

## Dedication

This work is dedicated to all victims of warlords, warmongers and their apologists.

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## Preface

I was first attracted to these lists in the course of general research, they were a source of fascination since they are informative in a way that the usual political sources are not in that it is possible to re-create something about the forgotten 90% of people who otherwise rarely appear in historical literature. There are only three such lists that cover 18<sup>th</sup> century Ireland; the other two being a list of convicts deported to Virginia in the 1740s and the Linen subsidy lists of the 1780s. Of these the latter two have already been published and widely available but this is the first publication dealing with 8,500 people from a significant time in Irish history, the 1798 Rebellion.

The process of inputting the data on Dublin led to a realization that one of the Reillys was probably a father of John Reilly, a great-great-great grandfather, who first appears as a wool comber in Usher's Quay around 1815, he may have been around ten years old at the time but none of his memories has survived. As there are thirteen O'Reillys in the List of Dublin Surrenders it is unlikely that it will be possible to find out which was his father. The list provides the most euphonious entry, Robert Reilly, Rosemary Lane, Quill Dresser.

I wish to thank a number of people and organizations that have contributed to this work. Dr. Kevin Whelan provided the initial interest in the period; the Roundwood Community Council under whose auspices the first historical seminar on 1798, 'Who Fears to Speak' was held in 1993; Jim Furlong, Chris Holt, Richard Massey and Martin Timmons who ran the seminar with the author; The Roundwood and District Historical and Folklore Society who have played an active part in organizing, support and publishing; the officers and elected members of Wicklow County Council for their financial and moral support; Ruan O'Donnell for his excellent research on the county; Jim Rees for information on some of the data; the National Library of Ireland for their unfailing courtesy and helpfulness; the editorial skills of Brian Donovan and Paul Manzer; and the technical expertise of Daniel Caffrey

## Introduction

The 1798 Rebellion, with the 1916 Rising, was one of the two important rebellions of Modern Ireland. Its origins lie in the 18<sup>th</sup> century European political transition from Absolute Monarchy to Democracy and the emergence of the Nation-State and derived its ideological inspiration from the American War of Independence and French Revolution. It is not the purpose here to give a history of the 1798 Rebellion but a short introduction may be useful. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century the Lordship of Ireland was part of the United Kingdom, was ruled by the monarchy and governed by the Houses of Commons and Lords of London through the subsidiary Houses of Commons and Lords of Ireland. In practical terms the Prime Minister (London House of Commons) appointed a Lord Lieutenant to govern the island with the assistance of a full-time bureaucracy, based in Dublin Castle, and government supporters in the Irish Houses of Commons and Lords.

The Irish Houses of Commons and Lords were elected through a limited franchise or were appointed by the State and Church of Ireland and was biased towards Protestant, loyalist, large landowner and wealthy conservative interests. The ruling elites were traditional, rigid and more concerned with their rights than their responsibilities. They were always fearful that the Irish would attempt to regain their lands, confiscated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore often governed with a heavy hand. The emergence of Enlightenment and Natural philosophies, Democratic ideologies, Urbanisation, Agricultural and Industrial innovations with their associated social and cultural changes challenged the status quo. In the 1780-90 period popular discontent was mostly found in the Volunteer movement largely run by young gentry, urban craftsmen and agrarian secret societies each with their own political, social and economic agendas. Political pressure on the Home Rule question led to the King granting independence to the Irish House of Commons,

though as London still controlled the Administration in Dublin Castle its impact was less than intended and was something of a Pyrric victory.

After the excesses of the French Revolution became widely publicized, opinion in Ireland polarized into radical and reactionary camps with many abandoning political activity altogether, though not always successfully. As a result of the Government clampdown against popular movements and political protest the most radical revolutionaries went underground and plotted a rebellion with the planned assistance of the French. This never materialized in any significant manner as the 1796 Bantry Bay invasion was abandoned due to Atlantic storms and then Napoleon shifted his attention to Egypt in an attempt to cut off United Kingdom's lucrative trade with the East. The later military incursion of autumn 1798 into Connaught was too little and too late.

