THE

CONFEDERATION

OF

KILKENNY.

BY THE REV. C. P. MEEHAN.

"Hapless nation—hapless land—
Heap of uncrementing sand!
Crumbled by a foreign weight,
And, by worse, domestic hate."

DR. DRENNAN.

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TO
CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY,
EDITOR OF THE NATION,
THE MAN WHO HAS ACHIEVED SO MUCH FOR THE LITERATURE OF HIS NATIVE LAND,
THIS VOLUME,
UNDERTAKEN AT HIS DESIRE,
IS INSCRIBED,
BY ONE WHO IS PROUD OF HIS PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP,
AND A SINCERE ADMIRER OF HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WORTH.

SS. Michael and John's,
Dublin, July 23, 1846.
TO THE READERS OF THE LIBRARY OF IRELAND.

It was my most anxious desire that this Volume might come from the Press without a single line of Preface or Introduction. I feel, however, constrained to relinquish my original intention; but the observations I have to make shall be few, and, I trust, satisfactory.

This volume, instead of preceding should have followed, the "Rising of the North," commonly called the "Great Popish Rebellion;" but as the writer who is to treat that important subject, has been prevented by urgent public duties, from completing it, I exerted whatever power in me lay to have the CONFEDERATION ready for the month of August.

All the incidents which I have endeavoured to narrate had their origin in two sources—one remote, the other proximate; the former is to be found in the "History of the Confiscations during the reign of James I." and it is presumed, that the readers of the "Library of Ireland" are already acquainted with that unparalleled system of fraud and rapine so ably depicted by Mr. MacNevin. The latter or proximate source is to be discovered in the history of 1641; for out of the events of that year sprang the remarkable Confederation, whose prelates and military leaders shone out like stars in one of the darkest and stormiest periods of our history. It is not my province to vindicate the men who originated that extraordinary movement, so grossly misrepresented by Warner, Temple, Borlase and others; that duty rests with the man to whom this Volume is dedicated, and it would be difficult to find one more able or willing to rescue the transaction of that period from the calumnies in which interested parties have laboured to involve it. I, therefore, will hasten to lay before the reader brief sketch of the events which have immediate reference to the subject matter of this volume.
The accession of Charles I. was hailed by the Catholics of Ireland as the dawning of hope and tranquillity, after the terrific persecutions and rapacity of his predecessor. They fondly indulged the belief that the rack and the thumb-screw would fall into disuse, and that their religion would no longer be a pretext for sacrificing their lives, and stripping them of the remnant of property which a crowned and disgusting pedant suffered them to retain. With a fatal confidence in Charles I. they imagined that he would cause measures to be enacted which would supersede that infamous penal code which has no parallel in the history of any other country. But in reality they hoped against hope. Ussher, whose character for erudition none may gainsay, was a rabid bigot, and the representative of a class who held it to be "a grievous sin to give toleration to the Catholics, or to consent that they should freely exercise their religion."—Ussher, as well as the other bishops who made this avowal, spoke the sentiments of the Puritans in England and in Ireland. Yet, with this declaration in their ears, the infatuated Catholics dreamed that the good-will and kind intentions of the monarch would come between them and their implacable persecutors. Promises, it is true, were plenty, but they produced no beneficial measures. Long-sufferings and passive obedience under the most withering oppression, brought no redress. The monarch who could so freely promise concessions, had not the remotest idea of realizing them. One hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, were subscribed by the Catholics as the price of the concessions, known as "graces." Such an enormous sum from a people so grossly robbed by James I. must have well nigh ruined their resources. Charles took it, and with that perfidy which characterized all his acts, gave himself no concern to alleviate their sufferings or ameliorate their condition.

In 1633 he commissioned Strafford to proceed to
Ireland as Lord Deputy; not indeed with the design of removing abuses, but of perpetuating them. This man, whose name is, even now, a sound of dread and terror, entertained an abhorence of the puritanic spirit so boldly manifested by the Primate Ussher, and Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore. It was his ambition to extinguish it, but his cherished project was to carry out the schemes of James I., and a more terrible agent could not have been found for the purpose. An exhaustless store for the lovers of the marvellous and cruel, is to be found in the history of the Spanish Inquisition; but, disgusting and terrific as its acts may have been, they furnish no record of blacker guilt or more flagrant profligacy than what may be collected from the history of Strafford's administration in Ireland. The promises of the King, so often given to the Catholics, and so warmly welcomed by them, were all violated on his responsibility. The Commission of Defective Titles was only another name for systematic plunder. The School of Wards, with its insidious scheme for sapping the faith of Catholics, was an apt instrument in the hands of this unscrupulous Deputy, who hated the Irish as much as he lusted after their substance. Nevertheless, grant after grant was generously given, amounting in all to three hundred and ten thousand pounds, in the hope of securing themselves against persecution on the score of religion, and having confirmed to them the possession of their estates. But all in vain; the statutes known as those of "Uses" and "Wills" were passed in the Irish parliament, and the religion of all Catholic minors was left to the guidance of those who preached extirpation of Popery as Gospel.

To suppose that Strafford's conduct elicited the displeasure of Charles I. would be a presumption not warranted by history. On the contrary, the king who participated in his guilt could not but applaud it. The Commission of Defective Titles contemplated the
confiscation of the entire of Connaught—its object was to subvert the title to every estate in the whole province, and to establish a new plantation. Compliant jurors were easily found, and where they were not, the Star Chamber, with its horrid engines, was speedily resorted to. The Lord Deputy Chichester, in 1613, claimed the honor of this device, and it succeeded, to Strafford's most sanguine wishes, in plundering the rightful possessors, and finding for the crown. Nor did Strafford limit his sphere of evil action to subverting the religion of the Irish Catholics and divesting them of their patrimonial inheritance. The Woollen Manufactures of Ireland were not suffered to escape; they were pronounced injurious to English speculation, and were consequently annihilated; even salt was adjudged a monopoly to the king, and the Lord Deputy consoled himself with having sought to bring the people to a conformity in religion, but above all, on having raised a good revenue for the crown. Hence, when he returned to England, and made a report of his conduct to the council, he was gratefully informed by the king, that "if he had served him otherwise, he would not have served him as he expected."

Strafford, or as he is yet known to the Irish peasantry by the epithet of "Black Tom," was succeeded by Wandesford, whose administration was too short-lived to be of any benefit to the Catholics, if he ever contemplated such, or of greater misery, which it is likely he meant to inflict. Tyranny, less vexatious than this which we have glanced at, would have driven any other people to madness. In fact, the Scotch Covenanters had no such provocation to rebellion, and yet they rose in might and strength, and, in a great measure, brought about that terrible tragedy which commenced with the execution of Strafford and terminated in the overthrow of the monarchy: yet, withal, the Irish Catholics clung to the throne, as if they had been its cherished objects; and, although it
has been the wont of others to applaud them for raising men and money to aid the king in his efforts to crush the Scotch, our habits of thought, at the present day, must be far from justifying that over-weening loyalty which induced them to arm in the cause of despotism.

Wandesford was succeeded by Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, two Puritans, who seem to have thought of nothing save pillaging the Catholics and anathematizing their religion. The odious tyranny of these men—their wanton invasion of the most sacred rights, and the utter disregard of all the obligations of oaths and conscience, find no counterpart, even in the terrible time of Strafford. Human patience had reached its limit—the people goaded to desperation, prepared to fling off the yoke—a plot for seizing the Castle of Dublin was laid—treachery was at work—the conspiracy failed, but a revolution speedily followed. From north to south the masses rose, headed by Sir Phelim O'Neill and other chiefs of the old nobility. In the December of 1641, a coalition took place between the Anglo-Irish Catholics of the Pale, and the "ancient Irish." Out of that coalition sprung the Confederation, the avowed object of which was, to assert by force of arms the free and independent exercise of the Catholic religion, and the restoration of the churches to their rightful inheritors. Of course, both parties, "the Catholics of the Pale" and the "Celtic tribes," were solemnly pledged to win back their estates and homesteads, or perish in the struggle. They were glorious objects and well worth fighting for. A congregation of bishops pronounced the war to be "lawful and pious;" and the men who were engaged in it must have triumphed had they been true to themselves and firmly banded together; but they were not. Mutual jealousies, distrusts, temporizing expediency, and wily diplomacy broke their compact array, and left them victims to the horrors which subsequently desolated the land. But
even so; in the annals of Europe it would be difficult to find nobler devotion or more brilliant chivalry than that which may be learned from this period of our history. Could there have been a more spirit-stirring motive for gallant achievements? The faith, for whose independence those men drew their swords, was that which our Apostle preached on the heights of Slane, and in the presence of the great assembly of Tara. The lands of which the Catholics had been plundered were theirs before the Norman set foot on our shores. The descendants of the invaders who remained true to their religion, were robbed and tortured for their martyr-like attachment to the ancient creed. The churches which the piety of Irish princes and Norman barons had erected were in the gripe of usurpers, and were not the Irish Catholics justified before God and man in seeking to expel them by force of arms? In a country like Ireland, at all times so fondly devoted to the Chair of St. Peter, such events as these could not have been unaccompanied by deeds of heroism which may have been equalled, but certainly cannot be surpassed in the history of any other country. Even now, after centuries of degradation and sufferings, are not the religious characteristics of the Irish people still the same? The love of their religion, like that of Francesca, so thrillingly described by Dante,* has endured and outlived bitter trial and agonizing torment; even now it does not abandon them, but seems to have been more closely wedded to their hearts by the recollection of all the blood and tears it cost them. That sublime passion brought death to the lover and the loved; but a resurrection has followed, and Ireland is now the wonder and the admiration of the world. Go where we will, we cannot meet any section of the human race braver, purer, or more generous; their love of fatherland is only equalled by their attachment to the ancient creed. Would you ask

* Inferno, Canto V.
the Irish peasant, whether toiling for a livelihood "beyond the Atlantic foam," or brooding in sullen silence over his miseries in his own land, what hope is nearest to his heart, he will tell you, it is that of laying his bones within these grey old ruins which chronicle the rise and fall of his country?

But, heaven forbid that it should be inferred from these reflections that I or any one else designed to stir an angry passion, or shadow forth a desire of resorting to violence for the possession of these grand old temples, now no longer ours. Too much blood has been already shed in the struggle to win them back. Who would strike a blow for the casket while the gem is in our hands? Enough for us that these majestic monuments still remain indisputable evidences of our former greatness and the antiquity of our faith. It is not by armed violence that they will ever revert to us;—no, that consummation is only to be hoped for when

"Europe, repentant of her parricide,
Shall . . . sue to be forgiven."*

But the age of the Confederation has gone by, and extraordinary events have succeeded it. A Confederation of another order has sprung up, and done much more for the "dear old land" than all that the sword of Owen Roe was able to accomplish;—"the voice and the pen" are more potent weapons in the nineteenth century. Yet, whilst we gladly acknowledge their efficiency, let us not befool ourselves by seeking to disparage those who, in the battle for liberty, resorted to the sword. The idea of casting censure on Tell, or Hofer, or Hugh O'Neill, is unworthy of a brave and generous people. In a country like this it would be dishonoring the memories of our illustrious dead were we to depreciate that heroism which held life not worth possessing when deprived of the incomparable blessings of freedom. All our hopes are now

* Childe Harold, Canto IV.
linked with the great unarmed Confederacy which has brought mind and argument to combat injustice; but that Confederacy has reason to be guarded against the weapons which ruined its martial predecessor. Even now there is a Pale, the foundations of which are laid in inveterate prejudices and hostile feelings. It is necessary that it should disappear, and that all of us, of every creed, be banded together in the peaceful determination to "have our own again." The fatalities which destroyed the men of another period originated in crafty diplomacy, soothing promises, and flattering expediency. Heaven guard us against a recurrence of similar evils! Unity and untiring exertion are our only means of establishing our legislative independence. To use the language of an eloquent writer—"There is now no statute of Kilkenny—no Catholic Confederacy—no Protestant Ascendancy, to keep us from entire nationhood. The religion of each is free,—the golden gates of prosperity open in the vista of our predestined path; we must enter them hand-in-hand, or not at all."*

One word more, and I have done. I know full well how unequal I have been to treat this momentous subject; but, if I lacked the necessary ability, no one can accuse me of want of industry. The volume which will describe the wars of Cromwell is yet to be written, and it will be the duty of the individual whose province that is, to commence where I left off. The congregation of the Prelates at Jamestown and Loughrea, as well as the Lorrain embassy, are intimately connected with all that I have left untouched, and will be fully developed in a subsequent volume. C. P. M.

* Nation newspaper, June 27th, 1846.
CHAPTER I.

The twenty-third of October, 1642, is a memorable epoch in the annals of Ireland. On that day, the representatives of the Irish Catholics, deputed by the cities, counties, and towns, were assembling in the city of Kilkenny, to deliberate on their actual position, and organise a confederacy, the foundations of which had been already laid.

It was a grand and solemn spectacle—nor does the history of any country record a more spirit-stirring scene than that which was witnessed in the old city of St. Canice,* at this momentous period. The rapid transition from heart-breaking thraldom to bold and armed independence, was never more convincingly manifest. Ireland, hitherto chained, and tortured by the most inhuman enactments, beheld her sons, clergy and laity, repudiating the despotism of Parsons and Borlase, who, in the absence of Lord Leicester, held the reins of government, and resorting to the only means left them for the redress of their grievances—self-legislation and an appeal to arms.

Who can adequately describe the feelings which, at this moment, must have thrilled the hearts of the Irish Catholics? But thirty-nine years before, the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, from the Castle of Dublin, sent an insolent letter to the mayor of Kilkenny, reprimanding him for allowing the old abbey church of St. Francis to be used for the celebration of the mass. His orders to

*A plerisque vero Canicopolis nuncupatur.*—Hist. Dom. 204.
close its gates were promptly obeyed, and the frightened worshippers were obliged to betake themselves to some obscure spot in the dingy lanes of the city, to celebrate the mysteries of their religion. The sanguinary edicts of the times caused men to pray after the manner of their forefathers, as though the moments of their existence were to be counted by the duration of the sacrifice—for that one act, life and property might be said to be at stake; for, in the unscrupulous calculations of such men as Mountjoy, Parsons, and Borlase, it was deemed no sin to persecute and plunder, in this world, those whom their gloomy fanaticism excluded from all participation in the happiness of the next. But what an extraordinary contrast now presented itself—in less than one year how much had been done to exalt the condition of the Catholic people of Ireland! Men, who were hitherto impatient of the yoke, now bravely flung it off. Mountjoy's malevolence, and the intolerable dictation of the justices were treated with scorn and contempt. Those who commenced the struggle in the preceding October, knew well that they had been driven from their sanctuaries and homesteads, by fraud and violence, and were now determined to assert their rightful claims, even at the sword's point. The struggle for independence was to be resumed in a more formidable and combined manner; and, even now, they might behold some glorious results from a warfare which had all the appearances of a sudden onfall without any characteristic of well ordered arrangement. On such an occasion, what heart could have been indifferent to the exciting circumstances of the time and place. From the towers of St. Canice and the black abbey the gladsome pealing of the bells proclaimed a new era. David Roth, bishop of Ossory, ascended the episcopal throne in the cathedral. The altars, which were sacrilegiously overthrown, were re-erected, and the shrine of the saint was restored. A monument was set up to record the fact, and the splendid old fane was once more devoted to the ancient worship*—nor was this all—

* "Memoriae David Roth
Qui hanc eccl. cathed.
S. Canicio sacram
Pristino restituit cultui."

O'PHELAN'S MS.
some of the monasteries which had been used for profane purposes were again occupied by the religious bodies, and the friar walked abroad in the habit of his order. Never, in the history of any country, was there wrought so wondrous a change in so short a time, and against such fearful odds.

Nor are we to suppose that the joy created by these extraordinary events was confined to those who witnessed them at home. Some of the most chivalrous men who had served in continental armies, were born in Ireland. Religious persecution had driven them from their homes, and they eagerly watched the moment when they might return, and be useful to their own land. That moment had come, nor were they slow in sympathising with their kinsmen and friends. Owen Roe O'Neill, who had distinguished himself in the Spanish armies, relinquished his command, and was warmly commended by the Pope for that zeal and love of fatherland, which prompted him to peril all he held dear for the emancipation of his country and religion. Preston, too, of the house of Gormanstown, who had won his laurels in 1636, under the walls of Louvain, apparently actuated by the same feelings, and at the expense of Cardinal Richlieu, sailed with a considerable number of officers for the coast of Wexford, where he landed arms and ammunition. From the banks of the Seine to the Tagus, and thence to the Vatican, beyond the Tiber, the news of the Irish rising had travelled with rapidity. Philip IV., of Spain, extolled the boldness of his co-religionists. France, chivalrous France, applauded the bravery of the men who had arisen to smite oppression; and Urban VIII., at the tomb of the apostles, invoked blessings on the arms of his faithful Irish children.

But if anything could add to the joy of those who beheld these occurrences from a distance, or raise still higher the enthusiasm which reigned at home, it was an event which had recently occurred: that event was the coalition of the Catholic nobility and gentry of the Pale with the Celtic or "old Irish." Let us pause to examine the characteristics of both, ere we describe the causes which brought them to struggle in the same cause, and march under the same standard.
"From time immemorial," says an accurate observer, "there always existed among the Irish two adverse parties, 'the ancient and the modern'; the former was ever opposed to the dominion of England, and, generally speaking, refused the investiture of church property; the latter, on the contrary, aggrandized by the spoils of the religious houses and cathedrals, and bound to the King of England by obligation no less than interest, neither sought nor desired anything but the exaltation of the Crown."

In fact, the Catholics of the Pale were thoroughly English in all their sympathies, if we except those which regarded religion; they were strongly contrasted with the ancient Celtic tribes, who had been plundered, even with the connivance of their new allies; nor did the two races differ as to feelings and predilection only: the superiority of the "old Irish," in the year 1641, was not less striking, as to outward appearances, than in the days of Hollinshed; for, while the "Anglo-Irish" are described as "weak and low of stature," the "old Irish" we are told, "were tall, and of huge frame."

Well may we wonder, that men of such different views and predilections could be brought together within the walls of Kilkenny. Verily it must have been some irresistible motive which could induce the two parties to bury in oblivion the antagonism and mortal enmity of 400 years. No matter how ardently the mendacious publications of the times sought to identify them with the men who originated the rising of 1641, they did not succeed in convincing any unbiased mind. One who was a conspicuous actor in these varied scenes, so often bright with hope, and darkened by reverses, has triumphantly proved that the Irish rising, so far from being countenanced by the nobility and gentry of the Pale, had not a single individual of English extraction concerned or implicated in it.† On the contrary, when the "old Irish" took up arms to resist the Puritans, "who were bent on extinguishing the Catholic faith, and plucking up the Irish nation, root and branch,"‡ their brethren of the Pale earnestly besought the justices to put them in possession of arms, that they might march against them, and, if possible, crush them.§ Sir Robert Talbot, a Catholic, was ready, in

* Rinuccini. † Castlehaven's Mem.
‡ Declaration of the Prelates at Jamestown. § Carte's Orm.
his hasty zeal, to proceed to the county Wicklow, and outroot the septs of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooleys, who had been plundered by Sir William Parsons, and driven to madness by the savage Coote. Lord Gormanstown, and others of his order, such as Dunsany and Netterville, burned for an opportunity in which they might prove their loyalty, by persecuting the men who had arisen to beat down the most intolerable despotism—they sought arms, but were denied them,—they were treated with the contempt which they merited, nor did they repent them of their bloody purpose, till they found themselves involved in the damnatory edicts which the justices published against "all Papists without distinction of any." Yet did they still indulge a hope that these denunciations might be mitigated in their behalf, but the hope soon vanished. Their religion was a plausible pretext for robbing them; their estates were worth having, and had long tempted the cupidity of Parsons and Borlase. Indeed the sordid griping of those men stands without parallel. Perfectly unscrupulous as to the means of acquiring wealth, they hesitated not to smite, with "axe and oath," all who stood between them and their object; nor can we find the counterpart of such unblushing plunderers, save amongst those whom Dante describes in the eighth circle of the Inferno."

But a new light began to break in on them, and they were soon made aware of the danger which beset them. A letter from the Earl of Essex to the justices, suggesting the expediency of banishing the lords and gentry of the Pale to the West Indies, was sufficient to alarm and teach them to provide for their safety. They had no alternative; to stay any longer separated from the national movement, perilled their lives and fortunes. The rackings and torturings of their own kinsmen, and the cruelties and the atrocities which they were forced to endure in the Castle of Dublin, gave fearful warning that a similar course of treatment was in reserve for themselves. Remonstrances were vain, for they were unheeded,—loyalty, and hoary age, were but "scurvy pleas" at such a moment. Patrick Barnwell† of Killbrew, and Sir John Read, were living witnesses

* Inferno, Canto xxviii. † Carte's Ormond.
of the inhumanity of the executive; without the shadow of a charge against their devotion to the Crown, they had their sinews stretched, and their bones broken in the torture-chamber of Dublin Castle. Their crime was, that they were Papists, and, consequently, fit objects for the vengeance of Parsons and Borlase. No matter how reluctant they might have been, the nobility and gentry of the Pale had no other course open to them, save that of joining with those who, in the hypocritical slang of the times, were denominated "rebels." Naturally enough, they dreaded to encounter the pains and penalties to which their religion consigned them, and they determined to abandon their vacillation, and seek protection in the patriot ranks. Thus were the lords of the Pale at length convinced that their kindly feelings to England could not protect them when the rack might be called in to support the suspicions and confirm the jealousies of the justices, who had an interest in their destruction.* Their tenants on their own estates had been wantonly pillaged, and their persons wounded. Coote's thirst for blood was insatiable, and his threat of not leaving a Catholic in Ireland began to gain some truth, from the recollection of his barbarities in Wicklow. Was the man who could smile and become facetious when an infant was writhing on the pike of one of his soldiers, incapable of any deed which diabolical ingenuity could suggest?

Finglas, Clontarf, and Santry, were the scenes of the most wanton murders, perpetrated by this man on people whose proximity to the capital might have been sufficient guarantee for their loyalty, or, at least, for their inability to do the state any mischief. When the humbler classes of the Catholics were thus persecuted, what could their lords expect by tame acquiescence, or what solace could they borrow from delusive hope? But, above all, what good could accrue to them from perpetuating the antagonism which, alas! had too long divided "the modern" and the "old Irish." It was madness to continue it, and the meeting on the Hill of Crofty, in the county Meath, was the result of their reflections. There, as on an altar, Roger O'Moore and Lord Gormanstown, the

* Carte's Orm., p. 259.
representatives of the two parties, plighted a solemn vow, and swore to bury in oblivion the feuds and dissensions which had long wasted their strength and now left them a prey to the designs and hatred of the common enemy.

Lord Gormanstown, and the other lords of the Pale proceeded, soon after, to take measures which the exigencies of the times necessarily demanded. Some levies of men, badly equipped, and hastily disciplined, were made in the various baronies. Commanders were appointed, and orders were issued to raise such means as were necessary for their support. The meeting on Knockcrofty, and its immediate results, had two very natural consequences: all hope of reconciliation with the justices was henceforth abandoned, and the "old Irish," who had commenced the struggle in the north and south, determined to persevere with redoubled energy, now that they were joined by the men of the Pale. Willing or unwilling, they were driven into a position from which they could not recede. No matter what their sympathy might have been for English domination, their religion was the grand plea for their destruction: that they held in common with the "old Irish," and in defence of the ancient creed they were solemnly pledged to stand or fall. The objects of the two parties now united were grand, and well worth a combined effort. The Puritans of England meditated the ruin of the monarchy: they were assisted in Ireland by the machinations of the justices. Next to the ruin of royalty, they ambitioned nothing so much as the extirpation of the Catholics. The preservation of the regal power was an object dear to the ancient and modern Irish, but in every thing pertaining to religion, the Celt knew no compromise, while his ally on the other hand would be satisfied with mere toleration. Manifestoes, calling on the leaders to arm in the common cause, were forwarded to the principal towns; a great portion of Ulster had been already won back by Sir Phelim O'Neill; Lord Mountgarret captured Kilkenny; Waterford opened its gates to his son, Colonel Edmund Butler; Ross and Wexford declared for the national cause; the O'Briens were almost masters of Clare; and, in the fastnesses of jar-Connaught, there was a steady organisation in pro-
gress, which alarmed the Earl of Clanricarde, who, wishing to preserve the good opinion of the justices, stood aloof from the general movement.

But it was not till the 22d of March 1642, that the Catholic prelates took any part in these momentous proceedings. Of course their influence had been employed to exhort and encourage their flocks in fighting the battle of the faith; but, previous to that period, it was quite impossible that they could have been synodically convened. Their presence was required in many a hard fought field, to console and comfort those who had fallen in the struggle; nor had they time or opportunity to assemble and deliberate in councils.

The provincial synod at Kells, convened by Hugh O’Neill, archbishop of Armagh, was attended by all the bishops of the province, with the exception of Thomas Dease, bishop of Meath, who, like Lord Clanricarde, sought to extinguish the spirit of patriotism in the hearts of his people. Dease, who was evidently influenced by the Earl of Westmeath, had already done serious evil to the Catholic forces besieging Drogheda, by preventing supplies from reaching them; his presence, therefore, must have been anything but agreeable to the patriotic primate and other prelates. Their meeting was brief, but of great moment; after mature deliberation, they pronounced the war undertaken by the Catholics to be lawful and pious, and issued a spirited address to their flocks, exhorting them to take up arms for their religion, country, and king. A series of decrees against murderers and usurpers of other men’s estates, was published by this synod, and the pains and penalties which the bishops pronounced against all evil doers, fully cleared them from the foul aspersions of the justices, who, in their puritanical cant, declared that "they had walked invisibly in works of darkness." Before the prelates retired to their respective sees, they sent a manifesto to those bishops who had not been present, advertising them of a national synod to be held at Kilkenny, on the 10th of May following. The meeting of the prelates had scarcely terminated, when two events occurred which were calculated to depress the hearts of men with less

*Carte’s Orm. p. 326.
holy and inspiriting objects than those of the Irish Catholics.

