Castle, to Auckland (letter marked 'Private'): the same.</p> <p>'The Lord Lieutenant received yesterday the amended resolutions. We are altogether indebted to your zeal and perseverance for the progress that has been made in this most complicated arrangement. In the variety of business which presses on Ministers, it must have stood still, had not you unceasingly followed it up. I have not had time to examine the alterations.</p> <p>On the point of numbers, I should be unwilling to make myself responsible for any result that must depend on the integrity and steadiness of the persons we have to deal with, but I have no difficulty in assuring you that it looks most promising'. I have met with no disappointments since my return from those on whom I reckoned, and I have added somewhat to our strength. According to present appearances, the enemy cannot muster above <u>100</u>. I trust before the 15th of next month that some of these will be converted. We shall have above 30 friends out and absent on the first day; this is formidable!</p> <p>The state of this kingdom is more tranquil than usual, and the public temper reconciling itself gradually to the measure.</p> <p>I hope soon to send you a more decided assurance of our being <u>certain</u> of success. If our present friends are tolerably true, we are already out of danger. The plan of the representation is universally approved, and the £15,000 [compensation] and no dissolution most popular.'</p>
46	18 Dec. 1799	<p>John Beresford, Bath, to Auckland about the union and Catholic Emancipation.</p> <p>'The time is passing fast. I do not know whether the accounts advance as fast. I have written to Cooke to go to our office and [? hurry] [?affairs], and to oblige them to bring the accounts to him to transmit, in order to check the time they are prepared, that they and Wetherall may not be able to shift the blame from one to the other, in case they are not ready in time. I hope Irving is getting on, and that you make him send the accounts to you one by one, as they are finished, by which means you will have leisure to consider them separately, and not have a number sent at once, which confounds and perplexes.</p> <p>I observe in the 6th article and 7th resolution sent from the Duke of Portland's office, there are said to be two schedules annexed, but neither are drawn yet, nor do I know that the articles which they are to consist of are as yet agreed upon. What are you doing about them?</p> <p>I had a letter from Cooke yesterday. He says: "I trust matters are not doing amiss here, and instead of symptoms of confidence appearing in opposition, one or two private offers prove that /they</p>

T. 3229/2/	Date	Description
46 (contd)		<p>they really despair." He says he has looked over his list, and though there will be 20 friends out of parliament the first day, he conceives our majority will be decided and large.</p> <p>I hope the case may be so, but there are rumours spread abroad which I hope, and from what you have said to me I believe, to be false, but which, if true, would make a great difference. I allude to ideas of gratifying the R. Catholics. I know that numbers vote for the measure to secure themselves against those people, and I fairly confess to you that I think that evil would counterbalance all the good of a union, and no power on earth would persuade me to vote for it, as I am most strongly convinced that it would end in rebellion, separation and ruin. ...'</p>
47	20 Dec. 1799	<p>John Lees, Dublin, to [Auckland] about the union.</p> <p>'I received this morning the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 21st with Mr Rose's pamphlet. Everything that tends to show the increasing prosperities of Great Britain, particularly at this period, must be of infinite use here: I find, on enquiry at the Castle, that Lord Castlereagh had received a copy of it. I know he will approve of a general circulation of it in Ireland, and with that in view I have ordered two thousand copies to be printed forthwith.</p> <p>On the subject of union, I cannot doubt, from the quarter that I receive my information, but that it will be carried by a large majority. At the same time, I am a stranger to the nature of engagements, and say merely what I hear and wish to believe. This I know, that if the peace, preservation and lives of the Protestants of this country are objects to England, the measure ought to be carried, let engagements be what they may. The Speaker's opposition is not softened, and if you give credit to his assertions and the language of those who act with him, it will not be carried.</p> <p>We have no publications of late on the subject of union worth reading, and scarcely anything has appeared deserving notice in the anti-union newspaper that has not been refuted. It has hitherto been scarcely deserving of attention, and as yet has but a small circulation.</p> <p>Your Post Office Revenue appears to be in a prosperous state. In Ireland such interruptions take place, from the almost daily robbery of the mails in some quarter or other, that any statement of what it has produced since the rebellion would be unfair to judge it by. If you wish it, however, I shall, such as it is, send you the amount. ...'</p>

T.3229/2/

Date

Description

48

20 [Dec. ? 1799 ?] Lord Castlereagh, Dublin Castle, to Auckland (letter marked 'Private') about accounts and tactics in connection with the union.

'I have forwarded to Mr Corry from hence all the papers, financial and commercial, he wished for. As they were made out with some degree of hurry, we shall probably find it necessary to make partial alterations before they are presented to parliament. You will be pleased to observe the coincidence in the proportional value of enumerated articles consumed in the two countries. Yours is 45,000,000: ours is 6,000,000. I observe the account is only made up for England. Scotland must be included. This will produce a variation, but it will be counterbalanced by a correction which must be made in the Irish accounts, as I observe some of the articles are valued at the prime, and not the market price. This concordance in the criterions of relative wealth exceeds my most sanguine expectations. I think it places the system on a rock. The $7\frac{1}{2}$ falling in with past expenditure is convenient, but supported by the tests of commerce and consumption, it is built on a foundation that cannot be shaken.

I shall converse with the Chancellor when he returns on the suggestion relative to voting the principle first in the Lords. I have great doubts of its policy. We shall have no serious difficulties in that assembly, but even there, we must take our measures with activity and some management, and I do not feel equal to discuss the private question with two Houses at once. Perfect success there could add nothing to our strength in the Commons: any unforeseen difficulty would have the worst effect.'

49

2 Jan. 1800

George Rose, Cuffnells, to [Auckland] about the union, and commenting on a letter from Bonaparte to the King.

'I return you Mr Lees's letter [/47] with many thanks.

The perseverance of the Irish Speaker in his opposition to the union does not surprise me, because I suppose he had no passage by which he could retire, nor any ground on which he could take a new position; for, although I have long thought very highly of his talents, I have never had any opinion of his political steadiness. At the same time, I know as little as the clergyman of this village of the probable conduct of individuals in Ireland, except from general reports. I have, however, great confidence in Lord Castlereagh who appears to have done uncommonly well in every instance, and I am therefore sanguine in my expectation that the measure on which most essentially depends the happiness and prosperity of both countries will succeed. ...'

50

16 Jan. 1800

Cooke, Dublin to [Auckland] reporting a government majority of 138: 96 on Sir Laurence Parsons's anti-Union amendment, describing Grattan's appearance and speech 'in his old, inflammatory style', and warning that the government is not yet out of the wood.