Notwithstanding the arrest of revolutionary leaders and the suppression of the county organizations by the Government, through the militias and Yeomanry, rebellion broke out in Leinster and Ulster in early June 1798 but was suppressed by September largely due to the greater military experience of the British Army, Militias and Yeomanry, particularly at Arklow, the most significant battle, as victory there would have given the rebels a clear road into Dublin, at the time undefended. It has been estimated that c. 30,000 people died in the conflict so it can be assumed that there were at least as many wounded physically, emotionally and mentally. Some guerilla activity continued under the leadership of Michael Dwyer in the Wicklow Mountains until the ignominious collapse of the 1803 revolt. In the meantime the Irish Parliament controversially voted themselves out of existence when, under the Act of Union of 1800, they merged with the English Parliament.

A modern general history of the Rebellion has not yet been written though there has been extensive research and publication over the last twenty years. Earlier histories were often written to an ideological agenda and the Rebellion was (and still is, particularly in Northern Ireland) used as a propaganda weapon. Recent studies have shown how perceptions, interpretations and agendas have shifted over time in different communities.

Primary source material for the period is patchy, as much of the original documentation has not survived as the government had no archival policy in relation to Ireland and there was a lot of disruption and destruction with the closure of the Irish Parliament. Official papers, when not destroyed, sometimes became the property of rulers, administrators or civil servants and occasionally survived. Among the papers that have not are the proceedings of the Commission responsible for compensation of 'suffering loyalists' so little is known of their actions, procedures or assessments. However there is a reasonable amount of printed material, published by the various sub-committees set up by the Irish House of Commons, through Dublin Castle, until they became defunct under the Act of Union. These were published for public consumption and the collection of information, however after the transfer of governmental functions to London nothing further was published in Ireland. Parliamentary issues of Irish interest were now published by the London parliament.

Of particular interest, amongst the Irish government publications, are three lists, amongst various reports for public comment, and republished here. These consist of two lists of people who surrendered arms in the City of Dublin and Coolock Barony, Co. Dublin, of over 1,000 names each, and the better-known Lists of Claimants with over 6,100 names. These 8,000+ people are mostly undocumented elsewhere and are a broad sample of participants and victims and provide a valuable glimpse into Irish society at the time. One of the aims of this work is to make this primary source material available to researchers in a user-friendly format. For the academic it will give a macro picture of social structure, agriculture, craft and economy on the island. It will provide useful information for the local historian reconstructing local affairs during the period. Family historians and genealogists have the possibility of tracking down an ancestor's involvement in the Rebellion. Last, but not least, the data may be found useful by political historians.

The parliamentary legislation enacted for the establishment of the Commissioners for the compensation of 'suffering loyalists' is the statutes 38 George III chapter LXVIII and 39 George III chapter LXV. The former has fourteen sections covering the appointment of the commissioners (The Archbishop of Cashel, Arthur Baron Kilwarden, The Bishops of Killaloe and Kilmore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr,

Justice Downes, Justice Chamberlain, Right Hon David Latouche, Right Hon R Annesley, Right Hon. S Hamilton), their oath of appointment, the employment of clerks, the use of magistrates, juries and sheriffs in the assessment of a claim's accuracy, and finally the power to fine and imprison those who did not attend a summons to give evidence as well as the prosecution of perjurers. The second Act was enacted 'for more effectually carrying into execution to purposes' of the previous act and expands the various sections and includes a secret fund of £3,000 for the rewarding of those who 'have rendered essential service, by making discoveries of the traitors concerned in contriving and fomenting and acting in the said rebellion'.

In relation to the Commission compensation it must be noted that their brief was limited to individuals who suffered losses of property caused by rebel activity between 1<sup>st</sup> May 1798 and 6<sup>th</sup> April 1799. The only way that a death in the family by violence could be compensated was through the payment of a fine when a life in a lease of three lives was renewed but not for any other financial issues relating to the death such as loss of income. Institutions such as Church bodies applied through a different procedure (including Tithes) since they were regularly refused, however there must have been some confusion in the minds of Church of Ireland clerics about how to claim. Roman Catholic clerics are not found, except privately. The situation with companies is less clear. The claimed refusal of Orr's claim of £2,250 for the cotton factory in Stratford on Slaney, Co. Wicklow, may be misinformation as there is evidence that they invested in Ulster in the early 1800s. Finally either the Government or the Army force responsible dealt with compensation for damage caused by Government forces and/or their lodging and usually took some years to collect, i.e. Thomas Hugo's claim for the stationing of troops at his residence, Glendalough House, Co. Wicklow, which was still ongoing in 1803, according to the Kilmainham Papers; he may never have been paid.