The civil war had not, as yet, broken out in England; the fire of revolution was still smouldering, and only required the breath of popular excitement to fan it into flame. The hatred which the factions on the other side of the channel entertained for the Irish Papists, was fed and invigorated by printed catalogues of forged murders and shocking atrocities, sworn by corrupt witnesses to have been committed on the Protestants in Ulster, and the other provinces. If anything could add to that deadly hatred, it was the event known as the "defection of the Pale." Charles I. gladly seized an opportunity of turning the attention of the English parties to the state of Ireland; and, in a message to the House of Commons, on the 8th of April, he signified his desire of crossing the channel, to chastise the detestable rebels, and settle the peace of the kingdom; protesting, at the same time "that he would never consent to the toleration of the Popish profession, or the abolition of the laws then in force against Popish recusants." The parliament, however, demurred, and the justices in Ireland made such a representation of the state of the kingdom, as was calculated to change his Majesty's design of visiting it. A proposition, however, was submitted to the king, of which he approved; 2,500,000 acres were declared forfeited to the Crown, by the men engaged in rebellion; and in order to raise money for prosecuting a war against the Irish on their own soil, and against the king in England, the public credit was pledged that for every sum advanced they should receive a proportionate return of forfeited property.* This, however, was one of the many acts of English despotism which might have been turned to a good account—for, by it, the Irish people were reduced to the alternative of crushing their tyrants, or perishing in the ruins of their proscribed religion, and forfeited homesteads.

Cooped up within the walls of Dublin, the justices vainly represented to the English people the wretched state of their troops, and the formidable array of the rebels. Petition after petition was sent to England.

*Lingard, vol. x.
and many a supplication for supplies of old clothing and arms, pathetically headed "an affair of bowels," was passed over unheeded. But in keeping the king from the Irish shores, they had accomplished their purpose, for they dreaded nothing so much as any investigation of their cruel and perfidious acts.

The second of the events alluded to, was the arrival of Munroe, who, with 2,500 men, landed at Carrickfergus on the 15th of April, where he was soon after joined by Lord Conway, and Sir Arthur Chichester, with a large supply of arms and ammunition.

But neither the king's insolent declaration, nor the arrival of the Scotch troops in Ulster, had power to turn the Irish from their purpose.

In the south and west the people were everywhere crowding round the popular leaders. Clanricarde's dictation could not restrain the enthusiasm of his province. He had no hold on the affections of his people, and as they knew that he was in correspondence with the justices, they had little confidence in him. They therefore thought it advisable to stand prepared against such horrors as Sir William St. Leger, the president of Munster, was inflicting on the Catholics in his province. That man, whose barbarities equalled those of Sir Charles Coote, was supplied by the justices with money and provisions, and ordered to execute martial law on those who fell into his hands. Early in March he entered "Condon's Country," and having massacred the inhabitants, continued his march into the county of Wexford; nor did he return till he had burned the country from Lismore to Dungarvan. In this work of devastation he was ably assisted by the Earl of Cork and his sons, one of whom, Lord Kinalmeaky, is thus eulogised in a letter from his father to the Earl of Warwick:—"And now that the boy has blooded himself upon them, I hope that God will bless him; that as I now write but of the killing of an hundred, I shall shortly write of the killing of thousands."† Nevertheless, St. Leger and the Earl of Cork could not have withstood the frequent assaults of the masses, one-half of whom were not armed, had there been unanimity amongst the leaders.

* Thorpe's Collect., R. D. S. † Smith's History of Cork.
The appointment of generals was a never-ending subject of controversy. Undisciplined and badly equipped, they divided their strength and made a simultaneous attack on Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale. Failure was the result. Mountgarret and Barry invested Cork, but were successfully resisted by St. Leger and Inchiquin, and were finally obliged to retire into Leinster.

Notwithstanding these reverses, the natural result of want of plan and well-combined arrangements, almost every town in Munster was in the hands of the Irish. The justices, however, were determined on crushing the unorganised levies in the province of Leinster, and Lord Ormond was deputed to command their troops. This nobleman, though of Irish origin, was born in England. At a very early age he was removed from the Catholic school of Finchley, near Barnet, to the tutelage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, under whom he soon abjured the faith of his fathers. He tells us himself that he was, not only by birth, extraction, and alliance, but likewise in his affections, wholly and entirely an Englishman.* With military talents of a superior order, he was in every respect equal to many of the generals of his time. In diplomacy, however, he excelled them all. With the most fascinating and artful address, he easily worked himself into the confidence of friends and foes; but under the guise of simplicity and candour he covered a heart which was full of treachery and craft. The justices had unbounded confidence in him, and he in return made no secret of his love and honour for them. He was the hope of that faction which desired nothing so much as the ruin of the Irish Catholics, and it mattered very little how many perished, provided Ormond was spared to carry out the designs of his patrons. In the opinion of the men whom he served, he is described by a writer at the period of which we treat as "The Jewell of the Kingdom; not greater in name than rare abilities."†

The justices were now aware that the time appointed by the prelates for the national synod was nigh at hand; and, as it were anticipating the order and organization which they expected to result from the congregated pre-
lacy and lay lords, they determined to strike a blow which would leave the leaders comparatively powerless. One, whose name and influence might have been considerable, did not live to witness the new era which was about to dawn. Lord Gormanstown, the chief of the Catholic nobility of Leinster, a prey to grief and vexation of spirit, died, and the command of the Leinster levies devolved on Lord Mountgarret. This nobleman, who was married to a daughter of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, had early distinguished himself in the wars of Queen Elizabeth; in 1559, he successfully maintained the castles of Ballyragget and Coleshill against her Majesty’s forces. In the parliament of 1613 and 1615 he was fortunate enough to win the good will of James; and in 1619 he got a confirmation of all his estates with the creation of several manors and various lucrative privileges.* He had not, however, the talents which were necessary for a great military leader; and, like the other lords who had lately joined the “old Irish,” “he was forced,” according to his own confession, “into the general cause by the example of those, who, as innocent and free from infringing his majesty’s laws as himself, had been used in the nature of traitors.”†

On the 2nd of April, Ormond marched out of Dublin with 300 foot, 500 horse, and five field pieces. It was on this day that his castle of Carrick had been taken by Colonel Edmund Butler, who caused all the prisoners, including the Countess of Ormond, with her children, and about a hundred Protestants, to be safely conveyed to Dublin. Ormond’s object was to victual several detached garrisons, which were still held by the lords justices. He went forth with the usual commission to pillage, burn, and kill; and notwithstanding the humanity and forbearance with which his own people had been treated, he did not fail to execute his orders to the very letter. He advanced to Carlow, Stradbally, and Maryborough; from the latter place he sent Sir Charles Coote to reinforce the garrisons in Burris, Knockmenease, and Birr; which service having been performed, Coote rejoined him at Athy on the 13th.

* Lodge, iv p. 52.
† Mountgarret’s letter to Ormond, March 25, 1642.
Mountgarret, designing to intercept Ormond on his return to Dublin, took up a position at the bridge of Mageny, four miles from Athy. He had about 8,000 men, badly armed, and far from being disciplined or provided with cannon. These troops had but three or four companies of horse, and were nowise formidable, save in number. They were commanded by Mountgarret, Lords Skerrin and Dunboyne, Roger O'Moore, Hugh Byrne, and Sir Morgan Cavanagh. Ormond did not move from Athy until the 15th, and, much against his inclination, found that it was necessary to attack the Irish. Three miles further on, was a very narrow defile, through which it was absolutely necessary that Ormond should march. Mountgarret's men, being unencumbered with baggage, rapidly advanced to seize the pass: but a rising ground concealed from his view a corresponding movement of the English forces; he was mortified at finding himself outmarched, and was obliged to halt; he then took up a position on a neighbouring height. Some ditches in his front gave him a considerable advantage over Ormond, who ordered Coote to advance and dislodge his enemy. A well-aimed volley from the Irish, staggered the advancing column. For awhile they seemed sure of success, till they saw Lucas and Grenville on their left, with Ormond's cavalry. An opening in a hedge, which had not been noticed by Lord Mountgarret, gave access to Ormond's horse. The Irish, thus taken by surprise, did not long resist the cavalry; but broke and fled to the bog at the foot of the hill. Mountgarret, who commanded on the right, still maintained his ground. Against him, Ormond and Sir John Sherlock now led the main body, which was not yet engaged. As they ascended they were met with spirit, volley after volley swept their ranks; but, as the two lines in front of each other were about to "cross their pikes," Mountgarret's men fled, nor stopped till they joined their companions who had taken refuge in the bog.

In this fatal action, since known as the battle of Kilrush, the Irish are said to have lost 700 men, and some of their most distinguished leaders. Mountgarret and Lord Skerrin fled that night to Tullogh; Roger O'Moore and his brother Lisagh, to his own house "near the
Boyne;" and the O'Byrne of Wicklow to the fastnesses of Glangaran. Ormond, even after this signal victory, was in no mood to follow it up; it was quite enough for him that he forced his way to Dublin, where he was soon after congratulated by a message from the parliament extolling his bravery, and lauding his untiring zeal in pillaging, murdering, and burning the crops.

Yet the heart of Ireland was only humbled by this disaster—it was not crushed; new energy and a bolder spirit were soon to be infused. Those who listened to the recital of that failure, did not despair. The tree of hope, which they beheld prospectively blossoming and laden with fruit, was but a sapling; the storm had only bowed it as it swept by; and those who, to escape the hurricane, had retired for awhile, were soon to rally round it and guard it more faithfully. But after the battle of Kilrush, one bright name* disappears: the last time the inspiriting war-shout of his followers fell on his ear was on that hill side. What reasons there may have been for the retirement of the gallant chief, whose name was linked with that of "God and our Lady," are not apparent; but it is said upon authority that he proceeded to the Fews, "and devoted the rest of his days to peaceful pursuits in the bosom of his family."†

During these transactions in Ireland, King Charles I. was actively engaged with his English subjects. It was quite impossible that he could pay much attention to Irish affairs, busied as he was with the factions who were already meditating the ruin of his crown. The two houses had voted a levy of 10,000 men, in opposition to the king, who intended to levy war against the parliament. The royal arsenal at Hull had been forcibly seized by the parliamentarian party, and the arms removed to the Tower. A forced loan, at eight per cent., paid in money and plate, replenished the treasury. The Earl of Warwick took the command of the fleet; and the Earl of Essex was appointed lord general, with a solemn promise from both Lords and Commons that they would live and die with him in the national quarrel.

* Roger O'Moore. Carte says he died at Kilkenny.
† V. the map of Ulster in the admirable History of the Confiscation, by Mac Nevin.
Queen Henrietta Maria, princess of France, was represented by the growing party as inimical to the liberty of the subject, and bent on some contrivance for the introduction of Popery. Reared in the heart of a despotic court, her religion and pretended ascendency over the king, furnished ample themes for the malcontents, who argued that the marriage of Charles was far from being sanctified by his Popish queen. Her confessor was arrested, the service of her chapel was dissolved, and she herself had retired to Holland with a view of soliciting such means from foreign princes, as would render her husband equal to the exigencies which beset him.*

But in Ireland the success of the Catholics might have been far more signal, had there been a combined system between the leaders. There lacked not energy nor motive to unite them. The views of the Puritan faction, represented by Parsons and Borlase, were unmasked, and the opinion which had already seized the minds of the Catholics, grew stronger, and struck its roots more deeply day by day. There was now but one conviction on their minds, and that was, that the faction who were levying war against the throne, had set their hearts on the extirpation of the Papists, and the confiscation of whatever property they still retained.

It has been already stated that the provincial synod of Kells had declared the war against the Puritans to be "pious and lawful," but it may be readily conceived what mighty advantages were to be derived from a national synod of all the bishops and clergy of Ireland.

According to arrangement, the synod met at Kilkenny, on the 10th of May. The Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, with six other bishops, and the proxies of five more, besides vicars-general and other dignitaries, were present, and the country anxiously awaited the result of their deliberations. The subjects which they had to treat were of a momentous nature. They regarded war as well as peace, and we may easily imagine that they would have stood aloof from all matters regarding bloodshed, if the circumstances

of the times did not imperatively demand their interference. Their flocks were exposed to the hate and rapacity of unrelenting enemies; nor could the episcopal character be compromised, if the hierarchy, under such circumstances, laid aside the crozier for the sword. The prelate does not give up the man, when the act of consecration appoints him to watch over his people, and an authority of great weight has decided, that when the rights and liberties of one's country are invaded, it is the duty of every man to gird on the sword. But it is worth remark, that the acts of this synod were couched in a spirit of mildness which does honour to the patriot prelates, and contrasts with the edicts of Parsons and Borlase, as day does with night. Before we transcribe that portion of them which has immediate reference to our subject, it is necessary to premise, that the lay-lords and prelates drew up an oath of association which was to be taken by all the Catholics throughout the land. Without this bond of union it was utterly hopeless to expect that the Catholics of the Pale would cordially coalesce with the "old Irish;" and in fact, as the sequel will prove, the oath of association was "the only essential tie"† between the two parties. The oath itself was at once grand and simple, nor did it oblige those who took it, to any act incompatible with the Christian precept which ordains, that we are to give to God the things that are of God, and unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. But it is necessary that we submit it to the reader.

THE OATH OF ASSOCIATION.

"I, A.B., do profess, swear, and protest before God, and his saints and angels, that I will, during my life, bear true faith and allegiance to my Sovereign Lord, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and to his heirs and lawful successors; and that I will, to my power, during my life, defend, uphold, and maintain, all his and their just prerogatives, estates, and rights. the power and privilege of the Parliament of this realm, the fundamental laws of Ireland, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith and religion throughout this land: and the lives, just liberties, possessions, estates, and rights of all those that have taken, or that shall take this oath, and perform the contents thereof; and that I will obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made and to be made by the Supreme Council of

* "In hostem Patriae omnis homo miles."—Tertullian: quoted by Dr. French in the bleeding Iphigenia.
† Hist. of the Rem.
the Confederate Catholics of this kingdom, concerning the said public cause; and I will not seek, directly or indirectly, any pardon or protection for any act done, or to be done, touching this general cause, without the consent of the major part of the said council: and that I will not, directly or indirectly, do any act or acts that shall prejudice the said cause, but will, to the hazard of my life and estate, assist, prosecute, and maintain the same.

"Moreover, I do further swear, that I will not accept of, or submit unto any peace, made, or to be made, with the said Confederate Catholics, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the said Confederate Catholics, and for the preservation and strengthening of the association and union of the kingdom. That upon any peace or accommodation to be made or concluded with the said Confederate Catholics as aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my power, insist upon and maintain the ensuing propositions, until a peace, as aforesaid, be made, and the matters to be agreed upon in the articles of peace be established and secured by Parliament. So help me, God, and his holy gospel.

Such was this solemn oath, or "faedus," which gave a distinct appellation to those who bound themselves by it, and whom we are henceforth to know as the Confederate Catholics of Ireland.

Having issued a manifesto calling on all the Catholics of the country to take the oath, in order that all "Irish peers, magistrates, noblemen, cities, and provinces may be tied together with the holy bond of union and concord, and for the conservation and exercise of this union," they ordained the following points:

"I.—Whereas, the war which now in Ireland the Catholics do maintain against sectaries, and chiefly against Puritans, for the defence of the Catholic religion,—for the maintenance of the prerogative and royal rights of our gracious King Charles,—for our gracious Queen, so unworthily abused by the Puritans,—for the honor, safety, and health of their royal issue,—for to avert and repair the injuries done to them,—for the conversion of the just and lawful safeguard, liberties, and rights of Ireland,—and, lastly, for the defence of their own lives, fortunes, lands, and possessions;—whereas this war is undertaken for the foresaid causes against unlawful usurpers, oppressors, and the enemies of the Catholics, chiefly Puritans, and that hereof we are informed, as well by divers and true remonstrances of divers provinces, counties, and noblemen, as also by the unanimous consent and agreement of almost the whole kingdom in this war and union,—we, therefore, declare that war, openly Catholic, to be lawful and just; in which war, if some of the Catholics be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title—covetousness, cruelty, revenge, or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions—we declare them therein grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished and restrained with ecclesiastical censures if, advised thereof, they do not amend.

"II.—Whereas the adversaries do spread divers rumours, do write divers letters, and, under the King's name, do print proclamations, which are not the King's, by which means divers plots and dangers
may ensue unto our nation; we, therefore, to stop the way of untruth, and forgeries of political adversaries, do will and command that no such rumours, letters, or proclamations may have place or belief until it be known in a national council, whether they truly proceed from the King, left to his own freedom, and until agents of this kingdom, hereafter to be appointed by the National Council, have free passage to his Majesty, whereby the kingdom may be certainly informed of his Majesty's intention and will.

"III.—We strictly command all our inferiors, as well churchmen as laymen, to make no alienation, comparison, or difference between provinces, cities, towns, or families; and lastly, not to begin or forward any emulations or comparisons whatsoever.

"IV.—That in every province of Ireland there be a council made up, both of clergy and nobility, in which council shall be so many persons, at least, as are counties in the province, and out of every city or notable town, two persons.

"V.—Let one general council of the whole kingdom be made, both of the clergy, nobility, cities, and notable towns, in which council there shall be three out of every province, and out of every city, one; or where cities are not, out of the chiefest towns. To this council the provincial councils shall have subordination, and from thence to it may be appealed, until this National Council shall have opportunity to sit together.

"VI.—Let a faithful inventory be made, in every province, of the murders, burnings, and other cruelties which are permitted by the Puritan enemies, with a quotation of the place, day, cause, manner, and persons, and other circumstances, subscribed by one of public authority.

"VII.—We do declare and judge all and every such as do forsake this union, fight for our enemies, accompany them in their war, defend or in any way assist them, to be excommunicated, and, by these presents, do excommunicate them.

"VIII.—We will and declare all those that murder, dismember, or grievously strike, all thieves, unlawful spoilers, robbers of any goods, to be excommunicated, and so to remain till they completely amend and satisfy, no less than if they were namely proclaimed excommunicated.

The national synod did not break up till about the end of May, and long before that period the proclamations, issued by the prelates and lay-lords, calling on the people to take the oath of association, had the happiest results. Agents from the synod crossed over into France, Spain, and Italy, to solicit support and sympathy from the Catholic princes. Father Luke Wadding was indefatigably employed collecting monies, and inciting the Irish officers serving in the continental armies to return, and give their services to their own land. Nor was this all. The most favourable terms were offered to foreign merchants, who would undertake to land munitions of war on the Irish shores; men skilled in the manufacture of arms were invited to come and reside amongst the Catholics,
and to carry on their trade with exemption from
taxes, and other lucrative advantages to themselves and
families. Lord Mountgarret was appointed President of
the Council, and the October following was fixed for a
general assembly of the whole kingdom.

Soon after the battle of Kilrush, Lord Lisle landed at
Dublin, with his own regiment of 600 horse carbiniers,
and another of 300 dragoons. A portion of these troops
was distributed between Drogheda and Dundalk, and
Lord Lisle lingered at Dublin awaiting orders from the
justices. At this time Letitia, Baroness Ophaly,
grand-daughter to Gerald, eleventh earl of Kildare, was
besieged in her castle of Geashill, in the King's County,
by the O'Dempseys, under the command of Lewis, lord
Clanmalier. This heroine, who inherited the chivalrous
spirit of the Geraldines, boldly resisted the overtures
and menaces of the besiegers, and finally contrived to
send a messenger to Sir Charles Coote, then at Naas,
soliciting him to come to her aid. Her request was
granted; and Lord Lisle was appointed to command the
expedition. He proceeded with Coote and a force of 600
men to Philipstown, and thence to the residence of the
baroness, from before which the O'Dempseys retired on
their approach. On their return they rendered assistance
to Sir John Giffard, at Castlejordan, "and burning the
country all the way as they marched," took the castle
of Trim, which had been abandoned by the Lords Fingall,
Gormanstown, Slane, and Trimbleston. When they were
about to retire, they left nearly 500 men in the neigh-
bourhood, who, rashly thinking they might recover the
castle, determined to attack the troops commanded by
the sanguinary Coote. Accordingly, on the 7th of May,
about daybreak, they invested that old Norman strong-
hold, and a sally was made by the garrison, in which the
besiegers were repulsed with loss. But, if they had no
other success, they rid themselves of an implacable
enemy. Coote was shot dead, and, in the words of his
eulogist, "Trim was the tragic stage whereon he acted
his last part." His body was conveyed to Dublin, where
it was buried, and as an acknowledgment of his services,
the justices, with the consent of the Earl of Leicester,
appointed his eldest son Provost Marshal of Con-
naught.

But if the confederates had reason to regret their
losses in Leinster, they had also good reason to congra-
tulate themselves on the progress of events in the south
and west. The justices were cooped up in Dublin,
importuning the parliament to send them supplies of
men and money. They could not carry on the war
against the confederates on an extensive scale, and their
expeditions from the city into the neighbouring country
had more the character of border raids than a regu-
lar warfare. In fact, the want of provisions was sorely
felt in the city, and it required all the dexterity of Par-
sons and Ormond to repress the mutinous dispositions
which were every day exhibiting themselves amongst
the Puritan soldiers.

The defeat which the Irish had sustained before Cork,
was soon succeeded by the capture of Limerick. Early
in June, Pierce Butler, Viscount Skerrin, Lord Mus-
kerry, and General Barry, with a numerous body of
ill-disciplined troops, sat down before the city; the
inhabitants were weary of tyranny, and longed for
an opportunity of flinging off the yoke. They opened
their gates to the confederates, who immediately pro-
ceded to attack the castle. Courtenay, who commanded
the place, determined to maintain it to the last extre-
mity.

The confederates commenced their attack by making
a boom across the river, opposite Mockbeggar-mear.
This boom—the object of which was to prevent supplies
being thrown into the castle by Stradling, who com-
manded some of the parliament ships in the Shannon—
was composed of long aspin trees, fastened by iron links
to two mill-stones on the Clare side, and, at the city, to
the tower on the quay. The fire from Courtenay's guns
delayed the completion of the work for awhile; but the
object was finally gained: Stradling was unable to suc-
cour Courtenay. Muskerry ordered a gun to be mounted
on St. Mary's Church, from which he kept up an incess-
sant fire on the castle; but it still held out. On the
21st of June, three mines were finished, and ready to

Carte's Ormond, 354.
be sprung. The order was given, and a breach was made in the main wall of the castle. Courtenay was allowed to capitulate, and the city of Limerick was in the hands of the confederates. It was the most important advantage which they had as yet gained, and, when we take into consideration their want of cannon and ammunition, we may be better able to appreciate the great results. Sir William St. Leger, on hearing the defeat of Courtenay, did not long survive the taking of Limerick. The news had a powerful effect on his health. He died broken-hearted, and, if we except his own partisans, no one mourned the death of the man whose public career had been disgraced by the most wanton murders, and rapacious exactions. Nor were the justices slow in appointing a successor to the late lord president. The man selected for the military administration of Munster was Murrough O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin. He was the eldest son of Dermid, the fifth of that princely house who had worn an English coronet. About the year 1628, Murrough, son of Dermid, was made ward to P. Fitzmaurice, Esq. The proselytising spirit of the times had two grand objects, which were fully carried out in the person of Murrough O'Brien. The first was to denationalise the heart, and the second to engender such an abhorrence of the Catholic religion, as was calculated to inflict the most unmitigated atrocities on those who adhered to the ancient creed. An apt instrument in the hands of the Justices was this recreant. His sword reeking with the blood of the Munster Catholics, and his military experience, the result of his campaigns with the Spanish army in Italy, recommended him to their regards. It is sad to think that a descendant of the illustrious house of O'Brien could have been found ready and willing to rival the barbarities of Coote, and walk in the bloodstained track of St. Leger; but, alas! such was the fact. Although the blood of Brian flowed through the veins of Murrough, it stirred a heart as savage and anti-Irish as that of the Scandinavian, whom his great ancestor vanquished at Clontarf. Tradition still points to many a rifled fane, whose blackened and roofless walls

* See Ferrar's Hist. of Limerick.
are the mournful mementoes of this Irish Vandal. Round the peasant's hearth, the record of his havoc and burnings furnishes ample theme for the story-teller. When the storm sweeps over the ruined shrine of Cashel, in the dark drear nights of winter, and the lightning flashes wildly through the desecrated chancel, the credulous fancy that Murrough revisits earth to renew the work of desolation. When mention is made of him, his patronymic is forgotten, and an epithet, associating his name with conflagration and carnage, is substituted. 'Twas a wise resolve to suppress the name of O'Brien whenever men spoke of this degenerate son of that splendid race. "Murrough of the burnings" was the appropriate designation, significant as it is of the incendiary's torch and assassin's poniard. As long as the history of his crimes endures, so long shall he be recognised by this epithet, and no other.

But the capture of Limerick was of the greatest utility to the confederates. With the cannon which they had taken they soon battered almost every castle and stronghold of their enemies in that county, with the exception of Logghur and Askeaton, the latter of which belonged to the Earl of Cork. But though these trifling difficulties stood in the way, the entire granary of Munster was in possession of General Barry and Lord Muskerry. Towards the end of July the two generals prepared to march into the county Cork, to chastise Inchquin, and rescue from his griepe the seaport towns which were held for the Parliament by Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Vavasor, Sir John Pawlet, and Sir William Ogle. Lord Barrymore, who managed the civil administration of the province, was cooped up in Youghal, and proceeded to hold quarter-sessions, in which the chiefs of the confederates were proclaimed traitors.

