

1966

The Making of the Revolutionist: Lord Edward Fitzgerald

Franklin Delaine Donaldson

Eastern Illinois University

This research is a product of the graduate program in [History](#) at Eastern Illinois University. [Find out more](#) about the program.

Recommended Citation

Donaldson, Franklin Delaine, "The Making of the Revolutionist: Lord Edward Fitzgerald" (1966). *Masters Theses*. 4242.
<https://thekeep.eiu.edu/theses/4242>

This is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Theses & Publications at The Keep. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses by an authorized administrator of The Keep. For more information, please contact tabruns@eiu.edu.

THE MAKING OF THE REVOLUTIONIST:

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD

(TITLE)

BY

Franklin Delaine Donaldson

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

1966

YEAR

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING
THIS PART OF THE GRADUATE DEGREE CITED ABOVE

July 25 1966
DATE

July 25 1966
DATE

PREFACE

The original purpose of this paper was that of satisfying a void felt by this author after reading several books which deal with revolution. Most men dismiss the problem of what makes a revolutionist as being somewhat insignificant. When, however, one realizes the importance of the individual in any rebellion, it is easily seen that the topic is of great significance. Through the composition of this paper, I have gained insight into the problem, insight which has helped fill the void.

There are many individuals who have been quite helpful during the course of the writing of this paper. Dr. Rex Syndergaard, head of the history department of Eastern Illinois University, provided me with many of the ideas found within this work. His guidance as an advisor has been most valuable. I wish to thank also the men who have served on my graduate committee. They have provided many helpful suggestions. To Miss Sandra K. Stead, the young lady who will become my wife within the next few weeks, I wish to extend thanks for helping in the typing of this paper. Lastly, I wish to thank the members of my immediate family--my father and mother, my brothers, and my sister--for tolerating me during these last few weeks when the temperature outside caused me to be somewhat disagreeable.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE.....	ii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Chapter	
I. LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD'S ASSOCIATES: THE FRENCH SPEAKING PEOPLE.....	5
II. LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD'S ASSOCIATES: THE ENGLISH SPEAKING PEOPLE.....	20
III. LORD EDWARD'S ABILITIES.....	30
IV. LORD EDWARD'S MILITARY ABILITY.....	41
V. LORD EDWARD'S ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING.....	50
VI. LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD AS A REVOLUTIONIST.....	68
CONCLUSION.....	76
APPENDIX.....	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	85

INTRODUCTION

Living in an age during which revolutions are becoming commonplace, the citizen of the twentieth century may wonder what causes an individual to turn to rebellion, a life in which the risk of death and loss of status and reputation is extremely great. Surely, there are certain forces at work which bring changes apparently alien to an individual's mode of life. It is, therefore, of use to determine what those forces are. Of course, since the topic of inquiry involves attempts to measure or analyze the impact which certain events, or relationships, have had upon the individual's personality structure, there can be no means by which such impact can be objectively ascertained. Much of the study, of necessity, must be subjective. The reader often must be left to form his own opinion. It is, nevertheless, the thesis of this writer that certain events, relationships, and ideas occurring at intervals throughout the life of the revolutionist are the factors which finally determine the rebellious nature of the individual. The problem becomes that of determining what those factors are.

Every individual is the product of many different forces. Certain factors are present in the life of everyone. The

forces, therefore, important in molding the revolutionist's character are essentially the same as those important for any individual. It has been this writer's finding, however, that the following factors are of greater significance: the individual's associates, the individual's abilities and skills, and the individual's social environment.

Into the category of associates of the individual fall the immediate family of the person, the friends of the family, and the members of the individual's social class. There are many ways by which the associates of the revolutionist push him farther into the revolutionary setting. Through the conversations which are carried on between the people, expressions of sympathy or antipathy are brought about.¹ Perhaps just as essential is the impact which the associates can have upon the reading habits of the potential revolutionist. The significance of what an individual reads can be seen by considering the eighteenth century--The Age of Enlightenment. In such a study it is discovered that the writings of the French philosophes exercised a great deal of influence over the actions of all society, both French and non-French. Through reading what the philosophes had to say, much of Europe was inflamed with the zeal of revolutionary action.

In the second area important for the total development of the revolutionist's character, it is necessary to consider

¹ Pitirim A. Sorokin, The Sociology of Revolution, pp. 32-40. See also, Lyford P. Edwards, The Natural History of Revolution, pp. 44-45.

the role played by the type of abilities, or skills, possessed by the individual. There are several ways in which this factor comes into play. First, the revolutionist has the opportunity to utilize skills which may have lain dormant for a number of years but which the individual considers as important. Second, the revolution offers the opportunity for securing of glory. There is always the possibility that no one will possess the particular skill which the individual has. In such a case the individual needs the revolution in order to gain a certain satisfaction not possible at an earlier time. In other cases, however, there is the need of the revolution for the individual. Certain vocations contain innate potentiality for the transformation of society. To use the military skill: There is always the need for men with military ability in revolutions predicated upon the idea that it is necessary to overthrow the existing institutions. The man, therefore, who has skills in military matters is an essential part of the total program of revolution.²

Important as the first two named factors are, there can be no revolution unless the era is ready for one. There are essentially two ways in which the individual is influenced by the era: first, by the emotional excitement of the era; second,

2

There is no need to offer detailed discussion showing how the abilities and skills of the individual are important. For an excellent description of the matter, the reader should see Crane Brinton's The Anatomy of Revolution, chapter IV.

by the non-emotional, intellectual current of the times.³ Illustrating the importance of the times, the American Revolution was not conceived and born overnight. Rather, for a number of years prior to 1776, there had been a growing resentment of British control. The shots fired at Lexington and Concord were merely physical manifestations of the spirit of the era. Once started, the impact of the event was both emotional and intellectual.

In summary, the forces which cause an individual to change from routine life to revolutionist life are difficult to measure. In fact, no quantitative device can gage the impact which any given occurrence has upon the personality structure of an individual. Men such as Crane Brinton, Pitirim A. Sorokin, and Lyford P. Edwards, however, men who have dealt with the problem, agree that certain factors are of extreme importance. These factors are: first, the associates of the individual; second, the abilities and skills of the individual; and third, the social environment of the revolutionist. For convenience, this introduction has dealt with each element separately. In actuality, however, matters are not so simple. Each factor is in constant interaction with the other two. In order for there to be the development of a true revolutionist, all three factors must be present along with several minor items too numerous to mention.

³For a more detailed discussion see Edwards, op. cit., pp. 50-66.

I

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD'S ASSOCIATES:

THE FRENCH SPEAKING PEOPLE

On June 4, 1798, in a musty prison cell in Dublin, Ireland, an Irish nobleman died of wounds sustained from participation in the Irish Rebellion of that year. His personality exemplified the multi-nature of the elements necessary for the production of the revolutionist mind. The man was Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Looking at the social strata into which Lord Edward was born, one cannot help but realize that there were many forceful factors which led the nobleman to a position of leadership in the revolutionary cause for which he sacrificed his life.

Fitzgerald played one of the most significant roles in the Irish Rebellion. Because of the guidance which he provided, the Irish noble served as an inspiration to the cause of Irish Liberty. Even though he met death prior to the major events of the revolution, the memory which he left "filled the hearts of all with a firm purpose, and roused them to execute it."¹

The man who served as the chief military mind for the Irish insurrectionists was born October 15, 1763. His father

¹The Life and Times of Lord Edward Fitzgerald (hereafter, The Life and Times of Lord Edward), p. 4.

was an Irish noble, the Duke of Leinster. His mother, Emilia Mary, was the daughter of Charles, Duke of Richmond.² With the combination of power vested in the royal families,³ the sons of the Duke of Leinster had opened to them all but a few of the major positions granted under the British Crown. Although the brothers of Lord Edward utilized the family interest for the procuring of position, they had little influence on their brother.⁴

What then was the motivating spirit which determined the course of Fitzgerald's life? The most evident answer is that the Irishman found a cause in which he believed and in which he could effectively serve. One of the Irish revolutionists, W. J. MacNevin, when questioned if the United Irishmen, the group which spearheaded the rebellion and the group of which

²Thomas Moore, The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, I, p. 4.

³Interesting in regard to the power wielded by the Fitzgerald family is a letter sent to this author by the Irish Genealogical Office of Dublin. The letter states that the Fitzgeralds "rank with the Burkes and Butlers as one of the most illustrious of the Anglo-Norman families in Ireland. They derive their name and descent from Gerald, Constable of Pembroke, whose wife was Nest, daughter of Rhys Ap Tewdwy, King of South Wales. Gerald flourished in the early part of the 12th century. His son, Maurice Fitzgerald, was one of the companions of Strongbow, and from him are descended all the families of the name in Ireland. He received large grants of land which continued in the possession of his descendants down to recent times. Members of the family frequently filled the highest offices under the English Crown." When, therefore, the contemporaries of Lord Edward spoke of the positions of rank which the Irish nobleman could have held, they were not exaggerating.

⁴The Life and Times of Lord Edward, p. 34.



Lord Edward was a member, were motivated by ambitions which were founded on unworthy motives, stated:

. . . these imputations may be repelled by observing, that if Lord Edward Fitzgerald had been actuated in his political life by dishonourable ambition, he had only to cling to his great family connexions and parliamentary influence. They unquestionably would have advanced his fortune and gratified his desires. The voluntary sacrifices he made, and the magnanimous manner in which he devoted himself for the independence of Ireland, are incontestable proofs of the generosity and purity of his soul.⁵

Lord Edward did not develop his sacrificial spirit overnight. The path was a long, slow one. It is certain, however, that the associates of the Irish noble played an important part in giving him principles to which he could devote his life. The first important group was the French people.

Lord Edward's first contact with the French came at the early age of ten, shortly after the death of his father. Within ten months after the Duke's death, the Duchess of Leinster remarried.⁶ The second husband was William Oglivie, Edward's tutor. Upon the performance of the marriage ceremony, the family moved to France, where the Irish lad spent his boyhood at the home of the Duke of Richmond at Aubigny on the Garonne river.⁷

During those formative years, the young Lord Edward became skilled in the practices which were intended to prepare

⁵Sir John Thomas Gilbert, ed., Documents Relating to Ireland 1795-1804, p. 231.

⁶Ida Taylor, The Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, p. 21.

⁷Ibid., p. 25.

him for military career.⁸ All his interest was not involved with learning tactics which were most capable of defeating an enemy, however; Lord Edward also demonstrated an interest in political happenings. After telling of his military training, Fitzgerald, in a letter to his mother, wrote: "I was delighted . . . to see by the last Courier that Lord North had been so attacked in the House of Commons, and that the Opposition carried off everything. I think he cannot hold out much longer."⁹ The maintenance of the combination of political and military interest which characterized the whole life of Lord Edward was of extreme importance for the role which he played in 1798.

No one can say whence the interest in politics stemmed, but one need only consider the French political situation for suggestion. Louis XIV had left the country on the verge of bankruptcy. It was only a few years before the pressure building due to the unstable conditions toppled the ancient regime. Lord Edward's letter could have been a reflection of French concern for political situations. Further development of the French attitude halted shortly after the letter was written. Lord Edward returned to his homeland in 1779.¹⁰ The next contact with the French came some four years later, in 1783.

The relationships with the French during the boyhood years served only as a basis upon which later, more mature friendships could be built. The contacts made after the Ameri-

⁸Since Lord Edward was a second son, he had no hope of becoming Duke of Leinster.

⁹Moore, op. cit., I, p.6.

¹⁰Ibid.

can Revolution were the basis for the formation of the attitudes which were expressed best through the action of revolution.

Lord Edward served for a brief time in the American Revolution, fighting for the British. After the war was over, he was stationed at St. Lucia, in the West Indies. In a letter dated February 4, 1783, the young officer wrote his mother to tell her of the pleasing acquaintances which he had made with the French:

I was over at Martinique the other day, with a flag of truce, with prisoners. It was a very pleasant jaunt. I staid [sic] there a week, and received every civility possible from le Marquis de Bouille and the rest of the officers, but met nobody I knew before. . . .I was at a ball every night. The women are pretty; dance and dress well; and are, the French say, . . .vastly good natured.¹¹

Each contact which Lord Edward made with the French added to the esteem with which he regarded them. In a letter dated March 3, one month after the above correspondence, Fitzgerald wrote his mother:

I like the idea of going to Aubigny much, and am not like my brother Charles in hating everything French: on the contrary, I have made a second trip to Martinique, where I spent a week very pleasantly. I met there with a very agreeable young man, the Duc de Coigni's son. . . .I am to go to his chateau to spend some time with him whenever we meet in France. . . . I do assure you that when I go to Martinique I am received as well, if possible better than I should be at peace.¹²

The acquaintances made as the result of the American Revolution were the spring board which thrust Lord Edward into contact with ideas of the French Revolution. It is

¹¹Ibid., I, pp. 29-30.

¹²Ibid., I, pp. 33-34.

most noteworthy that one of the French officers with whom Lord Edward became acquainted was General LaFayette.¹³ The consequence of the friendship is quite evident. LaFayette was the man who brought forward the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the gospel of modern mankind.