The social consequences of the Rebellion and its aftermath were heavy and, even thirty years later the scars could still be found among the surviving victims. Compensation for those who knew how to work the system may have gone some way in financially assisting the rebuilding of shattered lives but for many only death ended their suffering. The mythologizing and political manipulation of the events does little to acknowledge victims but is typical as any comparison with similar rebellions anywhere else in the world would show.

#### Sources

The National Library of Ireland has two volumes with the reference: JLB 94107. The first is the better-known *Ireland List of Persons who have suffered Losses of Property, 1798* published in 1800. The second volume contains extracts of the Journals of the House Commons of Ireland, 1796-1800, no date of publication given.

On the inside cover of the first volume there are two notes written in pencil stating 'Commission for Enquiry into the Losses' and 'Note: See Appendix House Commons Journals, 1800. (Feb 1800 p. clviii in which sums allowed and disallowed are set out for each county, also proportion of sum payable) (P. O'Conenbhair 18.iv.35).'

The volume is divided into counties each of which has the following heading and tailpiece

- LIST of PERSONS who have suffered LOSSES in their PROPERTY in the COUNTY of (X) and who have given in their Claims on or before the 6<sup>th</sup> of April, 1799, to the Commissioners for enquiring into the Losses sustained by such of his Majesty's *Loyal Subjects*, as have suffered in their Property by the Rebellion.
- This List is published for the Purpose of calling the Attention of all Persons well acquainted with the County of (X), to the several Claims therein specified; and all such Persons are requested to communicate as soon as possible to the Commissioners, (or any one of them) under Cover to the Right Honorable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Parliament House Dublin, such Observations respecting the *Loyalty* or *Losses* of the several persons mentioned therein, as may enable the Commissioners to ascertain their Title to Compensation.

William Porter, 69 Grafton St. printed all counties except for Tipperary (John Exshaw, 98 Grafton St.), Wexford and Wicklow (W. Sleater, Dame St. Dublin).

The second volume contains extracts of the Journals of the House Commons of Ireland, 1796-1800, and includes a revised list by the compensation Committee with emendations and adjudications before the process was transferred to London after the Act of Union. The other items of merit are two lists of surrenders in the City of Dublin and barony of Coolock, Co. Dublin. In detail the references of the three pieces herein published are and headings are:

1. Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland...1796... to... 1797 Vol. XVII, pp.277-290 An account of the several Persons to whom the Magistrates of the Barony of Coolock have granted Protection and received into his Majesty's Peace since the 23<sup>rd</sup> Day of May 1798, with the Names and Places of Abode of each Person, and the Kind and Number of Arms delivered by such persons on receiving such Protection (Originally published in 1798, no further details)
2. 1798 XVII pp. 829-959 An account of the Number of Persons who have surrendered themselves in the City of Dublin, confessed themselves being engaged in the present Rebellion, and the number of Arms surrendered, from 29<sup>th</sup> June last to the 9<sup>th</sup> Day of September 1798. (Originally published in Dublin 9<sup>th</sup> September 1798 by Wm. B. Swan and Henry C. Sirr)
3. 1800 XIX pp. 158-498 An account of the Names of the several Persons who have given in Claims or have made any Demands for Relief as suffering Loyalists to the Commissioners for ascertaining the same, distinguishing their Abodes and Additions, the Counties in which they reside, and also the Places and Counties where such Losses have been sustained, the Nature of the Loss, the Amount of the Sums claimed by each respectively, the Adjudication of the Commissioners, and the Proportion of the Sum payable under Act 39 Geo. III Ch. 65, on such Claims as have been decided upon by the said Commissioners. (The abstract of the account was originally published by order of the Commissioners from Parliament House, 7<sup>th</sup> February 1800; Richard Carter, secretary)

There are six other reports in the second volume, with the following headings

- Reports on the Foundling Hospital
- Reports from the Committee of Secrecy
- Extracts from the Publications of United Irishmen
- Proclamations and Letters
- Testimony and Evidence to Parliamentary Committees and State Trials
- Papers of Lord Edward Fitzgerald etc.

These are essential sources for the Rebellion but are not dealt with here.