While the Catholic arms were thus triumphing in the south, Owen Roe O'Neill and Preston landed with officers and arms—the former at Doe Castle, in the north, in the month of July, and the latter on the coast of Wexford, towards the end of September. In the west, three

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* "One of the guns," says Carte (Orm.), p. 43, "was of so large a bore, that it was drawn by twenty-five yoke of oxen."

† Smith's Cork.
bishops, Malachy of Tuam, Francis Elphin, and John De Burke of Clonfert, addressed a remonstrance to the Earl of Clanricarde, importuning him to join the national cause, "which was," in his opinion, "grounded upon wrong and bad foundations." In vain did Mountgarret and the bishops endeavour to convince him that he was helping to ruin his country. "No argument," said they, "though you should write it in our very blood, will ever persuade the justices your affections are sincere, while you bear about you those marks by which they distinguish such as they have appointed for perdition. Let it not come to you to sprinkle your ancestors' graves with the blood of such as will sacrifice themselves in the justifiable cause." But they failed to gain him over, and he adhered to the Lord President and young Sir Charles Coote, who were spoiling the country and slaying the people.

But Clanricarde's apathy, and the cruelties inflicted on the people by Coote and Ranelagh, only served to exasperate the minds of the masses. Young Murrough Na Dubh O'Flaherty, at the head of a small band, seized Clanricarde's castle of Aghenure, in jar-Connaught. An English ship, lying in the Bay of Galway, was captured by the discontented populace; she had on board a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. The young men who took the vessel entered a church and bound themselves by an oath of union, in which they swore that they would bear true allegiance to the King, and defend to the utmost of their power the Roman Catholic religion. They then closed the gates of the town, and determined to hold it. They were urged to this step by the example of the Catholics who had been driven out of Cork and Youghal, "whose miserable condition," said the mayor, "did put us in mind of what we were to expect." A large body of men from jar-Connaught were preparing to invest the fortress of Galway, when Willoughby, who held a commission from the Parliament, set fire to all the houses in the east suburb, and wantonly consumed the property in the neighbourhood. Clanricarde, with nearly a thousand men, hastened to succour this ruthless incen-

* Clanricarde's Mem. 117.  † Ibid, 171.
diary, giving free quarters to his troops from Oranmore to Clare-Galway. He then proceeded to besiege the town, and was not long before it when Captain Ashley entered the bay, in a ship of war, and threw supplies into the fort. Willoughby thereon determined to bombard the town, but was restrained by Clanricarde. Articles were drawn up between the "young men" and the Earl, and in an evil moment Galway was surrendered to his lordship.

But they soon had reason to repent them of their haste in submitting to the articles proposed by Clanricarde. The fiendish malevolence of Willoughby and Ashley was not satisfied with what they had already done. They were both violent parliamentarians, and cared little for oath or fealty. Willoughby's soldiers openly robbed the people, and without the shadow of reason executed martial law upon the harmless and unoffending. In a fit of puritanical frenzy, he set fire to the suburbs, and burned houses "which were set for more than a thousand pounds a-year rent." He killed several of the inhabitants, scaled the walls by night, and fired his cannon into the town for an entire day. But the effect was good; "for," says Mr. Hardiman, "it occasioned and hastened the general and successful confederacy which afterwards ensued."

On the 7th of August a squadron of ships, commanded by Lord Forbes, entered the Bay of Galway, and he immediately put himself in communication with the fort. He declared against the late pacification, and landed some men who began to burn and pillage houses on the coast. Forbes, stimulated by Hugh Peters, took possession of St. Mary's church, planted guns against the town, and burned the surrounding villages. He then dug up the graves in the churchyard, and burned the bones and coffins; nor did he quit the bay till the 4th of September. Yet did Clanricarde temporize with the justices in Dublin, and their fiendish corsairs on the seas. But the hour of retribution was at hand. The clergy boldly exhorted the

* Vide Hardiman's Hist. of Galway, the work of one of the ablest of our antiquaries, whose friendship I have good reason to cherish and appreciate.
people to be true to themselves, and imitate the example of their brethren in the south. Coercion failed to check them; the oath of association was cheerfully taken by thousands, and they vowed in their hearts to visit, in the fitting season, their persecutors with vengeance, for all they had endured.

The reduction of the minor castles in the county Limerick engaged the confederate troops during the month of July, and it was not till the 20th of August that General Barry, at the head of 7,000 foot and 500 horse, penetrated into the county Cork. With this force Barry sat down before the castle of Liscarroll, which was garrisoned by Sir Philip Percival. The confederate troops besieged at the same time Annagh and another castle belonging to Percival. Liscarroll was declared by Inchiquin to be the strongest fortress in the kingdom, and such was the marshy nature of the soil around it, that General Barry was obliged to dismount his guns in order to bring them within range. Obstinate was the resistance of the defenders; nor did the place surrender to Barry till he had worn out the garrison after thirteen days' siege.

It was an important victory for the confederates, and struck terror to the heart of Inchiquin and the Earl of Cork. The sept of the Condons were giving the confederate leaders the most effectual assistance in another part of the county. The castles of Cloghleigh and Coote yielded to their bravery, and, when we remember that they were well garrisoned and supplied with the light pieces called sakarets and falcons, we may well afford to admire the valour and efficiency of men who had no other arms than pikes and muskets.

But though it was necessary that the Irish should possess themselves of these strongholds, we may, even now, question the prudence of the act; it had been better if they had fallen on Inchiquin's forces, which were distributed in cantonments, nor given them time to muster in strength. Had this been the case, Murrough could not have brought an army into the field; he was ill supplied with provisions, and the time spent by the confederates before Liscarroll and Annagh, gave him opportunity to collect his forces. He accordingly took the field on the third day of September, with 2,000 foot and
400 horse. The confederates, under Lords Roche, Muskerry, Skerrin, Dunboyne, and General Barry, waited his advance on an eminence in the vicinity of Liscarroll; Inochiquin charged with impetuosity, and was badly wounded in the attack. Kinalmeaky, of whose canine ferocity we have already spoken, was killed by his side; but, after an obstinate resistance, the confederates broke and fled. Sir Charles Vavasour and Inochiquin pursued them to a neighbouring bog, near Kilbolane, where upwards of 700 of them were refused quarter, and slain in cold blood. The loss in arms, colours, and baggage, was considerable. But Inochiquin dared not follow up his victory, and thought it advisable to retire, and secure himself in Mallow. Notwithstanding the boasted success of this action, Inochiquin made very few prisoners; and, as it will be seen, the result of the battle of Liscarroll was nowise important to the arms of the justices. Vavasour succeeded Kinalmeaky as governor of Bandon, whence he sent detachments into the surrounding country, making preys of cattle, and wasting the crops.*

In Ulster, the arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill produced the most signal result; for it would appear that, about the time of this event, Sir Phelim, and the other leaders, meditated following the example of Hugh O'Neill, and escaping to the Continent. The name and reputation of Owen changed their design, and determined them to strike another blow for their native land. The Fabius of his country, as he is justly called, convened a meeting of the leaders, in the castle of Kinard, and he was immediately declared the chief of the Ulster Catholics. Munroe,† at the head of 10,000 men, occupied a strong position in Carrickfergus, and contented himself with seizing and imprisoning those who made any demonstration in favour of the king. The avowed object of the parliament in sending the Scottish forces into Ulster, was to circumvent his majesty, and prevent succours from being sent to him, should he require them from the northern shores. In the month of August, Lord Leven arrived with a detachment for the Scotch general, and addressed a letter to O'Neill, in which he expressed his

* Cox, v. 2, p. 113.  † Smith's History of Cork.  ‡ Carte's Ormond.
astonishment "that one of his rank and reputation should have come to Ireland to support so bad a cause." O'Neill's answer was bold, and worthy of him:—"I have a better right, my lord," he replied, "to defend my own country, than your lordship has to march into England against your king."

Leven returned to Scotland, after having assured Munroe that if Owen Roe succeeded in getting an army together, he would be defeated. O'Neill, undaunted by the imposing force of Scotch and English, began to animate his followers, who hailed his advent as the prestige of success. He set about fortifying Charlemont against any sudden attack, nor did Munroe dare to molest him; not a moment did he lose in gathering together those men who longed to be led by so gallant a chieftain, and the month of September passed over in disciplining and organising the forces which hitherto had little appearance of a military footing.

The justices beheld with alarm these important occurrences. In their addresses to their colleagues in England, they set forth that their condition was ruinous. Like superstitious heathens, they trembled at everything that appeared ominous. "Crows, seagulls, and ravens, pewling and croaking over the castle towers, portended disasters which they could not divine."†

But, in fact, the much-dreaded event was the general assembly of the whole kingdom, the time for which was near at hand. The retrospective view we have taken of these events was absolutely necessary, for the better understanding of those which followed in rapid succession. We now return to the moment at which we set out—the day before that fixed for the general assembly. It was about this time that Lord Castlehaven, and others escaped from prison,‡ and having arrived at the place of rendezvous, took the oath and were enrolled amongst the confederates; nor did the city of Kilkenny at any time previous witness such excitement and enthusiasm as on the 23rd of October, 1642. One who was a spectator of that scene, which we would fain recall, has left us a pithy account of it. He tells us that

* Rinuncelni.
† Thorpe Papers. R. D. S.
‡ "From Shepes-street, Dublin, thro' Templeogue and over Wicklow mountains."—Vide Castlehaven's Memoirs.
on his arrival "he found every one actively engaged preparing for war."* Nor does it require any great power of imagination to conjure up the figure and fashion of those who were then assembling. The Celt had not as yet generally adopted the English tongue and English garb; hence, it was easy to distinguish the chieftains of the north and south from their brethren of the Pale. The truis barraid, flowing mantle, and colun, were still retained by the Celtic chiefs; while those of the Pale, rigidly conforming to English mannerism, adopted the broad black cloth, and the prevailing fashions of the English court.† In groups through the busy streets might be seen men, whose dusky aspects and foreign costume, pronounced them cavaliers of another clime,—but they were the Irish officers who had accompanied O'Neill and Preston from the Continent.

What a scene for recollection! Prelates and priests were there, who, educated beyond the seas, brought home with them a knowledge of those languages which Dante and Calderon have immortalised, and yet were ignorant of the English tongue;—men who spoke the language of Spenser side by side with the O'Neills from the north and the Macarthys from the south. Happily, however, the language of the western church was understood by them all. But in such angry times it were needless to dwell upon the marks by which the two races might be known, if one were not anxious to bring vividly before the mind of the reader every feature and peculiarity of those who have invested the churches, cloisters, council chambers, and towers of that venerable city with such an intense degree of interest. And surely even the earlier period of its history, when

"Phineas, and Milesian, and the plundering Norman Peers" ascended the sacred hill of St. Canice, presents no reminiscence so agreeable as that when the lords and gentry of the Pale came to sit in council with the chieftains and representatives of the Celtic tribes. Memory will ever love to dwell on that extraordinary conjunction, ill-starred though it may have been, or otherwise:—

* Castlehaven's Mem.
† Vide Walker's Letter on the dress of the Irish of the Pale and the Celtic Tribes.
around that old city there is an atmosphere of hallowed antiquity;—through the vista of ages the forms of Donald O'Brien and Strongbow are still visible, though dimmed and obscured by time. Not so, however, with these of whom we treat: they are visions palpably before us, and it is time that we follow them to the place of assembly.

It is the 24th of October, and within the walls of Kilkenny are assembled eleven spiritual peers, fourteen temporal, and two hundred and twenty-six commoners, to keep watch and ward over the nascent liberties of their native land.

CHAPTER II.

When the Catholic deputies were assembling in Kilkenny, to establish the federative government, and adopt these administrative measures of which we are now to treat, the war had broken out in England between the king and the parliament. Essex had the command of the rebel army, and Charles the First, summoning around him such of the nobles as yet stood firm in their allegiance, raised his standard at Nottingham, and called on his subjects to "give to Caesar his due."

Those who were up in arms against their monarch, were in close communication with the Lords Justices. They understood each other well, and they mutually vowed to turn all their strength on the Irish Catholics when they had accomplished their designs in England. It is hardly necessary to observe that the confederates were well aware that in the din of arms, and the confusion consequent on the collision between the king and the parliament, they could hope for no amelioration of their condition, or concession of the "graces," which had been so dearly purchased, and so long withheld. To submit to the dictates of Parsons and Borlase, was to sacrifice life and liberty; and nothing now remained for them but to take the government into their own hands, and save themselves and the country

* Lingard, vol. x.
from the machinations of the Puritans. It was a wise and bold resolve, and promptly was it carried into execution. War with the justices was inevitable; the Nore now flowed between them and the Lords of the Pale, and the latter were fully convinced that if they would ever cross it to repossess themselves of their estates, it would be necessary to do so, not as suppliants for exemptions, but as bold men bent on maintaining their own inalienable rights, and the lawful prerogatives of the crown.

The first meeting of the confederates on this important occasion, is said to have been held in the house* of Sir Robert Shea, in the Market-place of Kilkenny. The great oaken floors, and massive solidity of the walls, still attest the opulence of the family who then possessed the mansion. Belling† informs us that the estates, spiritual and temporal, sat in the same hall, and that a tier of benches, raised one above the other, was deemed necessary in order to give accommodation to the lords and commons. An upper or private room was appropriated to the lords for consultation; and the clergy who were not qualified by their sees or abbacies to sit in the house of lords, met in an adjoining house, which was called the "house of convocation." Mr. Patrick D'Arcy,‡ "bare-headed, and seated on a stool, represented all, or some of the judges and masters of chancery, that used to sit in parliament upon the woolsack;" and Mr. Nicholas Plunket represented the speaker of the house of commons: to him both lords and commons addressed their speeches. Thomas O'Quirke,§ a Dominican friar of the convent of Tralee, a man of eloquence and learning, was appointed preacher and chaplain in ordinary to both houses. The assembly had all the appearance of parliament, although the first act of the lay-lords,

*A part of this notable building is now occupied by a coachmaker, and up to a very recent period the chair, said to have been used by the speaker, was preserved, till broken up by the owner, who wished to be rid of the importunities of visitors. Surely the authorities of Kilkenny ought to look after the venerable residence of the Boff family, nearly opposite, and if they do not, their city must soon lose one of its most venerable mansions and greatest attractions.

‡Carte's Orn.
§Heynus, cited in the Hib. Dom.
prelates, and commons was, to declare they did not intend it as such, fearing to infringe on the prerogative of the crown, to which belonged the privilege of calling, proroguing, and dissolving the senate. It was, however, a provisional government "to consult of an order for their own affairs, till his Majesty's wisdom had settled the present troubles."

The interval between the first day of meeting and the end of October was occupied in making these preliminary arrangements and administering the oath of association to such as had not yet taken it. On the 1st of November a committee was appointed, by the estates spiritual and temporal, to draw up a form of the confederate government. The committee was composed, amongst others, of Lords Castlehaven and Gormanstown, and the lawyers, the chief of whom were Patrick D'Arcy, Sir Phelim O'Neill, and Richard Belling. On the fourth of the month the two houses formally approved the acts of the committee, and on the same day the prelates issued a mandate to their clergy throughout Ireland, charging them to administer the oath of association to their respective flocks, and pay due obedience to the new government, the spirit of which may be easily found in the following extracts:

"Magna Charta and the common and statute laws of England, in all points not contrary to the Roman Catholic religion, or inconsistent with the liberty of Ireland, were acknowledged as the basis of the new government.

"They resolved that each county should have its council, consisting of one or two deputies out of each barony, and where there was no barony, of twelve persons elected by the county in general, with powers to adjudicate on all matters cognizable by justices of the peace, pleas of the crown, suits for debts, and personal actions, and to restore possessions usurped since the war; to name all the county officers, saving the high sheriff, who was to be elected by the supreme council, out of three whom the council of the county were to recommend. From these there was an appeal to the provincial councils, which were to consist of two deputies out of each county, and were to meet four times a year, or oftener, if there was occasion, to examine the decisions of the county councils, to decide all suits like judges of assize, to establish recent possessions, but not to interfere with other suits about lands except in cases of dower;"

"From these there lay a further appeal to the supreme council of twenty-four persons who were to be elected by the general assembly, of which twelve were to be constantly resident in Kilkenny, or

* Carte's Orm.  † Carte's Orm.
CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY.

wherever else they should judge it to be most expedient, with equal voices, but two-thirds to conclude the rest; never fewer than nine to sit in council, and seven to concur in the same opinion: out of these twenty-four a president was to be named by the assembly, and was to be always one of the twelve resident, and in case of death or any other serious impediment, the other residents out of twenty-four were to select a president.

It was also enacted—"That the council should be vested with power over all generals, military officers, and civil magistrates, who were to obey their orders, and send an account duly of their actions and proceedings; to determine all matters left undecided by the general assembly. Their acts to be of force till rescinded by the next assembly; to command and punish all commanders of forces, magistrates, and all others of what rank and condition soever; to hear and judge all capital and criminal causes (saving titles to lands), and to do all kinds of acts for promoting the common cause of the confederacy and the good of the kingdom, and relating to the support and management of the war.*

"And as the administrative authority was to be vested in the supreme council, it was decreed that at the end of every general assembly, the supreme council should be confirmed or changed, as the general body thought fit."

Ten days after these enactments had been sanctioned by the general assembly of the confederate Catholics, they proceeded to elect the supreme council, when Lord Mountgarret was chosen president. Six were selected out of each province, and after the necessary forms had been gone through, the following were declared duly elected:


On these rested the great national responsibility, nor were they slow in taking such measures as they deemed necessary for the welfare of the kingdom. Their first act was to name the generals who were to command under their authority. Owen Roe Mac-Art O'Neill was appointed to command in chief all the Ulster forces. Thomas Preston, those of Leinster. Barry was named commander-in-chief in Munster, and John Burke was to be lieutenant-general in Connaught, reserving the chief command to Clanricarde, who, it was thought, would sooner or later declare for the confederation. But as no act or instrument emanating from the

* Cox, Carte's Orm.
supreme council could be of force, unless sealed with their own seal, they caused one to be made which may be thus described:—"Twas circular, and in its centre was a large cross, the base of which rested on a flaming heart, while its apex was overlapped by the wings of a dove: on the left of the cross was the harp, and on the right the crown. The legend was at once happy, novel, and classic—"Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria, Hiberni Unanimes."

One of the first acts under the great seal of the confederacy, was an order to raise thirty thousand pounds sterling in Leinster, and a levy of thirty-one thousand seven hundred men in the same province. This force was to be drilled and disciplined by the officers who had accompanied Preston, with the least possible delay. The majority of the new levies was to garrison such places as the confederates possessed in Leinster, and the remainder was to be ready to take the field as soon as circumstances might require. Mr. Nicholas Plunket was appointed Muster-master-general, and any locality refusing to contribute its due proportion of men capable of bearing arms, was to be punished by a system of "free quarters."

A mint was ordered to be established at Kilkenny, and those who were wealthy, and heart and soul in the cause of their country, made large contributions of plate to the National Treasury; in a very short time four thousand pounds sterling, in half-crown pieces, "of the value and goodness of English money" was coined. The total absence of embellishment or legend on the silver coin, is evidence of the haste in which it was struck, for the half-crown piece bears no mark save that of the cross, and the figures indicating its value. The copper subsequently produced and circulated, is far more elaborate, and the legend "Ecce Grex," "Floreat Rex," together with the beautiful device, must be convincing proofs of a more prosperous moment in the affairs of the confederates. Along with the mint the Supreme Council caused a press to be set up in order to publish their acts, proclamations, and

* Harold in Vit. Luc. Wadding. This motto is most incorrectly given in the 4th vol. of Moore's Hist. of Ireland, p. 249.
† Vide Simons's Essay on Irish Coins.
manifestoes; nor were they insensible to the great
dearth of corn caused by the pillages and burnings
which had marred the labours of the husbandman
since the rising of 1641.

Anticipating that all the sea-port towns should soon
come into their possession, they ordained "that the duty
should be taken off wheat and corn imported from fo-
reign countries," till such time as the exigencies which
then distressed them should be removed or alleviated.
The same exemption was made to extend to such neces-
saries as "lead, iron, arms, and ammunition." At-
tracted by such advantages, which were calculated to
create a spirit of enterprise, a Dutch captain* had al-
ready landed a considerable supply of powder on the
coast of Wexford. With the same object in view, they
offered "the liberties and privileges of free denizens to
all ship-builders and mariners that would settle them-
sons in the kingdom."

They decreed, moreover, that the bishops and clergy
should pay a certain sum out of the ecclesiastical reve-
 nues then in their possession, as well as out of the other
benefices and church lands which might revert to their
rightful inheritors during the progress of the war. But,
as the means for prosecuting the struggle for nationality
were precarious, notwithstanding the legislative enact-
ments to procure them, they resolved to send agents to
the Catholic courts to supplicate aid and succour for a
people who had arisen to beat down the strong arm of
English despotism, and free their native land.

Father L. Wadding† was named the agent of the Con-
federates at the Papal court. Who could take such a
serious interest in their cause as the annalist? His all-
absorbing studies seem to have been forgotten for a time,
and the mighty pen which he devoted to record the fame
and glories of his order, was now employed in drawing
up memorials to the Catholic courts, and supplicating
them to look benignly on his suffering and struggling
country. Nor were his appeals unheeded. A sum of
26,000 dollars was placed at his disposal, and he sent it

* Captain Antonio Vandecpen.— Vide Cox.
† Magee's Writers of the Seventeenth Century. See also Harold,
in vit. Luco Wadding.
by a confidential agent to the National Treasury. Two thousand muskets were landed about this time on the Wexford coast, and although most persons were inclined to ascribe this welcome gift to Pope Urban, it is quite certain that the merit of the work must be given to Father Wadding. The agent sent to the court of Spain was Father James Talbot, an Augustinian friar. He soon collected a sum of 20,000 dollars in that land of chivalry; and having visited the French court, he succeeded in procuring an additional sum, together with "two great iron guns, casting balls of twenty-four pounds weight."*

Nor were these acts of the confederate Catholics done in private, as if dreading the light of day; on the contrary, in the face of heaven and earth, they proclaimed by a manifesto, which was published at Kilkenny, "that the Catholics of Ireland, driven by the perfidy and cruelty of the rebel Puritans, had arisen and taken arms for their religion, king, and country." The enemy they had to combat was in each of the four provinces, and they made no secret of their determination to expel him, if God so decreed; but in mentioning the fact, we may be permitted to question the prudence of that arrangement of the supreme council which committed the conduct of the war to four generals quite independent of each other. While the temporal peers were enacting these measures, the prelates were actively engaged sending instructions to their respective dioceses, rousing the torpid and chiding such as thought that there was no hope for their country. The lay lords did not hesitate to pronounce the severest penalties on those who refused to rally round the confederate banners. Nor did the bishops fear to declare such as did not take the oath, traitors to their God, king, and country. Excommunication was decreed against all neutrals and such as assisted the common enemy; but, at the same time, the severest penalties of the church were to be inflicted on all those who made distinctions between the modern and ancient Irish, or wantonly committed murder, pillage, or any act which was incompatible with the holiness of the object for which the Irish of the Pale and the old

* Belling.
Celtic tribes were soon to commingle their life-blood on the fair field of battle.

Maligned and misrepresented as they were by the parliamentarian despatches, and the gross calumnies of the justices, the few extracts which have been given must ennable and exalt that Convention in the eyes of every impartial man. How strangely do they contrast with the bigoted and ensanguined edicts of their enemies? "Reilly, a prime popish priest," wrote some accredited scribe at this period, to the disaffected in England, "like his father the devil, compasses the earth, far and near, to draw into their conspiracy such as had not before been therewith acquainted." This foul asperssion is an evidence of that lynx-eyed malice with which the assembly was watched, and the ardour and devotion with which the prelates laboured to enlist their people in the confederacy. In the annals of any other country it would be hard to find a convention more pure and patriotic, and certainly the history of the Irish Catholics presents no more agreeable reminiscence than that which is associated with the general assembly of October 1642.

Under the shadow of that old Cathedral, where Clarence's parliament had assembled to sow the seeds of division between the two races, the Norman robbers and the plundered Irish, the representatives of both parties were banded together by a holy league, approved by God, and deplored by those who would keep alive that demon spirit of hate and dissension which had fertilized the soil with torrents of rival blood. Oh! that these jealousies and heart-rending distinctions of caste had never been. But at the period of which we are writing they were forgotten, and merged in oblivion. Two grand objects were to be accomplished: for these life and property, and all that endears both, were to be set at nought, and they had sworn never to lay down their arms till "the Roman Catholic religion was restored to its full splendour, as it was in the reign of Henry VII., and all the penal and restrictive laws were annulled." As a corollary to the foregoing conditions it was to be insisted on—

* Thorpe Papers, R. D. S.
"That all primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans, and chapters, archdeacons, chancellors, vicars, and other pastors of the Roman Catholic secular clergy and their respective successors, shall have, hold, and enjoy all the churches and church-livings, in as large and ample manner as the late Protestant clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the 1st day of October, together with all the profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties, and their rights to their respective sees and churches belonging, as well in all places then in possession of the confederated Catholics, as also in all other places that shall be recovered by them from the adverse party, saving to the Roman Catholic laity, their respective rights according to the laws of the land." *

It is needless to dwell at any length on the altered circumstances of the Irish Catholics at this moment. We have seen that judicatories for the administration of justice were established throughout the land, and that officers were appointed to the various departments. A mint and a press were the creation of a moment. Envoys or ambassadors were sent to the foreign courts, and their credentials were recognised by Philip IV. of Spain, Urban VIII., and Anne of Austria, during the minority of Louis XIV. Richelieu, † who was then prime minister, seems to have taken a lively interest in their proceedings, but he did not live to witness the ulterior movements of the confederates. Incredible do their exertions seem. They gave letters of marque, and chartered some light vessels, which were to protect the shores, and sail under the confederate colours; in a word, they took the government on themselves, and issued orders for the levying of armies, and gave commissions under their own seal to the generals who were to take the command. Cusack was named Attorney-General, and Plunket held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, other officers having been appointed to the various departments, civil and military. The declaration of their independence, saving their allegiance to the crown of Charles I., may be easily found in the following extract from the manifesto which they published at the termination of the first General Assembly:

"It is hereby declared that no temporal government or jurisdiction shall be assumed, kept, or exercised in this kingdom, or within any

* Unkind Deserter, p. 55.
† He died December 4, 1642, and was succeeded by Cardinal Mazzarino.
county or province thereof, during these troubles, other than is before expressed, except such jurisdiction or government as is, or shall be, approved by the General Assembly, or Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland."