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
51	18 Jan. 1800	<p>Cooke, Dublin, to [Auckland]: more about the state of the numbers on the union.</p> <p>'You guessed well as to your 135 to 95, and we have exceeded your proportion. We had two locked out, and three did not act as we expected; so that our majority ought to have been 50.</p> <p>Lord Downshire will act strongly against us. At the same time, he is making [a] merit of discouraging faction. You will read the amendment moved by Parsons on the address. Lord Downshire told me that the words respecting attachment to the King and to Great Britain were inserted by himself, and that he has insisted that the debates hereafter are to be guarded, so as not to offend Great Britain. This is nonsense, but may do good. He makes his two members, Annesley and Johnson, who have hitherto supported us, resign their seats, and we shall be able to bring them in.</p> <p>Grattan's return must do us good in the end. All the loyal anti-unionists are mad at it.</p> <p>The absurdity of the city you will see in the papers. The fact is this. All Dublin except about ten thousand Protestants were rebels. They now have an opportunity of showing themselves, and take it. Those resolutions which you have seen from Dublin Catholics were from a few only, and those the Jacobin part. But the body in Dublin may be generally misled. We look to steadiness in the country only.</p> <p>The anti-unionists mean to exert themselves during our recess in every county where they can make [an] impression. But we are not much alarmed. The Leinster counties are most susceptible of impulse.</p> <p>I think we shall have riots in Dublin. Green ribbands are sold with this motto, Grattan and Foster, the friends of Ireland; this makes the Speaker mad.</p> <p>62 members have not voted; I think 50 of them will be with us. If no impression of consequence can be made on the country, all is over. There was an attempt to make a regular opposition, to oppose supplies, etc.; it has failed. The real opposition is now confined to the union - government is to receive general support. This I think the extreme of folly in the anti-unionists.</p> <p>The Speaker seems lost and discontented.</p> <p>I think the opposition have done as many incorrect things as we could wish. In order to oppose union, the bar made a cabal, the /attornies</p>

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
51 (contd)		<p>attornies a round robin, not to employ unionists; a subscription was made to buy the Speaker; there is an anti-union stock-purse; they have bought seats in parliament by subscription; they have set up a newspaper to intimidate the supporters of union by abuse; they had Mr Grattan elected at midnight without a legal notice; they are encouraging all the rebel characters, etc. These improprieties give government strength and security.</p> <p>I long to have all the papers over, which seems to have been more difficult than I could have imagined. I am most anxious for the effect of Lord Castlereagh's statement.'</p>
52	20 Jan. 1800	<p>Cooke, Dublin, to [Auckland] (letter marked 'Private'): the same.</p> <p>'Nothing has passed in parliament since the first day. You will see some good speeches in the papers. The yeomanry business passed unanimously.</p> <p>I talked much with Lord Downshire, who lets me talk with him, and I once hoped with some effect; but all is over. He has taken his part decidedly. I objected to him the faction that was used, the characters he was to league with - Grattan, Ponsonby, etc. - the language which was used, and he was to support; but in vain. He told me, however, that he would keep clear of faction and tumult, and if it was attempted, he would separate, and he said he had remonstrated against the violence used, and that it would not be repeated, and I understand he sent a message to the party that, if the government and Great Britain were to be attacked, he would leave them. The party was of course obliged to promise moderation. There was a large meeting the day before yesterday at Lord Charlemont's, the Speaker and Lord Downshire present. It was called on the principle that Lord Castlereagh had termed the opposition to union a faction (which is false, he only called the rebel members a faction by which the others were misled), and that he had stated 18 or 19 counties had declared in favour of union. In order to rebut this, the meeting agreed to work hard by their friends during the recess, to procure signatures against the union or get county meetings, and they are now most busily employed. It is also agreed that the anti-union addresses should be moderate and professing the greatest attachment to the British connection. Lord Downshire will call the county of Down.</p> <p>There is general indignation in the loyal part of the anti-unionists at Grattan's coming in, and his appeal to the Catholic <u>physical force</u>, as he [<u>? terms it</u>], has done us service. There is, however, extreme violence in the city, and I think we may have some explosion of a troublesome kind.</p> <p>The aggregate meeting was of no consequence, and their coupling Grattan and the Speaker has made the latter frantic. When the body waited on the Speaker, he was very cool, and hoped that no riot was intended, thought they would have done better to stand by their old friends than their new allies, and when one of /the mob</p>

T. 3229/2/	Date	Description
52 (contd)		<p>the mob said they meant to be firm, the Speaker replied that firmness implied moderation. He is enraged at the green ribbands with "Grattan and Foster, the friends of the people" for the motto. He says, if he had been treated well, he should have merely opposed the measure, but that from the treatment he has received, he must use his utmost exertions against it. I think, however, he will not oppose much after the principle is carried.</p> <p>We are impatient for the finance papers. I think the counties stand thus. Antrim, Clare, Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Leitrim, Limerick, Derry, Longford, Mayo, Tipperary, Waterford, Westmeath, Wexford - are decidedly with us. We divide Kilkenny, Cavan, Armagh, Queen['s] Co., Sligo, King's Co., Meath, Tyrone, Roscommon. In Kildare, Dublin, Fermanagh, Louth, Monaghan, Wicklow, Down, Carlow - we shall be inferior.</p> <p>I think the property in the Lords and Commons in favour of the union is above three to one.</p> <p>I have reason to believe that, when the principle of union is fairly carried, many will give us assistance in the detail. But nothing is certain here and on such a subject. ...'</p>
53	20 Jan. 1800	<p>John Beresford, Dublin, to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'I think that everything is going on as well as possible. We have just adjourned to Monday the 3rd February.</p> <p>Mr Grattan's coming into parliament will, I am confident, be of great use to us. It has given such offence to the country gentlemen, that they all swear that, except on the question of union, they will never vote on the same side with such a rebel; and his speech the other night or rather morning, in which his chief arguments against a union were that it bore against the Papists, that it annihilated their physical strength, that it reduced them from being three-fourths to be a small portion of the Empire, etc. etc., has made a very great impression on many opposers of union; and although it will not make men of honour quit their engagements, and of course we shall not gain many votes for a union, yet I promise you, it has cooled all the country gentlemen, and we hear no violence now against union except from the faction in parliament and the city of Dublin.</p> <p>You will see by the papers that the guild of merchants have passed resolutions of a very strong nature, that an aggregate meeting have gone still further: they have addressed the Speaker, their members and Mr Grattan. The friends of the last gentleman thought they could take advantage of this, and intended at the late quarter assembly of the city to propose restoring Mr Grattan to his freedom, but I refer you to Faulkner's Journal for the debate, which cut short this intention, and where you will see that the whole assembly unanimously declared their opinion that he was a traitor. .</p>