The more contact the Irishman had with the French the better he liked the French way of life. When, therefore, the traditional society of France was trodden underfoot during the revolution begun in 1789, it was an easy task for Lord Edward to adapt his way of thinking to that held by the majority of the beloved French people. When the French shouted "Equality, Brotherhood, and Fraternity," so could Fitzgerald. Throughout the relationships evidenced in his letters, Lord Edward became conditioned to the adaptation of French thought. When, therefore, the opportunity was afforded for the Irish noble to participate in the events of the French Revolution, Lord Edward jumped at the chance. Stemming from his action an important era of his life was born.

Lord Edward traveled to France once again in 1792, after a military venture in Canada. During the stay "he imbibed principles of a highly republican cast. . . ."¹⁴ The decisions reached and the actions taken were momentous ones. The trip to Paris was the result of a rapid decision. It was at the end of 1792 that France cast aside the last remnants of the monarchy to place in its stead a republic. Lord Edward was

¹³C. Teeling, A Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion, p. 144.

¹⁴Rev. James Gordon, History of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 275.

"unwilling to lose such a spectacle of moral and political excitement. . . ." He had to go to Paris to view the situation. Therefore, without telling anyone of his intentions, not even his mother with whom he was extremely close, Fitzgerald went to Paris.¹⁵

The fact that he left home in such an urgent manner demonstrates that Lord Edward desired to participate in French events. The participation was the beginning of a series of culminating steps in the relations with the French. Once in Paris, Fitzgerald showed the reason for the swift journey. He wrote his mother: "You and I have always had a proper liking for the French character."¹⁶ In the next few days after the letter was written, the French character became identical with that of the Irishman.

Lord Edward was in Paris but a short time before he identified himself with the Republicans. Although he did not like the barbarous actions of the masses, he was in complete sympathy with the ideas of freedom which they proclaimed. It was Lord Edward's hope that a better-mannered group would soon rise to leadership positions from which the masses could be controlled.¹⁷

At all times the Irishman increased his comradeship with the republican leaders of France. On October 30, 1792, he wrote his mother: "I go a great deal to the Assembly;--they

¹⁵Moore, op. cit., I, p. 168.

¹⁶Ibid., I, p. 175.

¹⁷The Life and Times of Lord Edward, p. 141.

improve much in speaking."¹⁸ More than improved speaking ability, however, came from the association with the republicans. Fitzgerald's thought became more deeply steeped in the principles of revolution.

By the middle of November, 1792, the Irish lord openly demonstrated the effect which the visit to France had had upon him. An article telling of an assembly meeting for the purpose of celebrating the French triumphs appeared in the newspapers of Paris and London. Although the meeting had been planned originally only for British subjects, it was attended by representatives from a variety of countries and by deputies of the French Convention. Lord Edward proposed a toast that the patriotic spirit demonstrated so recently be transferred to all citizens of the world. After General Dillon proposed a toast to the effect that the Irish people should profit from the example set forth by the French, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Sir Robert Smith, both British subjects, renounced their titles, then drank a toast to "the speedy abolition of all hereditary titles and feudal distinctions."¹⁹

News of the event caused quite a stir in England. Because of Lord Edward's behavior, he was immediately dismissed from the army.²⁰ The Irishman's actions were taken by Englishmen to mean that Fitzgerald had become completely submerged in

¹⁸Moore, op. cit., I, p. 171.

¹⁹Ibid., I, pp. 172-173.

²⁰Ibid., I, p. 182.

the French intellectual current.²¹

From a different standpoint, the effect of Lord Edward's renunciation was one which brought French admiration. All events led to greater popularity for the Irishman. After disavowing his title, Fitzgerald "was a constant visitor at the numerous public assemblies that took place; and very shortly became from this circumstance, one of the most popular characters in Paris."²²

Not only did Lord Edward impress the French, he was in like manner impressed by their ideas. In a letter written late in 1792 from Paris to his mother, the Irish noble stated:

I am delighted with the manner they feel their success [sic]: no foolish boasting or arrogance at it;--but imputing all to the greatness and goodness of their cause, and seeming to rejoice more on account of its effects on Europe in general than for their own individual glory. This, indeed, is the turn every idea here seems to take: all their pamphlets, all their pieces, all their songs, extol their achievements but as the effect of the principle they are contending for, and rejoice at their success as the triumph of humanity.²³

Residence in France during the era of the Revolution, an age so revered by the Frenchmen, gave Lord Edward a fresh energy with which to fight for the cause of Irish freedom.²⁴

²¹Demonstrating the way in which members of Parliament regarded Lord Edward, in a letter dated January 23, 1795, John Beresford writing to Mr. H. Clements stated that "Young Egalite" had made "a wild and wicked speech." See the Correspondence of John Beresford, II, p. 64.

²²James M'Cormack, ed., The Irish Rebellion of 1798, p. 136.

²³Moore, op. cit., I, p. 174.

²⁴Teeling, op. cit., p. 144.

So great a devotee to French principles did Lord Edward become that he married a French woman who, as a contemporary wrote, "had nothing to recommend her to him, but the extravagance and malignity of her republican principles."²⁵

Pamela, the bride of Fitzgerald, was reared by the celebrated Contesse de Genlis,²⁶ a woman who was a great admirer of the principles of republicanism. Although the young French girl had lived in England during the early part of the French Revolution in order to avoid the terrors of that event, she returned to France shortly after Lord Edward's arrival in Paris.²⁷ Through clever manipulation of events, Madame de Genlis was able to bring the two young people together. Once Fitzgerald had met Pamela, he became a constant companion.²⁸

Within a month after their meeting, on the first day of December, 1792, Lord Edward and Pamela were married at Tournay.²⁹ Illustrating the republican cast of the affair, many of the guests were chief among the leaders of the ideas of liberty,

²⁵Robert Musgrave, Memoirs of Different Rebellions in Ireland, I, p. 370.

²⁶There has been much speculation about the birth of Pamela. No actual record of her birth has been found. Most feel that Madame de Genlis was the actual mother of the child, the father most definitely being the Duke of Orleans. The important thing is that the people who reared Pamela caused her to associate with republican principles. The consanguinal ties are relatively insignificant.

²⁷The Life and Times of Lord Edward, p. 143.

²⁸Moore, op. cit., I, p. 178.

²⁹For a complete description of the marriage ceremony, see Moore, op. cit., I, p. 179.



Lady Edward Fitz Gerald
by Romney

W. & A. G. ARNOLD & CO. LONDON

equality, and fraternity. One of the witnesses of the marriage was M. de Chartres, later king of France. On the marriage contract were names such as Ferdinand Joseph Dorez; Louis Philippe Egalite, the Duke of Orleans; Silvestre Merys; and the Duke of Leinster and his Duchess.³⁰

Due to Pamela's upbringing, the marriage symbolized the union of Lord Edward with republican ideals. There were many sources from which the young French woman derived her political principles. Chief among them, however, was that stemming from Madame de Genlis' interests. Because of the Contesse, Pamela was surrounded by republican ideas:

Madame de Genlis was then an admirer of the Constituent Assembly--Pamela participated in her enthusiasm for liberty; and every Sunday the members of that assembly met at Belle-chasse. Barrere, Petion, and David, were constantly at her soirees, and there, in the presence of these young girls [Pamela and the other girls for whom Madame de Genlis was acting as tutor] seriously discussed the important questions of the day.³¹

Other people also served to inculcate republican principles into Pamela's mind. She was the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, a man who, along with his two sons, the Duke of Chartres and the Duke of Montpensier, "warmly espoused" the principles of the French Revolution.³² It would be futile to attempt to determine the degree with which Pamela had been

³⁰"Lord Edward Fitzgerald," Littell's Living Age, 192 (January 9, 1892): 102.

³¹The Life and Times of Lord Edward, p. 150.

³²Ibid.

instilled with the principles of revolution due to the family in which she grew up. No one can doubt, however, that the impact was a great one.

Any of the revolutionary ideas which Pamela had were easily passed to Lord Edward due to the fact that he was deeply devoted to his petite French bride.³³ In Pamela's mind there was but one theme--Ireland--and one ambition--glory for Edward. Because of her attitudes and goals, Pamela entered into all of Lord Edward's activities in order to attain her desires.³⁴ Unifying the basic goals which Pamela held for her husband with the republican principles which had been her companions for many years, it is easily seen that if Pamela was able to get Lord Edward to participate in a revolution in Ireland, all of her goals would find satisfaction. The marriage was, therefore, the culmination of the relationships between the French people and Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Recognizing the significance of the marriage, Horace Walpole, in a letter written January 8, 1793, to the Countess of Upper Ossory, said: "Lord Edward is certainly married to Pamela. . . ."³⁵ The phrase denoted an attitude of concern. The Countess had evidently questioned Mr. Walpole as to the validity of a rumor which she had heard. The English who knew

³³Teeling, in his A Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion, page 150, stated about Lord Edward: "He possessed the hand and affections of the amiable Pamela, and in this he felt that he possessed kingdoms."

³⁴Ibid., p. 151.

³⁵H. Walpole, Letters of Walpole, XV, p. 175.

Lord Edward realized that the Irishmen was moving ever closer to open rebellion.

On January 2, 1793, Lord Edward and Pamela traveled from Paris to London where they resided with Edward's mother. There they stayed for over three weeks, then traveled on to Dublin on January 25.³⁶ Lord Edward was a much different person in 1793 than he had been just a few months before. In character, he was a complete Frenchman. He cropped his hair, walked in the streets rather than ride in a carriage, and despised his title. He said that he felt "more pride in being on a level with his fellow citizens."³⁷

The arrival in the capital city of Ireland could not have been more perfectly planned. All matters were in a turmoil. The demands for reform which had burdened the history of eighteenth century Ireland were beginning to be formulated into some type of expression.³⁸ Lord Edward, with his republican principles, was a key prospect for leadership in the reform attempts.

³⁶Moore, op. cit., I, pp. 184-185.

³⁷The Life and Times of Lord Edward, p. 154.

³⁸Further explanation of this aspect of the career is found in chapter VI, a chapter devoted to the environmental setting of the revolutionist.

II

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD'S ASSOCIATES:

THE ENGLISH SPEAKING PEOPLE

The second group of people important for the development of Lord Edward's revolutionist principles were the English speaking people, consisting of his immediate family, his English relatives, and his American acquaintances. Of the three, by far the most important was the third group. The other two, nevertheless, were of significance for the total development of the revolutionist character.

As has already been pointed out, Lord Edward and his mother were extremely close. Both appreciated the French mind. In fact, the Duchess was responsible for Lord Edward's French contacts. Besides this, however, the Fitzgerald family had always been characterized by liberal and patriotic feelings.¹

Of the English relatives of the family, the most important was Lord Edward's cousin, Charles James Fox, a man who fiercely fought against English intervention in the affairs of America.²

¹Lord Clonclurry, Personal Recollections of the Life and Times of Valentine Lord Clonclurry, p. 157.

²Throughout the American Revolution Fox acted as the opposition to the Administration. He felt that all people should be governed according to their will upon America's declaration of independence, Fox urged England to yield to the just situation. Throughout his total career, the right of a people to determine their form of government was part of his creed. See Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke's, The House of Commons 1754-1790, II, p. 457.

By the time the French Revolution broke out, Fox still held to the liberal attitude. Evidence of Lord Edward and Charles Fox's concurrence of opinion regarding the meaning of the French situation was provided by Fitzgerald in a letter written from London during the latter part of 1792. Lord Edward wrote to his mother: "I dined with Charles Fox, Saturday, on coming to town;--he was quite right about all the good French news. Is it not delightful?"³

Though the relatives provided the foundation for the building of a revolutionary spirit, it was the Americans who, along with the French, finally constructed the revolutionist. The Irishman learned both from the example of American society in general, and from the American political philosopher, Thomas Paine, in particular. The important associations with the Americans occupied nearly identically the same period of Fitzgerald's life as did the most important associations with the French.

The first direct contact with the Americans came during the American Revolutionary War. Fitzgerald fought on the side of the British against the Americans, against principles for which he later died. To some individuals, the first contacts between Lord Edward and the Americans indicate a paradoxical nature of the man. One could interpret the participation in the struggle against the Americans as indicating that his lordship was not a true lover of liberty.⁴ Such was not the case, however, as shall be shown.

³Moore, op. cit., I, p. 169.

⁴Rev. J. O'Connor, History of Ireland, I, p. 102.

Others, men who have felt that Lord Edward's love for liberty was true, have written that the American Revolution had absolutely no significance for the development of revolutionist principles.⁵ The fact is, however, that there was much in the American colonies which later showed up in Lord Edward's thought. The impact of the American experience did not reach its greatest expression until Lord Edward's political thought had matured to the point that the Irishman was able to see the parallel situations existing in Ireland and the American colonies.

Several phenomena left a deep impression on Fitzgerald. First, he saw a courageous people struggling for liberty from oppression. Second, he saw an "unwavering devotion and persevering courage" displayed by the Americans. Third, Lord Edward saw that the weak, insignificant nation was able to defeat a state which possessed abundant power.⁶ Viewing Ireland ten years later, Fitzgerald saw a condition not unlike that which had existed in the American colonies. He felt that with the adaptation of the same traits which the Americans had evidenced, the Irish could break the bonds which held them just as tightly as those which had bound the Americans.