The last act of the general assembly was to draw up a remonstrance to the King, declarative of their loyalty, and reproving the vexatious tyranny of the justices, and the Irish parliament, which, composed for the most part of men who were of the lowest and basest class, thought of nothing but spoliating and persecuting the Irish Catholics. The remonstrance detailed the wholesale plunder of the O'Byrnes in the county Wicklow, and the bigotry of the justices who made it penal to tolerate a Catholic school-master. It implored his Majesty to confirm the graces withheld by the artifices of Parsons and Borlase, who, by bribing jurors, and promising them a portion of the lands which they contemplated confiscating, on the plea of defective titles, left little chance for fair and impartial trial. The many murders committed on the natives under the semblance of law, were detailed at length, and means were taken to transmit the remonstrance to his Majesty and Queen Henrietta Maria.† The confederate assembly did not break up till the 9th of January, and the next general meeting was fixed for the 20th of May following.‡

* This manifesto is signed by Lord Mountgarret, President, and Sir Nicholas Shea, Clerk of the Supreme Council.
† Carte's Orm. 1. 370.
‡ Walsh, Second Part, First Treatise.
CHAPTER III.

Before the general assembly rose the parliament was sitting in Dublin, and strange and unconstitutional were its proceedings. The Catholics were unrepresented, nor was there a friendly voice to speak in their favour. The justices, intent on forging new fetters, and extirpating the Papists, were for suspending Poyning's act, and thus leaving themselves free to pass new penal laws without transmitting the bills to England. In this, however, they were opposed by Ormond, now made still more important by the title of Marquess, the patent having been issued on the 18th of the preceding August. Nor was there wanting a representative of the fanatical party in England to infuriate the enemies of the confederates, and canonise those who would march against them. This man was Stephen Jerome: patronised by the hypocritical justices, he preached in St. Patrick's cathedral each morning at seven o'clock to the soldiers, and on the 13th November, in Christ church, the "state" and other persons of rank being present. "Empty, illiterate, and turbulent," he was an apostle in the eyes of his pay-masters; nor did he spare the king, upon whom he heaped slander and obloquy. To such a length did he carry his invectives that it was thought desirable to interpose the authority of Launcelot Bulkely, the Protestant archbishop, who inhibited the spiritual champion of Parsons and his colleagues. The justices, it would appear, had little respect for the authority of their diocesan; nor did the preacher resign his office till he found it inexpedient to continue. He was the prototype of those enthusiasts, who, subsequently, in the name of the God of charity, evangelized not peace, but strife—not mercy, but extermination; nor would his name be mentioned here were it not necessary to show that the pulpit was employed by the

* Carte's Orn
authorities to propound these rabid dogmas, of which a more enlightened age is happily growing weary.

But the proceedings of the confederates were calculated to alarm the justices. They wanted money to pay their troops, who were daily becoming mutinous; their appeals to England were unheeded, and they determined to take such measures as were likely to still the clamour of their hirelings. Imitating the confederates "they called in all the plate," which their partizans gladly gave them, and caused it to be coined into half-crown pieces by John Neale, Peter Vandersroven, and Gilbert Tongues, goldsmiths. *

These precautions were necessary; for the levy of the troops in Leinster, ordered by the supreme council, as well as the alacrity with which the Catholic gentry and their dependents furnished the national treasury, made them tremble for their security. The poorest gave his mite, and all were ready to gird on the sword. The exertions of Preston's officers were beyond praise, and they hoped soon to be at the head of a large and well-disciplined force. True it is that they could not all be furnished with arms, if we except the pike, which was readily procured; but the artillery which Preston brought with him supplied many defects. One thousand five hundred muskets of the two thousand landed at Wexford were bestowed on him; the remainder was apportioned to Owen O'Neill.

Burke, who was to command in Connaught, was actively engaged in enlisting the sympathies of his province; nor, indeed, had he much difficulty in drawing multitudes into the confederacy. With a small band of followers, he entered the church of Athenry, and caused Clonricarde's chaplain to bless his banners. The fact came to the knowledge of the Earl, and the chaplain was dismissed. But the petty tyranny and officious zeal of this nobleman could not stem the popular enthusiasm. The bishops and clergy were to a man opposed to him, and the recent barbarities of Willoughby made them long for an opportunity in which they might expel the English garrison.

In the south, Inchiquin had remained inactive since

the battle of Liscarroll. Forbes, however, landed at Kinsale, and marched into the country, as far as Rathbarry. A section of his forces consisted of a Scotch regiment; and the peasantry, who were far from being well armed or disciplined, rose and slew them in an ambush. Groves, who was a captain under Forbes, immediately afterwards fell on this rude array, and forced 600 of them into the island of Inchidony, where, the tide being in, they were all drowned. Inchiquin, however, remained shut up in Cork, in need of provisions; nor did he dare to take the field.

Nor did Owen Roe confine himself to Ulster. The Scotch general had endeavoured in vain to bring him to an action, but as yet he had not sufficient strength to meet him. Munroe, however, had been compelled to retire into Down and Antrim. Sir Robert Stewart, a descendant of one of the most distinguished of the Scotch undertakers, had a strong force on the Donegal side; and O’Neill retired for a while into Longford and Leitrim, with the intention of “nursing up an army in these rugged districts” which would make him a match for his enemies.

Indeed, the chieftain of Ulster could not have selected a fairer field for his enterprise than that which lay open to him in these two counties. The tyranny of such men as Sir Frederick Hamilton, of Manor Hamilton, and Coote, (under whose orders he appears to have acted,) had driven the unfortunate peasantry to madness. The cruelties inflicted on the Christians of Spain by Aben Humeya and his Morisco captains, pale before the atrocities perpetrated by Hamilton on the inhabitants of Leitrim and Longford. His bawn, or castle, was the rendezvous of a ferocious banditti, who spread death and desolation around them. By day and night he sent from within its walls a savage soldiery, who robbed and murdered with impunity. When they returned to their leader, the most acceptable gifts they could offer were the heads of the wretched people, which they brutally severed from the bodies. Women and tender girls were

* Smith’s Cork.
† Appendix to the Poems of T. Davis.
not exempt from the horrors which this fanatic inflicted in the holy name of God. Upon a hill near his castle he erected a gallows, from which every day a fresh victim was suspended. The brother of the O'Rourke shared this ignominious death, with his wife and dependents. Nor was the gallant Sir Frederick ashamed to bequeath to posterity a journal which he kept of these barbarities. The result may be easily imagined. The O'Rourke, O'Connors, MacGaurans, and other septs, were only anxious for a leader. Their people were ready—nay, constrained—to follow them; and O'Neill's exertions were employed to bring them to a state of discipline and organization.

Such was the state of the country about the close of November, 1642. The two hostile parties—the Confederates and Parliamentarians—were actively engaged making preparation for the coming struggle. The enthusiasm of the Irish was at its height, and their enemies, who calculated on a rich harvest of plunder, only waited an opportunity of meeting them in the field.

While the respective generals were mustering their troops and disciplining the new levies, the supreme council remained at Kilkenny, anxiously watching the progress of events. About the middle of December they proceeded to Wexford, escorted by their guard of 500 foot and 200 horse.† Their object was to compose ani-

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* This journal, or diary, written by Sir F. Hamilton, was printed in London, 1643. It is to be found in the Thorpe Papers, under this title, "Another Extract of more Letters sent out of Ireland." A portion of it has been since reprinted by my talented friend, Mr. Batterby, in the Catholic Directory for 1846; 'tis a pity he did not give it whole and entire in one number. We must, however, content ourselves with one extract from it, which cannot fail to exhibit the animus of Hamilton and his godly mercenaries:—"March 17—Being their patron St. Patrick's day, our colonel, sending for one of his prisoners, the rogues being drawn up in a body right before us, we called to them since they durst not come to perform their promise, and take the castle, they would rescue their countryman who was there to be hanged in honour of St. Patrick, which prisoner being hanged, and proving but an old sack of straw, long stockings being sowed to it, as it was throwne over the gallowes, our hangman sitting on the gallowes, calling to them if they had charity in them to send the poore prisoner a priest, they imagining that sack to be a man, fell all on their knees in our view praying for the prisoner's soule."

† This force was to accompany them wherever they went, and garrison whatever town they visited.
mosities, and release from prison those who had been committed for offences against the government of the justices. It does not appear what these dissensions were, but the fact is recorded by one of themselves. They feared any disagreement which tended to diminish their strength, and certainly set great value on the heart and nerve of the capital of that county, so signally remarkable for its bravery and patriotism. "The towns-
men of Wexford," says Belling, "were naturally as vio-

tent and stubborn at land as they were famous among
the nation for being daring at sea."

It is at this period we have evidence of the growing importance which the confederacy was attaining in the estimation of foreign powers. When the supreme council had arrived at Ross they were waited on by M. de Overmere, a man of quality from Flanders, and a relative of General Preston. This gentleman made the supreme council an offer of frigates, on a proviso that he was to command. They deliberated on the expediency of the proposal and finally declined it. Overmere was a subject of Spain, and they feared to offend the French and the United Provinces then actually at war with the Spanish king. A number of light vessels soon after came from Flanders, to which they gave letters of marque, and thus, in great measure, succeeded in interrupting the passage between Chester and the Irish coast.† From Ross they proceeded to Clonmel, for the purpose of drawing Limerick into the confederacy; for although the city and county had declared for the national cause, such was the influence of the Earl of Thomond with the citizens, that they wished to maintain themselves as "a free state." When the mayor was advertised of their approach, he politely represented the great dearth of corn which rendered it unsafe to introduce any body of troops; but the chief anxiety of the confederates was for the castle of Bunratty and the other strongholds on the Shannon, then held by

* Belling's Narrative of the War, p. 163.
† Borlase, p. 97, has a copy of a commission given by the supreme council to Francis Oliver, a native of Flanders, to command the "St. Michael the Archangel," a ship of 120 tons or last. empowering him to "prejudice all such as he shall meet of his Majesty's enemies, and the enemies of the general Catholic cause."
Thomond, who they feared was in league with the parliament, and might be induced to admit their garrisons. The mayor, however, gave a solemn assurance of his friendship, and that of the citizens, who were determined to resist all overtures on the part of the parliamentarians. This communication quieted their apprehensions and they retired, after having given a commission to Sir Daniel O'Brien to seize on the castle of Bunratty, and on the person of the Earl of Thomond; for, it was resolved—

"That if he could be forced to join the confederates without touching on his religion (as he was a Protestant), he should be in the condition of their confederates; or if he continued neutral, without adhering to the enemy, a competent part of his estate should be set apart for him, and no declaration made, by which he would be subject to the penalties of neutrals."*

Meantime the confederates were actively engaged in Leinster. Preston was now at the head of about 6,000 foot and 600 horse, and Lord Castlehevan, who acted as his lieutenant-general, burned for an opportunity to distinguish himself. The first encounter between the new levies and the Puritan forces was at Ballinakil, in the Queen's county, which was a colony of English, planted there by James I. The celebrated Moncke, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, relieved the place, and coming up with some detachments of the confederates, defeated them at Tymahoe. It was, however, nothing more than a skirmish, for Preston immediately afterwards proceeded to besiege the castle of Burros, in the King's county, which surrendered on the 30th of December. This partial triumph was regarded as an auspicious termination of a year in which Ireland had raised herself to such an extraordinary eminence, and many a heart "beat high with hope" for ultimate success, ere the year which was now dawning had drawn to a close.

From Burros the Leinster forces marched to Birr, of which place the infamous Parsons was governor. They sat down before it on the 13th of January, and after a brave, but ineffectual resistance, it surrendered to Preston. Nothing could equal the humanity of the confederate generals on this occasion, for they

* Belling's Narrative of the War.
caused all the prisoners who had fallen into their hands, amounting to 800, men, women, and children, to be escorted by detachments till they reached Athy.*

Bannagher was soon after besieged by Preston, and yielded without firing a shot. From this place he marched to Fort Falkland, on the 26th of January. The garrison was strong, and such was the zeal of Clanricarde for the justices, that he supplied it with provisions. When the confederates were about to open a fire, the governor, Lord Castletewart, thought it better to surrender, and Preston immediately took possession of the fortress. "Thus," says Carte, "the confederate general having strengthened himself with new forces, reduced all the forts in the King's County.†

While these successes were attending them in Leinster, the province of Connaught was up and stirring. Alarmed by the growing power of the Irish, Ranelagh, the lord president, accompanied by young Coote and the other English commanders, fled out of the province. This was in the beginning of February. On the 5th of that month, as they approached Dublin, they halted at Rathconnell, where they were met by Preston, whose mercurial character could not forego the opportunity of risking a battle, when he might have hung on their march, and cut them up in detail. Ranelagh had but a small force, and he fought with desperation. He succeeded in repulsing Preston, and making his way to Dublin, where he charged the justices with a dereliction of duty in not sending him supplies. The withdrawal of the lord president had a salutary influence on the men, who were every day rallying round Colonel Burke. He proposed amicable terms to Willoughby, who still held the fort of Galway; but they were all rejected, and circumstances made it apparent that the garrison was in the interest of the parliament. This fact served to rouse the people to more strenuous exertions, and about the middle of February Clanricarde's castle of Clare-Galway was seized for the confederates by Captain Thomas Burke, of Anbally, who was ably seconded by a Franciscan friar. When the lieutenant-general of the province had information of this event, he called upon

* Castlehaven's Mem.  
† Carte, i. 382.
several gentlemen of the country to levy forces and besiege the fort of Galway. *

The supreme council returned to Kilkenny when the news of Preston's defeat at Rathconnel reached them. There was an old prophecy that whoever should win the battle of Rathconnel should win Ireland. Fearing that these absurd superstitions should damp the ardour of the people, measures were taken with promptitude to repair the recent disaster. Some of the new levies, who had not yet seen service, were given to Preston, and in less than a week he was in condition to take the field.

General Barry had mustered his forces in the south, and had reduced Inchiquin to such straits that he was obliged to drive all the cattle left in the baronies of Imokilly and Barrymore into the garrisons of Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal. Such was his distress that it became necessary to seize on part of the tobacco belonging to patentees, of which there was a great quantity in the above-mentioned towns, and sell it for the subsistence of his troops. Purcell, who was lieutenant-general to Barry, had orders to besiege Cappoquin, which was garrisoned by Lord Broghill for the parliament. Purcell proceeded to execute his commission, when an event occurred which ultimately delayed the reduction of the place.

The justices found that they could not maintain their troops in Dublin without producing famine; and as they had now some money in their hands, they made arrangements with Ormond to take the command and bring in provisions. Accordingly, on the 2nd of March, the lieutenant-general left Dublin with an army of 3,000 foot, 700 horse, two demi-culverins, and four field-pieces.

His instructions were to capture Wexford and Ross, as the confederates were masters of the sea, and were daily seizing barques laden with provisions as they were passing through St. George's Channel. † The justices agreed

* Hardiman's Galway, 120. Mr. Moore, in his account of the two actions at Tymahoe and Rathconnel, gives them the most undue importance. "The ominous victory" of Rathconnel did not "strike dismay into the hearts" of those whom he calls "rebels:" on the contrary, they grew daily bolder and more determined.—Vide Hist. of Ireland, vol. iv. p. 204.

† Carte's Orm.
to send a ship laden with victuals for Ormond's troops; and according to agreement this vessel was to anchor at Duncannon. Having taken Castle-Martin, in the county Kildare, Ormond continued his march towards Carlow, and on the 4th of the month he sat down before the small castle of Timolin, which was garrisoned for the confederates by four-score men. He called on them to yield, and they stoutly refused. He then opened a fire on that devoted band of heroes; nor did they ask for quarter till the blazing rafters were crackling about them. They were then permitted to march out, and when they expected the same forbearance which they had shewn at Fort Falkland and Birr, they were massacred on the spot. Elated with this victory, Ormond advanced on Carlow, and having held a council of war, it was determined to lay siege to Ross. Orders were then issued by the supreme council to abandon the siege of Cappoquin, and Purcell was directed to throw 300 men into Ross, which was greatly exposed. Belling tells us that it had little or no fortification—a rampart of earth was its only protection; but within that feeble barrier there were stern hearts. On the 11th of March Ormond approached the town, and sent a herald to Nicholas Fitzharris, the mayor, commanding him to surrender. Fitzharris replied that he held it for his Majesty, and would not yield. A second summons was as boldly rejected, and the townspeople immediately hoisted the confederate colours. Ormond then opened his fire, and having effected a breach in the earthen rampart, ordered his men to advance. They did so, and were encountered by the heroic people. Men and women guarded every avenue, and repulsed the justices' soldiers; again and again did they push forward to gain an entrance, but a shower of balls and stones drove them back. While the people were thus engaged a vessel of war had dropped down the river from Duncannon, and commenced battering the town; but the bravery of the inhabitants was not to be daunted. They brought some light pieces to bear on the ship, and sunk her. Ormond, who witnessed the devoted courage of the men of Ross, was consulting what step he should take, when word was brought him that Purcell was advancing with a large force from
Cappoquin, and he felt himself constrained to raise the siege, after having remained five days before the place. Fearing to be cut off from his reserve, which he had left in Carlow, he sounded the march, and resolved to get back to Dublin as he might. Preston advanced with an army of 5,000 horse and foot to intercept him, but in his haste he brought no cannon. He halted at Temple Wodigan, about two miles from Ross, and waited Ormond in a pass through which he should necessarily march. "The pass," says Castlehaven,* "was at least half-a-mile through a bog, where no more than four horses could march in a breast, with water up to the belly; but Preston had not the patience to expect the enemy's coming to him, which they must do, or starve, but went over the pass to them, and put himself under as great disadvantage as his enemy could wish. Ormond took hold of this unexpected advantage, and gave Preston no time to form his army, but charged still as they went over, besides what he did all along with his cannon, till at length, after a considerable loss of men, killed and taken prisoners, he was wholly defeated and routed."† Ormond, however, rapidly retired to Dublin, quite satisfied that he was not totally destroyed. A better system of military supervision would have removed Preston from the command; as it was, however, he was censured by the supreme council, and his conduct pronounced uncircumspect. He stood high in the estimation of Mountgarret, whom he materially served, notwithstanding his recent failure. Soon after the battle of Ross, he marched with all his force on Ballinakil, (the property of Mountgarret) which had been in the possession of an English colony. Father Talbot, who had just then arrived from his mission to the Spanish and French courts, had brought with him supplies of money, and "two great iron guns." These were forwarded to Preston, and he commenced battering the castle, which soon yielded. The undertakers were permitted to depart whither they would, and Mountgarret got possession of his estate. Could this circumstance have blinded

* Castlehaven's Mem. 35.
† Ibid, 36.
him to Preston's rashness and unfitness for such a responsible post?

The eulogists and apologists of Ormond would have us believe that he undertook the expedition to Ross much against his will, and that the justices had a secret design in sending him, which was, to prevent his negotiating with the confederates. Be this as it may, we cannot find any claim, on his part, to such humanity as ever characterised the confederate armies.—On every occasion where blood might be shed, he knew no mercy, and where the interposition of a generous man might have saved many, Ormond was an impassive spectator. All the apologies made for him by Walsh, and O'Connor* who falls into the strange blunder of calling him an Irishman, would not wipe away his guilt, in permitting the wanton massacre at Timolin. But a more congenial occupation than that of war, now presented itself. England was in a flame, and the king had got a check which induced him, on retiring to Oxford, to consider the remonstrance which the confederates had forwarded after the first general assembly. He looked to the future, and began to calculate on the succours he might derive from Ireland, in case he succeeded in making terms with the leaders.

Influenced by these considerations, and affecting to believe that their demands were moderate, and the representations which they had put before him well grounded, he issued a commission, under the great seal, on the 11th of January, 1643, directed to the Marquis of Ormond, the Earls of Clanricarde and Roscommon, the Lord Viscount Moore, and others, any three or more of them being authorised to meet and act for the purpose aforesaid, namely, to receive in writing what the petitioners had to say or propound. This document was in the hands of Ormond on the 30th of the month, but the justices, taking this commission for a step towards the peace of the kingdom, and their own ruin, "were displeased that a wish should be manifested by any one that the war from which they promised themselves revenge and fortunes, should in any

* Columbanus, who was ably handled by Flowden, passim.
other way be ended, than with the blood and confiscation of all those whom they could propose to be guilty of the defection." They, therefore, hit on an expedient which was well calculated to promote their ends. The supreme council was at Ross when a trumpeter was sent to inform them of this communication from the king, with a safe-conduct from Ormond and Parsons to such as the council chose to employ to represent their grievances to the above-named commissioners. When the safe-conduct was submitted to the supreme council, they were astonished on reading the following words, which had been artfully introduced by the justices, with the cognizance of their lieutenant-general: — "That, albeit, his majesty hath not thought fit to admit any of them to his presence who were actors or abettors of so odious a rebellion," they might regard themselves as peculiarly favoured in being allowed to treat with his justices. The answer returned to this lying fabrication was worthy of these chivalrous men: — "We take God to witness," said they, "that there are no limits set to the scorn and infamy that are cast upon us; and we will be in the esteem of loyal subjects, or die to a man." In the heat of the moment they had resolved not to treat with the commissioners, and stated "that there was a necessity laid upon them to absent themselves from the meeting." Their answer was published, and the people applauded their firmness.

However, on more mature deliberation, they suspected that the insulting words had been written, not by the king, but by his enemies, and they appointed the 18th of March for a conference, to be held at Trim. The justices, seeing that the confederates were well-disposed towards his majesty, resolved to try what cruel and perfidious actions might do.† They, therefore, got the consent of the council in Dublin, to an act which was calculated to put a stop to anything like a treaty. At the battle of Rathconnel, Lisagh O'Connor and the son of Garret Aylmer had been made prisoners by Sir Richard Grenville; in order to exasperate the Catholics, Parsons and his colleagues wrote to Sir H. Tichbourne to have them

* Belling's History of the War.  † Carte's Orm. l. 497.
executed by martial law. Nor did they confine themselves to this unwarrantable proceeding. At the very time they had the king's orders to quiet troubles, and bring about a peace, they sent their lieutenant-general to attack Ross; and when he should have been engaged in pacific negotiations, he was actually in conflict with General Preston, though he well knew that he was doing the bidding, not of the king, but of Parsons and his council.

In fact, he undertook the expedition with the consent of the justices, and at the desire of an English committee then sent over by the parliament "to direct and superintend the affairs of Ireland, against the king's command." Though expressly named in the commission, he was burning and spoiling the country without opposition, on the very day when Lord Gormanstown, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir R. Talbot, John Walsh, Esq., and others were assembling at Trim. What wonder, therefore, if the Irish Catholics distrusted this man of craft and faithlessness?

The commissioners from the confederates were met at the above-named place by the Earls of Clanricarde and Roscommon, Sir Maurice Eustace and others, on the part of the king. A remonstrance† of grievances was produced, which entered at great length into a history of the cruelties practised on the Catholics by the justices and their adherents. "This remonstrance," says Borlase, "was solemnly received by his majesty's commissioners, and by them transmitted to his majesty."‡

But before it was sent to the king it came to be considered in the commons' house of parliament in Dublin, seemingly disliked by all, whereby the business growing hot, the house was prorogued till the 6th of May.§

When the justices heard that Preston was besieging Ballinakil, they sent Colonel Lawrence Crawford, with 1,300 foot and 150 horse, to endeavour to beat up the Leinster general's quarters. He set out on the 13th of April; but as he approached, he halted before the castle

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* Borlase's Irish Reb. p. 142. *
† This lengthy document is to be found in the Appendix to Curry's Review.
‡ Ibid, p. 154.
§ Borlase, 155.
of Ballybrittas. He called on the confederate garrison to surrender, but he was soon beaten off. Castlehaven was ordered to fall on Crawford as he was retiring. Having got together 1,500 horse, he came up with the English at Monastereven, charged and dispersed them. As they were retreating over the Barrow, their commander had his thigh broken by a musket-shot in his flight.

From Ballinakil, Preston proceeded with his army into Westmeath; and the English garrisons of Carlow and the Queen’s County, taking advantage of his absence, alarmed the county Kilkenny to the very gates of the city. Castlehaven took the field again and scattered these marauding parties, which were commanded by Sir Michael Emle and Major Verney. He subsequently took the castles of Ballynunry and Cloghgrenan, and relieved the supreme council from any further apprehension. Flushed with success, he passed rapidly into the Queen's County, and besieged the castle of Ballylennan. Here he was joined by Sir Walter Butler, who informed him that a strong reinforcement, drawn from the English garrisons, was on march to raise the siege. Castlehaven, having reconnoitred the advancing troops, determined to give them battle in sight of the besieged; and finding that they did not amount to more than 800 foot and 300 horse, he ordered Butler's cavalry to follow, when they immediately betook themselves to flight, pursued by the confederate light troops till they got shelter in Athy. The castle, seeing those who had come to their succour defeated, yielded on honorable conditions. Thus, in the course of a few months, did the confederates prosecute the war in Leinster with the most signal success, taking almost every place of strength which had been held for the justices, who were terribly apprehensive of being ultimately shut up and starved in Dublin.