/When

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
53 (contd)		<p>When the aggregate meeting waited upon the Speaker with their address, he gave them a very strong lecture. He told them they ought to adhere to their old and tried friends, and not seek, as they were doing, new allies (viz. Papists), nor proceed by violence and outrage; that they would oblige their best friends to quit them, and among others himself. They answered that they only meant to show firmness. He told them that firmness was shown by moderation, and always accompanied by it. He is conducting himself very properly, and I hope my former conjecture will prove not far from [the] truth: that if the principle be carried, he will not impede, if he does not facilitate, the detail. ...</p> <p>I think I shall make up the breach between Enniskillen and his Excellency, and that he will support, except in [sic] union, or even be useful in that.</p> <p>His Excellency, when I went up with the abstract, Saturday, sent for me into his room, he being in the act of powdering. We had some conversation, which ended by his telling me of his own accord (the subject not having been touched on) that he did not forget my wishes or his promises. I answered, I never thought he would, and that therefore I had not troubled him from the time he promised me, not even now, on a vacancy. He said I need not do so.'</p>
54	25 Jan. [1800]	<p>Lord Castlereagh, Dublin, to Auckland about the 'consular' proceedings of Lord Downshire, Lord Charlemont and W.B. Ponsonby, and about Revenue accounts.</p> <p>'I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 21st. I am well satisfied with our outset, but we have yet to encounter a minority of 110 which does not show much disposition to abandon the cause.</p> <p>They have had several meetings at Lord Charlemont's. Lord Downshire, Lord Charlemont, and W. Ponsonby have assumed consular authority, and addressed a summons, a copy of which I send you [/55-6] to the different counties. They are also forming a stock-purse. The former instrument is intended for the people, <u>the latter for the parliament</u>. I am not without hopes that their party will be shaken after the general principle is carried. If they could keep together, they would not only be very troublesome themselves, but make our own friends perhaps not less so.</p> <p>We are waiting most anxiously for the Revenue accounts. I am bound to state the measure to parliament on the 3rd, and as yet the most important materials are wanting. The commercial accounts with our counterparts are at the press. You will receive copies as soon as they are finished. We have not time for a revision on your side of the water, previous to their being presented, and I only hope the finance accounts are on their way, as we have very little time to prepare their counterparts.'</p>

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
55	20 Jan. 1800	Copy of the printed circular from Lord Downshire, Lord Charlemont and W.B. Ponsonby to people with influence in the counties, urging the getting up of anti-unionist petitions.
56	20 Jan. [1800]	Printed copy of the proposed format of all such petitions.
57	29 Jan. [1800]	<p>Lord Castlereagh, Dublin, to Auckland (letter marked 'Private') about the preparation of the accounts, and about the Irish Militia.</p> <p>'I send you [not found] the counterpart of your Post Office account. As far as this description of Revenue is concerned, you have no reason to lament that the period of common taxes is still remote. ...</p> <p>I have not yet received the returns of the number of our militia that have enlisted, but I believe it is considerable, and a large proportion enter for <u>general service</u>. I trust this year will be productive of important advantages. The materials seem promising.'</p>
58	29 Jan. 1800	<p>John Beresford to Auckland enclosing [not found] duplicates of /55-6, and commenting:</p> <p>'... I refer you to the Dublin Journal of yesterday for a funny letter upon the consuls.'</p>
59	18 Feb. 1800	<p>Beresford to Auckland about the progress of the union in the House of Commons.</p> <p>'I am just got up. We sat until past 12 this day, and have voted the principle. [The] Speaker went into detail as the means of defeating the principle. He made a very bad hand of it, was fully answered. He concluded by moving that the chairman leave the chair, - ayes 115, noes 161. We had another member in the House, but they found out that he had neglected to sign the roll when he took the oaths, and he could not vote, and we had four absent.</p> <p>Mr Corry and Mr Grattan abused one another in the most violent manner. Corry accused him as a traitor and rebel, the author of the rebellion, etc. etc., and the other said he was a coward, a liar, and that if he had said what he did out of the House, his answer was a blow. They went out of the House and fired two shots each. Corry was wounded. The ball entered the fleshy part of his arm, run [sic] along [the] skin about four inches, and came out. It does not signify. Grattan denied the charge of being a traitor, said the evidence before the /Lords</p>

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
59 (contd)		<p>Lords was falsely stated, to prove which he pulled out an old purse, and out of it a letter from the famous Neilson to him, written in the style of friendship, and stating the evidence he gave. This he began to read, then skipped over parts, then read again, and convinced every man who heard him of the truth of the Lords' report. In short, he convicted himself.</p> <p>The bell is rung for dinner. I have not eaten a bit [sic] for 25 hours. I hope we shall now get on fast.'</p>
60	19 Mar. 1800	<p>Beresford, Dublin, to Auckland (letter marked 'Private'): the same.</p> <p>'We have at length got through all the articles. The 6th, or commercial, article was the last. They put the task of stating this part of the business on me, and I got through it yesterday. I was extremely fatigued, having been two hours and twenty minutes on my legs, and kept in the House until half past six this morning. No one spoke on the commercial point but the Speaker, and he made a very bad hand of it. Grattan spoke before him for an hour and three quarters, very dull and tedious. It was very easy to have answered all the Speaker said, and to have convicted him of lying, quibbling, etc. etc., but Castlereagh, who answered him as to finance extremely well, went out of his way into an attack upon him, and abused him for connecting himself with men of different principles from himself, and went a great way in describing the persons with whom he had assorted. This roused the Speaker, who attacked him in return. Then came Grattan, who had got some publications of Castlereagh at the head of the Whig Club of Down, and read them as his work, as Castlereagh had done a part of Foster's speech of 1785. These papers contained resolutions and toasts of this club, and was on [sic] one of them signed Robert Stewart, chairman. Among other things, there was a promise to support a parliamentary reform, and a toast, "Our Sovereign Lord the People", and many other very nonsensical toasts. This made one side laugh extremely, and made Castlereagh look very foolish. He protested that he did not recollect one word of this, that he never was at the club but once, and never in the chair. The more anxious he was to get out of the scrape, the more they laughed, and in short, he was confoundedly quizzed. George Ponsonby, Saurin and Plunket were all at him, and he came off but second-best. In truth, he brought it on himself, by going out of the field we were in, that of commerce, where we had the whole business hollow in our favour. The turn he gave the debate, threw it into the general question of union, and so into a general statement of principles, consistency, etc. etc. etc. He had been very successful before in attacking Ponsonby, Plunket and Saurin, which tempted him to try that ground again, but they, suspecting he would do so, were all prepared and full-charged, and fired from all sides on him.</p> <p>They suffered all the article to pass, and divided on the question of reporting to the House - ayes 154, noes 112.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/When</p>