⁵In the commentary which he provided for the letters of Lord Edward, Thomas Moore wrote: "It has often been asserted that Lord Edward's adoption of republican principles is to be traced back to the period when he first served in America. . . . The supposition, however, will be found to have few grounds, even of probability, to support it." Moore, op. cit., I, p. 94.

⁶The Life and Times of Lord Edward, p. 48.

Immediately after Cornwallis's surrender, the British forces were transferred to the West Indies where Lord Edward served on the staff of General O'Hara at St. Lucia.⁷ For the time being, all connection with the Americans was lost. The next relationship, however, proved to be more immediate in the results which it brought. The next groups with whom the Irishman associated were the Canadians and the American Indians.

In the first half of 1788, Fitzgerald decided to rejoin his regiment then stationed in New Brunswick. In May of the same year, his lordship set foot on the North American continent once again.⁸ The impressions gained due to the venture revolutionized much of Lord Edward's thought.

In a letter written to his mother, the Irish noble stated that except for wanting to see the members of his immediate family, he had no desire to return home. Canadian society fascinated him. In Canada, Lord Edward saw many elements which had republican ideals as a base. In the letter, he wrote:

The equality of everybody and of their manner of life . . . I like very much. There are no gentlemen. Everybody is on an equal footing, providing he works and wants nothing. Every man is exactly what he can make himself, or has made himself by industry. . . .⁹

Reason for the tendency to regard highly the Canadian society can be easily seen. Lord Edward himself expressed it when he wrote: "The Canadians are good people,--very like the

⁷Moore, op. cit., I, p. 28.

⁸Taylor, op. cit., p. 73.

⁹Ibid., p. 78.

French, and of course I like them."¹⁰

The ideas manifested in Canadian society were in direct conflict with the traditional Irish society of which the Fitzgerald family was a participant. Holding to the ideas contained in the above letter Lord Edward was alienated from his homeland. If, however, the situation in Ireland could have been made identical to that in Canada, the Irish noble would have been happy. The only foreseeable way for the change to be wrought was through revolution. Only maturation of thought was needed in order to bring Lord Edward to the logical hypothesis.

Besides the civilized members of the Canadian society, the Indian tribes of the area also made important contributions to Lord Edward's republican tendencies. There was no more complete adaptation of republican principles to a community than that found in primitive tribal life. During August, 1788, Fitzgerald wrote his mother:

If it were not that the people I love and wish to live with are civilized people, and like houses, &c., &c., I really would join the savages; and leaving all our fictitious, ridiculous wants, be what nature intended we should be. Savages have all the real happiness of life, without any of those inconveniences, or ridiculous obstacles to it, which custom has introduced among us. They enjoy the love and company of their wives, relations, and friends, without any interference of interests or ambition to separate them.¹¹

¹⁰Moore, op. cit., I, p. 143.

¹¹Ibid., I, p. 91.

Whether or not the Canadian adventure was the first experience which Lord Edward had with the idea of the "noble savage" is unknown.¹² Nevertheless, the trip did provide him with physical manifestation of the perfect republican society if the ideas of Rousseau had penetrated Lord Edward's thought. He was even more tied to the idea when one of the Indian tribes formally adopted the Irishman.¹³ The action served in nearly the same capacity as the marriage of Lord Edward to Pamela: By the marriage ceremony, Lord Edward was symbolically united with French thought. By the adoption ceremony, Lord Edward was united to the promulgation of the primitive life.

Although the events which the Irish noble had witnessed during the American Revolution and during the trip to Canada had made a tremendous impact on his political thought, some force was needed to bring all the elements together into the form of a mature philosophy. One man, an American, provided Lord Edward with the mold from which the philosophy could be cast. The man was Thomas Paine. The famed writer united the ideals gained in America with those gained in France in order to produce

¹²The noble savage idea, of course, was not a new one. Europe became acquainted with the thought through the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Since the French writer was one of the most popular men of the era of the French Revolution, it is altogether possible that Lord Edward had read certain of Rousseau's works.

¹³The ceremony consisted of the tribal chieftan stating: "I, David Hill, Chief of the Six Nations, give the name of Eghnidad to my friend Lord Edward Fitzgerald, for which I hope he will remember me as long as he lives." Moore, op. cit., I, p. 148.

an individual who was satisfied with nothing less than complete reform.

Thomas Paine was a man whose writings had world-wide consequence. Everywhere there was a need for reform, the American philosopher provided inspiration. After the publication of The Rights of Man, Paine's ideas "began to be the favourite theme of all the discontented in Europe." Especially among the Irish, the distribution of Paine's writings was great.¹⁴

Many Irishmen who served as leaders of the independence movement knew Thomas Paine. In a section devoted to March first, second, and third, 1797, Wolfe Tone, the man most instrumental in developing the Irish rebellion, wrote in his journal: "I have been lately introduced to the famous Thomas Paine, and like him very well."¹⁵

Another Irish leader, Daniel O'Connell, listed in his journal as one of the books which he had read during his twenty-first and twenty-seventh birthdays as being Paine's Age of Reason.¹⁶ Fitzgerald's famous English cousin, Charles James Fox, was acquainted with the American writer.¹⁷ Since the impact of the ideas propounded by the American political

¹⁴Robert Clifford, Application of Barruel's Memoirs, p. 7.

¹⁵Wolfe Tone, The Autobiography of Wolfe Tone, II, p. 189.

¹⁶Arthur Houston, Daniel O'Connell: His Early Life and Journal, p. viii.

¹⁷W. E. Woodward, Tom Paine: America's Godfather, p. 169

philosopher was of so great significance to other revolutionists, the significance for Lord Edward was most assuredly great.

Lord Edward met Paine in France during 1792. It was not until after the acquaintance that the Irishman began the zealous voicing of republican principles, principles which eventually led to the nobleman's death. The two met at the home of a Mr. Rickman, a prominent host of republican leaders. Nearly all the guests of Rickman were individuals who espoused republican ideas. Along with the name of Fitzgerald, the guest list contained such names as William Godwin, author of Political Justice; the dramatist Holcroft; Horne Tooke, a professor of advanced ideas; and Mary Wollstonecraft, engaged in writing the work related to the Rights of Women.¹⁸

On Tuesday, October 30, 1792, Lord Edward wrote from Paris to his mother. Dating the letter, he used the term "first year of the Republic," denoting his captivation with French thought. Much more important, however, the Irishman stated that he lodged with the American, Thomas Paine; then wrote: "The more I see of his interior, the more I like and respect him."¹⁹ The two roomed together until Lord Edward had to leave France because of the war.²⁰ Fitzgerald's

¹⁸Taylor, op. cit., p. 111.

¹⁹Moore, op. cit., I. pp. 170-171.

²⁰Woodward, op. cit., p. 248.

admiration for the American grew constantly. In Paine, the Irishman saw "a simplicity of manner, a goodness of heart, and a strength of mind" not previously viewed in any character.²¹

The purpose which the American writer was to serve was an immense one: he was the man who provided the plans upon which a revolution could be built. Although some have stated that Fitzgerald went to Paris in 1792 for the deliberate purpose of enlisting Paine's guidance in planning a rebellion in Ireland,²² there is nothing in the writings of Lord Edward which suggests such an idea. Once in Paris, however, the Irish noble did depend on Paine "to frame a plan of internal organization" for the Irish Rebellion to take place with the appearance of the French fleet.²³ Fitzgerald told his American roommate that if the volunteers in Ireland were given the opportunity to exist as a group for only three months, the revolution in Ireland would undoubtedly be successful. Paine, therefore, did everything possible to get active French support for the Irish.²⁴

Due to the rapidly growing relationship between the Irishman and the American, it was no mere coincidence that Paine was close by when, on November 18, 1792, at Philadelphia House

²¹Taylor, op. cit., p. 114.

²²A. O. Aldridge, Man of Reason, p. 177.

²³W. E. H. Lecky, England in the Eighteenth Century, VII, p. 237.

²⁴Aldridge, loc. cit.

in Paris, Lord Edward renounced his title.²⁵ His lordship, it will be remembered, lost his position in the army due to the action.²⁶ The friendship with Paine was a costly one.

Another aspect of the relationship between the Irishman and the American which cannot be discounted is the possibility of a tie between the two due to connections with the Freemasonry Movement. Lord Edward was a Mason.²⁷ Although Paine was not a member of the Masonic Order, he was deeply interested in the group. In his An Essay on the Origin of Freemasonry, the American demonstrated a vast knowledge of the fraternity.²⁸ There was also the possibility of a connection with the Masonic ties of the Duke of Orleans, however, little can be said about any of the relations. The only reason for mention is that it indicates another possible influence which the associates of Lord Edward had upon him.

²⁵Woodward, op. cit., p. 281.

²⁶Moore, op. cit., p. 182.

²⁷L. Ellis and J. Turquan, La Belle Pamela, p. 248.

²⁸A. G. Mackey and E. Hawkins, "Thomas Paine," An Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry, II, p. 541.

III

LORD EDWARD'S ABILITIES

The combination of republican principles with certain abilities and skills resulted in the final production of Lord Edward's revolutionist character. There were two prominent ways in which the Irish lord was ably suited for leadership in a revolution: He had a personality such that he was able to win support for the ideas in which he believed. He had knowledge of military life. In the first capacity, Lord Edward served as a rallying post for the countryside. He could cause others to participate willfully in rebellion. The second outstanding characteristic was one which is of vital importance to any rebellion predicated on the need for forceful overthrow of the existant government. Few men have the knowledge required for the defeat of opposition troops. Such was the case in eighteenth century Ireland. Lord Edward, hence, was capable of serving a major part in the uprising.

Along with the above mentioned skills, the training which Lord Edward had experienced in political life was of great consequence. He had served in the Irish Parliament for a number of years, during the period between the end of the American Revolution and the beginning of the Irish Rebellion. This long political training had convinced Fitzgerald that "concessions to popular demands were not gained

by constitutional agitation."¹ The only method which brought results was revolution. By turning to a study of the histories of Ireland and America, Lord Edward could conclude that Ireland's logical course was to follow America's leading.² Through application of all aspects of his personality structure, Lord Edward had the potential for the effecting of the desired revolution.

Everyone who came into contact with the Irish noble recognized the attractiveness of Fitzgerald's personality. Outside of the immediate family, many people with aristocratic ties spoke about Lord Edward. In 1782, during the American Revolution, the young officer disobeyed orders by leaving camp without permission in order to pursue the enemy. Although his adjutant-general could have pressed the issue and have meted out severe punishment to Lord Edward, nothing much came from the event. His superior officer wrote: "It was impossible to refuse the fellow, whose frank, manly, and ingenuous manner, would have won over a greater tyrant than myself."³

¹J. G. Swift, "The Irish Rebellion. A Diary of One Hundred Years Ago," The Freeman's Journal, May 19, 1898.

²It is interesting in this regard to consider a statement made by Henry Grattan during 1782. He said: "Shall the colonists of America be free and the loyal people of Ireland slaves? No--I know the gentlemen of this country to well. I know they won't submit." See Papers of James Madison, ed. W. T. Hutchinson and W. M. Rachal, Vol. IV, p. 433n., citing The Pennsylvania Journal, March 1782.

³The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen, "Lord Edward Fitzgerald," p. 17.

Several years later, on August 8, 1791, the American minister to France during the Terror, Gouverneur Morris, met Lord Edward Fitzgerald at a dinner with the British Ambassador. Even though the acquaintance was a short one, the American realized the winning personality of the young man. Morris wrote in his diary: "He is a pleasant, sensible young man."⁴

The above mentioned men, however, did not play any role in the Irish revolt. They serve only to illustrate the power which the Irishman could have on other people. Moving to the revolutionary scene, recognizing the role which Lord Edward's personality was capable of playing, Reinhard, a Frenchman who was responsible for the initial diplomatic dealings between France and Ireland, after meeting Lord Edward in Hamburg, Germany, in 1796, wrote that the young Irishman was "incapable of falsehood or perfidy, frank, energetic, and likely to be a useful and devoted instrument. . . ."⁵

In his estimation, Reinhard was wholly correct. Throughout the Rebellion, the character of Lord Edward was the nobleman's most important asset. Because of the winning personality, the Irish people venerated the man. Wolfe Tone, the great Irish leader, wrote at the time of Fitzgerald's capture: "I knew Fitzgerald but very little, but I honor and venerate his

⁴G. Morris, A Diary of the French Revolution, II, p. 236.

⁵Lecky, op. cit., VII, p. 237, citing Reinhard to De la Croix, 29 floreal, an iv (F. F. O.).

character, which he has uniformly sustained, and, in this last instance, illustrated."⁶ Most important, however, the masses of Ireland possessed "unbounded confidence" in Fitzgerald and "personal attachment" to him.⁷ A revolution must obtain the support of the common man, or his representatives, in order to succeed. Lord Edward obtained that support. The problem is that of determining why the Irish leader's personality was so appealing to the people. The answer lies in the consideration of five traits possessed by Fitzgerald. He was energetic, courageous, confident in others, patriotic, and religious. The common man liked the manner in which the traits were combined in one individual.