But their hopes of plunder, and undisguised desire of shedding the blood of the Irish Papists, were doomed to be disappointed. Whether Charles I. was made sensible by the remonstrance recently forwarded of the evils inflicted on the Irish people by Parsons and Borlase, or apprehensive that, by continuing them at the head of affairs, he was only injuring himself, it is not our province to examine. He certainly saw that the justices would ever stand in the way of any peace between him and his
Irish subjects, and he determined to remove them. On the 23d of April, 1643, Sir Francis Butler arrived from England with a supersedeas for Parsons' government, and a commission to Lord Borlase and Sir Henry Tichbourne to be lords justices. Yet there may be question whether this act of tardy justice on the part of the king was ultimately beneficial to Ireland. There are many who think that it was quite the reverse. Had Parsons been allowed to retain the government, there never could have been room for the craft and intrigue which followed. His love of pillage and hypocritical cant had roused such feelings of abhorrence and detestation in the breasts of the Irish Catholics, as must have ever stood in the way of any accommodation between them and their tyrants. From what we have seen of their success since the sitting of the first general assembly, it is evident that they were becoming daily more skilled in the use of arms, and firmly bent on establishing their independence. The open and flagrant villanies of this man could not have subdued their spirit, or checked them in their onward march; but it was reserved for the policy of one who was well skilled in the principles of Machiavelli to break that bond of union which must have rendered them irresistible and triumphant; but let us not anticipate.

In the beginning of May, whilst Preston and Castlehaven were reducing the strongholds of Leinster, Munroe was obliged, by the most pressing want, to advance into the neighbourhood of Armagh. Owen Roe occupied Charlemont, which he had fortified and garrisoned.—"Twas Munroe's object to seize the Ulster general, and thus dash the hopes of his followers, who sanguinely reckoned on his great military character for ultimate success. So secretly did the Scotch general conduct his march, that Owen Roe was out hunting with but few of his staff when he was surprised. His first thought was to escape by spurring rapidly back to Charlemont; but he was intercepted by a detachment of the Scotch. His superior knowledge of the locality was his only advantage; but even this did not prevent collision. Beset by Munroe's men, in a lane thickly enclosed with copses, he fought, hand to hand, for an hour; and such was the steady bravery and coolness of his retinue, that Munroc
shouted to his men, "Cam awa frae awheen rebels," and suffered the great prize to elude his grasp. On the following day he had reason to repent of his temerity, for he was encountered by O'Neill and Colonel Sandford, and routed with loss. A small army, under Montgomery and Chichester, menaced him soon after; but the phlegmatic general was not to be provoked. He knew that these officers were chiefly intent on making preys, and he determined to husband his resources for a better opportunity. He contented himself with having secured the cattle from their foragers, and then retired into Leitrim.

In the west, the confederate arms were signally prosperous. The son and grandson of Lord Athenry, the three Teige Kellys of Aughrim and Mullaghmore, together with Sir Roebuck Lynch, Sir V. Blake, and other gentlemen marched, under Lieutenant-Colonel Burke, to Galway. Willoughby was shut up in the fort, and in want of provisions. He was obliged to send boats' crews to pillage on the coast. They were intercepted, after one of these predatory excursions, by the confederates, and cut off to a man. The town undertook to defray the expense of the siege, and two batteries were erected— one on the west, and the other on the opposite point of Rinmore. A chain was drawn across the harbour, and access by sea was thus hindered. Clanricarde, who had hitherto rejoiced at any reverse sustained by the confederates, "was," says Mr. Hardiman, "unable to afford any relief."† The condition of Inchquin in the south may readily be imagined from a letter which he sent in the early part of May to the Earl of Cork:—

"Our present state falls out now to be more desperately miserable than ever: in regard we have no manner of help or relief amongst ourselves, and the provisions we depended on out of England doth fail us, which will put us to a terrible extremity, here being nothing to deliver forth on the next pay day. I request your lordship to lend or borrow £300, for victualling those in Youghal. To-morrow, with a heavy heart, I shall march forth, to linger out a few days in the field where I am not likely to continue so long as to enterprise anything of advantage, for want of provisions for the men and money for the officers."‡

† Hist. of Galway, p. 120.
‡ From an original letter. See Smith's Cork.
Nor, in fact, did he effect anything of advantage, save seizing some small supplies. His troops amounted to 4,000 foot and 400 horse. Some of them were sent into Kerry in order to forage, whilst he himself invested Kilnallock with 700 men. Purcell and Barry held it against him, and he was obliged to raise the siege and go to the aid of his colleague, Vavasour, who, after committing the most revolting murders on those who surrendered themselves, was preparing to meet Castlehaven on the borders of the county Limerick.

It was now the 20th of May, and pursuant to their resolution, the general assembly had met in Kilkenny. The six months which intervened between this and their first sitting, had witnessed the most extraordinary changes. By an act of the general assembly, the supreme council was confirmed, nor were there any material changes made in the administration. But, as it will appear, it was a moment of the greatest importance to the Catholics of Ireland. Their armies in the four provinces were preparing for a conflict, on the result of which everything depended. The hopes and enthusiasm of the Irish people never were higher, and they hastened from the mountain fastnesses and sequestred glens to swell the number of those who marched under the confederate banners. On the land and on the sea triumph and success had followed their movements. The eyes of Catholic Europe watched their progress, for their fame had travelled over the Alps and Pyrenees. The French court sent M. La Monarie as its envoy, with all the powers of an ambassador; he was soon followed by M. Fuysot, a Burgundian, from the court of Spain, and letters from Father Wadding announced that Urban VIII. had determined to send an agent from the Vatican, with supplies of arms and money. Charles I. no longer published his intolerant threats against "Popish recusants." Hampden was proposing to besiege him in Oxford, whilst Essex was thundering at the walls of Reading. His treacherous eyes were at last opened to the perils that beset him, and the injustice which he had contrived to inflict on the confederate Catholics. He, therefore, resolved to pursue a different course.
Lord Taaffe, according to the parliamentary pasquinades of the times, had been plotting with the king since his return to Oxford, and he was made the bearer of an important communication to Ormond; it was a commission from the king to the marquess, to treat with his subjects, "and to agree on a cessation of arms for one year."

In an evil moment the supreme council consented to entertain the proposal, and ordained that the Lords Gormanstown, Muskerry, and others, should be appointed their commissioners, with power and authority to treat with Ormond of a cessation for one whole year, or shorter, upon such terms, conditions, or articles, as to the commissioners aforesaid should be thought fit and expedient. The promptness with which the assembly caught at any overture of peace on the part of the king, was ample evidence of their loyalty and affection to the throne. But the message which elicited their reply, is at once evidence of their strength and weakness. Had they determined to stand aloof from all factions, parliamentary and royal, and struggle manfully for their country's independence, they must have succeeded, and made themselves more than a match for any army that could have been sent against them. But, alas! the attachment of the Irish to the worthless house of Stuart, was destined to be their bane and ruin.

But Ormond was in no hurry to carry out the intentions of the king. There was one objection in the way which he knew would prove insuperable to the confederates. They had determined to insist on a dissolution of the parliament, which was made up of "Clerks, soldiers, serving men, and others not legally, or not at all, chosen or returned," who had passed an act that no person should sit, either in that or in any future parliament, till they had taken the oath of supremacy."

Another condition on which the confederate commissioners were ordered to insist was, that they should have liberty to use arms against all such persons as should make war against the contracting parties; but Ormond,

* Mercurius Melancholicus.
† Remonstrance from Trim. Warn. Irish Reb. p. 211.
who knew well that this was meant to engage him against the Scotch in Ulster, demurred, and caused the treaty to be adjourned to the following month.

During these negotiations, the conflict between the confederate generals and their enemies was raging in the four provinces. Owen Roe, at the head of 3,200 men, of which force 1,000 were immediately with him—the rest being in attendance on a large collection of cattle—was on his way into the county Leitrim, when he was overtaken by Sir R. Stewart at Clonish, on the borders of Fermanagh. Stewart had a large body of well-disciplined troops, commanded by Sir W. Balfour and Colonel Mervyn. O'Neil posted his main strength in a narrow pass, which he lined with musketeers. Stewart determined to force it; but O'Neill's cavalry repulsed him for the moment, and then rapidly retired. Stewart immediately advanced at a gallop; but had scarcely entered the causeway when a terrible fusilade from within scattered his men, and drove them back. A forlorn-hope was now ordered to seize the pass, and the battle raged fiercely on both sides. A nephew of the English commander engaged in single combat with Owen Roe; but the clansmen of the latter attached too much importance to his life to suffer it to be risked in this species of wild tournament. Stewart was struck by a shot, and a dozen pikes pinned his horse to the ground. At this moment Shane O'Neill advanced with some troops of cavalry; both parties then engaged, and the encounter lasted fully half an hour, when the Irish retired, after leaving many of their companions dead in the gap.—Stewart did not venture to pursue his partial victory, and, before O'Neill arrived at Mohill, he received an accession of men and arms, which more than compensated for his loss.*

Twelve days after this much-exaggerated skirmish, Owen Roe, at the head of a considerable force, marched into the county Westmeath, within fifteen miles of Mullingar; whilst Preston, with 7,000 foot and 700 horse, was carrying everything before him in the King's County. Moncke was sent to oppose him, but dared not meet him;

* In this action Con Oge O'Neill was murdered by a Presbyterian minister, after quarter given.—*O'Neill's Journal.*
and thus left the Leinster general master of every strong place in that county, with the exception of Castlejordan. The state of the English garrisons in and about Dublin is described by Carte and others to have been desperate. There was the greatest dearth of provisions, and nothing but the saddest necessity could induce Ormond to attack the confederates, who spread terror even to the very walls of the city. Moncke was sent into Wicklow to seize whatever corn and cattle he could; but was soon recalled to reinforce Lord Moore, who was sent to dislodge Owen Roe,—who, with Sir James Dillon, held a strong position five miles from Trim, at a place called Portlester-mill. O'Neill threw up a breastwork, placed sixty men in the mill, and waited patiently for the enemy. Moore* was about to advance, when he was killed by a cannon-ball, and his whole force fled, being routed with slaughter. O'Neill was amply avenged for his loss at Clonish; and the way to Dublin was open to him, had he been directed to advance. The victory at Portlester was the prestige of success, as well as a subject for mirth. Some "camping chaplain" commemorated Moore's death in a distich, which Borlase gravely remarks had more sallies of wit than skill. It is, however, too good to be lost:

"Contra Romanos mores res mira Dynasta, Morus ab iugenio canonizatus erat."†

Ormond, who had left Dublin at the head of 6,000 men, accompanied by Lord Lambert, failed to bring Preston to an action; nor did the conduct of this general fail to engender suspicion, for he had an army which was well supplied, whilst that of the marquess was, according to the testimony of Carte, "ready to starve for

* He was of English descent, and his ancestors came in for a large share of the confiscated church property in the time of Elizabeth.
† See Borlase, p. 129. The following is an attempt at the translation:

"Rome's ancient rights are now but lightly prized, Since Moore by Owen Roe was canonized!"

Lord Moore, the subject of this distich, was a Protestant. I mention the fact most respectfully, and simply because the verses in Latin or English would have no point if the religion of his lordship was not known.
want of provisions." Far different, however, was the spirit of the leaders in the west and south. The siege of Galway was pressed with vigour; and so straitened was Willoughby, that he offered to surrender the fort to the Marquess of Clanricarde after Rear-Admiral Brook had failed to throw in supplies. Burke would not hear of such an overture, unless the Marquess consented to take the confederate oath, which he sternly refused, and the parliamentary general surrendered the fortresses of Galway and Oraunmore to the heroic Burke on the 20th of June. Three days afterwards a squadron entered the bay; but the colours of the confederates were streaming from the flag-staff. The Archbishop of Tuam was one of the parties who drew up the articles with Willoughby; and this infamous murderer was permitted to depart in peace. "Thus," says Mr. Hardiman, "the second fort of importance in the kingdom was in the hands of the confederates."*

And now, to crown these signal triumphs, couriers were spurring across the plains of Munster to announce to the supreme council the intelligence of a defeat sustained by Inchiquin and Vavasour. We have already said that Castlehaven had marched to the borders of the county Limerick, and it is necessary that we should see what he accomplished. Barry, the Munster general, was old and infirm,† and perhaps had no greater value in the eyes of the supreme council than that which resulted from his local influence.

Castlehaven, who was beginning to grow tired of adventure, seemed at first reluctant to take the command; nor did he move till urged by Lord Muskerry and the assembly. Accompanied by Fitzgerald, commonly called Garret-Garrough, he marched hastily to Cashel, where he was met by General Barry and Lieutenant-General Purcell, with 700 foot and some troops of horse. His whole force now consisted of about 3,000 men, together with a troop of boys, mounted on fleet horses. Vavasour was at Castle-Lyons, after allowing a number of women and children to fall into the hands of one of his officers, by whom they were stripped and murdered. Inchiquin having notice of the approach of the confede-

* Hist. of Galway, p. 128.  † Castlehaven's Mem.
rates, sent orders from his camp to Moyalloo * for detachments to strengthen his lieutenant-general, but before they could arrive, Vavasour was set upon by squadrons of cavalry from the neighbouring hills. Fearing that he would be surrounded, he sounded a retreat, and his cannon and carriages were ordered to Fermoy, while he himself rapidly crossed the Funcheon. His van was led by Lieutenant King, the main body by Major Howell, and the rear by Vavasour in person. Pierce Lacy, Captain Hutton, and Lieutenant Stadbury commanded the forlorn hope. Their last man had not forded the Funcheon, when the confederate cavalry was at their heels.

The vanguard had ascended the hill which overhangs the river, and was dashing in haste through a narrow defile which leads to Fermoy, when Vavasour ordered a halt, and prepared to contest the pass; but that troop of boys, mounted on fleet horses, was pressing on the forlorn hope, not after the fashion of drilled and disciplined men, but rather like "the Moorish and Getulan horsemen," says Borlase, "mentioned by Salust in Jugarth's war." In vain did the forlorn-hope strive† to resist the impetuosity of their assailants. They were driven in on the main body, which disordered those who still held the pass. In a moment the rout was universal. The confederates pursued the flying columns, and cut them up in detail. All the cannon and colours were taken. Vavasour and his officers were made prisoners, and 600 of his best soldiers were sabred between the Manning-water and Fermoy. It was a sad blow to Inchiquin, for by this action he was reduced to about 2,500 men, and obliged to shut himself up in garrison. The confederates soon after prepared to besiege Cappoquin and Lismore, but abandoned the design when it was announced that the supreme council was negotiating a truce with the Marquess of Ormond.

Alas! that craft and intrigue should have stayed them in their glorious career, for there never was a moment so prosperous and bright with hope, Owen Roe was master of the north, as far as the borders of Westmeath. He had slain Lord Moore, and driven Moncke within the

* Mallow, the birth-place of my lamented friend, T. Davis.
† Irish Reb.
walls of Dublin. Preston hung on the outskirts of the city, and threatened Ormond. The Munster army had covered itself with glory. Drogheda, Dundalk, and the garrisons in the north, were reduced to the direst want. Was this a moment for diplomacy? Certainly not. But had the command of all the confederate troops been committed to Owen Roe, instead of dividing it between four generals, Ireland would have achieved a glorious independence, and must have been spared that long and bloody catalogue of pains and sufferings, the recollection of which must ever pain the heart, while it teaches us that all our miseries have been the result of treachery on the part of pretended friends, and disunion amongst ourselves.

CHAPTER IV.

About the middle of July, 1643, while the confederates were gaining those important advantages which we have described, there arrived on our coast a commissioner from the Holy See, who was sent by Urban VIII. to report on the state of Irish affairs. This was Father Peter Francis Scarampi, a native of Piedmont, and a priest of the oratory; nor did he come empty-handed. The Pontiff made him the bearer of a bull, in which he lauded the zeal and earnestness with which the Irish fought for the independence of their religion, and Father Luke Wadding committed to his charge a sum of 30,000 dollars, which he had collected from the Barbarini,* Spada, and other noble families who took an interest in the cause of the confederates. Nor did the holy father confine his liberality to transmitting such spiritual weapons as a jubilee, with a plenary indulgence,

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* In the library of this noble family there is a vast store of material for Irish history. When the author of “Rome, under Paganism and the Popes” visits the holy city again, it is to be hoped that he will turn his attention to the archives of the Barbarini palace. Who more equal to the task than the eloquent and erudite Dr. Ailey?
to all who had taken up arms in defence of religion.¹ He also sent a large quantity of arms and ammunition, of which he knew there was then much need. When the supplies had been safely landed, Scarampi at once proceeded to Kilkenny, where he found the confederates engaged discussing the question of a cessation of arms. Division and dissensions had manifested themselves in the council, and the spirit displayed by the contending parties, clearly evinced that the oath of association was their only "essential tie." The Irish of the Pale were tired of the war, whilst the "old Irish" were bent on following up their success; in fact, the former had been drawn into the confederacy contrary to their inclination, and were now anxious to make terms with Ormond. The "old Irish," on the other hand, influenced by the bishops and clergy, and fondly hoping to establish their independence, were inexorably opposed to all overtures which did not tend to secure to them freedom of conscience, and the public exercise of their religion. Naturally enough, Scarampi advocated the views of the bishops, and, in his capacity of envoy from the Holy See, exhorted the assembly, in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff, not to recede an inch from their 'vantage, but to prosecute the war and insist on such terms as a weak and beleagured government could not dare to refuse. And, although it has been the lot of this man to fall under the censure of such writers as Carte and Leland, he was perfectly right in principle; nor let us, who daily echo the sentiment that "England's infirmity must be Ireland's opportunity," dare to impeach the policy of a friendly stranger, who two hundred and forty-three years ago entertained the same view and gave utterance to a corresponding conviction. It has been the work of more than two centuries to shake off these penal fetters which must ever be a disgrace to English legislation. The man who has done the mighty work stands proudly pre-eminent as the greatest of his day. Had he done nothing more than unrivet those chains, he should go down to his grave canonized in the remembrance of his country.

¹ Borlase says that the Pope sent the Irish a pardon for all manner of sins. The charge was repeated by Lord Orrery, but is nobly refuted by Dr. French in the "Bleeding Iphigenia."
men; and shall we join our own misrepresenters when they endeavour to cast blame on the head of him who strove to do, in a moment of our greatest triumph, that which O'Connell has effected after centuries of division, weakness, and misrule? Forbid it, justice; for, come honest counsel whence it may, or a helping hand from the most distant region—be it Greek, Hindoo, or Roman—we should not be ungrateful for kindness. And what was required in Scarampi's time?—unanimity, stern resolve, and a march on Dublin. With an army in each of the three provinces, and the most unparalleled enthusiasm on the part of the people, and some great leader whose command to "follow" all would have hearkened to—what bitter ages of hate, and strife, and degradation, might we not have escaped! But it was otherwise ordained—there was yet wanting a spirit of union; and even now, after so many painful lessons, what but the same prolific source of evil stands in the way of our nationality? But, thank heaven, "we preach a land awoken."*

We have already seen that the question of the truce with Ormond had been adjourned for a month; but, although he had the king's peremptory order to carry it into execution, he was in no hurry to comply with the royal mandate. However, the reverses which he had sustained began to make a deep impression on him, and determined him to adopt another course. Want of money and provisions had reduced him to the direst straits; and the condition of his troops and chief garrison is thus described by an eye-witness:—"The state and the army," says Sir P. Percival, "were in the greatest distress. The streets of Dublin had no manner of victuals many times for one day, so that the soldiers would not move without money, shoes, and stockings; for want of which, many had marched barefooted, and had bled much on the road; and others, through unwholesome food, had become diseased, and died." Yet, notwithstanding this state of misery, Ormond was more anxious to cater to the parliamentary faction than serve the king; but he hated the federative government, and set his heart upon destroying it; in fact, nothing, save

* Duffy, In the Spirit of the Nation.
the ruin which stared him in the face, could have induced him to resume the negotiation which had been broken off. Towards the end of June he called the richest of the citizens of Dublin before him, when he delivered a motion in writing, "that if £10,000 could be raised, the one-half in money, and the other in victuals, to be brought in within a fortnight, he would break off the treaty, and proceed in the war;" but the citizens were unable to supply his demand. Sir H. Tichbourne, a gloomy fanatic, then tried to raise £300 a-piece from the members of the council board; but he, too, failed; and yet, at this very moment, the confederates were well supplied with men, arms, and money, and might have overwhelmed the designing Ormond and his faithless colleagues, had the councils of the "old Irish" happily prevailed. "'Twas the crisis of their affairs" — the most active moment of two conflicting principles, and the conduct of the time-serving Pale lords, ruined and disgraced the country. They well knew that at this moment the country might have been their own, and that they could have driven Ormond, Tichbourne, and their famished mercenaries into the sea, and then flung themselves heart and soul into the royal cause, and saved the monarchy; but such was not their policy, for they lacked the proper spirit.

But a rumour was industriously circulated by the Pale lords, that the king was inclined to dissolve the present parliament, and call a new one by the 10th of November following, and Ormond was authorised to assure them of his majesty's good intentions. The latter was aware of the dissensions which were at work, and by his agents artfully contrived to foment them. Many, nay, nearly all the lords and gentry of the Pale were his relatives or dependants, and he cajoled them with soft words, and flattering compliments. Astutely hiding his own distressed condition, he pretended that he was acting with friendly feelings, and his artifice prevailed to his satisfaction.

One event, however, had well night marred his plans. Though the supersedeas for Parsons had long since come, it had not been acted on. Thus was this infamous

man allowed to take share at the council board in Dublin. A short time before that appointed for the meeting between Ormond and the confederate commissioners, Parsons wrote a letter to the supreme council, touching an exchange of prisoners, couched in the following terms:

"We, the lords justices, do declare, that if Captain Farrer be released by the rebels, we will give orders for the releasing Synnott, lately employed as captain among the rebels, the jailor's dues being first paid."

To this insolent document the supreme council returned the following reply:

"We do not know to whom this certificate is directed, neither shall it be safe hereafter for any messenger to bring any paper to us containing other language than suits our duty, and the affections we bear to his majesty's service, wherein some may pretend, but none shall have more real desires to further his majesty's interests, than his majesty's loyal and obedient subjects,"

"Mountgarret. Muskerry."

Startled by this manly reply, which nothing but insult could have drawn from them, Ormond became alarmed. He did not know how soon Preston might be on the north bank of the Liffey, there was no time to be lost, and he determined to strike a blow which he knew would give pleasure to his friends and partisans in the supreme council. Parsons, Loftus, Meredith, and the veracious Sir John Temple, of ghost-seeing notoriety, were arrested. Parsons pleaded impaired health, and the rest were committed prisoners to the castle on charge of contravening the royal will. Sir Henry Tichbourne and Sir John Borlase were appointed lords justices, and Mountgarret, Gormanstown, and Muskerry openly boasted that they had got rid of their most inveterate enemies. Ormond's policy triumphed, and the question of the cessation was immediately resumed. In vain did the few members of the "old Irish" who were in the supreme council inveigh against it; they were in a minority from the beginning, and those who were opposed to them placed all their hopes in the genius of the marquess.

Perhaps there is no more humiliating scene in the entire of these transactions than that which followed. On the 16th September 1643, Muskerry, Dillon, Plunket.
Talbot, Barnwell, Nesle, Brown, Walsh, and Maginnis stood bare-headed before Ormond's tent, at Siggingstown, in the county Kildare, while "he alone wore hat and plume," prepared to sign a truce which was intended to last an entire year. It will be necessary to extract some of the articles of this treaty for the satisfaction of the reader, but before we do so, it is necessary to premise, that before the ink in which it was written dried, the confederate commissioners discovered that Ormond had no notion of calling a new parliament, although he knew that the present one was irregular and illegal.*

**ABBREVIATE OF THE TREATY.**

"It was agreed that the Roman Catholics now in arms at any time during the cessation, may send to his majesty such agents as they shall think fit, and that the said agents shall have a free conduct from the chief governors of this kingdom.

"It is agreed that the quarters in the province of Connaught be the following, viz.: that the county Galway, the county town of Galway, the counties of Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo, and Leitrim, now in possession of the Roman Catholics, shall, during the said cessation, remain in their possession.

"It is agreed that the quarters of the province of Leinster be the following, viz.: that the county Dublin, the county of the city of Dublin, the county of the city of Drogheda, and the county Louth, shall remain in possession of his majesty's Protestant subjects.

"It is agreed that the county Tipperary, the county Limerick, the county Kerry, the county Waterford, and the county Clare, shall be in possession of the Roman Catholics, except Knockmore, Ardmore, Pilltown, Cappoquin, Ballintra, Stronally, Lismore, and Listinny.

"The quarters in Ulster are to be as followeth, viz.: That such counties, baronies, tenements, hereditaments as are now possessed by any of his majesty's Protestant subjects, or any that adhere to them, and all places protected by any commanders deriving authority from the king, shall be in their possession, excepting such lands, castles, &c. &c. as are now in possession of the Roman Catholics.'

The rest of the articles regard traffic and free intercourse between England and Ireland, and the rules to be observed by both parties regarding the exchange of prisoners.

Sorely annoyed as were the "old Irish," by the conclusion of the truce, the parliamentary party did not feel it less. The Earl of Cork, according* to Borlase, "took it so much heart that he died soon

* Carte, iii. 430.
after, as he did not wish to survive what he suspected might not be conducive to the English interest." Broghill and Inchiquin were altogether opposed to it; and the latter, seeing it carried against his unavailing remonstrance, betook himself to England, and made an offer of his services to the king. It is probable that Charles set no value on his assurances; and as soon as he learned that the presidency of Munster was about to be bestowed on the Earl of Portland, he returned to Ireland, confirmed in his hatred of the faithless monarch. But as for Ormond, he had gained all he could have wished. Jealousies and rancorous feelings grew up amongst the confederates, and the men who hitherto dared not to cross the Liffey without hazard to their lives, became fawning courtiers and expectants of office; but to none did the cessation give less satisfaction than to the Catholic inhabitants of Ulster. The provisions which were made for that province gave Munroe and his adventurers both claim and title to all the lands and tenements which they then held, as they did to those intruders who had long since hunted out the rightful owners. Yet, as the orders emanated from the supreme council, they were rigidly observed, though the population smarted under a sense of the injustice which was done them.