T. 3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
60 (contd)		<p>When the Speaker took the chair, they again divided upon receiving the report on Friday - ayes 154, noes 107. They mean to fight it again on Friday, when I hope the articles will be finally carried.</p> <p>The whole opposition are in a rage and in high spirits, and mean to do all the mischief they can. They say Castlereagh attacked them first, and that they have a right to do all in their power.</p> <p>We had 30 absent, I was assured. They had every one of their men.'</p>
61	17 Sept. 1800	<p>Beresford, Walworth, [Co. Londonderry], to Auckland about the post-union state of Ireland.</p> <p>' ... You ask me how the new members of the Imperial Parliament will act, whether there will be much speaking, etc. These are questions not to be answered with any degree of certainty, for the members who shall represent the boroughs which remain are not yet decided - why, I do not know, for I should imagine it would be proper that those who are to serve should have as early notice as possible, as it may require some preparation to settle their private affairs, provide money, etc.</p> <p>I have always been of opinion that after the novelty is over, you will not be much troubled with Irish members. The expense, and the different mode of carrying on business and debate, will prevent most of our people from attending or speaking. How Irish business is to be conducted hereafter, I know not.</p> <p>I have mixed a good deal among the people since I came here, and I am convinced that the country at large have changed their opinions, that they see clearly the imposition which the United Irishmen put upon them, and that they would not be again led into their former errors. Nay, some of the common people think that the scarcity of provisions was a judgement of God for the murders, etc., which were committed. I am of opinion that a few proper persons employed for the purpose, mixing among them, would bring them back to perfect loyalty - I mean the people of this county, for I know nothing of other places.</p> <p>Our weather is most extraordinary [sic] fine, our harvest great in everything except potatoes, which are small and thin in the ground. But there has been infinitely more land put under potatoes this year than was ever known, which I hope will supply the thinness of the crop. The markets are very much fallen, although they are still very high, and almost all the mills are stopped for want of water. This, and all the old stores being exhausted, will keep things dear a long time. The people here have taken to the consumption of Indian corn, which is a good thing, as I believe we can get any quantity of that, if wanted. ...'</p>

T. 3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
62	[pre 1 Jan. ? 1801 ?]	<p>Lord Hobart, Ham Common, to Auckland expressing disapproval of the Chancellor's suggestion about '... Lord Clare's coming to town on the 1st to attend the Privy Council.</p> <p>Not being exactly aware of the business to be transacted there, it is very difficult for me to form an opinion, but as I conceive whatever is to be done is only matter of mere form and of course, and as the public will not know who the persons are that attend the Council, I think it a very wanton suggestion of the Chancellor to give Lord Clare the trouble and expense of a journey at this season upon such an occasion.</p> <p>Having mentioned expense, I would add that, if Lord Clare was to pay the legal penalty for every oath he swore in the course of the journey, I would not undertake to [? back] him for a very large sum. ...'</p>
63	5 Sept. 1801	<p>John Beresford, Walworth, to Auckland criticising the policy of the Hardwicke administration.</p> <p>'... I am very happy to be out of the way, as I understand that reformations of all kinds, and in all offices, are commenced, of which, if I have time, I will give you an example. Before I left town, Mr Abbot desired to see me. He talked of Revenue and great reforms, asked me many questions, which I answered. He said he hoped for my advice and assistance. I told him that I held it to be my duty, so long as I remained in the Revenue, to give every kind of assistance in my power for the better collection of it; that there were errors and improprieties certainly existing here; that so there were in England, and I believed everywhere; that the first, grand error, and which generated many others, was the improper interference of government for parliamentary purposes, that taught the governors of the Revenue to follow the example for their smaller and local interests; and that the inferior officers, seeing that they had no chance of preferment from meritorious conduct, and that after thirty years' faithful service a good electioneerer was popped over their heads into a Revenue office, of the conducting of which he knew no more than my horse, they attended more to the interests of their patrons than to that of the Revenue; that while the Commissioners had the filling up of offices, they turned out bad officers, when they caught them, and put others in their place; but that now all they could do to oblige friends was to protect their people, which led to much mischief; that the Commissioners had too much to do; that there were nine of them; that by ordering them to sit in separate rooms, instead of at separate tables in the same room, and one set to superintend all the port duties, the other all the inland duties, he would have an opportunity of seeing what might be the effect of a separation of the boards; that my advice to him was to go no further at first, not to talk of general reform, but to set [a] good example by preferring officers of merit, and where they found that the Commissioners of either</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/department</p>

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
63 (contd)		<p>department overlooked improper conduct, to correct the particular instance; that three or four instances of this kind would point out the necessity of their attending to the conduct of the officers; and that by degrees, and in a short time, things would mend and go on well. Much more passed than I can write, and we parted.</p> <p>In a fortnight after this, every Commissioner was sent for and consulted, and told that reform was intended, etc., and many inferior officers also were sent for and told the same and consulted; and this was not confined to Revenue, but went to every department of the state, and then to each was sent a circular letter, in these words ... [see /1/38].</p> <p>Thus, you see, there is a pretty universal reform in the contemplation of a vain, silly man, which will end in nothing, as all such wholesale enquiries do. I detest them. For the purposes of reform they are needless and nonsensical; for the purposes of curiosity and vanity they are contemptible; to the feelings of men, they are offensive; and in point of time, they are highly injudicious. The form of the returns I fear I shall not have time to send you this day, but they are very minute, and impossible to be complied with as required, much less to be verified on oath, for they must be taken from the returns of other people, which I am sure I will not swear are true.</p> <p>These are the efforts of a little mind, wishing to do something and not knowing what to do.</p> <p>You know that Lord H. and Mr A[bbot] positively refused Lord Pelham to admit Cooke to go to his office, and Sir George Shee to Cooke's, so that what might have been expected to have taken place at some time, has done so already: a clashing of jurisdictions, and scramble for power. I am astonished that Pelham acquiesced, but it will soon appear that things cannot go on as they are. The people's minds are settling, and the union becomes less unpopular every day. A little good management on your side the water, and a proper attention to Ireland, would reconcile men here to it very soon, when they might arrange things here as they ought to be. At present, the pomp and expense of the old government ought to be kept up.</p> <p>Abbot has removed Marshall and all Lord Castlereagh's people from his office. (N.B. Marshall was Pelham's friend.) Lord Hardwicke has quarrelled with Borough, and put him out of the comptrollership of his household, in consequence of some dispute with Dr. Lindsay. By the bye, I understand that, among other <u>reforms</u>, Dr. Lindsay as private secretary is recommended for a salary of 30/= a day, £547.10.0., more for a country residence, £150, £697.10.0. No Lord Lieutenant has heretofore had any allowance for a private secretary.</p> <p>I understand that there is likely to be a further clashing of jurisdiction, for Lord Hardwicke supports Lord Charleville as /thc</p>