It is, of course, difficult to separate many of the traits, but for the sake of analysis, each shall be considered as a separate entity. At all times, therefore, the reader must attempt to see the interrelationships existing between the several items.

Recalling the statement made by the Frenchman Reinhard, upon his meeting with Fitzgerald, one of the terms used in describing the Irishman's character was "energetic."⁸ Everyone was impressed by the active spirit of the man. Once the

⁶Tone, op. cit., II, p. 324.

⁷Feeling, op. cit., p. 14.

⁸Lecky, loc. cit.

rebellion was begun, it was essential that the leadership possess the quality of rapid adaptation to a fluid situation. No task could become a burden which would depress the outlook of the rebels. The common man needed a leader who could keep spirits high, who could infuse new hope into situations which seemed hopeless. The morale of the warriors had to be kept uplifted if any degree of success was to be expected. Lord Edward, due to the fact that he was capable of providing the above necessities, was selected as the chief military leader of the revolution.⁹

To the end of his life, Lord Edward demonstrated the quality of energetic leadership. Even in those last weeks of his life when death was always close by, when the Irishman had to maintain himself in a state of hiding, he never allowed himself to demonstrate to others a sense of despair. At all times, he maintained high, joyful spirits.¹⁰

Just as important as the above trait, Lord Edward's personal bravery inspired the populace. The quality, like physical strength, is one which proves to the common man that an individual is capable of leadership. The leader must be willing to stand up against all the foes which beset the revolutionary cause. By so doing, he gains the respect of the followers, since they experience vicariously the same events as does the leader. The leader who is courageous instills the same quality

⁹Rev. J. Gordon, History of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 76.

¹⁰H. L. Madden, The United Irishmen, II, p. 405.

within his followers.

Lord Edward exemplified the ideal of the common man. "In the hour of peril he was calm, collected and brave."¹¹ An example of his lordship's bravery was an event which occurred a few months prior to the Rebellion: Lord Edward happened to ride across a field where some British troops were camped. He wore a green neckcloth, the symbol of Irish nationalism. When some four or five of the British officers saw the garment, they immediately ordered the Irishman to remove it. Instead of complying with the request, Lord Edward retorted that if the neck cloth was removed, it would have to be removed by one, or all, of the British officers. Not one of the Englishmen accepted the challenge. Lord Edward won a victory which caused the populace to admire him greatly.¹²

Stemming from the quality of courage, the attitude of confidence pervaded all of Fitzgerald's thought. No leader can be effective unless he demonstrates to his followers that he believes in the rightness of his cause. When the leader is confident, the followers are inspired to overcome obstacles which may seem insurmountable. The quality, therefore, works hand in hand with courage.

Although the confidence displayed by Lord Edward was a powerful instrument in the achievement of success, of greater consequence was the Irishman's display of confidence in others.

¹¹Teeling, op. cit., pp. 143-144.

¹²Clonclurry, op. cit., p. 154.

Just as is the case with all men, the rebels who followed Lord Edward were highly desirous of their leader's approval. He was frank and candid with them.¹³ He told them what items he approved, and which items caused him displeasure. At all times, however, Fitzgerald gained the trust of others by placing confidence in the ability of the followers to choose the proper course.¹⁴

T. A. Emmet, one of the Irish revolutionists, in a hearing before the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, on August 14, 1798, said:

I knew Lord Edward right well, and have done a great deal of business with him, and have always found, when he had a reliance on the integrity and talents of the person he acted with, he was one of the most persuadable men alive; but if he thought a man meant dishonesty or unfairly by him, he was as obstinate as a mule.¹⁵

Through such characteristics, Fitzgerald was able to maintain his leadership position.

The basis for Lord Edward's confidence in the cause for which he fought was directly tied to his personal convictions. Allied with the republican ideals which he held so dear, the Irish noble was intensely patriotic. Lord Clonclurry, a close friend, wrote:

¹³Teeling, A Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion (hereafter, Personal Narrative), loc. cit.

¹⁴C. Teeling, Sequel to the Personal Narrative, p. 84.

¹⁵Gilbert, op. cit., p. 189.

It was no prompting of a vulgar ambition that impelled Edward Fitzgerald, but a strong conviction at first that Ireland could neither be free nor prosperous unless the legislature was purified, and her people made equal in the eye of the law; and afterwards, when the hope of effecting these reforms vanished, a belief that no remedy remained but a separation from England, and a committal of her destinies to her own guidance, for good or evil.¹⁶

In another place, Lord Clonlurry said that Lord Edward exemplified the man who had a compassionate heart, a firm courage, and a vigorously patriotic spirit. "His love of country was a principle, which he strove to carry into practice with the earnestness which actuates a thoroughly conscientious man, when he fights in a war of opinion for the cause he believes to be right."¹⁷

The feeling of patriotism or nationalism was one of extreme importance during the latter part of the eighteenth century Irish history. The country finally felt a unity which had been lacking at earlier times. It was, therefore, easy for a man who played on patriotic sentiments to gain a following. The common man was able to look to Lord Edward for physical manifestation of principles dear to every Irish man.

Perhaps just as important for the securing of position were Lord Edward's religious beliefs. Although the men of the continent had often struck shattering blows to traditional religious ideas, Ireland maintained its faith in Christianity.

¹⁶ Clonlurry, op. cit., p. 151.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Although the majority of the population was Roman Catholic, the spirit of religious division quieted down after both Catholic and Protestant were united under effective leadership. Nevertheless, the common man held religious ideals to be a characteristic mandatory for any leader. Lord Edward was a member of the Church of England.¹⁸ He firmly accepted all Protestant doctrine and received much respect for his stand. The immense importance of the religious views was described by his friend Lord Clonolurry:

These religious feelings, acting in combination with his strong love of country, and anxious desire to relieve the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen, impressed upon his patriotism a character of solemn enthusiasm that supplied the place of commanding talent, and well fitted him for influencing men. It is to this peculiarity, that the veneration which still attaches his name in Ireland, is, in a great degree, to be attributed.¹⁹

Due to the relationships which existed between the leadership and the followers, the movement had a much greater impetus than would have ordinarily been the case.²⁰ Describing the reason for the populace's admiration for the Irish lord, along with describing the total personality of the man, one of the rebels wrote:

The rank, the talent, the virtues, and disinterested patriotism of Lord Edward Fitzgerald distinguished him, in the estimation of his countrymen, as a man every way qualified for the most important trust and the boldest undertakings. Young, ardent,

¹⁸Madden, op. cit., II. p. 458.

¹⁹Clonolurry, op. cit., pp. 153-154.

²⁰Teeling, Sequel to a Personal Narrative, p. 81.

and enterprising; enthusiastic in his love of liberty; of devoted attachment to his country, and possessing the most unbounded confidence in his countrymen in return; reared in the school of arms, and distinguished for military science, he possessed all the qualities to constitute a great and popular leader, and seemed destined by nature for the bold and daring enterprise to which an abhorrence of oppression, and the most lively sense of justice irresistibly impelled him.²¹

The rebels were, in fact, so enthusiastic about their leader that one of them composed a poem dedicated to him. In content, the composition described the total career of the man. The last stanza told of Lord Edward's death:

No sculptur'd tomb to speak his doom,
In Erin's land appears--
But oh! the brave Lord Edward's grave
Is watered with her tears!²²

As the poem denoted, the really great measure of Lord Edward's role in effective and popular leadership was best evidenced upon the death of the man. Elizabeth Lady Holland, a relative of Fitzgerald, wrote: "His loss brought forth more genuine, unfeigned tears of sorrow than would perhaps the death of fifty other individuals."²³ The Annual Register for 1798 recorded: "The death of a person of his courage, zeal, and consequence, with the apprehension of so many of their chiefs, decided, in a great measure, the fate of the whole party."²⁴

²¹Teeling, Personal Narrative, p. 141.

²²The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen, "Lord Edward Fitzgerald," pp. vii, viii. See Appendix B for the complete text of the poem.

²³Lady Holland, The Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland, I, p. 188.

²⁴The Annual Register, XL (1798): 62.

All accounts of the death of Lord Edward point to the fact that a great part of the revolt was built around the personality of the Irish hero. With his capture and subsequent death, the movement rapidly collapsed.

IV

LORD EDWARD'S MILITARY ABILITY

A second skill possessed by Fitzgerald was his military ability. R. L. Madden, a man who made a multi-volume study of the United Irishmen, wrote about Lord Edward: ". . . he was a brave and skilful [sic] soldier, well versed in his profession, capable of attaining the highest eminence in it. . . ." ¹

In 1796, Lord Edward began his association with the United Irishmen. ² Prior to that time he had had much preparation for service in a military capacity. As a second son of a noble, Lord Edward, according to the custom of eighteenth century society, had no hope of ever securing the position held by his father--the Duke of Leinster. The young Irishman was forced, in effect, into the career which later he utilized in the attempt to destroy the society which gave him his position. Nearly all of Lord Edward's life was devoted to military pursuits. ³ After the family moved to France, young Fitzgerald began military schooling. When the rest of the family returned to the homeland, Lord Edward remained in France to maintain his studies. In his letters to his mother, he spoke of the knowledge of

¹Madden, op. cit., II, p. 465.

²Moore, op. cit., I, p. 269.

³Teeling, Personal Narrative, p. 144.

military life which he was gaining.⁴

The first opportunity for application of the education was that of service against the Americans in the American Revolutionary War. In view of what later happened, it was quite ironic that his lordship fought in that war. Lord Edward, however, did not volunteer for service against the Americans. Merely because his education had been along military lines, Lord Edward desired some sort of position in the army. Where he served was of incidental concern to him. When, therefore, the position of a lieutenancy in the ninety-sixth regiment, an Irish group, was offered to him, Fitzgerald accepted. At the time of the securing of the position, 1780, the Irishman had no idea where he was going to serve.⁵ Since soldiers were needed in America, the British army sent the young nobleman to that location.⁶

From the beginning of his military career, Lord Edward demonstrated talent. Others quickly saw that the young officer perceived situations easily, and when the conditions were favorable, he took advantage of them.⁷ Because of this

⁴Moore, op. cit., I, p. 6.

⁵Moore, op. cit., I, p. 8.

⁶An interesting sidelight to what followed later was the fact that at a St. Patrick's day celebration in Dublin in 1780 a song was composed for the regiment of which Lord Edward was a part. In the song, the first stanza spoke of dislike for the American cause: "Success to the Shamrock, and all those who wear it; Be honor their portion wherever they go; . . . So Yankee keep off, or you'll soon learn your error, For Paddy shall prostrate lay every foe." R. L. Morris and H. Commager, Spirit of Seventy Six, II, 910-911.

⁷Madden, op. cit., II, p. 466.

characteristic, Lord Edward was distinguished in the American Revolution by "his daring and intrepid courage, honour, humanity, condour, soldier-like deportment, and above all by his superior knowledge of military affairs."⁸ Lord Edward not only demonstrated his ability during the American conflict, he also added to it. In America, a practical knowledge was added to the theoretical principles which he had learned on the Continent. Combining the two, Lord Edward was able to form opinions concerning his vocational area which were well in advance of the prevailing military ideas.⁹

Lord Edward landed at Charleston, South Carolina during the first few days of June, 1781. Lord Rawdon was in command of the city.¹⁰ Within a brief time, the young Irishman gained glory. At a battle at Monk's Creek there was the distinct possibility that the Americans were going to destroy or capture the baggage train, the medical supplies, and the paymaster's checks. Acting quickly, Lord Edward destroyed the bridge which crossed the creek. By the action, the supplies were saved from American seizure. Due to the demonstration of rapid perception and subsequent action, Fitzgerald was offered the position as aide-de-camp on the staff of Lord Rawdon.¹¹

Although there were no other opportunities for praise-

⁸Rebellion in Ireland, I. pp. 274-275.

⁹Madden, op. cit., II. p. 465.

¹⁰Moore, op. cit., I. p. 17.

¹¹Ibid., I. p. 20.

worthy deeds, the practical experience which Lord Edward gained helped considerably in the molding of skills which were to be utilized in the Rebellion of 1798. With the end of the American war, the Irishman's military training terminated for a while.

In 1786, Fitzgerald began his study of theoretical matters once again. In the summer of that year, the Duke of Richmond took Lord Edward on an inspection of the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and other pieces of land in that area. All the observations added to Lord Edward's mental bank of military knowledge.¹² Each experience helped to round out the total military character.

In the closing years of the same decade during which Lord Edward had fought in the American Revolution, the Irish lord returned to America; not to the United States, but to Canada. The venture of 1788 proved to be of considerable value to Fitzgerald. The contact with the Indians of Canada provided him with ideas which he later adapted for use in the Rebellion. The Irishman looked at Indian warfare and saw that the use of the bow and arrow had two purposes which he later used: First, the use of the bow made the Indians expert marksmen. Second, through using the bow and arrow, the Indians were saved the expense of shot and powder. When the time came, therefore, for Lord Edward to attempt organization of the forces of Ireland, one of the first items on the agenda was that of training the people of Ireland in the use of the bow.¹³

¹²Ibid., I. p. 44.