The advantages derived by Ormond from his able diplomacy may be collected from the fact, that hitherto the confederate ships intercepted all supplies, and left Dublin in such a state, that upon search being made in the city and suburbs, there could not be found fourteen days' provisions for the inhabitants and soldiers.*

But now the ports and the approaches to them were left open, and he began to gather in supplies of corn and other stores, which restored to him the confidence of the soldiers and citizens, and made him a match for any section of the confederate army which might be induced to violate the cessation. One article of that fatal instrument obliged Ormond to join his forces with those of the confederates in punishing those who would be guilty of the slightest infraction of the treaty; but

* Sir Phil. Percival's Statement.
we shall soon see how faithlessly he regarded it. The Scotch forces, "recent and vete rate," in Ulster at this moment, amounted to 20,000 men; and "memorable Munroe"* was in direct communication with the parliament. About the beginning of November the infamous Owen Connolly (who betrayed the plot of Lord Maguire† and his brave associates to seize the Castle of Dublin in 1641) came over with a commission from the parliament, and an order to the Scotch to take the covenant as the parliament had done on the 25th of September. On bended knees, in the kirk of Carrickfergus, Munroe complied with the wishes of the rebels, who sent him supplies of money, arms, and provisions, with an injunction to denounce with fire and sword all who should observe the cessation.

It was at this period that the Marquess of Antrim (who having escaped from Carrickfergus and proceeded to England) returned to Kilkenny. A zealot in the royal cause, he gladly took the oath of association. He meditated being appointed to some high post of honour amongst them. This nobleman found the supreme council in every way favourable to his views, and apparently intent on squandering their resources. Antrim, now created marquess by the king's privy seal, proposed to raise 3,000 men to assist Montrose in Scotland, and they agreed to furnish him with 2,000 muskets, 2,400 pounds of powder, and 200 barrels of oatmeal, which were to be ready by the 1st of May following, and shipped to Scotland by Mr. Archer, a merchant of Kilkenny—an instance of fatuity which was quite in keeping with the voluntary offering of £30,000, which was not, in the strict sense, what its advocates pretended, inasmuch as it was to be levied on a people who had been basely plundered by the ministers of the crown.

Another disadvantage which this cessation brought on the Irish, was the departure from their coasts of most of the ships which had been chartered by the supreme

* Legend of Montrose.
† Corn. Maguire (Lord Enniskillen) was executed at Tyburn on the 20th of February, 1644. No martyr at the stake ever died more true to God and his faith. His trial is to be found at the end of Temple's Hist., and also in the State Trials. See Dub. Review, March, 1845, where there is a letter concerning him.
councils in the earlier time of the war. Every creek and harbour suddenly became infested with the parliamentary cruisers, so much so, that it was difficult to send men or money out of Ireland. The orders issued by the parliament to their partisans, on the land, were only equalled by the Algerine ferocity of their cruisers on the seas. Out of 150 men, who about this time sailed for Bristol, and who were taken by one Swanly at sea, seventy, besides two women, were thrown over board because they were supposed to be Irish. Nor did the Irish retaliate; for, soon afterwards falling in with a ship which had on board fifty kirk ministers deputed to preach up and administer the covenant in Ulster, they contented themselves with making them prisoners. This fatal truce was the source of all these miseries, and the coast which hitherto had been so watchfully guarded, was now swarming with rebel ships, "whose commanders showed no mercy to such as had the misfortune to fall into their hands."

When the news of the cessation had reached Oxford, the king determined to appoint the Marquess of Ormond lord lieutenant of Ireland; but, on account of the tempestuous state of the weather, and the difficulty in adjusting the form of procuring the Earl of Leicester's resignation, the commission was not issued till the middle of January, 1644. On the 21st of that month he was sworn in with all proper forms and ceremonies. We have now arrived at the beginning of a year which witnessed many sorrows and reverses in Ireland, and it is necessary that we pass them rapidly in review before us.

Ormond's elevation to the viceroyalty was calculated to raise the hopes of that portion of the confederates who placed all confidence in him, and naturally gave him a fairer opportunity of deluding and deceiving them. The "old Irish," on the other hand, did not reckon on any advantage to be derived from his administration. He had no real sympathy with them, and they deeply deplored the conclusion of the treaty, which was likely to give another direction to the popular mind. Some were of opinion that the truce tended to abate that martial ar-

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+ Carte's Orm. vol. iii. p. 246.
† Carte, l. 476.
dour which characterised the people since the rising of 1641; and others, like Father O'Ferrall,* bitterly regretted that the lords and gentry of the Pale had ever been "trusted in so holy a league." That such should have been the sentiments of the "old Irish" is only natural, when we find it admitted, on the authority of Carte, that they had nothing to get by a cessation, and "were only fit to be sent to Scotland to deliver his majesty out of his troubles." † In fact, such was the dislike entertained by them for the entire proceeding, that De la Monarie, the envoy from the French court, and Francisco de Fosset, the envoy from Spain, had no difficulty in getting men to embark in the service of their respective crowns, while the greatest reluctance prevailed against going into England; in truth, the continental courts had strong claims on the affections of the Irish, for even a short time before Ormond's inauguration his Catholic majesty had forwarded 20,000 dollars to the confederates. This sum was expended on arms and ammunition. Their agents, too, were kindly received in the foreign capitals, and were willingly aided by the nobility and gentry, who regarded them as engaged in a holy crusade. But the lord lieutenant well knew that the treaty itself would furnish ample material for dispute and bloodshed, and he calculated wisely. The question of boundaries, which was not well defined, was of itself fashioned to engender broils between the parties; but what cared he if the Catholics became broken up and disorganised? Division was his object, and he had copiously sowed its seeds. He only looked to the dissolution of that union which was once so formidable, and diplomacy like his was capable of effecting it.

It was at this period that the supreme council commissioned Edmund O'Dwyer ‡ to proceed to Rome, and present to Pope Urban a memorial, signed and sealed by

* He was a Capuchin friar, and wrote a book with the following title—"Modus Eversionis Cath. Religionis in Hibernia." Lynch, the author of "Cambrensis Eversus," published a reply under the name of "Endoxus Alithinologus." It is quoted by Walsh in the Hist. of the Rem., p. 740.
† Carte's Orm., l. 477.
‡ He was afterwards Bishop of Limerick, and signalised himself when Ireton besieged the city.
them, praying his holiness to promote Wadding to the college of cardinals."

But that portion of it which must interest us most is their report on the state of Catholicity in Ireland at this period of the confederacy. It was thus described:—

"It is now manifest to the whole Christian world with what fidelity the Catholics of Ireland have clung to their ancient faith, and how they braved death, and exile, and the confiscation of their substance, rather than renounce the religion of their ancestors. To you, most holy father, it is particularly known how heroically the Irish people, without arms or munitions of war, have struggled against the phalanxes of those who, sworn enemies of the holy see, had vowed and sworn to pluck up our religion by the very roots. Our holy war has had a glorious result. The Lord God is now publicly worshipped in our temples, after the manner of our fathers; most of the cathedrals have been restored to our bishops; the religious orders possess the monasteries, and seminaries have been opened for the education of our youth. This great work has been accomplished through the goodness of God and the many favors bestowed on us by you; verily, in future times the brightest page in the history of your pontificate shall be, that you found the Catholic religion despised and prostrate in our island, and ere that pontificate closed beheld it raised up in splendour, and magnificently attired, even as a bride for her spouse."†

During these transactions the supreme council held its sittings at Waterford, and a question was raised as to the prudence of pawning that portion of the kingdom then in their possession to some foreign court, in order to raise money. Owen Roe was summoned to give his opinion, when he repudiated the idea of giving any foreign power "an interest in Ireland." He then proceeded to Charlemont, where he remained some time with Theobald Magauly, the governor of the fort, and finally fixed his head-quarters at Belturbet. Lulled into false security by the cessation, the supreme council proceeded to Galway, and some of the other towns, to hear cases touching usurpations of property, and adjudicate on civil concerns which, in the din of arms, could not have been properly attended to.

Having returned to Kilkenny, a very considerable period seems to have been wasted in collecting those supplies which it was their intention to have transmitted to England. It was agreed that the sum of £30,800 should be paid by instalments of money and "beeves;" but it

* In the Writers of the Seventeenth Century Mr. M'Gee has beautifully treated this subject.
† Vide Hib. Dom., in Append. p. 876
would appear that there was great difficulty in procuring advances of kind and coin. Charges were made almost daily of a violation of the articles of cessation by both parties: and Ormond did not conceal his displeasure at the slowness with which the confederates sent the beeves to Dublin. One of the strangest of the charges advanced against the supreme council at this moment was, that they forwarded cattle of a very inferior description, and took away 369 head of the choicest English cows and bullocks from the suburbs of Dublin, thus exposing the inhabitants to the very danger from which it was the object of the cessation to protect them. This charge is made upon dubious authority, for it is certain that the confederates had the best intentions, however short-sighted their policy may have been. Perhaps no fact is more calculated to vindicate them from such aspersions than the conduct which Ormond was forced to adopt regarding the forces which he sent to the king's aid in England. When the cessation was concluded, several regiments, drawn from the garrisons in and about Dublin, got orders to proceed to Chester; "but such was the reluctance of the common soldiers, that the sharpest proclamation hardly restrained them from flying their colours, both before and after their arrival in England." * Indeed, to such a state of insubordination and disaffection had they been brought, that Ormond was forced to administer an oath obliging his mercenaries to remain firm in their allegiance to the king. Not so, however, with such of the Catholics as could cross the sea, and stand by his majesty in his struggle against the parliament. Their fidelity was only equalled by their valour and chivalrous conduct against the overwhelming forces under the command of Fairfax.

But, as to the cessation, the only towns which can be said to have observed it were Newry, Dundalk, and Drogheda. Munro was encouraged by the parliament, as we have already seen, to disregard it; and, if he required any further stimulant, he had already got it in a commission, under the parliament's broad seal, to command in chief all the English as well as Scotch forces in Ulster. On receipt of the commission he commenced

* Borlase's Hist. of the Irish Insur., p. 135.
campaign against the Catholics, who religiously obeyed the orders of the supreme council, which, on the intelligence of his perfidy, wrote to Ormond that these Covenanters "were diverting them from assisting his majesty, and eating further into the bowels of the country." This was obviously meant to induce Ormond to declare Munroe and his followers rebels to the crown. But the wily lord lieutenant did not find it his interest to take such a step.

A subject of the most momentous importance was now mooted by the supreme council, regarding propositions to be submitted to the king; and in order to take their attention from mere matters of war, Ormond encouraged them to proceed to Oxford, and lay their case before his majesty. At the very same time a cabal in Dublin was maturing a scheme to counteract any advantage which the Catholics were likely to derive from an interview with the king. Muskerry, MacDonnell, Plunket, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermid O'Brien, Richard Martin, and Severinus Browne, formed the deputation, which reached England about the beginning of April, and, having arrived at Oxford, presented a statement of grievances, and earnestly prayed for the repeal of all the penal restrictions, which not only disqualified them from holding civil offices in the state, but weighed most heavily on their religion and the practices it inculcated.

To all their demands the king gave willing ear, and flattering assurances; but one grand subject, which had been warmly debated by the council at Waterford, previous to the departure of the delegates, was regarded by his majesty as little less than scandalous. This was the secure possession of the churches then in their hands; and the king declared that he would reserve it for his future consideration. An earldom was offered to Muskerry, which he declined, and the commissioners retired from the royal presence with an abundance of soft words, but without a single practical result.

It is hard to imagine any state of greater difficulty than that of the king at this moment; for the confederate commissioners had not left England, when Sir Charles Coote and others, deputed by the Protestants of
Ireland, presented propositions asking, amongst other concessions, that "the king would abate his quit-rents, and encourage and enable Protestants to replant the kingdom, and cause a good walled town to be built in every county for their security, no Papist being allowed to dwell therein." The second demand was not less extravagant. They prayed his majesty "to continue the penal laws, and to dissolve forthwith the assumed power of the confederates, and banish all Popish priests out of Ireland, and that no Popish recusant should be allowed to sit or vote in parliament." The king was amazed at the peremptory manner in which these propositions were enforced; but it was conjectured that they were concocted in London, with a view to obstruct any accommodation with the Irish, and, in all probability, to induce them to a violation of the truce. But commissioners soon after came from the council in Dublin, at the head of whom was Archbishop Usher, who condemned Coote's extravagance, and requested him to withdraw these revolting demands.

But, though Archbishop Usher inveighed against the proposals of these fanatics, the propositions which he submitted to Charles I. were not far removed from the intolerant spirit of Coote. On the part of the Irish Protestants, he desired:—"That all the penal laws should be enforced, and all Papists disarmed." The king clearly pointed out the impracticability of such measures, at a moment when the confederate Catholics possessed more than three parts of the kingdom. The queen, too, influenced the royal will on this occasion, and sought to impress on the mind of her consort, that the Catholics were well worthy of his confidence. Indeed, it is more than likely that whatever kindness he had shown the confederate commissioners, was the result of her majesty's interference. And, before we close this brief glance at this portion of our subject, we may sum up in a few words the amount of his good intentions towards the Irish Catholics. He was willing to pass an act for removing from them any incapacity to purchase lands or offices, and had no objection to allowing "recusants their seminaries of education." He was content to call a new parliament in Ireland, but, without the suspension of Poyning's
law. In all matters regarding penal enactments, he stated that these statutes were too odious to be enforced, and that his recusant subjects, on returning to their duty, should have no reason to complain. He then dismissed them with a pathetic admonition to consider his circumstances as their own.

Whilst the king was cajoling the commissioners with these kind promises, on which they placed but too much reliance, Munroe was carrying the orders of the parliament into execution. The general assembly, alarmed by the imposing force of the Covenanters, sent orders to Owen Roe to appear in Kilkenny on the 1st of May. It was about this time that the Scotch general had seized Belfast. O'Neill complained bitterly of the distress of the men under his command, stating that he would be obliged to quarter them on the other provinces. He then made an offer to prosecute the war against Munroe, if he was seconded by the supreme council, for whom he promised to raise 4,000 foot and 400 horse out of his own province. The council accepted his offer, and agreed to give him 6,000 foot and 600 horse. When the question of command was raised, it was put to the vote, and Castlehaven was declared by a majority commander-in-chief. O'Neill took it seriously to heart, but subsequently went to congratulate Castlehaven. But, even at this time, the effects produced by the cessation were deplorably visible, for the man who now was vested with the chief command, declared that the troops who were to take part in the approaching campaign, came to the rendezvous "like new men half changed."

Men and horses were unfit for service; and the accoutrements were not in a better condition. With 2,000 men, Castlehaven marched rapidly into Connaught to enforce the orders of the supreme council, and soon after detached some parties to reduce the Ormsbys, who would not submit to the cessation. Owen Roe was encamped at Portlester about July, when Castlehaven marched on Granard, in the county Longford, where he was met by his main force, consisting of 3,000 horse and foot, with three field-pieces. He was soon informed

*Castlehaven's Mem. 447.*
that Munroe, with an army 17,000 strong, was marching to meet him. Fearing to encounter such superior numbers, he retired on Portlester. Munroe, having accomplished his object, which was to get preys of cattle, marched back to the north, after having wasted the country in his rear, and dealt death about him. Throughout these marchings and counter-marchings there was a misunderstanding between the two commanders. In some skirmish with outposts, one Fennell, who commanded under Castlehaven, stood passively by while some of O'Neill's kinsmen were hacked to pieces before his face. O'Neill, who had been sick during the action, styled Castlehaven's officers cowards, and the commander bitterly resented it, when O'Neill repeated the charge, saying: "This Fennell, the cowardly cock with the feather, had the craven-heartedness to look on whilst my relatives were being slain, and moved not an inch to their succour—to the supreme council, who employed us both, he shall answer for this."

Castlehaven, soon after this occurrence, called on O'Neill for the supplies he had promised; but the latter excused himself, saying: "That as soon as they had entered Ulster he would make good his word." They then united their forces, and proceeded to Tanderagee, and erected a fort to protect their magazine. Nothing of consequence transpired during their progress; they were, however, engaged in perpetual skirmishes with outposts; nor did Munroe dare to face them. He had advanced as far as Armagh; but soon broke up his camp. Castlehaven finally grew tired of a war, which he had not patience or military talent to appreciate, and hastened back to Kilkenny, where he boasted that the confederacy owed its preservation to his skill and perseverance. The army under his command now amounted to 8,000 men; and commissioners were appointed to see them quartered in different parts of Leinster, within the confederate boundaries. O'Neill, disgusted with the vapourings of the man who had been preferred to him, retired to the county Cavan, anxiously watching the progress of events.

Scrupulously as the Irish Catholics observed the cessation, it was treated with contempt by Inchiquin and Lord Broghill in the south. Early in July they for-
warded letters to the king, beseeching him to proclaim
the Irish, "rebels," and stating that they were resolved
to "die a thousand deaths" sooner than condescend to
any peace with them. They then set forth that their
quarters, which extended from Youghal to Mogeely, and
thence to Cork, had been pillaged by the Catholics, who
were intent on prejudicing the royal cause. The par-
liament seconded Inchiquin's designs, as it did those of
Munroe in the north. One Mathews, a friar, was ac-
cused of a design to seize the city of Cork, and Inch-
iquin caused him to be tried, and soon after executed;
nor did this miscreant content himself with these atro-
cities—aping the pharatical cant of the parliament, he
justified all his barbarous proceedings by an appeal to
his religious sentiments, which taught him that "he
was acting for the gospel, and that if he died for it, he
should be held as a perfect martyr."† Early in August
he collected a large body of troops, and expelled all the
Catholic inhabitants out of Cork, Youghal, and Kin-
sale.‡ The parliament applauded the act, gave him
promise of supplies, and hinted that he might be ap-
pointed to the presidency of Munster. It was idle to
think that the plundered and persecuted inhabitants
would not resent these cruelties; and yet such was the
anxiety of the supreme council for the inviolate observ-
ance of the cessation, that they ordered Lieutenant-
General Purcell to punish those who had been guilty of
the slightest infraction. Ormond was importuned by the
confederates to enforce the obedience of Munroe and
Inchiquin; but he was secretly encouraging the conduct
of those rebels, and rejoiced at every misery which befel
the Catholics.

And yet, in the midst of these multiplied troubles, the
confederates were not unmindful of the promises which
they had given to aid the king. It is true that the im-
poverished state of the kingdom would not allow them
to raise such an enormous sum as they had promised to
advance; but they sedulously endeavoured to forward

* Borlase, p. 146.
† Inchiquin's letter to the parliament, in Borlase, p. 149.
‡ "Allowing them to take no more of their goods with them than
what they could carry on their backs."—Carte's Orm.
all they could through the agency of Ormond. The
troops which they had guaranteed to raise for Montrose
were three months waiting for an opportunity of cross-
ing the sea, while the parliament ships were watching to
intercept them. Lord Antrim, however, contrived to
embark 2,500 men at Waterford and other ports, and,
though it be a digression, we may not overlook their ser-
vices.*

These men were commanded by a Catholic—Alexan-
der M'Donnell, alias Colkitto. When they arrived in
Scotland, within Argyle’s bounds, they marched to Cas-
tleblair, in Athol, where they were joined by Montrose,
“who went on foot, with his target and pike.” On the
1st of September they were reinforced by the bowmen
under Lord Kilpunt, and encountered the Covenanters,
who had an army of 8,000 foot and 800 horse, at St.
Johnstown. The Covenanters† were three or four to
one, but the Irish routed them with such fearful effect
“that men might have walked upon dead bodies to the
town, being two miles long from the place where the
battle was pitched.” On the 13th of the same month
they defeated 3,000 foot and 500 horse, with three pieces
of cannon, at Aberdeen. They then marched to Glen-
garry and Inverloughy Castle, which they stormed, rout-
ing Argyle and Aghenbracke, and taking their stand-
ards, arms, and ammunition.‡

Such signal valour made due impression on the king,
who did not fail to commend it in his despatches to Or-
mond. Indeed, he could have had no more convincing
reason for impressing on the mind of his lieutenant-
general the necessity of a speedy accommodation with his

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* It is worth remarking that Clarendon, who disparages Lord An-
trim, has drawn an over-coloured picture of Clannricarde. No one
doubts the loyalty of the latter; but viewing him as an Irishman, he
seems to have had little or no feeling of nationality. On the strength
of Clarendon’s statement, Mr. Moore, in the fourth volume of his His-
tory of Ireland, calls Antrim “an absurd lord.” Clarendon hated An-
trim personally, as appears from Carte’s Orm., vol. ii., p. 282.

† One’s hand must tremble in transcribing the battle-cry of these
fanatics; but it is an evident proof of the frenzy to which that horrid
enthusiasm, so often mistaken for religion, can raise men’s minds.
“Jesus and no quarter” were the words uttered by the Covenanters in
this engagement with Montrose.—Graing. Biograph., vol. ii., p. 245.

‡ Collection of Original Papers, found among the Duke of Ormond’s
papers, vol. i., p. 73.
Irish Catholic subjects; and it is likely that his desire for concluding a peace with them originated in the consideration of the effectual services of the men who humbled these stern Covenants on their own mountains. Ere we close this rapid view of the events of this year, it is necessary to observe that Urban VIII., who had so cordially befriended the confederates, died early in July, 1644, and was succeeded by Innocent X., on the 15th of September of the same year.

The time for the expiration of the truce was now approaching, and the general assembly, which met in August, appointed commissioners to treat with Ormond for a renewal. Amongst those named to manage it was Thomas Fleming, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; but as Ormond objected to him, Muskerry, Sir R. Talbot, Browne, D'Arcy, Dillon, and Plunket, set out on the 31st of August for Dublin. Upon their arrival the cessation was renewed to December 1, and afterwards continued to a longer time.*

CHAPTER V.

When the confederate commissioners returned to Kilkenny, Charles I. was congratulating himself on the brilliant victories achieved by Colkitto and Montrose in Scotland. The hapless monarch naturally began to think that nothing could prove so conducive to his interests as a peace with the Irish Catholics; but, well aware as he was of their oath of association, he must have inwardly grieved at the idea of being obliged to purchase it at such a price as the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion. Yet, in truth, the confederates, as it will appear, were the only loyal subjects in Ireland on whose willing hearts he could place true reliance. Disaffection was contagious, and Inchiquin was already tampering with Lord Esmond, the governor of Duncannon, and persuading him to declare for the parliament, or sur-

* Carte, i., 516.
render that strong place to their forces. As to himself, he had entered into a truce with General Purcell, which was not to expire till the 10th of April following. This act, as precipitate as it was unwise, had been done to propitiate Ormond, who had an overweening notion of Murrogh O'Brien. The consequence was, that he had time to collect forces, and strengthen himself in the towns out of which he had expelled the Catholics. The truce which had been renewed with Ormond, left the supreme council free to look closely into their circumstances; and they resolved to send their agents beyond the seas to the courts of the Catholic princes. "Their design was, that they might know themselves what they had to trust to, and what succours they might really depend on from abroad; and that, in case they should be forced to serve God again in holes and corners, the world might know they had laboured all they could to prevent that misfortune." * For this purpose Father Hugh Bourke was sent to the court of Madrid, to solicit the King of Spain; Belling, the secretary of the council, had orders to proceed to the vatican, to congratulate Innocent X., and to visit the Italian princes, and the Marquess of Castle-Rodrigo, governor of the low countries. Hartegan, a priest, remained as their envoy at the French court. The articles of the treaty with Ormond were religiously observed; and towards the end of December, the king wrote to the lord lieutenant in the following terms:—"I have thought to give you this order, to seek to renew the cessation for a year; for which you shall promise the Irish, if you can have it no cheaper, to join with them against the Scots and Inchiquin." † Ormond, however, did not attach much importance to these orders, and was in no mood to oppose either Munroe or Inchiquin; on the contrary, he had already hinted to his partisans in the council that he meditated a peace which was calculated to prove advantageous to them. But the flagitious acts passed in the parliament towards the end of September caused the supreme council to take such steps as were necessary for their immediate security. Unprotected as the coast was at this moment, they knew not how soon a descent might be made by their enemies;

* Carte’s Orm., l., 529. † Reliq. Sacrae Carol.
and the orders to execute all Irish-born and papists who might be found upon the seas, struck salutary terror into their hearts. The most important seaports then in their possession were Waterford, Wexford, and Galway. The loss of any of them must have done incalculable mischief; and a rumour reached them that Esmond was about to surrender Duncannon. About the beginning of January, Preston was ordered to blockade the fortress; but this proving too slow a process, he resolved to convert the blockade into a siege. The weather being extremely bad, and a whirlwind prevailing, "which blew the priming off the guns, filling the pans with dust," seriously retarded the operations of the besiegers.* A flotilla was ordered by the parliament to succour the place, but such was the perseverance of the confederates that they finally drove out the garrison, after ten weeks' siege. During this time they expended 19,000 lbs. of powder, † and were ably helped by the inhabitants of Ross and Wexford. Esmond, who was old and blind, died soon after, and thus escaped a punishment which his disloyalty amply deserved. Whilst the confederates were engaged at this siege, the king sent an order to Ormond to conclude a peace with the confederates. The general assembly, which was then sitting, immediately despatched Sir Nicholas Plunket and Lord Muskerry to confer with him, on the 6th of March, 1645. Ormond, who was fully empowered by the king to abrogate the penal statutes, artfully concealed the royal orders, and referred the commissioners to the decision of his majesty, who had determined that these obnoxious statutes should not be put in execution after the conclusion of a peace. He then laboured sedulously to convince them that a suspension of Poyning's law could not be conducive to their interests. Amongst some new graces to which he yielded, the Catholics were to be released from all the king's rents and revenues which they had received since the beginning of the war, with an abolition of all outlawries, attainders, and indictments against any of them. The king, he assured them, was willing to confer all places of trust and honour indiscriminately on Catholic and

* Belling, 276. † Carte, i. 528.
Protestant subjects; but he indignantly denied that he had any notion of employing an equal number of both parties. With this unsatisfactory arrangement, the delegates hastened back to Kilkenny, to report the result of their conference to the assembly. But as the lord lieutenant made no guarantee for religious immunities, save such as the king might be subsequently induced to cede, the great body of the assembly would not subscribe a peace which did not secure the public exercise of religion. Scarampi and the bishops would not make any compromise, and as the peace on which Ormond reckoned made no real provisions for the hereditary possession of the Catholics of Ulster, a great majority of the confederates would not hearken to the wily artifices of the viceroy. And no wonder that such terms should be rejected with scorn. The clergy, who exercised the most unbounded influence over their flocks, were secretly informed of the king's intention to grant their most sanguine demands, and, notwithstanding the unseemly haste of Plunket and Muskerry to negotiate a peace with Ormond, contrived to obstruct it. But, although the commissioners, who favoured Ormond's views, desisted from pressing it in the assembly, they managed to carry on an under-hand negotiation with the lord lieutenant in Dublin. Throughout the entire summer this unhappy question furnished matter for acrimonious discussion, and strengthened the animosities which had grown up between the lords of the Pale and the "old Irish," at the conclusion of the armistice in 1643.