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
63 (contd)		<p>the representative peer in the room of our old friend, Rossmore (Lord C. brought Mr Ormsby into parliament for them the other day, on Mr Corry's recommendation). On the other hand, I hear the Duke of Portland was under a promise to Lord Thomond, and Mr Pitt to Lord Sheffield. How Lord Pelham will act, I cannot say, but surely, if he is to conduct Irish business in the House of Lords, he ought to have something to do in such a business?</p> <p>I think I have given you a pretty good hash of Irish politics, and expect a return. Have we any prospect of peace, and when is it expected that parliament will meet?</p> <p>The oldest man alive in this country cannot remember such a harvest as we have, and except the mountainous parts, all got in safe.'</p>
64	25 Sept. 1801	<p>Edward Cooke, Dublin, to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>'You know Lord Pelham's project in my favour was defeated. Since Abbot arrived here, I have been entirely put aside in every business which was not trivial. My assistant in office has been taken into confidence in my stead, and every kind of slight has been shown me. I consider these as hints to retire. Yesterday, I mentioned my wish to Lord Hardwicke, who readily consented, and he will recommend that the £1,000 a year possessed by my assistant in office should be settled on me. I am contented, and at this moment have a [? calenture] of retirement upon me.</p> <p>I am afraid Abbot is a little-too active for a Minister, and stirring subjects before he knows the consequences. Perhaps your Lordship would wish that a little more time should be allowed for the union to settle, perhaps that peace should take place before Ireland be made a fresh subject of debate. Aliter visum est. Returns are ordered from all offices and every officer of all kinds and degrees, to be made as if upon oath, of all their duties and all their emoluments, legal and illegal, which of course G. Ponsonby will move to have laid upon the table of the House of Commons, in order to establish his character by comments and motions upon them. They say here the English want a directory of the patronage of Ireland to know what offices to apply for. The servants of the crown do not understand why their rewards for services to government and carrying the union, are to be made topics of debate and obloquy.</p> <p>It was a common assertion that the patronage of Ireland was so great that it enabled government to carry every measure they pleased against the wishes and interests of the nation, and even to annihilate the constitution, when it operated on 300 commoners and 200 peers. What will now be its force, when operating only on 100 commoners and 28 peers?</p> <p>If you mean to cut down the patronage of Ireland, you will find excrescences enough for the pruning knife. If you do not, /you</p>

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T.3229/2/	Date	Description
64 (contd)		<p>you [? give] a ground for perpetual attack. If you mean to reform, do you not invite opposition to a place in that kind of popularity? Is this the time to show the people the nature of establishments, to halloo them against influence, to make justification for their former opposition, sedition and disaffection? ... I like not general, wholesale measures.</p> <p>Our friend Beresford keeps in the country, possibly that he may not seem to approve what he does not concur in and advise.</p> <p>The system of the corn trade, of the distilleries, etc. grows most important to be considered. I should suggest a letter from your Board of Trade to the Lord Lieutenant recommending a public examination on the whole subject by a committee of the Irish Council. This question requires the collection and fermentation of all information and every opinion, to produce a pure and clear decision.'</p>
65	8 Oct. 1801	<p>Cooke, Dublin, to Auckland (letter marked 'Secret'): the same.</p> <p>' ... I think the peace may ... give Ministers a fair ground for entering upon the subject of Ireland afresh, and abolishing the dangerous imperium in imperio which has been so rashly set up. When I saw the little Minister here begin his absurd career, I thought that, if not encouraged and instructed by the whole, he had at least been authorised by a part of the Cabinet. I now begin to believe that he has not the slightest sanction or authority for any one of his measures and projects. If that is so, he must of course be quickly checked, and affairs put into a regular, constitutional train.</p> <p>As to myself and my conduct, I will state it fairly. I was deeply engaged in all the promises of the union which were made in the King's name and on the authority of all his late Ministry. When that Ministry retired, I was the only person left in office in Ireland to whom those who had engagements made to them could appeal. I was desired to remain in office, and Lord Hardwicke wrote over that he wished me to continue, and that all engagements should be punctually fulfilled. What, then, must have been my feelings when Mr Abbot, who was unconnected with the union, was made Privy Seal for life, which place Lord Castlereagh had resigned and Elliot and I had refused on motives of honour, and when Mr Legge was appointed to succeed Elliot, who knew as much of Ireland as he did of Nova [? Zembla]! I certainly expressed my disapprobation of this proceeding as contrary to the declarations held forth by the new government, and as I knew Abbot was aware of my sentiments, I endeavoured to avail myself of Lord Pelham's kindness, who wished to relieve me. I was at the same time involved in some secret business in which Mr Abbot and Lord Hardwicke declined taking a part. But you will think this statement was no reason for not permitting the arrangement proposed in my favour by Lord Pelham - certainly. What then defeated it? My venturing to apply to Lord Pelham, my wishing</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/his Lordship</p>

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
65 (contd)		<p>his Lordship to propose the arrangement, and my not mentioning it in the first instance to Abbot and Lord Hardwicke, though I was desired by Lord Pelham not to do so, as he was not at the time certain of the period at which he should enter into office.</p> <p>The point was conceived to be at issue whether the Secretary of State should at all interfere with Irish patronage. I was the corpus vile on the occasion. In order to defeat Lord Pelham, a promise was previously made to Marsden that he should succeed me, in case I retired, and when Lord Pelham applied, the answer was ready, cut and dry, that his Excellency was engaged by a promise.</p> <p>I thought, like a foolish ninny, that a Secretary of State had always something to say as to the Irish Government. I thought that, since the union, his connection with it, and authority over it, naturally and necessarily was greatly increased. I thought that a Lord Lieutenant, on the principles of common sense, would wish to cultivate the Secretary of State, who was the channel of his intercourse with the Cabinet, on whose cordiality the comfort of his administration depended, and that he would embrace any proposition with double alacrity that arose from a quarter he was most interested to cultivate. I was of course properly disappointed. I ought to have known better.</p> <p>Having defeated my object of going to England, Mr Abbot, I suppose, conceived that I should be displeased, that I should not be cordial, and therefore it seems to have been his policy to drive me from office, for from the moment he landed, I felt his hand against me in numerous little instances which it is impossible to enumerate. This private ill-treatment, added to the offensive and mischievous activity he was displaying, led me to ask permission to retire.</p> <p>In consequence of yours and Lord Hobart's letters, I shall wait at my post till the arrangement proposed for me shall be ultimately concluded. I had a very kind note from Lord Pelham, but he has not answered officially my Lord Lieutenant respecting me. Whatever it is wished I should do, will be readily acquiesced in by me. I do not court idleness. I do not affect to be a Minister. But in whatever situation I am to be placed, let me firstly have the benefit and confidence due to it, and let my feelings be made comfortable by the knowledge that union engagements are to be discharged, and that honourable and real exertions are to be made for discharging them. Till that debt be justly paid, government here can never be in a state of credit, nor the servant of it able to look people in the face. I feel myself continually in a disgraceful situation, when I am reduced to make shabby and evasive answers without the consciousness that the promises I portend are sacred, will ever be kept....</p> <p>I shall, however, hope that a new system will be adopted, as you give me such strong hopes of it, and then I am ready to do whatever is right for me. But if what is going on is to be continued,</p> <p style="text-align: right;">/I</p>