¹³Moore, Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence, VI. pp. 144-145

By February 2, 1796, Lord Edward Fitzgerald openly anticipated rebellion. In opposing one of the provisions of the Insurrection Act of 1796, the Irish noble said that no action on the part of the government except redress of public grievance would quiet the grumblings of the people. Reform measures would, he said, guarantee allegiance. Without such measures, the people would rebel.¹⁴

It was at approximately the same time as that at which the speech was given that Lord Edward joined himself with the Society of the United Irishmen,¹⁵ the revolutionary group which intended to utilize the skills possessed by the Irish noble. The United Irishmen intended to create a republican form of government in Ireland "founded on the broadest principles of religious liberty and equal rights. . . ."¹⁶ It was, therefore, a group which held ideas compatible with those of Lord Edward.

Fitzgerald was suited to fill a particular position within the revolutionary group. He was the only member of the association capable of commanding any sizeable group. No other man had an adequate knowledge of the military profession. In this regard, there was much opportunity for Lord Edward to gain once again the glory which had been his during the American

¹⁴ Moore, The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, I. p. 276.

¹⁵ Ibid., I. p. 269.

¹⁶ Pieces of Irish History, p. 77.

Revolutionary War.

Allied with the winning personality and Fitzgerald's military ability, there was another reason for the selection of Lord Edward as a leader. Because Ireland had been used to submitting to aristocratic power, it was much to the advantage of the insurrectionists to place a nobleman in a top position. With a member of an aristocratic family at the helm of the rebellion, the event appeared to be more just than if all members had been from the lower classes. Most important, nevertheless, were the military skills and the personality possessed by Lord Edward.¹⁷ The aristocratic position merely helped to secure the leadership appointment.

Testifying to the value of Lord Edward's knowledge and application of skills, T. A. Emmet, Irish revolutionist, when questioned if Lord Edward armed and disciplined the people, stated: "Lord Edward was a military man, and if he was doing so he probably thought that was the way in which he could be most useful to the country. . . ."¹⁸ The statement tied together the two most important qualities possessed by Lord Edward--his patriotic zeal and his military skill.

In regard to the skills, it is worth mentioning that although Lord Edward had been trained for the military, he had had little opportunity to demonstrate the excellence of his training. After the revolutionary war in America, the Irishman

¹⁷Lecky, op. cit., VIII, p. 6. See also Madden, op. cit., II, p. 399.

¹⁸Gilbert, op. cit., p. 189.

had not participated in actual combat conditions. He had merely gained more theoretical knowledge. By serving as a leader in the Irish Rebellion, he had the opportunity to use his highly developed skills.

To return to the consideration of the highly trained military mind, one needs to look at the military ideas which Lord Edward developed. As a leader, he had to provide a system whereby the United Irishmen could triumph. The first consideration, therefore, was that of creating a system of rank. Lord Edward elaborated a code of duties for his adjutant generals. He said that they should report to the executive at least every second week. In the reports the following information had to be provided: the number of men in each regiment, the qualifications of the officers, the locations at which food stuffs could be acquired, the most strategic spots in the area, the people of the countryside who would be likely to willingly aid the rebels, and the strength of the enemy within the area controlled by the general.¹⁹

By development of the above system, the rebels could have been assured of a reasonable degree of success in each of the areas in which they had an adequate number of troops. The system conceived by Lord Edward was an efficient one. It demonstrated his knowledge of the need for efficiency of movement and cooperation between the various rebel groups if the rebellion was to experience the same results as the American Revolution had.

¹⁹Great Britain, Report from the Lord's Committee (Die Jovis 7, Martii 1798), pp. 142-143.

Lord Edward did not develop any highly systemized organizational set-up for the lower rank rebels. For them, however, he did outline a program for quick movement of soldiers and easy transportation of weapons. Lord Edward did not want to burden his rebels with heavy military equipment. The Irish noble recommended as the chief weapon of the rebels a pike which had a hollow handle to make it lightweight. The pike was long, but could be broken down into two parts which could be strapped to the shoulder when not in use. On the other shoulder, the rebel was to carry either a bow and arrows, or a short rifle. By doing this, each man was able to keep his hands free for either close-hand-to-hand combat or other tasks which might be required of him.²⁰

Allied to the use of small weapons was Fitzgerald's plan of tactics. In a paper found in his writing box after his capture in 1798, an article was found which contained a plan for defeating the King's troops if they came to Dublin to put down the insurrection. In content, the military plans were quite unorthodox. Fitzgerald said that the narrowness of the streets of Dublin prevented a large number of troops from participating in actual battle. He figured that only about sixty would be in such a position as to be able to fire on the rebels. Through rushing the front troops and battling them with pikes, however, the Irish lord figured that the remaining troops would become completely disorganized. Adding to the moblike condition of

²⁰ Moore, Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence, VI, p. 145.

the soldiers, Fitzgerald urged the general populace to pelt the British troops from above with bricks, stones, or any other item which could be thrown. Barriers were to be formed in the streets. The populace was to arouse as much clamor as possible so that the English troops could not hear their orders. Through such a method of attack, Lord Edward felt that any force which was sent against the rebels could be defeated with ease.²¹

Unfortunately for the rebels, Lord Edward never had the opportunity to apply the elaborate plans which he had worked out. From the standpoint of this paper, however, the important thing is that he was capable of devising a workable method of attack for the Rebellion. The military skills of the Irish lord acted to round out his revolutionist personality. He had developed republican principles through his contacts with various people. He had seen that the only way by which Ireland would ever experience such reform as that mandated by the republican ideals was through revolution. Because he had a knowledge of military affairs and had a personality with which to attract others to the cause, Fitzgerald was a natural leader for the rebellion in Ireland when, and if, that rebellion should come.

²¹Rebellion in Ireland, pp. 278-281.

V

LORD EDWARD'S ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

No matter how much an individual or a small group desires revolution, nothing of any consequence can occur unless the era is ready for such an event. The thought which dominates the times is also important for each revolutionist. Much of the material upon which he builds his radical thought is found in the happenings of the period during which he lives. In the study of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, therefore, it is necessary to determine the temperment of the times, for such was the context within which the Irish noble acted.

Throughout the whole of the eighteenth century a spirit of rebellion built to ever greater heights in Ireland. Although the greatest demonstration of the pent up feeling was manifested during the century in which Lord Edward lived, there had been earlier expressions of discontent. The Case of Ireland written by Molyneaux during the seventeenth century was one of the early writings which had a lasting impact. Later, great pieces of literature demonstrated the Irish need for reform. With the works, the spirit of rebellion was kindled ever higher.

Merely living in poor conditions, however, does not cause a people to rebel. The populace must have reason for believing that their insurrection will be a success. Such an attitude can be developed in a variety of ways; however, the two most

important means are those of actually experiencing reform, or seeing people in similar circumstances gain the desired improvement. In the case of the Irish, both of these conditions existed. Once the condition had been met and effective leadership came forward, rebellion followed.

If one were to have viewed Ireland shortly after the beginning of the eighteenth century, he would have seen a land in which everything appeared to be calm. There were no violent manifestations of desire for reform yet, there was a deep grumbling within the Irish people. The dissatisfaction was reflected in the literature of the era. The most prominent of the literary figures was Jonathan Swift, a man who served as inspiration for the rebels of the latter eighteenth century.

In 1724, Swift wrote the famous "Drapier's Letters," a selection addressed to all the people of Ireland. The Irish writer stated: "By the Laws of God, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your own Country, you ARE and OUGHT to be as FREE a People as your Brethren in England."¹ This statement by Swift became the thought which dominated Irish thought until the end of the century. The Dean of St. Patrick's, therefore, must be considered as a fundamental foundation for the later era.

In order for the Irish to be as their "Brethren in England" reform measures had to be accomplished in three areas:

¹D. B. Horn and M. Ransome, eds., English Historical Documents, X, pp. 685-686.

economics, religion and government. The need for economic reform was the area most visible to outsiders. It was also the most pressing for the Irish people.

Jonathan Swift brought the need to the eyes of all by composing several tracts in which he described the situation. The most descriptive was the pamphlet entitled Short View of the state of Ireland. It circulated freely in Ireland and caused much distress among the British. Due to the ugly picture which was painted by the tract, the publisher of the article was prosecuted and sent to prison. One of the paragraphs contained within the pamphlet stated:

One Third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England, which with the profits of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the Inns of Court, and both Universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income² of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

Stemming directly from the fact that the wealth of Ireland was going to England were the poverty stricken conditions of the masses. For a description of the poverty, Swift, once again, provided the descriptive material. In the concluding lines of the tract cited above, he wrote that a stranger visiting in Ireland was apt to think that the conditions of country must have been such that no food could be raised. The people lived in miserable hovels hardly above the condition

²James Carty, Ireland, I, p. 106.

of pig stys. The old mansions of the nobility were in ruins. The farmers were living off of buttermilk and potatoes. There was starvation and disease everywhere. Swift stated that the Irish peasantry lived "worse than English beggars."³

In 1729, the hardest hitting of the various essays of Swift was published. In "A Modest Proposal," the Irish writer described the terrible living conditions of the populace. For the most part, the work was intended as satire; however, there were passages which were descriptive as well. For example:

It is a melancholy object to those who walk through this great town [Dublin], or travel in the country, when they see the streets, the roads, and cabin doors, crowded with beggars of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, all in rags and importuning every passenger for alms. These mothers, instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in strolling to beg sustenance for their helpless infants, who, as they grow up, either turn thieves for want of work, or leave their dear native country to fight for the Pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to the Barbadoes.⁴

The poverty described in the above writing continued for a number of years, for in 1750, the noted English philosopher George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, wrote an account of Ireland in which he restated the same material found in Swift's work. Berkeley said that there was no people on earth as destitute as the common Irish. Yet, as the Englishman pointed out, there was no need for the poverty. Ireland was a wealthy

³Ibid... I, p. 108.

⁴Jonathan Swift, Swift: Gulliver's Travels and Other Writings, ed. Miriam Starkman, p. 487.

land. Due to the English practice of relegating the Irish to a secondary position, Ireland was in a lowly condition.⁵ Due to the harsh economic conditions forced upon them by England, the Irish peasantry was forced to a subsistence living in which the potato was the main food. Famine was the natural consequence.⁶

Besides the low economic conditions, the Irish suffered from the lack of religious toleration. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants suffered from the severe legislation and subsequent treatment which was dealt them by the English. That group of Protestants known as Dissenters were barred from holding office and were subject to punishment for not attending the services of the Anglican Church.⁷

It was the Roman Catholic element, however, the bulk of the population of Ireland, which suffered most. During the eighteenth century the Catholics were burdened by what was called the Penal Code. Of several accounts which describe the severity of the legislation, the statement made by Lord Macartney, a man who served as Chief Secretary for Ireland for four years, was one of the best contemporary descriptions. He wrote:

The laws of Ireland against the Papists are the harsh dictates of persecution, not the calm suggestions of reason and policy. They threaten the Papists with penalties in case of foreign education, and yet allow them no education at home. They shut the doors of their

⁵Carty, op. cit., I, p. 109.

⁶J. H. Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century, p. 179.

⁷Edmund Curtis, A History of Ireland, p. 293.

own university against them, and forbid them to enter any other. No man shall go to a lecture who will not go to church. A Papist shall not be a divine, a physician, or a soldier; he shall be nothing but a Papist. He cannot be a lawyer, for the law is not his friend. . . .⁸

A specific description of the laws regarding the Roman Catholics was recorded in Pieces of Irish History, a book of the late eighteenth century. One of the descriptions concerned with marriage laws illustrated the depth of British interference in the life of the ordinary Irishman:

As to the law concerning marriage, it is extremely simple in its severity, as it consists of but one regulation for every marriage celebrated by a popist priest, between two protestants, or between a popist and any person who has been or has professed him or herself to be a protestant at any time within twelve months before such marriage, shall be null and void without any process, judgement or sentence of law whatever; and nevertheless, the popish priest who celebrates such marriage shall on conviction. . . suffer death accordingly.⁹

The above mentioned restrictions were placed upon the laity. The common man could accept a certain degree of harsh treatment; however, the problem extended to the clergy also. Due to the veneration attached to that group by the laymen, the problem was greater than would have been the case had the persecution been limited to the populace. The justices of the peace were urged to suppress all Roman Catholic institutions--friaries, monasteries, and convents.¹⁰ A witness of the persecution of the church hierarchy, J. Mitchell, wrote:

⁸Carty, op. cit., I. p. 144.

⁹Pieces of Irish History, p. 125.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 129.

I know the spots, within my own part of Ireland, where venerable Archbishops hid themselves, as it were, in a hole in the rocks. In a remote part of Louth County, near the base of the Fews mountains, is a retired nook called Ballymascanlon. There dwelt for years, in a farm house which would attract no attention, the Primate of Ireland and successor of St. Patrick, Bernard MacMahon, a prelate accomplished in all the learning of his time, and assiduous in the government of his archdiocese; but he moved with danger, if not with fear, and often encountered hardships in traveling by day and by night.¹¹

Such, then, was the need for reform in religious matters. The whole problem was accentuated by two factors: first, Ireland was nearly totally Roman Catholic; second, the men of the Enlightenment were preaching toleration. When the philosophes looked toward England, they saw a land which seemingly epitomized the type of society which best fit the pattern of the Age of Reason. The severe abuse of the religious groups of Ireland could not continue long without serious consequence.