But it is necessary to relinquish this important matter for awhile, in order to witness events of another character. The truce with Inchiquin expired on the 10th of April, and the confederates were unanimous in their resolve to destroy him and his adherents. For this purpose they ordered Castlehaven to proceed into Munster with an army of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse. In a very short time he reduced all the castles in the baronies of Imokilly and Barrymore. Cappoquin, Dromane, Mitchelstown, Castleyons, Mallow, Doneraile, Liscarroll, and Lismore surrendered on articles. He next reduced Rostellan, and in it took
Colonel H. O'Brien* and Colonel Courtenay. Inchiquin could not resist, and was obliged to shut himself up in Cork, pursued by Castlehaven, who wasted the country to the very walls of the city. He then besieged Youghal, but owing to some misunderstandings between himself and Preston, he did not act with vigour, and thus left the place in possession of Lord Broghill, who had got a supply of arms and ammunition from the parliament. Towards the beginning of September Castlehaven returned to Kilkenny after disbanding his forces.

The parliament in England, hearing of these movements in the south, lost no time in strengthening Munroe's forces in Ulster. Having nominated young Coote to the presidency of Connaught, they sent over £10,000 to the covenanters, with a considerable supply of clothing. On the 8th of June Sir Charles Coote presented letters from a committee of both houses, desiring Munroe to send 500 men into Connaught, who were to be joined by Sir F. Hamilton's regiment, in order to reduce Sligo. They complied, after some hesitation, and determined to march a body of 4,000 foot and 500 horse into the counties of Mayo and Galway. Their progress was marked by carnage and burnings. Sir Robert Stewart took possession of Sligo, and Coote set about raising 1,400 horse, in order to overrun the entire country. Clannicarde, who had been appointed president by Ormond, could offer but little resistance. His apathy in the earlier period of the war had so diminished his influence, that the people had little regard for him, and Ormond beheld the critical position of his friend with a stoic's indifference. Clannicarde, however, got about 2,500 men to oppose the overwhelming force which was now devastating the country, and appointed Lord Taaffe to the command; but he effected nothing of importance, his efforts being confined to the reduction of such minor places as Castlecote and Jamestown. The supreme council,

*This man caused a Roman Catholic dean to be hanged a short time before, and betrayed his trust at Wareham in England, which he yielded to the parliament forces. He was brother to Inchiquin, and partook of his savage character.
alarmed for the safety of Galway, ordered Sir James Dillon and Malachy O'Kelly, archbishop of Tuam, to drive the Scotch and English out of Sligo; and they attacked the place on Sunday, October 26th, with a force far inferior to their enemies. They succeeded in getting into the town, but word was brought that a large force was now coming to succour the garrison. The confederates took alarm and fled, pursued by the Scotch. Malachy, archbishop of Tuam fell into their hands, and was brutally murdered,* after quarter given. The noblest Catholics of the province were either slain or made prisoners, and Sligo was in the hands of the parliament.

Now, long before these events occurred, the king, feeling his difficulties daily increasing, and well knowing that Ormond was so zealous a Protestant as to be absolutely averse to granting the Irish confederates such terms as they insisted upon, determined to send them a Catholic envoy, in the person of Lord Herbert, afterwards Earl of Glamorgan. He arrived in Dublin about the end of July or beginning of August.† Having conferred with the lord lieutenant, Glamorgan soon after proceeded to Kilkenny, where the supreme council was sitting, and discussing the terms proposed by the lord lieutenant. Glamorgan had been empowered by the king to treat with the confederates, "and also to levy any number of men in Ireland and other parts beyond sea, commanding of them, putting officers over them, governors in forts and towns, and giving him power to receive the king's rents." He, therefore, in virtue of a commission given him by his majesty,

* Bruodin, in the Hib. Dom., p. 652, states, that the archbishop was cut into bits by the Scots.—"In minutis sectus est partes, absco brachio dextero, etiam post datam fidem." Mr. Hardiman, in the History of Galway, p. 123, has this curious note on the subject:—"Here is a true tragidie of the unhappie expedition of Sligoe, viz.:—Last Sunday our forces, after taking the abbie of Sligoe, and hearing of the approach of Coote with a strong relief, began to march back, and though they beat the enemie that day and the day before, yet, then, a few horse of the said enemie put them most shamefully to flight, in which flight (proh dolor) my Lord Archbishop, Father Teige Conel, Father Augustine Higgin, with other clergymen, were killed and pittifullie mangled, and so left in the way near Sligoe."

† Transactions of Glamorgan, pp. 60, 61, 67.
entered into a treaty with the confederate body, by which it was agreed, and accorded by the said Earl, on the part of his majesty, and Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Donogh Lord Muskerry, as commissioners appointed by the said confederate Catholics:

"I.—That all the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, shall enjoy the free and public use and exercise of their religion.

"II.—That they shall hold and enjoy all the churches by them enjoyed, or by them possessed, at any time since the 23rd of October 1641, and all other churches in the said kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his majesty’s Protestant subjects.

"III.—That all the Roman Catholics shall be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy, and that the Catholic clergy shall not be punished or molested for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective flocks. And, also, that an act shall be passed in the next parliament for securing to them all the king’s concessions.

"IV.—That the Marquess of Ormond, or any others, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in possession of the articles above specified.

"VI.—The Earl of Glamorgan engages his majesty’s word for the performance of these articles.

"VII.—That the public faith of the kingdom shall be engaged unto the said Earl by the commissioners of the confederate Catholics, for sending 10,000 men by order and declaration of the general assembly at Kilkenny, armed, the one-half with muskets, and the other half with pikes, to serve his majesty in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the said Glamorgan, as lord general of the said army; which army is to be kept together in one entire body, and all other the officers and commanders of the said army are to be named by the supreme council of the said confederate Catholics, or by such others as the general assembly of the said confederate Catholics of Ireland shall entrust therewith."

When these articles were signed by the supreme council and Glamorgan, the general assembly, on the 28th of August "ordered and declared that their union and oath of association shall remain firm and inviolable,
and in full strength, in all points, and to all purposes until the articles of the intended peace shall be ratified in parliament, notwithstanding any proclamation of the peace." But, in order to avoid the inconvenience which the publication of these concessions might produce to the king, it was thought proper to be deferred till the forces designed for his majesty should arrive in England, when he might more confidently avow and confirm the concessions made, by his authority, by the Earl Glamorgan."

Such were the terms offered on the king's behalf by Glamorgan, copies of which had been already submitted to the archbishops and other leading members of the confederates. Ten weeks were spent in Dublin debating with Ormond on the articles which had nothing to do with this, which may be regarded as of a spiritual nature. But the delegates from the supreme council had likewise endeavoured to gain from the lord lieutenant some concessions in favour of their religion, as he had the public authority of his majesty, but, not so ample a one, in that respect, as the Earl.

The commissioners were charged to hear of nothing which was contrary to, or inconsistent with, the private concessions made by the Earl. But the terms which the lord lieutenant would grant, especially with regard to religion, were by no means such as were satisfactory to them. While these matters were being negotiated at Dublin and Kilkenny, another event took place which aggravated the loss of Sligo. Towards the end of the year a parliament flotilla sailed up the Shannon, and the Earl of Thomond, who remained neutral, and was not molested by the confederates, (as it would appear that their orders had been rescinded,) gave possession of his castle of Bunratty† to the parliament's troops. The result was, however, in one respect propitious, for Limerick abandoned its neutrality, and declared for the confederates.

But it is necessary that we follow the secretary, Belling, to Rome, and introduce one who was destined

* Glamorgan's Transactions, p. 74.
† Belling describes Bunratty as "a noble antient structure, reputed strong when engines of battery were not so frequent." — Narrative of the War, p. 332.
to act a conspicuous part in these important and varying scenes. Belling reached Rome about the end of February 1645, and was presented to his Holiness Innocent X., by Father Luke Wadding, and received as the accredited envoy of the confederate Catholics.

The Pontiff—who is described by Muratori* as of rough and repellant aspect, yet, still of majestic manner, was suspected to be hostile to the policy of the French court, and of a strong leaning to the interests of Spain—succeeded in removing the apprehensions of both parties; and now seeing the war which had so long desolated the Continent drawing to a close, scarcely needed the memorial of the Irish Catholics to turn his attention to their then far off region. But in applying to the court of Rome, it is quite evident that they calculated on finding unity and power in obedience to the supreme chief of that religion which was their only common bond, disunited as they were in every other respect. His Holiness having heard from Belling the actual state of affairs, determined to forward to Ireland considerable supplies of arms and money, and while the secretary was at the court of Florence he resolved to send to the confederates a minister with the high and influential dignity of nuncio extraordinary.

He first selected Luigi Omodei, whom he afterwards made a cardinal, but in consequence of the objections of Mazarin against the appointment of a prelate who, as a Milanese, was a subject of Spain, he substituted John Baptist Rinuccini, who, being of Tuscan origin, should be regarded as belonging to a neutral power. This distinguished prelate was born at Rome, on the 15th of September, 1592. From his earliest years he manifested a decided predilection for the ecclesiastical profession, and commenced his studies under the tutelage of the Jesuits. In his eighteenth year he went to Bologna, and thence to Perugia, to study canon law; and in the latter city, when but twenty-two years of age, he received his doctor's degree, and was at the same time elected a member of the learned academy, "Della Crusca." He soon

* Annali D'Italia, ann. 1644.
afterwards returned to Rome, at the desire of his uncle, the Cardinal Octavian Bandini; and it appears that during his sojourn in the Eternal City, immoderate application to studies of a varied nature made such fearful havoc of his health, that he never afterwards recovered that strength and corporeal energy which render life so dear, and sustain it in great and arduous trials.

To repair a constitution which had thus early suffered, he retired for a while to the patrimony of his fathers, on the banks of the Arno; but quiet and seclusion ill according with an active mind, he retraced his steps to Rome, where he practised law under Monsignor Buratti, a celebrated canonist in the court of Gregory XV.

In Rome, as elsewhere, he earned considerable celebrity, and was appointed by his holiness clerk of the chamber, and was soon afterwards nominated one of his domestic prelates, and secretary to the congregation of rites. On the demise of Gregory XV., Urban VIII. was called to the vacant throne, and the successor of Rinuccini's first friend and patron, to evince the high esteem he entertained for his piety and talents, conferred on him the archiepiscopal see of Fermo, in the marches of Ancona, then vacant by the death of Monsignor Dini, which took place in the year 1625.

His biographer informs us that his conduct in the archiepiscopal see was distinguished by the most exemplary piety and consummate wisdom; and, as a proof of his devoted attachment to the flock over which he presided, we learn from the same authority that he declined the more exalted dignity of the metropolitan see of Florence, which he was invited to accept by the pontiff himself and the Grand Duke Ferdinand II. in the year 1631.

This is not the place to enter into a critical analysis of the character of the nuncio, which should be learned from the history of the events in which he took such a prominent part. Were we to place implicit reliance on the representations of his biographer, we might not hesitate to pronounce him a man of genuine piety and great political acumen. Without pausing, however, to

* Aiazzi, p. 10.
examine the portraiture which is given of him by such interested parties as Walsh and Callaghan, we may be allowed to borrow an eulogium from one who cannot be accused of partiality to Rinuccini, which would reflect honour on the character of any man, and is, perhaps, rarely deserved by those placed in similar circumstances:—"He was," says Carte, † "regular and even austere in his life and conversation, and far from any taint of avarice or corruption."

Having received his instructions from Pope Innocent X., he set out from Rome early in the year 1645, and proceeded to Florence, where he was joined by the secretary, Belling, who was so much astonished on learning that a nuncio had been appointed for Ireland that for three days he was unable to speak. Passing rapidly through Genoa and Marseilles, he arrived in Paris on the 22nd of May. According to the instructions which he had received, he was led to believe that he should have an opportunity of negotiating personally with the Queen of England; ‡ but on his arrival at Paris circumstances transpired which totally removed the possibility of a personal interview. Sir Dudley Wyat had been sent to Paris to communicate to the queen and the French court the news of the overthrow of the royal army; and Rinuccini, seizing the opportunity of impressing on her majesty's mind the necessity of making terms with the confederate Catholics, offered to visit her in person, and in his ministerial capacity. She, however, refused to receive him, alleging that if she did so she would violate the English law, which forbade her to recognise him and the confederate government of which he was the accredited agent. Indeed, it is evident that some interested parties, who had no sympathy with the Irish, sedulously laboured to prejudice the queen's mind against the nuncio and the Irish themselves. She had been taught to believe that the object of Rinuccini's mission was to usurp the prerogatives of the crown; and the impression does not appear to have been wholly effaced, notwithstanding his solemn declaration that the pope

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* The author of the Vindiciae Hibernorum.
† Orm. i. 558.
‡ She had been forced to fly out of England some time before.
was actuated by no other motives than his ardent desire of protecting the Catholic religion, and furnishing his majesty with those aids which he required to sustain him against the faction which had vowed the destruction of Ireland.

A prey to grief and despair, the queen retired from Paris to St. Germains, where the disastrous intelligence of the king's defeat at Naseby was brought her; and changing her opinion of the confederate Catholics, whom she hitherto designated with the false epithet of "rebels," she determined, if possible, to conclude a peace, which would leave them free to send troops into England. She sent to inform the nuncio that she regretted that she could not receive him without the king's consent, and earnestly desired that he would exert himself to conclude a peace which would serve to release her royal consort from the dangers which were impending. Sir Dudley Wyat was the person selected to carry on this indirect negotiation. He insisted, on the part of the queen, that the peace should be concluded at Paris, and asserted that she was ready to procure its confirmation on the part of her husband, provided the nuncio sent to Ireland to have it ratified by the supreme council.

Wyat insisted on the necessity of speedily coming to an arrangement. He argued that the king's condition was desperate, and that if he were obliged to make terms with the parliamentary faction, the ruin of Ireland would be inevitable, as it was utterly hopeless to think of resisting the combined powers of England and Scotland.

To these entreaties on the part of the queen the nuncio replied that he had nothing so much at heart as the conclusion of a peace which would secure to the Catholics of Ireland the free and uncontrolled exercise of their religion, and the immediate removal of all the penal laws by which they had been so long and so grievously afflicted; and that nothing could give more heartfelt satisfaction to the pope than to learn he had witnessed the conclusion of a peace which would allow him to proceed to Ireland to employ himself with the ecclesiastical concerns of the kingdom, exclusive of all political interference; but he clearly saw that nothing really beneficial could result from such indirect negotiation, and he be-
gan to think that the promises of the queen were delu-
sive, and only meant to retard his departure.

It had been hinted that it was the object of the queen's
adherents to obtain from him the supplies of arms and
money which were destined for Ireland, and have them
transported for the king's service into England; and
Mazarin suggested to him the possibility of such an event,
at the same time that he deprecated the fruitless expen-
diture of those large sums which had been sent from
France for the support of the royal cause.

He was, moreover, strictly forbidden by Cardinal
Pafilio to consent to a private interview with Henrietta
Maria, on the ground that he could not uncover his head
to a queen;* and on being informed that she could not
receive him without this mark of respect to royalty, he
was driven to the alternative of employing Sir Dudley
Wyat and her majesty's chaplain to open this indirect
communication with her. There can be no doubt that
the queen was determinedly opposed to Rinuccini's land-
ing in Ireland, for he informs us that when he sent one
of his retinue, Dominick Spinola, a Genoese of noble
birth, to present her with the pope's brief, she asserted
with considerable vehemence that the Irish in general,
and the secretary, Belling, in particular, were anxious
to renounce their allegiance to the king, on plea of their
devotion to the Catholic religion; nay, more, that Har-
tegan, the agent of the confederates at Paris, had been
heard to boast that the Irish were determined to prose-
cute the war to the last extremity, if the terms on which
they insisted were not fully confirmed. In a spirit of
bitterness, which may readily be excused, when we re-
fect on the difficulties which then beset the king, she
derprecated the conduct of the Irish, "who," she said,
"seemed to rejoice at the reverses of her consort, when
they placed him in such a position as would make him
yield to their demands, on threat of their assistance be-
ing withheld." This, however, was but the passion of
the moment, for, from the correspondence which de-
scribes this ebullition of the queen's feelings, we learn
that, in a subsequent interview with Spinola, she ex-

* Card. Pafilio's letter in Rinuccini's Corresp., 450.
pressed her entire confidence in the firmness and prudence of the nuncio, and his devotion to the royal cause.

Anticipating the application which would be made on him for the monies which he had brought from Rome, the nuncio stated, that seeing the straits to which the king had been reduced, the sums he had in his possession could be of little use, and as to any agreement between the king and the parliament, Ireland had little to fear from their combined efforts, as she had carried on a war against Elizabeth, in the time of Hugh O'Neill, for sixteen years, independent of the sympathy with which she was now regarded by the pope and the Catholic powers. It would appear, moreover, that he was in concert with the English Catholics, who, declaring their inability to be of any use to his majesty, pointed to the effective aid of the Irish Catholics, who, if seconded in their demand, would be ready at the shortest notice to turn all their energies against the parliament. Meantime letters from Rome chided him for his delay in the French capital, and Scarampi had written from Ireland to urge his departure. The nuncio, for the last time, sent Spinola to wait on the queen to renew his avowals of attachment to her cause, and that of her consort, and with this mutual interchange of compliments terminated their negotiations.

The instructions which he had received on leaving Rome urged him to proceed to Ireland with all possible expedition, and strictly forbade him to hold any unnecessary intercourse with the English Catholics at the queen's court, who, far from sympathising with the Irish were more inclined to lament any triumph to their arms, as they were afraid that they would, in consequence, be deprived of those places of dignity and emolument in that kingdom, which were the natural accompaniment of superiority and command.

Cardinal Mazarin was most anxious to detain him.

* See his life by Mitchell, one of the most beautiful pieces of biography which we possess.

† Mazarin commenced his career as a soldier, and commanded in the Vaetline for the Pope. His character is variously estimated. The Spaniards hated him, and Corneille immortalized him. He was a liberal patron of the arts, and introduced the opera in France. He was made Cardinal in 1642.
and it was not till after repeated commands that the nuncio resolved to leave Paris, after having been there fully three months. He had not been long in France when he received a promise from the Duke de Ventadour of 100,000 dollars for the purposes of the war in Ireland, but the news of the king's reverses changed his intention. Having got from Mazarin the sum of 25,000 livres, that is to say, 5,000 for the purchase of some vessels, and 20,000 as a present, he left Paris for Rochelle, where he arrived about the beginning of October. On his arrival at Rochelle he was met by Galfrid Baron, who brought him letters from the Earl of Glamorgan informing him that the confederates anxiously awaited his arrival, as they stood in need of the military stores which he was to bring them. This determined him to make all the necessary arrangements for the voyage. There seems to have been some misunderstanding as to the means of transport into Ireland, for, Hartegan informed the nuncio that Cardinal Mazarin had promised to place four ships at his disposal to serve as a convoy for himself and the supplies; whereas, when application was made, he learned to his mortification, that there was but one ship in the harbour, which would require at least 1,000 dollars and six weeks to make her ready for sea.

To suppose that Cardinal Mazarin was not influenced by some sinister motive on this occasion, would be to differ presumptuously from those who have written concerning the character of this remarkable man. He must evidently have looked with a jealous eye on any enterprise which tended to involve the affairs of Charles I., whose queen had all the sympathy of the French court. It is likely, too, that he had formed a hasty notion of the confederates, and apprehended that they meant to throw off their allegiance to the crown of England. The man "who could listen to the murmurs of the people, as one listens on the shore to the noise of the waves of the sea,"* was not much affected by the progress of events in Ireland; it afforded too small a field for the finesse of the great minister, who, whether riding in the trenches of

* President Henault.
Casal* with bullets whistling about him, or returning to power, after having had a price set on his head, proved himself to be the greatest politician of the day. One thing, however, is certain, that Richlieu would have taken a livelier interest in the affairs of Ireland.

The French admiral, the Duke de Brezé, then in the harbour was applied to for a ship, but as he had no orders to furnish one, it was not till considerable time had elapsed that Rinuccini succeeded in purchasing the San Pietro, a frigate of twenty-six guns. His retinue consisted of twenty-six Italians together with a number of Irish officers, and the secretary Belling. On board the frigate he embarked the following supplies:—2,000 muskets, 2,000 cartouch belts, 4,000 swords, 2,000 pike-heads, 400 brace of pistols, 20,000 lbs of powder, with match, shot, &c. &c.†

The money, which was considerable, he took with him in Spanish gold. Wadding's generosity had not abated, and he furnished 36,000 dollars, in addition to the sum contributed by Pope Innocent X. He weighed anchor about the middle of October, and sailed from St. Martin, in the Isle de Rhé. The two first days of the voyage were prosperous, for they met no interruption, but on the third they were alarmed by the appearance of a flotilla, which was evidently in pursuit. The experienced eyes of the sailors pronounced them to be the parliament's ships, under the command of one Plunket, whom Belling calls "a noted scourge."‡ Two of the squadron soon made sail in the wake of the San Pietro, whereon the Irishmen cast loose the guns and cleared the deck for action; having sent the non-combatants out of the way into the forepart of the ship. The nuncio meanwhile was sick in his berth when word was brought him that one of the pursuing vessels had dropped

* Bussy Memoirs.
† During his sojourn at Paris the nuncio was allowed by the Pope 3,000 dollars for the maintenance of himself and suite. On his arrival in Ireland, 200 dollars a month were assigned him, but he expended during his stay 15,800 dollars, of his own private income. His biographer (Alaazzi) remarks that this was a great outlay considering the low rate at which all the necessaries of life were then to be had in Ireland; a fact which is made still more clear by the letter of the nuncio's confessor, Arcamoni, in the Appendix to this vol.
‡ Narrative of the War.
astern; but to his horror, they informed him that the larger vessel of the two was still making all sail on his frigate. The chase continued for more than a hundred miles, and an hour before sunset the San Pietro lost sight of her pursuer. In a transport of jubilee, the Italians sang a hymn of thanksgiving, and the nuncio expressed his joy that none had suffered, as he sickened at the thought of seeing the blood of his Irish sailors staining his decks. He attributed his delivery from Plunket to a manifest interposition of Divine Providence, and pronounced it miraculous; but he must have subsequently learned that the escape of his pursuer was still far more wonderful, for Plunket's cooking-room had caught fire, and being alarmed for his magazine, he was obliged to shorten sail, and thus suffer the San Pietro to distance him. On that night, owing to the darkness of the weather they did not know their bearings, though they had passed Cape Clear, but on the following day they were visited by birds which gave them notice of their approach to the coast; and when the haze which concealed the land from their view had disappeared, they found themselves in the Bay of Kenmare, where they dropped anchor on the 21st of October. Next day the nuncio came on shore, and his first abode on the Irish soil was in the hut of a shepherd, where he celebrated mass on the feast of St. Mabilia, surrounded by the peasantry, whom the unusual sight of a dignitary from the Vatican, and his Italian retinue, had brought down from the fastnesses of the mountains.

Having rested for some time, and taken ashore all the arms and equipments at Ardtully, he proceeded on a rude litter towards Macroom, the frigate having been sent round to Duncannon. The supreme council on intelligence of his arrival, despatched some troops of cavalry to escort him through Inchquin's quarters; and at Dromsecane, † on the Blackwater, he was joined by Richard Butler, a Catholic, though brother to the Marquess of Ormond, Lord Netterville, and others. From Dromsecane they continued their route through

† A strong castle of the O'Keeffe's, about fourteen miles from Macroom.
Kilmallock to Limerick. Here, in the cathedral, he celebrated the obsequies of Malachy, archbishop of Tuam, and was received with generous hospitality by the municipal authorities. At the door of the cathedral the bishop of Limerick presented him with the mitre, saying:—"Ab Ecclesia apostolica hac recepi, nunc eidem ecclesiæ prompte restituuo." His instructions charged him to proceed to Kilkenny without delay, and having congratulated the people of Limerick on their recent acknowledgment of the confederate government, he journeyed slowly to his destination, and on the 12th of November rested at a village, distant three miles from Kilkenny.