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
65 (contd)		<p>I only petition to let the terms of my retirement be completed, and I then will sink ignominiously away to some distant corner where at least I may be secure from seeing the face of an Irishman whom I have been the means of duping.</p> <p>A [? question] as to a Lord Lieutenant? Could the King issue a commission deputing the exercise of all his royal prerogatives within Britain to an individual, without a positive Act of Parliament, he remaining in Great Britain? Could he do so as to any part of Great Britain? Can he do so, then, as to Ireland, now the union has passed? He is as much present in Ireland <u>constitutionally</u> as in Great Britain. It is a new case. There is no precedent from the Scotch union. I believe the present Lord Lieutenant's commission is not strictly legal.'</p>
66	25 Dec. 1801	<p>Cooke, 33 Somerset Street, Manchester Square, to Auckland: the same.</p> <p>' ... I have been working since my coming hither to get union engagements discharged, and I begin now to believe that they will be seriously put in train. ...</p> <p>I do not hear that anything is arranged as to the settling a consistent plan for conducting the Revenue, the patronage or the government of Ireland, and I suppose nothing will be arranged till necessity forces, and then the necessity will make its own arrangement.</p> <p>400,000 Protestants of the Church, jealous of their power and monopoly. 600,000 Protestant dissenters of all kinds, discontented and democratic. 3,000,000 of Catholics kept in a state of suspicion, distrust and alienation. A balance of trade against her at this moment of £2,000,000 a year. A remittance of interest to England for loans of £900,000. A remittance to absentees of £1,000,000.</p> <p>Such is the state of Ireland at present, and I do not see the likelihood of any such enlarged system being adopted respecting her as will cure these alarming appearances. I do not know so much of the state of England, but I should think that <u>its</u> situation is not quite couleur de rose.</p> <p>I find that the grant on which I retire is upon the point of being completed, so I feel satisfied, and I shall quietly amuse myself with English subjects, which I have been out of the way of considering. ...'</p>
67	7 Jan. 1802	<p>Lord Hobart, Ham Common, to Auckland about the serious illness of Lord Clare, political developments in France, and the appointment of [Auckland's son], William, to a diplomatic post.</p>

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
68	12 Jan. 1802	John Beresford, 59 Conduit Street, to Auckland discussing his arrangements for setting up residence in London, including arrangements for getting his letters delivered to Conduit Street.
69	25 Jan. 1802	<p>[The 1st Earl of] Rosslyn, [formerly Lord Loughborough and Lord Chancellor of England], Bath, to [Auckland] among other things about Lord Clare's illness.</p> <p>'... A letter from Lady Clare of a later date than yours from Lord C. gives a very good account of him. He seems to have brought on his general complaints by a closer application to business than his constitution would support, and I hope his journey to London alone will re-establish his health. The loss of his energy would be most severely felt at present. ...'</p>
70	1 Feb. 1802	<p>Lord Rosslyn, Bath, to [Auckland]: the same.</p> <p>'In the course of a very melancholy visit I have made to Mrs Richardson, I have learnt that Lord Clare's case appeared desperate to every person except to Lady C. and himself. For the two last days he knew it, but went on with the course of the seal, and took leave of his friends with his usual composure and kindness. Mrs R. apprehends that her daughter must have a very slender provision, the entail of the estate having limited her jointure to £700, and Lord C.'s liberality having never allowed him to save money. It would be very unjust amidst all the profusion of recompense for Irish services and disservices, if no provision should be made for any one of Lord C.'s family who may stand in need of it, and I trust it cannot happen. ...</p> <p>The loss of Lord Clare will be most severely felt. There is not, I am told, any man on the bench or at the bar in Dublin who could in any tolerably degree supply his place. I should be almost as much at a loss to find any person here. It ought to be one who could not be suspected of a desire to make his fortune by the promotion. The present Master of the Rolls would be the best choice, but I dare to say he would not quit his situation for any other. It is, however, very foolish in me to think about a choice with which, to my comfort, I have nothing to do. ...'</p>
71	9 Feb. 1802	<p>John Lees, Dublin, to [Auckland] about the sending of Irish Parliamentary Journals to Auckland, about the death of Lord Clare, the illness of Lord Shannon and the retirement of Cooke, and about Lees's high regard for Lord and Lady Hardwicke.</p>

T.3229/2/	Date	Description
71 (contd)		<p>'... I ... experience much civility from Lord Hardwicke in private and in public, and in addition to his kindness to myself, he completely won my heart by the mark of respect which he showed to the character and memory of our friend, Lord Clare, in putting off the announced drawing room at the Castle, assigning as the reason the death of that great and good man.'</p>
72	12 Aug. 1802	<p>John Beresford, Abbeville, [Co. Dublin], to Auckland about the general election in Waterford County and City and elsewhere, Beresford's retirement from the Revenue, etc.</p> <p>'I yesterday received yours of the 5th. I have been and am as unsettled as you. I arrived in Dublin Monday the 19th of July. My election was on the 22nd. I was obliged to go directly to the Co. Waterford. When I came, Mr Power had declined, as I expected, and Mr Lee and I were unanimously elected. I stayed a week with Lord Waterford, and another with Bob Uniacke ... I came to town on Monday to vote for John [Claudius Beresford, his son] and Ogle. John beat Latouche by 300, and the latter beat Ogle by as many. Monstrous deal of bribery, and a thousand tricks played.</p> <p>That business being over, I have been ever since employed in getting out of the Custom House, which I hope to do in a week. The removal of my books and wine has been very troublesome. The former has fatigued me much, as I have been obliged to unpack and new arrange them in a room not as large as I could wish. When this business is done, I shall go to the North, and stay there quietly until I return to London.</p> <p>I have purchased Mr Greville's house and furniture in Bruton Street, which will answer us very well. It is extremely well furnished and very comfortable.</p> <p>I am not at all surprised that many of your elections have gone wrong, if they were with you managed as with us. Mr Addington wrote over here to desire that government should influence everyone they could for Sir John Newport at Waterford. This was done to oblige Lord Grenville, who is a good friend to Mr A[ddington's] administration, and Sir John is a man who for 25 years has been doing everything hostile to government, and has many times prevented addresses, etc., even to his Majesty, from the corporation. A Castle letter was sent to the Collector to order the officers of Revenue to vote for Newport, which the Collector showed to every man in Waterford. Very prudent and very kind to Lord Waterford and me! However, I trust Mr Alcock will be returned.</p> <p>At Drogheda, Addington gave Mr Hardman his interest, and wrote to him to that purpose. Mr Wickham, not knowing this, gave [the] government interest to Mr Meade Ogle, and a letter was written there also. But Foster, whose man Hardman is, showed A[ddington's] letter to the officers, and polled them off before /the Castle</p>