Leaving the first two areas needing reform, one needs to consider the problem of British interference in the governmental systems of Ireland. An excellent statement expressing the need for reform was made by Jonathan Swift. In 1726, in a letter written to the Earl of Petersburg, the great Irish satirist wrote that Ireland was denied the privilege to export their ware to anyone whom they chose; that the University of Ulster was governed by outsiders, with the key positions being filled by people from England; that "all civil employments

¹¹Carty, op. cit., I. p. 132.

grantable in reversion" were filled by Englishmen.¹²

Stemming from the interference in government, the Irish resented all English activities which caused the conquered people to be placed at the mercy of their conquerors. Ireland did not like for the English to rule them with an iron hand. The Irish wanted to manage their own affairs; even if through self-management conditions could not be improved. As a literary expression of the resentment, the following poem by a Munster poet named Egan O'Rahilly was a contemporary expression of the prevailing attitude:

That my mournful heart was pierced in this black doom,
That foreign devils have made our land a tomb,
That the sun that was Munster's glory has gone down
Has made me travel to seek you, Valentine Brown.

That royal Cashel is bare of house and guest,
That Brian's turreted home is the otter's nest,
That the Kings of the land have neither land nor crown,
Has made me travel to see you, Valentine Brown.¹³

In this poem, O'Rahilly alluded that the poor conditions were due to the English. Since, however, there was possibility of reprisal by the English, there were no blunt statements to that effect. Other men, writing anonymously, were more critical of the English placing the Irish in a secondary position.

Although it would be assumed that the bitterness expressed in the poetry of the era should have had some effect upon the British, such was not the case. As late as 1780, Arthur Young,

¹²Horn and Ransome, op. cit., X, pp. 709-710.

¹³Carty, op. cit., I, p. 121.

the famous English traveler, witnessed the subjection in which the Irish were held by their landlords who were English. He wrote that the British seemed to be despots on their individual pieces of land. Each landlord made his own law and expected his tenants to abide by it. If the Irishman refused, he was subject to a beating by a whip or cane.¹⁴ The bitter resentment, therefore, had little opportunity to simmer down over the years.

England felt that the Irish had to be kept in a lowly state in order to prevent rebellion. Ireland was not in the same category as a colony, since England had conquered it. Many rebellions, therefore, broke out over the years, each of which was harshly ended by England. Besides being a threat due to the religious circumstances which existed, the Irish were also capable of becoming an economic rival with the English. Keeping Ireland in an iron grip, therefore, assured England's maintenance of power.¹⁵ With the passage of time, however, hope for gaining reform was born within the hearts of the men of Ireland. The first of the reasons for the phenomena was the fact that the English began to loosen their grip on the affairs of the Irish.

More than a century ago, in his The Old Regime and the French Revolution, Alexis de Toqueville exploded the old myth that revolutions do not happen in societies which are experiencing

¹⁴ ibid., I. pp. 112-113.

¹⁵ Plumb, op. cit., pp. 180-181.

improvement. In the same manner in which the French saw an improved life, the Irish received some of their demands.

Arthur Young was one of those who noted improved conditions. He stated: "The Age has improved so much in humanity that even the poor Irish. . . are every day treated better and better."¹⁶ To back up his statement, Young said that he saw much furniture in Irish homes in 1780 which had been purchased within the previous ten years. Another sign of improvement was that evidenced in the growth of population.¹⁷ Granted, large families are the characteristic of poor people, however, for there to be a general growth of population, conditions must improve healthwise. Without improved sanitary conditions, a small number of the children born will live to maturity and, hence, add to the total population. Through such improvement, the Irish economy, the area which was in the eyes of the world the area most in need of reform, was helped greatly.

Although the problem of a poor economy was reduced, it was not removed. Even Young said that the houses of the common Irishman was little more than a pig-sty of one room constructed of mud and straw, having only a door to let in light and let out smoke from the fire which burned on the floor inside the hovel.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the reform brought the idea that further

¹⁶Carty, op. cit., I, p. 112.

¹⁷Ibid., I, p. 114.

¹⁸Ibid., I, p. 113.. p. 293.

²⁰Ibid., p. 310.

improvement was possible. If the British were removed from positions of power, the Irish would have been able to experience even greater gains with which to kindle the revolutionary spirit to greater heights.

A second area of reform was that of better conditions in religious matters concerning the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics. As early as 1719, the Dissenters were able to secure a somewhat better life. In that year the requirements of church attendance were lifted for the Protestant minority group. They were allowed to worship freely and were allowed to serve in parish offices,¹⁹ a privilege formerly denied them. Later in the century, in 1780, a major step forward was the abolition of the Test Clause of 1704. According to the terms of the reform the Dissenters were made eligible for all offices, not just the parish offices.²⁰ In order for there to be a major correction of grievances, however, the improved relations with the English had to extend to the majority of the population. Due to this fact, the measures secured by the Roman Catholics were more important. When conditions improved for both Protestants and Catholics, the two groups were tied more closely together, a condition essential to further improvement.

The first of the reform measures for Roman Catholics came in 1750 when Catholics were admitted to the lesser grades of the army. Several years later, in 1771, another action of

¹⁹Curtis, op. cit., p. 293.

²⁰Ibid., p. 310.

relief was that of the Bogland Act. According to the terms of that statute, Catholics were allowed to take leases for sixty-one years of not more than fifty acres of unprofitable land to be free of taxes for seven years.²¹ Such action seems miserable by present standards, however, no matter how small the improvements, the appetite of the people was whetted for more.

In 1778, the English granted a concession of some magnitude. In a bill passed by Parliament, the following statement was made:

Whereas by an act made in this kingdom in the second year of her late Majesty queen Anne, entitled, An Act to prevent the further growth of popery, and also by another act made in the eighth year of her said reign for explaining and amending the said act, the Roman Catholics (sic) of Ireland are made subject to several disabilities and incapacities, therein particularly mentioned; and whereas from their uniform peaceful behaviour for a long series of years it appears reasonable and expedient to relax the same.²²

The major piece of reform legislation for the Catholics, Gardiner's Relief Act of 1778, stated that Roman Catholics could lease land for indefinite tenure "on condition of an oath of allegiance." A most important clause stated that Catholics could inherit land on the same terms as Protestants.²³ Such legislation evidenced the spirit of the Enlightenment.

The English did not end their show of generosity. As the century drew to a close, in 1793, more concessions were made.

²¹Ibid., p. 309.

²²Horn and Hansome, op. cit., X, pp. 705-706.

²³Curtis, op. cit., p. 310.

Catholics gained the elective franchise, the right to sit on grand and petty juries for all cases, the right to carry arms, and the right to secure an endowment for a Catholic college.²⁴ Nearly all the major gripes which had been expressed earlier in the century were erased by the bill. The Catholics were able to visualize how matters would be in a society free from English domination. All matters pointed to a revolutionary situation.

Two events occurred in the latter eighteenth century which affected the Irish to the point of making them think that they could attain the goals which they desired. First, the American Revolution broke out; then, the French Revolution provided a second example. Both of the rebellions made the Irish draw nearer to the outbreak of violence.

Related to reform measures, there were many improvements experienced by the Irish during the period from 1775-1783. It was no mere coincidence that those were the years during which the American Revolution was fought. The reason for the degree of the impact made by the American cause was the similar conditions under which the two lands existed. Illustrating the likeness, George Bancroft, the American historian, wrote:

Ireland and America, in so far as both were oppressed by the commercial monopoly of England, had a common cause; and, while, the penal statutes against the Catholics did not affect the Anglo-Irish, they suffered equally with the native Irish from the mercantile system. The restrictions of the acts of trade extended not to America only, but to the sister kingdom. It had harbors, but it could not send

²⁴Robert Dunlop, Ireland, p. 149.

a sail across the Atlantic; nor receive sugar, or coffee, or other colonial produce, but from England; nor ship directly to the colonies, even in English vessels, anything but 'servants and horses and victuals,' and at last linens. . . .²⁵

Because of such a situation, when the prospect of the rebellion appeared in America, Mr. Johnstone, a member of the English Parliament, stated: "I maintain that the sense of the best and wisest men in this country are on the side of the Americans; that three to one in Ireland are on their side. . . ."²⁶

During those years when the American conflict was being fought, the revolutionary fervor built in Ireland. Groups known as Associations began to band together for the outward purpose of helping to remove economic problems of consequence to the majority of the populace. Recognizing the possibility of the unions in the revolutionary setting, Edmund Sexton Pery, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, said that the groups "however innocent and perhaps necessary" at the time would not continue to exist as a non-violent group unless the Irish were granted all the reforms which they desired.²⁷

Falling into approximately the same category, but even more dangerous, were these associations which banded together for military purposes. Ireland was threatened by foreign invasion. In ordinary times, the militia served in the capacity as protector. When the rebellion started in America, however,

²⁵George Bancroft, History of the United States, III, p. 27.

²⁶Morris and Commager, op. cit., I, p. 260.

²⁷Horn and Ransome, op. cit., X, p. 687.

the English called upon the Irish to furnish fighting men. Belfast was the first to organize a volunteer militia. Soon after that city had taken the initiative, volunteer societies spread elsewhere. Once in arms, these groups posed a serious threat to the British since nearly all of them were sympathetic to the American colonies.²⁷

Once the army of 60,000 soldiers had been raised to protect Ireland from French invasion and from the threats of the pirate John Paul Jones, the nation seemed to be united in the desire to use the new group to obtain the nation's demands. England yielded. In 1779, Ireland was allowed free export and import to foreign countries and to the English colonies. The greatest steps forward, however, were those taken with regard to allowing Ireland a free hand in governing herself.

Henry Grattan was the chief figure in the push for legislative independence. When England refused his demands for such independence, Grattan looked to the Volunteers for aid. In February of 1782, the Convention of Dungannon met to form a set of resolutions regarding national grievances. The set of demands stated that the English Parliament had no right to make laws for Ireland; that England had no right to interfere in any way with the ports of Ireland; that all restrictions placed on religion should be lifted; and that Ireland thanked England for all reforms which had been granted to that time.²⁸

²⁷ Dunlop, op. cit., p. 140.

²⁸ Carty, op. cit., I. p. 170.

In the resolutions, the unity of all Ireland was demonstrated for the first time. With the Catholics and Protestants united in common goals the situation became quite serious. England, therefore, yielded once again. In 1882, both legislative and judiciary independence became reality for the Irish.²⁹

In America, the leaders of the Revolution were watching the Irish situation quite closely. For example, in a letter written from James Madison to Edmund Pendleton mention was made concerning the Irish Volunteers' victories. Madison stated: "Ireland is reaping a large share of the harvest produced by our labours."³⁰ At an earlier date, March 16, 1780, General George Washington had made a similar statement. He wrote that the Irish were promoting the "cause of America."³¹ Greatest evidence of the interrelatedness of the two lands, however, was the fact that after the American Revolution, several of the members of the Volunteer Associations visited the United States. Washington wrote them:

If the Example of the Americans successfully contending in the Cause of Freedom, can be of any use to other Nations; we shall have an additional Motive for rejoicing [sic] at so prosperous an Event.

It was not an uninteresting consideration, to learn, that the Kingdom of Ireland, by a bold and manly conduct had obtained the redress of many of its grievances; and it is much to be wished that the blessings of equal Liberty and unrestrained Commerce may yet prevail more extensively. . . .³²

²⁹Horn and Ransome, op. cit., X. pp. 698-700.

³⁰Madison, op. cit., IV, p. 432.

³¹G. Washington, Writings of Washington, ed. J. Fitzpatrick, XVIII, p. 120.

³²Ibid., XXVII, pp. 253-254.

In Ireland after the American Revolution, the Irish illustrated the fact that there was a connection between the independence movements in America and Ireland. In several Irish cities, groups known as Yankee Clubs formed. In his correspondence with one such club, George Washington clearly showed that the Irishmen were attempting to gain the same freedoms as had the Americans. In a letter dated January 20, 1784, the American leader stated that the people of the United States gave whole-hearted support to the Irish movement.³³

Although the impact of the American Revolution was great, the French Revolution of 1789 had an even more important role in Irish history. The Irish nation became instilled with the principles upon which the French Revolution was based. The official organ of the Northern United Irishmen in 1794 stated that the Revolution of 1789 offered several lessons:

It offers demonstrative evidence that even thrones may be insecure, though environed by armed hosts; and points out the policy of seizing on times of profound peace, to revive the principles of rational and temperate freedom. This it urges, as the surest expedient for attaching the hearts of subjects to the laws, securing the strength of their arms against invading foes, and preventing the low murmur of the people from swelling into accents of settled discontent. Though disquiets which have reason for their basis, may be silenced for a season, it is inherent in their nature to gain force by time.

To communities at large, it carries equal admonition. It shows them a point beyond which their energies cannot be excited, without anarchy; without becoming a bar to those very securities for liberty, which render popular commotions honourable.³⁴

³³ Ibid., XXVII, p. 308.

³⁴ Belfast Politics, p. 241.

The United Irishmen provided effective leadership from the period of the French Revolution until the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Britain feared this group, and justly so. Reflecting the fear, the Committee of Secrecy wrote:

Your Committee are induced, in the first instance, to hate the nature, extent, and influence, of the society of United Irishmen; because the society has proved the most powerful engine, in the hands of conspirators, against the government of their country, which has yet been devised.³⁵

By their leadership the ideas of revolution began to spread throughout all Ireland. In 1797, in an article sent to the editor of the Dublin Press a statement was made which showed the extent of revolutionary ideas. The concluding paragraph stated: "To arm against unlawful power, and to repel force by force, is a natural right, admitted by every politician who has considered the origin of government."³⁶

The era was alive and ready for revolution. Individuals who were capable of aiding in the struggle and who held to ideas friendly to the insurrection were thrust into positions of leadership. Lord Edward, with the long training which he had, with the republican principles which he had developed, was a natural choice. The situation fit his personality as precisely as any era could.

³⁵ Great Britain. Report of the Committee of Secrecy. (1799) p. 7.

³⁶ The Dublin Press, October 28, 1797, p. 120.

VI

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD AS A REVOLUTIONIST

In order to understand Fitzgerald's role in the revolution, it is necessary to trace the events which, though preceding the actual rebellion, denoted his connection with such an event. One of the first times at which his lordship openly voiced disapproval of governmental policy was during January of 1793. He stood nearly alone against the government when he condemned the clause of the Gunpowder Bill which imposed penalties on the removal of arms from one place to another. To Lord Edward, the bill was simply another penal law.¹ With the voicing of the protest, the revolutionary career was underway.

During 1796, Lord Edward began his connection with the United Irishmen. Immediately that group utilized the special abilities possessed by the new member. About the end of May of that year, the Irish noble and his wife set out from London to Hamburgh, Germany where Fitzgerald met the French agent Reinhart. Another Irishman, Arthur O'Connor joined Lord Edward and the Frenchman; then the trio began arranging for negotiations between their two lands. Leaving Pamela in the

¹Moore, The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, I, p. 220.

German city, the three agents went to Basle, Switzerland, near the French frontier where they opened conversations with the French Directory. In the talks, Lord Edward served only to bring the two lands together since the Irish lord was so widely acquainted in France. After a brief period, Fitzgerald returned to his wife in Germany. O'Connor was left to negotiate with the French representative, Hoche,² the French general who was to lead the French invasion to Ireland. According to later testimony, however, his lordship was responsible for much of the agreement reached since he had recommended that the French prepare an invasion fleet, although he demanded that the fleet be kept small.³ Samuel Neilson, an Irish revolutionist, reporting before the Committee of Secrecy, stated that Fitzgerald desired a small invasion unit "lest the French should conquer Ireland. . . ."⁴ France, of course, disagreed with the plan since it was felt necessary for the French fleet to be fairly sizeable in order to be strong enough to defeat any opposition. Finally a consensus was reached.

In maintaining relations with France, the United Irishmen in 1797 again sent one of their number to the continent to determine what type of aid the French would be willing to offer. The French, in a similar action, sent a man to Ireland to "collect

²Ibid... I. pp. 278-280.

³Great Britain, Report of the Committee of Secrecy. August 30, 1798, p. 18.

⁴Ibid... p. 50.

information respecting the state of" Irish affairs. The Frenchman, however, was unable to secure the passport necessary for entry into Ireland. He sought to have, therefore, an Irishman come to London to supply the necessary information. Acting in the latter capacity, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was able to carry on some negotiations with the Frenchman. The trip of an Irish representative to France became, therefore, non-essential.⁵

When the rebellion finally broke out in 1798, it was no mere coincidence that the county in which activities first started was Leinster, the county of Lord Edward's birth.⁶ Once the rebellion had begun, the British acted quickly to arrest several of the key leaders on March 12. Fortunately for him, Lord Edward was not among the number captured, but he did have to go into a state of hiding so that his close relatives did not know what had become of him.⁷ During those weeks spent in isolation, the item paramount in Fitzgerald's mind was that of going to France in order to hasten the French invasion, an event which he felt he could accomplish by seeking the help of his acquaintances among the French ministers, especially Talleyrand Perigord.⁸ Although he was unable to fulfill his wishes, his lordship did work diligently as the head of the

⁵The History of the Irish Rebellion in the Year 1798. 40., pp. 53-54.

⁶Teeling, Personal Narrative, p. 146.

⁷Moore, The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, II, p. 38.

⁸Ibid., II, p. 44.

Military Committee which developed a plan for cooperating with the invasion fleet.⁹

Besides the above duty, Lord Edward also worked out his military tactics for the defeat of the British troops. He determined the number of men which each county would be able to provide, along with the determination of the amount of money which that county could provide. As the following chart of his statements shows, on both accounts the estimates were rather high:¹⁰

<u>county</u>	<u>armed men</u>	<u>finances in hand</u>		
Ulster	110, 990	2436	2	4
Munster	100, 634	147	17	2
Kildare	10, 863	110	17	7
Wicklow	12, 863	93	6	4
Dublin	3, 010	37	2	6
Dublin City	2, 177	321	17	11
Queens County	11, 689	91	2	1
Kings County	3, 600	21	11	3
Carlow	9, 414	49	2	10
Kilkenny	624	10	2	3
Meath	1, 400	171	2	1
TOTALS	279, 896	1 485	4	9

Keeping in mind the above totals, Lord Edward began to assemble the weapons of war. In content, the supplies were quite unlike any which are usually assumed to be battle materials. The explanation for the unusual collection of instruments lay in the fact that the Irish populace was extremely poor. They could only fight in the most primitive fashion. The list of

⁹Moore, The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, II. pp. 8-9.

¹⁰Madden, op. cit., I, p. 284.

of war materials gathered by the Irish noble was lengthy: fifty chains six feet long, with fifty padlocks; one thousand spike nails, four, six, and eight inches long; two hundred round staples; twenty cramp irons; fifty large sledges; fifty small sledges; one hundred hatchets; fifty groove irons; three hundred shovels and spades, or as many as could be gathered; one hundred-fifty hooks for scaling ladders; and various other articles.¹¹ Under the leadership of Fitzgerald, the above materials were formed into an effective battle unit, quite unlike any which the British had ever faced.

Even though the plans proceeded according to schedule, many of the Irish leadership held little hope for success.¹² This fact is quite interesting in view of the fact that Lord Edward, though a member of the group, maintained an expression of confidence and high spirits.

Moving into May of 1798, there was little hope of ever obtaining aid from France. Instead of waiting any longer, it was decided that on the twenty-third day of the month, a general uprising should break out. Lord Edward, acting as head of the forces of the United Irishmen of Leinster, began final preparation.¹³ Because of the dependence of the rebellion upon the command of Fitzgerald, when he was arrested on May 19, the

¹¹Rebellion in Ireland, p. 283.

¹²Report of the Committee of Secrecy, August 30, 1798, p. 29.

¹³Madden, op. cit., II, p. 405.

movement suffered a tremendous blow.¹⁴

In attempting to locate Lord Edward so that he could be imprisoned, the British, on the eleventh of May, issued a proclamation guaranteeing one thousand pounds sterling for information leading to the arrest of the Irish leader of insurrection.¹⁵ An early clue which nearly led to Lord Edward's capture was received on May 18. The information stated that his lordship was to pass through Watling Street in Dublin. A group of loyal soldiers led by a Major Sirr and a Captain Ryan, therefore, lay in wait along the route. Finally, a few insurrectionists did appear. When the troops attempted to capture that number, the rebels escaped and warned Fitzgerald of the peril which lay ahead. The British did not get so much as a glimpse of their foe.¹⁶

It was no easy task for the British to learn the whereabouts of the man they sought. Because of the winning personality of the man, because of the personal devotion of his followers, the protection of the person of Lord Edward was considered a near sacred trust.¹⁷ His lordship's place of residence was constantly changed so that the British would have no reason to suspect any of the places of hiding. Although

¹⁴ Ibid., IV. pp. 57-58.

¹⁵ Moore, The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. II. p. 52.

¹⁶ Rebellion in Ireland. p. 275.

¹⁷ Teeling, Personal Narrative. p. 146.

at various times, hundreds knew the place where Lord Edward abode (some individuals were even arrested on suspicion of having shielded the Irishman), "no breath ever conveyed the slightest hint that could lead to his discovery."¹⁸ During the period of hiding, Lord Edward continued his correspondence with the French; but all hope of ever having that people participate in the insurrection rapidly faded.¹⁹

While carrying out the final planning of the rebellion, the veil of secrecy around Lord Edward was destroyed. One of his own number betrayed him to the British. The informer, a man named Reynolds, was so close to Fitzgerald and the other rebel leaders that he knew their whereabouts at times when others did not.²⁰ Just a few hours before the time at which Lord Edward was to place himself at the head of the troops of Kildare, the British discovered his place of hiding at the home of a Mr. Murphy.²¹ The men who attempted the capture were the same ones whom Lord Edward had evaded the day before. Entering Fitzgerald's room the British troops had to engage in a brief struggle with his lordship before the Irishman yielded. In the gun battle, Lord Edward was shot and wounded, Captain Ryan was killed, and Major Swan was severely wounded.²² Lord

¹⁸Ibid. p. 147.

¹⁹Report of the Committee of Secrecy, August 30, 1798, p. 16.

²⁰Moore, The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, II, p. 45.

²¹Rebellion in Ireland, pp. 275-276.

²²Teeling, Personal Narrative, pp. 148-149.

Edward was taken to prison where he died June 4, 1798, from the wounds sustained at the time of his capture. Taking action against the Fitzgerald family, the government confiscated the property of the Irish noble. Within a few years, however, the property was returned. With the death of the man in the Dublin cell, the movement was broken. Death was perhaps the most fitting part of the revolutionist career of Lord Edward, for it illustrated his devotion to the cause. The Irishman's death showed that he was a true revolutionist.

CONCLUSION

Having come to the end of the study, it is necessary to formulate some concluding remarks concerning the significance of the life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The best way to do this is to summarize the career of the man, relating the events of his life to the statements made in the introductory chapter of this paper.

The most important discovery concerning Lord Edward's life is the fact that the forces which molded his personality structure were essentially the same ones which are faced by every individual. Lord Edward had several brothers who, since they were members of the same family as his lordship, had the same opportunity for development of a revolutionist character. The fact that they did not do so illustrates that there is an innate quality within some individuals which causes the contacts with other individuals and with the environment to have different effects than that experienced by most other people of the same society. Since the same forces affect different individuals in different ways, there is no way of measuring the unique characteristics of each individual in order to determine early who will be a revolutionist and who will not. When certain forces came into contact with Lord Edward he reacted to these forces in his own personal manner.

The first of the forces instrumental in the development of the revolutionary personality of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was the group with whom he associated. In this regard, the social class of the man played an important role. Since he was a noble, it was characteristic of the era that the aristocratic class associates should introduce him to the basic ideas of the Enlightenment. As an Irish noble, it was only natural that Lord Edward developed a knowledge of the philosophies being propounded on the continent. The French ideals of brotherhood, equality, and fraternity were obvious components of his literary diet. As an Irishman, the ideas of Thomas Paine were common knowledge. Because the ideas of the American political writer were so popular in Ireland, the conversations which the Irish noble had with members of his peer group caused him to harbor feelings of sympathy for Thomas Paine's ideas. These ideas were but the first in a series of steps leading toward the development of the mature revolutionist.

The second element of importance to the Irishman was the type of abilities and skills which he possessed. In the Irish society of the eighteenth century, Fitzgerald had little opportunity to demonstrate the excellence of his leadership in military matters. Although he had spent years in training, the skills meant little since he was unable to gain a sense of satisfaction from the ability. Through attachment to the revolutionary cause, Lord Edward had the opportunity for gaining that satisfaction.

Closely related to the above, during the American Revolution Lord Edward secured certain glory for the bravery which he displayed at interval throughout the conflict. There was little opportunity for regaining that type of praise without once again utilizing the military skills which Lord Edward possessed. At all times, therefore, there was the chance that through acting in the capacity of leadership of a group of rebels, the Irishman could achieve a status quite unlike that possible from serving in the Irish Parliament. In this situation, it can be said that the era exerted a tremendous force in placing Lord Edward in the vocation which had innate potentiality for effecting revolutionary change of society. As a second son, the Irish noble had little choice concerning his vocation. He could become a military man if he did not go into governmental service. The custom of society determined all things.

Of greater consequence is the fact that there can be no revolution unless the era is ready for one. In certain ways, the era is responsible for the development of the revolutionist. To illustrate from the life of Lord Edward: There was an emotional frenzy which existed during the era which caught up a great majority of the populace. Because the Irish had read the ideas of Thomas Paine, because they knew what was taking place in France, they were ready to attempt the same change in Ireland. The leaders of the Irish Rebellion rode along on the emotional and intellectual excitement of the era.

This study would not be complete without some type of evaluation of Lord Edward's actions in the revolution. Along with several other leaders, Lord Edward failed to recognize the fact that due to the geographic proximity of Ireland to England the Irish needed foreign aid in order to succeed. Without such help there was possibility for success. Although Lord Edward often called for French help, he failed to recognize that unless the French sent a fairly large force, all would be to no avail. It is evident, therefore, that there was a lack of proper evaluation of all factors involved.