T.3229/2/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
<p>72 (contd)</p>		<p>the Castle letter came, [and] so carried the election by five votes. Ogle says he will petition, and has 20 people to swear that they were influenced by A[ddington's] letter. A treaty is on foot to compromise, which I hope will succeed.</p> <p>All this to yourself, but you see how very wisely things are managed.</p> <p>Our crops are very fine, except hay and oats, but our weather has been dreadfully wet.</p> <p>They are very right in abolishing the Irish Secretary's Office in London, although the expense of fitting it up was £6,000 and upwards - a [sic] instance of economy.</p> <p>I wish they would make their new arrangements of trade, and put things as they ought to be, according to the Act of Union. People here are getting very angry on that subject.</p> <p>The spirit of Popery and rebellion never was stronger, or showed itself more, than on the late election for Dublin. It was the Papists and rebels who brought in Latouche, not for his sake, but in opposition to Ogle, who [sic] they hate of all men. There is [sic] terrible riots and many murders constantly committed in the streets. The Papists waylay Protestants, who [sic] they style bloody Orangemen, and knock them down and stone them, and I hear the same animosity is going on in the North: in short, the old spirit prevails as strongly as ever. ...'</p>
<p>73</p>	<p>Pitt</p>	

SNEYD PAPERS: LETTER TO LADY CLARE

T3229/3/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
1	25 Nov. 1808	<p>[Sir] Arthur Wellesley, [the Chief Secretary], London, to the Countess [Dowager] of Clare about the Co. Limerick shrievalty.</p> <p>'Colonel Odell has recommended a gentleman whose name I don't now recollect (but I believe it is Odell) to be sheriff of the county of Limerick next year. Pray let me know whether you are aware of this recommendation, whether it suits your arrangements, and if not, who you wish should be the sheriff. As the county of Limerick is very much disturbed, pray let us have, if possible, a sheriff who will be as active as Mr Dickson was.'</p>

T.3229/4/	Date	Description
1-25	1827-50	Correspondence of the 2nd Earl of Clare with miscellaneous correspondents about Irish affairs.
1	1 Nov. 1827	<p>Robert Peel, [the Home Secretary], Whitehall Gardens, to Lord Clare ('My dear Clare') explaining that he has only an indistinct recollection of the arrangement made in his presence between Clare and Lord Dunraven about Co. Limerick appointments; and concluding with joking references to Ireland.</p> <p>'... I was very much surprised at first at reading a paragraph in an Irish newspaper, which asserted that there had been a meeting of 70 magistrates, all of the same mind, but my surprise vanished on catching the words Tipperary - murders - Insurrection Act.</p> <p>The mason who has two policemen to guard his labours must be a very experienced workman. Why not present him to Wilmot Horton as a fit subject for emigration?'</p>
2	[pre 20 July 1835]	<p>[Lord] J[ohn] Russell, [the Home Secretary], to Clare about the Lieutenancy of Co. Limerick.</p> <p>'My dear Clare, I was very sorry to hear of your illness; you lost a most agreeable dinner.</p> <p>It was the intention of Lord Grey's Ministry to offer you the Lord Lieutenancy of your county in case your brother should ever resign it. If you are going soon to Ireland, it will perhaps be as well that you should settle between you whether it is your wish and his that he should remain, or that you should hold the situation. I will answer for the concurrence of Lord Mulgrave.'</p>
3	20 July 1835	<p>Copy of a letter from Clare, Belgrave Square, to [Russell] (My dear John), in reply.</p> <p>'... With respect to the Lieutenancy of the county of Limerick, before I received your note, my brother at my request had made me a Deputy Lieutenant, and as I am not aware that he has at present any intention of resigning the Lieutenancy, I think a proposal from me to that effect would come with very bad grace, particularly as I know from his letters to me on the subject when I was in Ireland that Lord Grey did not intimate to him, when he was appointed, that it was the wish or intention of the King's government that he should hold the situation <u>for me</u>.'</p>

T.3229/4/	Date	Description
4	26 Aug. 1837	<p>William S[mith] O'Brien, Cahirmoyle, to Clare about a report that Clare has victimised tenants who voted for O'Brien at the last election for Co. Limerick.</p> <p>'My dear Lord, as an authenticated rumour is in active circulation in this neighbourhood that such of your Lordship's tenants as voted for me at the last election have received notice that they will be immediately distrained for their rent, expressly it is said for the <u>avowed</u> purpose of making a difference between those who voted according to their own wishes and convictions, and those who voted in compliance with the directions given by your Lordship's agent, I feel it a duty which I owe to them and to the county to acquaint your Lordship with this rumour, in order that, if it be untrue, I may have an opportunity of contradicting it, and that if it be true, the country [sic] may know whether such a proceeding has your Lordship's sanction.</p> <p>I do not, of course, as an individual presume to think that I have any right to question your Lordship as to the mode in which you may deal with your tenants, but standing in the public position which I hold, I do conceive myself bound by a sense of public duty and by express engagement to my constituents, to bring under the consideration of parliament anything which shall appear to me a clear and well-substantiated violation of the elective franchise in this county. This letter to your Lordship is therefore intended as a mark of courtesy and respect, as I should be sorry to remain under an impression which a few lines from you may remove.</p> <p>If your Lordship should think it right to answer this letter, I hope you will not consider your reply as a private communication, as in any event I should wish to be at liberty to acquaint my political friends with the object and result of this correspondence.</p>
5	28 Aug. 1837	<p>Copy of a letter from Clare, Mount Shannon, to O'Brien in reply.</p> <p>'My dear Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th of this month. As I have received no complaints from my tenants, and as I have no reason to believe that anyone on my estate is dissatisfied with my conduct in consequence of his vote at the last election, I do not feel it necessary to enter into any explanation on the subject with you, nor do I presume to question your right of bringing under the consideration of parliament any matter which you may consider to be of national importance.'</p>

T.3229/4/	Date	Description
6	18 Dec. 183[?7]	<p>[Sir] Robert Peel, Whitehall, to Clare thanking him for a '... curious enclosure which confirms my previous impression that, notwithstanding all the boastings about tranquillity in Ireland, there is something beneath the surface, very suspicious and unsatisfactory.</p> <p>If, indeed, one can credit the extracts from Irish newspapers, <u>the surface</u> is not peculiarly bright, but chequered by enough of blood and outrage to silence much congratulation on that head.</p> <p>I shall be curious to see whether there is any secret sympathy between Ireland and Lower Canada. Lord Glenelg and Lord Gosford together have brought Canada a little in advance of Ireland.</p> <p>I will send the enclosure in your letter, in confidence, to the Duke of Wellington. ...'</p>
7	24 Jan. [late 1830s-1839?]	<p>Peel, Drayton Manor, to Clare thanking him for another communication.</p> <p>'... Irish information, from old habits and connections with Ireland, is always interesting to me, but any intelligence connected with the shameful outrage to which Lord Charleville's letter refers*, is doubly so.</p> <p>I certainly <u>saw</u> Lord Bloomfield's answer to the priest, but the general purport and tenor of it were by no means in conformity with my advice. The tone of the priest's letter was such, that nothing but a peremptory refusal to permit him to meddle with the management of Lord Bloomfield's estate, could be at all satisfactory as a reply.</p> <p>I advised Lord Bloomfield to return either no answer for the present, or a mere formal acknowledgement, to ascertain by reference to the agent the precise facts of the two cases mentioned by the priest, to place them on record in a letter to the priest, and then remonstrate with the priest for his intolerable presumption, refuse to permit his interference, and notify to his tenantry and neighbourhood the course he had pursued.</p> <p>Few gentlemen in England, the owners of estates, would write to their agent about the management of them with such a tone of dictation and authority, as the priest writes to Lord Bloomfield. ...</p> <p>Lord Normanby has mounted the horse from which Mr Drummond, after two or three murders, had dismounted.'</p> <p>*Lord Norbury's murder in 1839?</p>

T.3229/4/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
8	11 Aug. 1840	George, [2nd Duke of Cambridge], Dublin, to Clare expressing regret that he cannot be at Mount Shannon, and commenting: '... Dublin is at present very dull, but I believe that it is hardly fair to judge of it at this time of year. ...'
9	2 July 1843	Sir Robert Peel [now Prime Minister], Whitehall, to Clare (letter marked 'Confidential') thanking him for a confidential communication, and asking him to continue such communications after his arrival in Ireland.
		'... Mr Smith O'Brien is to bring forward a general motion respecting Ireland on Tuesday next. It will probably lead to protracted discussion, notwithstanding the length of the debates during the tedious progress of the Arms Bill. I doubt whether we shall have any more definite declarations of opinion as to the practical course which should be taken by Lord John Russell or Lord Palmerston than we have had already. They will probably find it convenient to deal in very general language as to the future.'
10	28 Aug. 1843	Peel, Whitehall, to Clare thanking him for another communication, this time about the editor of the <i>Kerry Examiner</i> .
		'... Notwithstanding the hard name justly applied to the editor of the <i>Kerry Examiner</i> by young James McMahon, being at Windsor Castle, I could not resist showing your letter to her Majesty, to prove to her that the said James had anticipated her royal recommendation from the throne, and had exerted his influence and authority to discourage a system of pernicious agitation by calling the editor directly and the priest indirectly, <u>a liar</u> .'
11	30 Mar. 1844	Peel, Whitehall, to Clare (letter marked 'Confidential') reassuring him on a point of patronage concerning the Ordnance Department, which has apparently been raised by Lord Adare.
12	11 Mar. 1845	[The 2nd Lord] Heytesbury, [the Lord Lieutenant], Dublin Castle, to Clare, 64 Eaton Square, offering him the Order of St Patrick.
		'... I know no one so well entitled to it as yourself, as well by your social position as by your public services. ...'

T.3229/4/	Date	Description
13	14 Mar. 1845	Copy of a letter from Clare, 63 Eaton Place [i.e. Lord Heytesbury has mis-addressed his letter], to Lord Heytesbury, acknowledging and accepting the offer, and thanking him for the flattering terms in which it was made.
14	18 Mar. [1845]	<p>Sir Robert Peel, Whitehall, to Clare (letter marked 'Private'): the same.</p> <p>'... If high personal character and public service constitute, as I think they ought, the chief qualifications for such distinction, no worthier selection could have been made than that which has been made - and made purely on those grounds.'</p>
15	19 Mar. 1845	<p>Copy of a letter from Clare, 63 Eaton Place, to Peel in reply.</p> <p>'... It was an honour quite unexpected by me, but I value it highly as a national distinction, and as having been bestowed upon me by a government of which you are the head, and which is administered in Ireland by Lord Heytesbury. You have besides added infinitely to my gratification by the expression of your good opinion of my conduct. ...'</p>
16	20 Mar. 1845	<p>Lord Heytesbury, Dublin Castle, to Clare officially informing him of his nomination, and discussing the timing of the investiture.</p> <p>'... You must give me some previous notice of your wishes upon the subject, as it will not be very easy to assemble a sufficient number of Knights for an investiture at this period of the year. ...'</p>
17	23 Mar. 1845	<p>[Rev. ?] Richard Bourke, Peterstow Rectory, to Clare congratulating him.</p> <p>'... The distinction will be conferred well and <u>appropriately</u>, for assuredly you are pre-eminently deserving of Irish honours. I know no one who has done more for Ireland in that way that it most wants: living in it, adorning it, teaching its people the arts of civilised life, and enabling them to practise those arts for their own benefit by the employment and assistance you afford them. None should wear St Patrick's badge but those who have rendered such services to his favourite island. I need say nothing of other merits: it is enough to have considered those of an Irish resident. ...'</p>

SNEYD PAPERS: IRISH CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD CLARE

T.3229/4/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
18	21 Apr., endorsed 1845	Sir Robert Peel, Whitehall, to Clare about the Maynooth Grant. 'This morning's post has brought me from Ireland demonstrations, not merely of Protestant acquiescence in the vote for Maynooth, but of cordial Protestant support in its favour. Among other petitions, I have one from Belfast signed by three Deputy Lieutenants, 23 magistrates, 8 bankers and 387 merchants, professional gentlemen and clergymen. This, however, only confirms your impression as to the danger of the contrast between Protestant feeling in the two countries.'
19	16 Oct. 1846	The Duke of Cambridge, Limerick, to Clare discussing his visit to Mount Shannon in Clare's absence, Clare's anxiety at the state of Ireland, Cambridge's approval of the modification of 'the act' which the Lord Lieutenant has made on his own initiative, the recent strengthening of the army in Ireland, and a drunken affray at Castle Connell [Co. Limerick].
20	15 Aug. 1848	[The 1st Viscount] Hardinge, [Commander- in-Chief in Ireland ?], Limerick, to Clare: the same. '... Everything is perfectly quiet. A Yankee of the name of Ryan has been arrested and his papers seized, which are said to be important as showing the very extensive plans of the Irish [? leaders] connected with American sympathisers, of which I suppose you heard from Lord Clarendon when in the P[hoenix] Park.'
21	19 Feb. 1849	Lord John Russell, to Clare: 'I shall be very happy to present you at the levee on the 22nd. It was always my wish that, when you were in this country, you should be Lord Lieutenant of Limerick.'
22	5 Dec. 1849	Russell, Downing Street, to Clare acknowledging receipt of a report on the financial condition of Co. Limerick, and promising to discuss this important matter with his colleagues.
23	[?10-16?] Aug. 1850	The Duke of Cambridge, St James's Palace, to Clare thanking him for a letter of condolence.

T.3229/4/	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
24	10 Sept. 1850	Cambridge, Dublin, to Clare thanking him for a letter expressing sympathy with Cambridge on account of the 'most singular course' which the Lord Chancellor has pursued in a matter concerning Cambridge's precedence.
25	6 Nov. 1850	Cambridge, Dublin, to Clare: the same; he explains that he has placed himself in the hands of Lord Redesdale, and that he believes that Lords Lyndhurst and Brougham are of the opinion that he is in the right.