Secondly, it is apparent that although Lord Edward had had much leadership training, he failed in that he did not recognize his associates for what they were. Hence, the informer was one who was in an extremely high position. This fault and the one above do not detract from the subject matter of this paper. Instead, the faults in the nature of the man serve to show that the average revolutionist is an average person. He has strengths. He has weaknesses. Nevertheless, he participates in events which often super-human effect.

APPENDIX A

The song below was sung on St. Patrick's Day in 1780 at a celebration provided by the colonel of Lord Edward's regiment.

Success to the Shamrock, and all those who wear it;
Be honor their portion wherever they go.
May riches attend them, and stores of good claret,
For how to employ them sure none better know.
Every foe surveys them with terror,
But every silk petticoat wishes them nearer;
So Yankee keep off, or you'll soon learn your error,
For Paddy shall prostrate lay every foe.

This day, but the year I can't rightly determine,
St. Patrick the vipers did chase from the land;
Let's see if like him, we can't sweep off the vermin
Who dare 'gainst the sons of the shamrock to stand.

Hand in hand! Let's carol the chorus--
As long as the blessings of Ireland hang o'er us,
The crest of Rebellion shall tremble before us,
Like brothers, while thus we march hand in hand.

St. George and St. Patrick, St. Andrew, St. David,
Together may laugh at all Europe in arms.
Fair conquest her standard has o'er their heads waved,
And glory has on them conferred all the charms.

War's alarms to us are a pleasure,
Since honour our danger repays in full measure,
And all those who join us shall find we have leisure
To think of our sport even in war's alarms.

The above selection is taken from Morris and Commager,
op. cit., II, pp. 910-911.

APPENDIX B

A Ballad

From Erin's shore, a light bark bore
Lord Edward far away;
O'er waves to glide to countries wide,
That lie beyond the sea.

There met his sight, a lady bright,
He wins her lily hand;
But oh! the wife of woman's smile
Can't keep him in that land.

For now the Dane hath grown again
As hostile as before;
And should he stay beyond the sea,
What guard hath Erin's shore?

But come not here, Lord Edward dear!
Oh, rest beyond the sea;
For death awaits, who hesitates
To live in slavery!

And well I feel you'd never kneel,
Though left in arms alone;
In countries rove with your bride--
Who'll cheer her when you're gone?

His native shore he sees once more,
Yet sees with bitter sighs;
And for a while, a brilliant smile
Illumined Erin's eyes.

But short the hour of Hope's bright power--
The Chieftan's valour vain--
And Freedom wild shriek'd o'er her child--
And Horror held his reign!

No sculptured tomb to speak his doom,
In Erin's land appears--
But oh! the brave Lord Edward's grave
Is watered with her tears!

The above ballad was composed shortly after the Irish Rebellion of 1798 by an anonymous author. See The Lives and Times of the United Irishman. "Lord Edward Fitzgerald," pp. vii-viii.

APPENDIX C

The following papers were found in the possession of Lord Edward at the time of his arrest.

Paper I

" T Keathy, Enverness fencibles	50	with 1 Battn of
Salt, Londonderry	47	1
Naas, Armagh	250	1
Green horse	22	
Connel		1
Clane, Armagh	50	1
Narragh Hahn, Ks. county M		
Longford		
6th dragoons	500	2
Louth M		
Kilkea Do. Do. Do.	500	1
Kilcullen 9th dragoons	80	0
Tyrene M.	30	
Suffolk	50	
Orange Yeo.	90	
Carbery, Inverness fencibles	50	0
Ophelia sundrs.	600	2
County sundry returns	2319	with 10 bats of
	1500	
	<hr/>	
	3819	

Paper II

50 chains of 6 foot long, with 50 padlocks.
 1000 spike nails, 4, 6, 8 inches.
 200 round staples.
 20 cramp irons, in this form.
 50 large sledges.
 50 small ones.
 50 hammers.
 50 groove irons
 100 hatchets
 300 shovels and spades, or as many as can be procured.
 150 hooks for scaling ladders, the catching point to have
 hackle face.

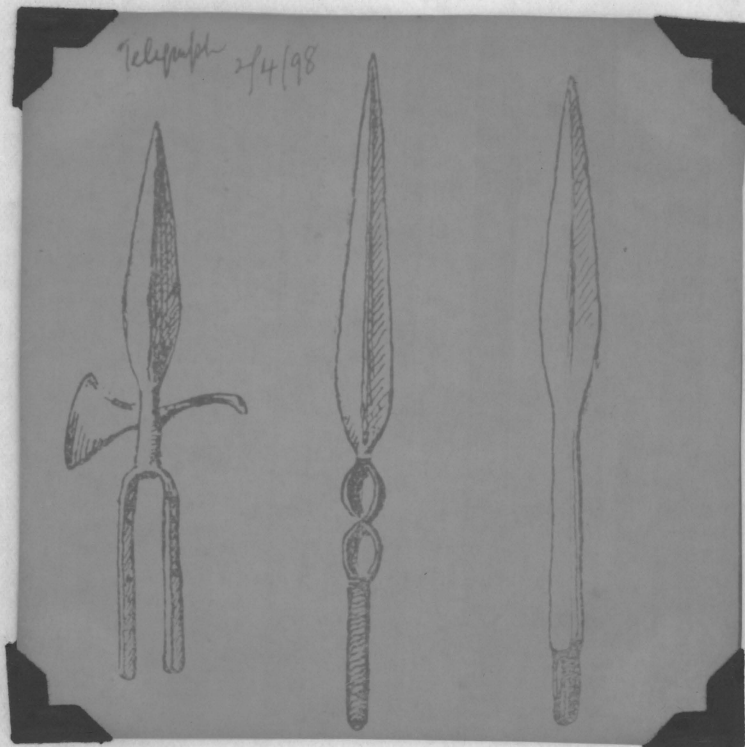
Paper III

Suppose R. force is divided into three columns. The left of the Kildare line to assemble at Clonclurry, or between it and Clonsard-bridge; a detachment to be sent to Clonsard-bridge as soon as possible; that body to advance by Killeck, Maynooth, Leixlip, and Chapelized, towards Dublin.

The above material was taken from The History of the Rebellion in Ireland in the Year 1798. &c.. I. pp. 282-283.

APPENDIX D

Throughout a major portion of Irish history prior to the eighteenth century, the pike had been an instrument of warfare. The Dublin Telegraph, on February 4, 1898, featured an article on the weapons. Contained in the article were pictures of various pikes. Below pictures of the pikes used in the Rebellion of 1798 are found. The pictures were found in that February 4, 1898, article in the Telegraph.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Biographies, Memoirs, and Writings of Public Men

- Aldridge, Alfred Owen. Man of Reason. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1959.
- Beresford, John. Correspondence of John Beresford, ed. William Beresford. London: Woodfall and Kinder, 1854.
- Campbell, Gerald. Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald. London: E. Arnold, 1904.
- Clonlurry, Valentine Lord. Personal Recollections of the Life and Times of Valentine Lord Clonlurry. Dublin: James McGlashan, 1849.
- Ellis, Lucy and Turquan, Joseph. La Belle Pamela. London: Herbert Jenkins Ltd., 1924.
- Franklin, Benjamin. The Works of Benjamin Franklin. 12 vols. ed. John Bigelow. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904.
- Fitzpatrick, W. J. Secret Service Under Pitt. London: Longman's, Green and Company, 1892.
- _____. The Sham Squire. London: W. B. Kelly, 1866.
- Hamilton, Alexander. The Works of Alexander Hamilton. 12 vols. ed. Henry Cabot Lodge. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904.
- Holt, Joseph. Memoirs of Joseph Holt, General of the Irish Rebels. ed. T. C. Croker. London: H. Colburn, 1838.
- Holland, Elizabeth Lady. The Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland. ed. The Earl of Ilchester. London: Longman's, Green and Company, 1909.
- Houston, Arthur. Daniel O'Connell: His Early Life and Journal, 1795-1802. London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd., 1906.
- Jefferson, Thomas. The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. 16 vols. ed. Julian Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

- The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen. Dublin: James M'Cormack, n. d.
- Madison, James. The Papers of James Madison. 4 vols. eds. W. T. Hutchinson and W. M. E. Rachal. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Moore, Thomas. The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. 2 vols. Hamburg: Lebell, Trutell and Wurtz, 1843.
- _____. Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore. 16 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman's, 1856.
- Morris, Gouverneur. A Diary of the French Revolution. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939.
- Musgrave, Robert. Memoirs of Different Rebellions in Ireland. Dublin: Robert Marchbank, 1801.
- Tone, Theobald Wolfe. The Autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone. 2 vols. ed. R. B. O'Brien. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893.
- Taylor, Ida. The Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. London: Hutchinson and Company, 1903.
- Teeling, Charles H. Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion. London: Henry Colburn, 1898.
- _____. Sequel to Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion. Belfast: John Hodgson, 1832.
- Walpole, Horace. The Letters of Horace Walpole. 16 vols. ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee. London: Oxford University Press, 1903.
- Washington, George. The Writings of Washington. 39 vols. ed. John C. Fitzpatrick. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940.
- Woodward, W. E. Tom Paine: America's Godfather. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1945.

Special Monographs

- Barruell, Abbe. Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism. tr. Robert Clifford. London: T. Burton, 1798.

- Brinton, Crane. The Anatomy of Revolution. New York: Vintage Books, 1952.
- Clifford, Robert. Application of Baruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism to the Secret Societies of Ireland and Great Britain. London: E. Booker, 1798.
- Edwards, Lyford P. The Natural History of Revolution. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.
- Field, Henry M. The Irish Confederates and the Rebellion of 1798. New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1851.
- Fitzpatrick, W. J. A Note to the Cornwallis Papers. Dublin: W. B. Kelly, 1859.
- Gordon, Rev. James. History of the Rebellion in Ireland. London: T. Hurst, 1801.
- Hay, Edward. History of the Irish Insurrection of 1798. Dublin: John Stockdale, 1803.
- History of the Irish Rebellion in the Year 1798. &C. 2 vols. Alston, Cumberland: John Harrop, 1803.
- Johnson, Chalmers. Revolution and the Social System. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964.
- M'Cormack, James, ed. The Irish Rebellion of 1798. Dublin: James M'Cormack, 1844.
- _____. The Rising of '98. Dublin: James M'Cormack, n. d.
- Madden, Richard. The United Irishmen. 4 vols. London: The Catholic Publishing and Bookselling Company Ltd., 1860.
- Namier, Sir Lewis and Brooke, J. The House of Commons 1754-1790. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Sorokin, Pitirim A. The Sociology of Revolution. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925.

Documents

- Castlereagh, Lord Viscount. Report from the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons in Ireland (August 21, 1798). London: J. Debrett and J. Wright, 1798.
- Carty, James, ed. Ireland. 3 vols. Dublin: C. J. Fallon Ltd., 1957.

- Commager, H. S. and Morris, R. B., eds. The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six. 2 vols. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1958.
- Gilbert, John T., ed. Documents Relating to Ireland 1795-1804. Dublin: Joseph Dollard, Wellington-Quay, 1893.
- Horn, D. B. and Ransome, M., eds. English Historical Documents. 10 vols. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1957.
- Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Lords (August 30, 1798). Dublin: W. Sleater, 1798.
- Wharton, Francis, ed. The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. 6 vols. Washington: Government Printing Press, 1889.

Periodicals and Newspapers

- The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature for the Year 1798. Vol. XL (1798). London: T. Burton, 1800.
- Belfast Politics. Belfast, 1794.
- Extracts from the Press, Dublin. Philadelphia: William Duane, 1802.
- MacNeill, Q. C. "The Irish Rebellion. A Diary of One Hundred Years Ago," The Freeman's Journal (Dublin). May 19, 1898.
- Morris, William O'Connor. "Ireland, 1793-1800," English Historical Review, XXIV (October 1891): 713-735.
- Tynan, Katharine. "A Great Irish Family," Catholic World. 81 (June 1905): 315-326.
- Zuylen, A. P. van. "Ierland voor de unie met Engeland. Lord Edward Fitzgerald en der Iersche-opstand van 1798. Ierland sedert de unie," K. Vlaamsche Academie (Gent), 1901.

General Histories

- Andrews, C. M. The Colonial Period of American History. Vol. IV: England's Commercial and Colonial Policy. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938.
- Bancroft, George. History of the United States of America. 7 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1893.

Curtis, Edmund. A History of Ireland. Norwich, England:
Jarrold and Sons, 1960.

Lawless, E. Ireland. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

Lecky, W. E. H. England in the Eighteenth Century. 8 vols.
New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1891.

_____. History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. 5 vols.
London: Longman's, Green and Company, 1913.

Other

Mackey, Albert G. and Hawkins, Edward. An Encyclopaedia of
Freemasonry and Its Kindred Sciences. 7 vols. New
York: The Masonic History Company, 1916.

Swift, Jonathan. Swift: Gulliver's Travels and Other Writings.
ed. Miriam Starkman. New York: Bantam Books, 1962.