The confederates had resolved to receive him with every demonstration of respect, and deputed four gentlemen, accompanied by the secretary Belling, to bid him welcome. Next morning, having ascended his litter, surrounded by thousands of the gentry and peasantry, together with a vast concourse from the neighbouring counties, he set out for the city. Conspicuous amongst this vast assemblage was a troop of fifty students on horseback, armed with pistols, the leader of whom, in a distinguished costume, and wearing a crown of laurel, recited some Latin verses, and conveyed to him the compliments and congratulations of his companions.

At a short distance from the gate he descended from the litter, and having put on the cape and pontifical hat, the insignia of his office, he mounted a horse caparisoned for the occasion. The secular and regular clergy had assembled in the church of St. Patrick, close by the gate, and when it was announced that the nuncio was in readiness, they advanced into the city in processional array, preceded by the standard-bearers of their respective orders.†

* The site of this church may still be traced in the graveyard adjoining the modern parochial church of St. Patrick, outside the city wall.
† That Ireland was rich in ecclesiastical furniture is quite evident from the splendid collection in the Royal Irish Academy. Pagin, in his grand work on Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, p. 77, speaks "of a cope of cloth of gold of the fifteenth century, with excellent orphreys, and hood of needle-work," which was discovered not long ago in the cathedral of Waterford. It is now in England. One of the banners probably carried in the procession, has been preserved by a venerable gentleman in Kilkenny, who is as learned in the antiquities of his native city, as he is affable and kind.—I mean Mr. B. Scott.
Under the old arch, called St. Patrick's gate, he was met by the vicar-general of the diocese of Ossory and the magistrates of the city and county, who joined in the procession. A canopy was held over him by some citizens, who remained bare-headed, although the rain descended in torrents. The streets were lined by regiments of infantry, and the bells of the Black Abbey and the church of St. Francis pealed a gladsome chime.

In the heart of the city, and nearly opposite to the ancient residence of the Roth family, there stood a cross of beautiful workmanship and great antiquity. Here the nuncio halted, while a young student pronounced an appropriate oration in the Latin tongue. The procession then moved on till it ascended the gentle eminence on which the splendid old fane, sacred to St. Canice, is erected. At the grand entrance he was received by the venerable Bishop of Ossory, whose feebleness prevented him walking in the procession. After mutual salutations, the bishop handed him the aspersorium and incense, and then both entered the cathedral, which, even in the palmiest days of Catholicity, had never held within its precincts a more solemn or gorgeous assemblage. The nuncio ascended the steps of the grand altar, intonated the "Te Deum," which was caught up by a thousand voices, till crypt and chancel resounded with the psalmody, and when it ceased he pronounced a blessing on the immense multitude which crowded the aisles and nave. Three years before the occurrences here narrated, David, Bishop of Ossory, had erected a monument to commemorate the restoration of St. Canice's cathedral to the ancient worship, and it needs no flight of fancy to suppose that on this memorable occasion he may have echoed the words of the canticle, "Now dismiss thy servant, because my eyes have seen thy salvation, and the glory of thy people, Israel." These ceremonies concluded, he retired for awhile to the residence prepared for him in the city, and shortly afterwards was waited on by General Preston and Lord Muskerry. He then proceeded on foot to visit Lord Mountgarret, the presi-

* This cross was barbarously thrown down in the year 1771. It bore date MCCC. Its site is now occupied by a pump.
dent of the assembly. The reception took place in the castle. At the foot of the grand staircase he was met by Thomas Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, and Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel. At the end of the great gallery Lord Mountgarret was seated, waiting his arrival, and when the nuncio approached, he got up from his chair, without moving a single inch in advance. The seat designed for Rinuccini was of damask and gold, with a little more ornament than that occupied by the president. He tells us that it was placed on the right of Mountgarret's, but yet so situated that it looked rather to the left, and thus made it a matter of doubt as to the personage who held the most central position. The nuncio immediately addressed the president in Latin, and declared that the object of his mission was to sustain the king, then so perilously circumstanced; but, above all, to rescue from pains and penalties the people of Ireland, and to assist them in securing the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion, and the restoration of the churches and church property, of which fraud and violence had so long deprived their rightful inheritors. He implored those who heard him to banish from their minds the insinuations of some who were artfully endeavouring to misrepresent the motives of the pope in sending him, and concluded his remarks by solemnly asseverating† that, far from wishing to do injury to King Charles, it was his earnest anxiety to prop up his tottering throne. Heber MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, to whom Rinuccini had been specially confided by the holy see, followed the nuncio in a spirited appeal, and echoed the sentiments to which the papal minister had given utterance. After mutual compliments, the assembly broke up, and the nuncio retired to his residence, accompanied by Preston, Muskerry, and the troops. The cold formality of Mountgarret did not escape his observation, for, in writing to his court, he mentions that, as he retired from the gallery, the president never

* Little now remains of the castle as it was in Rinuccini's time, save the towers at the grand entrance. The gallery must have been splendid that elicited the praise of a man who had seen the Vatican and Medician palaces.

† "In verbo principis," says Callaghan, in Vindict. Hib., was his favorite expression.
moved an inch from his place. But the supreme council soon after did not fail to impress on the pope's mind the advantages the people of Ireland might derive from his prudence and counsels. The following is their letter:—

"Most Holy Father—One of the first acts of your pontificate has been to send to us a nuncio from your court, in the person of John Baptist, Archbishop of Fermo, and we hasten to return our acknowledgments of the paternal solicitude thus shown us. If we have been unable to receive so exalted a personage with that pomp and splendour which the occasion called for, we humbly pray that the joy and overflow of heart with which we have hailed his advent, may make amends. Grateful for the supplies which the nuncio has brought us from you, we earnestly implore that your paternal bounty may not be withdrawn till the most Holy Innocent shall have beheld the Catholic religion flourishing in our island, and the enemies of our faith vanquished by the potent arm of the God of hosts."

Now, it so happened that Muskerry, Plunket, and the other commissioners did not return from Dublin till the 12th of November, the day before Rinuccini's entry into Kilkenny. That their chagrin must have been great, cannot be questioned, for they learned from the events which had transpired that the "old Irish" in the assembly would be animated by more hostile feelings to their projects by the interference and influence of the nuncio. Muskerry, and those of his party, had toiled with unwearied exertions all the summer to conclude the peace, and were willing to sign it, without obliging Ormond to any concession of a religious nature, save such as the king might be pleased to grant as a "grace" when triumphant over his enemies. But, without pausing to examine the prudence of this resolve, the "old Irish" had begun to tire of begging favours and immunities, when they felt themselves in a position to insist on them as rights. Elated by the magnificent promises of the nuncio, they looked beyond the seas for sympathy and support. The Head of the Church, it was expected, would use all his influence to sustain them. The impassioned oratory of the Italian conjured up prospects as bright as

ever passed before the mental vision of Celtic bard. In the recesses of his domicile bishops listened to his plans; and the enthusiastic Heber of Clogher already fancied that he saw the "thieving Scot" driven out of Ulidia, and the temples and possessions of the Catholics restored to their rightful owners. It was no wonder that estrangement should soon have grown up between the parties who, long before now, were mutually opposed. Those who adopted the nuncio's views bitterly regretted that all that Rinuccini dreamed of had not been accomplished before his coming. Surely, thought they, if craft and intrigue had not marred our progress, all might have been realised. Fond enthusiasts! brave hearts! grand and simple souls! little did ye then think of the storm which was soon to burst on the land and destroy your brightest hopes! As in every other feud, the parties who were now to work the ruin of the country began to be recognised by the names of their leaders. Those who were ready to swear by Rinuccini, were denounced Nuncioists; and those who placed reliance on the lord lieutenant, were designated Ormondists. The solemn vow recorded at Knockcrofty, to merge all divisions in the struggle for fatherland, was forgotten or unheeded; and the demon strife had come from the abyss to exercise his power. Alas! for those who dream of nationality with hate and dissension rankling in their hearts!

To add to the embarrassment of the Ormondist party, they were now informed that the nuncio, during his sojourn in Paris, had received a memorial from Rome, which had been transmitted thither from the English Catholics, representing their grievances, and desiring that the Irish would insert among the articles of the peace, about which they were treating with the king, some conditions in favour of the Catholics of England; and that the peace be concluded upon such terms as might secure the Irish in their own country, and at the same time enable them to come to his majesty's assistance in England with an army, which should be joined by the English Catholics. The conditions laid down in this memorial were the following; and they were regarded as the most effectual:

I. That the Irish do not come to England with less
than 10,000 or 12,000 men; that they may subsist of themselves without any fear of being cut off even by those English Protestants who serve under his majesty.

II. That two seaport garrisons be delivered up to them.

III. That the general and all the officers be named by the Irish.

IV. That the general be subject only to the immediate orders of the king.

V. That this army be kept together in a body, and not obliged to go upon any particular service, except by order from the general and council of war.

VI. That the English Catholics, by the king's command and authority, have a power of meeting in a body, and with a corps of horse, answerable to the Irish foot, forming one army.

VII. That the Catholic general of this body of English horse be such a man as shall not be distrusted by the Irish, but approved of by the Irish general.

As the necessary consequence of those conditions, the English Catholics had pledged themselves that nothing should be omitted which was essential and necessary to the complete establishment of the Catholic religion in Ireland.

* This subject afforded ample room for discussion in the assembly, and a considerable time was spent by the Ormandists and the party opposed to them in debating on the practicability of such proceedings.

But, for the elucidation of this matter, it is necessary that we know in what relation Glamorgan stood to the king and the Irish people. He was a Catholic, and son of the Marquess of Worcester; for the king he entertained the most chivalrous devotion, and had already advanced, in conjunction with his father, £200,000 towards the maintenance of the royal cause. He was married to Margaret O'Brien, daughter of Henry Earl of Thomond; and his religion and connexions gave the king good reason to believe that his influence in Ireland should be considerable. As it has been already stated, his majesty was well convinced that Ormond would make no terms with the confederates which they would

* Glamorgan's Transactions, pp. 41, 42, 43.
regard as satisfactory. He, therefore, entrusted Glamorgan with a commission to levy men, coin money, and to use the revenues of the crown for their support. He gave a warrant to him to concede to the Catholics such terms as it was not prudent for the king or Ormond openly to make, and a solemn pledge to ratify whatever engagements he (Glamorgan) might conclude. He also furnished him with letters to the pope, the nuncio, and the Catholic princes from whom he expected aid. When the nuncio arrived in Kilkenny, the earl produced the commission, empowering him to treat with the confederates. This letter, dated April 30, 1645, expressed the king's hope "That the work commenced by the late pope, in behalf of the Irish Catholics, would have a happy accomplishment in the hands of his present minister, aided by the assistance of his dear cousin (Glamorgan), with whom he was at liberty to make whatever terms he thought best, all of which he (the king) would ratify on Glamorgan's return." He informed the nuncio "that an acquaintance of twenty years had confirmed his love and respect for Glamorgan, and that whatsoever he promised in his name, he would feel himself obliged to ratify as the price of the favours he received." "Depend, therefore, on him," concludes this authentic document, "but on the understanding that the whole matter is to be kept strictly secret, since you see that necessity demands silence, this being the first document which we have ever addressed to any Papal minister, but hoping that it is not to be the last. Signed, Charles R., from our court of Oxford, 30th of April, 1645."—Nor less curious is the warrant which Glamorgan produced to the nuncio and the council, concerning the authenticity of which document there cannot be any doubt:

"CHARLES R.

"Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, Edward Earl of Glamorgan, greeting. We, reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our great seal to all intents and purposes) authorise and give you
power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholics in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity anything be to be condescended unto, wherein our lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at the present publicly to own; and, therefore, we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant with all possible secrecy; and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself upon such valuable considerations as you in your judgment shall deem fit, we promise in the word of a king and a Christian to ratify and perform the same, that shall be granted by you, and under your hand and seal, the said confederate Catholics having, by their supplies, testified their zeal to our service: and this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant."

But all these concessions depended on the landing of the troops in England; nor was there a single favour to be conceded unless this agreement was fully carried out.

Along with the foregoing documents, which Glamorgan produced, he exhibited to the nuncio another in the king's hand, addressed to "Our most Holy Father, Innocent X." With such assurances, as to political advantages on the one side, and the concessions made in behalf of the Catholic religion on the other, Rinuccini found it impolitic to resist the inclination of the confederates for the conclusion of peace, yet he seems all through to have had some misgivings as to the sincerity of the king, and, in a private interview with Glamorgan, he got a solemn assurance that, when the term of Ormond's vice-royalty had expired, his successor should be a Catholic; and that the Catholic bishops should be entitled, as soon as a free parliament could be assembled, to sit as spiritual peers, and take part in all matters concerning the well-being of the kingdom. Glamorgan had no difficulty in satisfying the nuncio on all these particulars, provided the negotiation was kept strictly secret till the king, relieved from his present embarrassments, might be at liberty to confirm all the articles in the light of day. The nuncio, not fully satisfied with the solemn promises of Glamorgan, urged that some contingency, such as shipwreck, or the death of Glamorgan himself, might prevent the transmission of the troops, in which case the king would not be bound by a promise which
was purely conditional. He insisted, moreover, that in case the English Catholics did not assist the Irish levies, a failure of the enterprise might result; but Glamorgan, overruling all these considerations, bound himself by oath, in the presence of the nuncio, that the 10,000 Irish infantry, for which he stipulated, should not strike a blow before the treaty had received the royal signature; and in case the king might withhold his consent, the troops should be put to sea, and landed again in Ireland. But it was useless to continue in opposition to the underhand negotiation carried on by the abettors of the peace. Mountgarret and Muskerry urged the necessity of speedily sending the succours; and Doctor Leyburn, on the part of the queen, charged the Irish people with cruelty in insisting on too much, and sought to convince them that a bare toleration of their religion was as much as they might reasonably demand from a king so straitened as was his Majesty Charles the First. Apprehensive of some failure of Glamorgan's treaty, the nuncio had gained over nine bishops, who signed a protest against any arrangement with Ormond or the king, which did not fully guarantee the maintenance of the Catholic religion; and this was to be kept in reserve, and afterwards produced as occasion might require. This precaution was necessary, inasmuch as he saw that no power of persuasion could moderate the desire of Ormond's adherents for a peace, and more particularly as they were now enabled to point to the letters exhibited by Glamorgan, in which Charles promised, on the word of a king and a Christian, to make good, to all intents and purposes, whatever he should perform. "And although you exceed," said his majesty, "what law can warrant, or any powers of ours extend to, as not knowing what you have need of, yet it being for our service, we oblige ourself not only to give you our pardon, but to maintain the same with all our might and power."

A considerable time had been spent in the negotiations with Glamorgan, and it was not till near the close of December that he set out for Dublin, accompanied by two commissioners from the supreme council, to treat with Ormond on the levying of troops, and their trans-

* Vide Lingard, in Appendix to vol. x.
mission to England. The king's condition was every
day becoming worse, and Chester, the only city by which
he could maintain a communication with Ireland, was
besieged by the parliament army. Glamorgan was
aware of the urgent necessity of immediately relieving
that place, and confidently calculated on being furnished
with three thousand infantry, as an instalment of the
ten for which he had stipulated in the secret treaty.
Meanwhile the nuncio turned his thoughts to the
state of Ireland. He did not hesitate to tell the supreme
council that the time which had been consumed in
armistices and cessations with Ormond, had been pro-
ductive of the most disastrous results. The popular
ardour was beginning to cool, and gave their enemies
leisure to recruit their forces and strengthen the
fortresses which had fallen into their hands. Peace or no
peace, he had determined to make a vigorous attack on
the Scotch, in Ulster. Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale
were garrisoned by the troops of Murrogh O'Brien,
Lord Inchiquin. Sligo had been recently reduced by
the Scotch, which was of the greatest advantage to
them, inasmuch as it was favourably situated for com-
municating with Ulster and Scotland. In Ulster, the
Scots, under Munroe, held nearly all the principal
places, and extended their incursions to the very borders
of Leinster, which were but feebly protected by the
troops under Preston. The success of Munroe in
Ulster was attributable in a great measure to a want
of unanimity in its generals, as there was a dispute
between Owen O'Neill and his kinsman Sir Phelim, on
the question of precedence. Thus were the keys of
three provinces in the hands of the avowed enemies of
the Catholics, who, by temporising policy and subser-
viency to Ormond, were made to forget the value of the
adage, "Aid yourselves, and God will aid you."
Rinuccini's views were those of an uncompromising
prelate. He had learned to appreciate the impulsiveness
of the true Irish character, and determined to convince
the confederates that they had within their own body
all the materials which were required to insure success.
He set his mind on one grand object, the freedom of
the church, in possession of all her rights and dignities,
and the emancipation of the Catholic people from the
degradation to which English imperialism had con-
demned them. The churches, which the piety of
Catholic lords and chieftains had erected, he determined
to secure to the rightful inheritors. His mind and
feelings recoiled from the idea of a people worshipping
in crypts and catacombs. He abhorred the notion of a
priest or bishop performing a sacred rite as though it
were a felony; and, spite the wily artifices of Ormond
and his faction, he resolved to teach the people of
Ireland that they were not to remain mere dependants
on English bounty, when a stern resolve might win for
them the privileges of freemen. His estimate of the
Irish character was correct and exalted. He formed
it in the proper quarter. On the Janiculum at Rome
stands the Franciscan convent of St. Peter; many an
hour did he spend there listening to Wadding, as he
narrated the history of his own dear land—the per-
escutions of her children, and their constancy to the
Catholic faith. What place more fitted for the recital?
On that same hill, Tasso, who sung of her rugged war-
rriors marching to Palestine, oft reposed; and within
the church that crowns its summit was the tomb of
Hugh O'Neill, whereon the history of Erin's chivalry
may be said to have epitomized.*

It was, therefore, with evident and cogent reason that
he regarded the flattering attention of the modern Irish
as the homage that is paid to the treasurer of a prince,
whilst he received the spontaneous and heartfelt devo-
tedness of the ancient race as a manifest declaration of
their love for the religion of which he was a minister,
and one in whom they expected to find a deliverer from
penalties and persecutions. And why should he not
cherish an ardent admiration for the representatives
of the old Celtic tribes, and a cordial abhorrence for the
sickly policy of the Catholics of the Pale? Ormond had
charmed, as never did any magician, "with spell and
philters,"† these ductile men and silken lords, who were

* All these Inscriptions are to be found in "Rome Ancient and
Modern," by Dr. Donovan.
† Unkind Deserter.
willing to make terms with him which a noble and persecuted race scorned to accept. Their religion was a dearer consideration than their plundered homes and confiscated estates. The war which they had waged was in the cause of that religion, for those whom they had met foot to foot in many a bloody field had vowed its destruction; and, now that a treacherous king and his faithful lieutenant were driven to the alternative of throwing themselves on the protection of that people, had they not an incontrovertible right to seek—nay, to demand—terms which would secure and guarantee the exercise of their religion, unfettered by those penal enactments which were worthy the ministers of a Nero or Domitian?

Having maturely considered the state of the country and its immediate exigencies, the nuncio concluded that a bold and unanimous effort would, in one campaign, drive the enemy out of the three provinces before the parliamentary faction could send troops to Ireland. He, therefore, caused all the arms and ammunition which he brought with him to be transported to Kilkenny. Meanwhile the party in the interest of Ormond busied themselves in nominating bishops to some of the vacant sees, and coadjutors to those prelates who, by reason of age or infirmity, were unequal to the episcopal duties. Six of those named by them were men who were the creatures of their masters, and in the same relation to them that Walsh was to Ormond, "what the shadow is to the substance."* But the nuncio firmly denied that any power was vested in them to nominate the bishops or their coadjutors; and in vindicating this grand principle, he taught the Irish Catholics that their hierarchy could never be more pure and independent than when it was free from the patronage and control of secular dominion. But expectation was on tiptoe, and, now that the year 1645 had drawn to a close, the confederates anxiously awaited intelligence from Ormond and Glamorgan.

* Lives of Irish Writers.
CHAPTER VI.

It was about the 1st of January, 1646, that the two commissioners who had accompanied Glamorgan returned in hot haste from Dublin to Kilkenny. Few were prepared for the intelligence which they brought. On St. Stephen's day, about dinner hour, Glamorgan had been arrested by the order of Ormond, and committed a close prisoner to the castle on a charge of high treason. Had the fleet of the parliament anchored in the bay, it could not have caused greater alarm than that which was feigned by Ormond and Digby on this occasion. The gates of the city were closed, and none were permitted to depart, save the confederate commissioners. They, too, had been brought to the castle; and Digby, in the presence of Ormond, informed them that they had reason to congratulate themselves on their escape from the severities which were in store for the unfortunate earl. "You must know," said he, "that a document has lately come into my hands, which was found on the person of Malachy, Archbishop of Tuam, who was slain at Sligo by the Scots. This paper, which is signed by the Archbishop of Cashel, certifying that it is a true copy, is the following:—

"Whereas much time hath been spent in meetings and debates betwixt his Excellencie Ja. Lord Marquess of Ormond, lord lieutenant and general governor of his majesties kingdome of Ireland, commissioner to his most excellent majesty, Charles, by the grace of God, king of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, &c., for the

* A copy of all the papers had been found on the person of the Archbishop of Tuam, when killed at Sligo by the Scots. It was forwarded to England, and published by order of the parliament, under the title of "The Earl of Glamorgan's Negotiations and Colourable Commitment in Ireland." Sir Thomas Fairfax was the man who seized the captain of the ship in which the papers had been sent. The captain was a native of Waterford, and was arrested at Padstow, in Cornwall.—V. Appendix.
treading and concluding of a peace in the said kingdom of his majesties humble and loyall subjects, the confederate Roman Catholiques of the said kingdom of Ireland, of the one part, and the Right Honourable Donnog, Lord Viscount Muskery, and other commissioners deputed and authorized by the said confederate Roman Catholique subjects, of the other part; and thereupon many difficulties did arise, by occasion whereof, sundry matters of great weight and consequence necessarily requisite to be condescended unto by his majesties said commissioner, for the safety of the said confederate Roman Catholiques were not hitherto agreed upon, which retarded, and doth as yet retard the conclusion of a firm peace and settlement in the said kingdom. And whereas the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Glamorgan, is intrusted and authorized by his most excellent majesty to grant and insure to the said confederate Roman Catholique subjects farther graces and favours which the said lord lieutenant did not, as yet, in that latitude as they expected, grant unto them. And the said earl having seriously considered of all matters, and due circumstances of the great affairs now in agitation, which is the peace and quiet of the said kingdom, and the importance thereof in order to his majesties service, and in relation to a peace and settlement in his other kingdoms, and hereupon the place having scene the ardent desire of the said Catholiques to assist his majestie against all that doe, or shall oppose his royall right or monarchique government, and having discerned the alacrity and cheerfulness of the said Roman Catholiques to embrace honourable conditions of peace, which may preserve their religion, and other just interests; in pursuance thereof in the twentieth of his reign, granted unto the said Earle of Glamorgan, the tenour whereof is as followeth, viz. CHARLES R.—Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, Edward Earle of Glamorgan, greeting. Wee, reposing great and especiall trust and confidence in your approved wisdome and fidelity, doe by these (as firmly as under our great seal, to all intents and purpose) authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Ca-
tholiques in our kingdome of Ireland, if upon necessi-
ty anything be to be condescended unto, wherein our lor-
lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for u-
at this present publicly to owne, and therefore we cha-
you to proceed according to this our warrant, with al-
possible seeceries; and for whatsoever you shall en-
yourself, uppon such valuable considerations, as you in-
your judgment shall deeme fit, we promise in the war-
of a king and a Christian, to ratifie and performe the-
same that shall be granted by you, and under your ha-
and seal, the said confederate Catholiques having by-
their supplyes testified their zeal to our service: and-
this shall bee in each particular to you a sufficient wa-
rant. Given at our court at Oxon, under our signet-
and royall signature, the twelth day of March, in the-
twentieth year of our reigne, 1644. To our right truly-
and well-beloved cousin, Edward Earle of Glamog-
It is therefore granted, accorded, and agreed, by and-
between the said Earle of Glamorgan, for and on the-
behalf of his most excellent majesty, his heirs and suc-
cessors on the one part, and the Right Honourable-
Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, lord president of-
the supreme council of the said confederate Catholiques-
and the said Donnogh, Lord Viscount Muskery, Alex-
Mac Donnell, and Nicholas Plunket, Esquires; Sir-
Robert Talbot, Baronet; Dermid O'Brian, Jo. Dillon-
Patr. Darcy, and Jeffrey Browne, Esquires; commis-
sioners in that behalf appointed, by the said confederate-
Roman Catholique subjects of Ireland, for and in the-
behalf of the said confederate Roman Catholiques of the-
other part, in manner following, that is to say:

"That an act shall be passed in the next parliament-
to be held in this kingdome; the tenour and purport-
whereof shall be as followeth, viz. An act for the re-
lief of his majesties Catholique subjects of his highnes-
se kingdome of Ireland. Whereas by an act made in par-
liament held in Dublin, in the second year of the reign-
of the late Queene Elizabeth, intituled, an act for re-
storing to the crown the antient jurisdiction over the-
state ecclesiasticall and spirituall, and abolish all for-
raigne power repugnant to the same, and by another-
statute made in the said last mentioned parliament, inti-
tuled, an act for the uniformity of common prayer and
service in the church, and the administration of the sac-
craments, sundry mulcts, penalties, restraints, and in-
capacities, are and have been laid upon the professors of
the Roman Catholique religion in this kingdom, in and
for, and concerning the use, profession, and exercise of
their religion, and their functions therein, to the great
prejudice, trouble, and disquiet of the Roman Catholiques
in their liberties and estates, to the general disturbance
of the whole kingdom; for remedy whereof, and for
the better feeling, increase, and continuance of the
peace, unity, and tranquillity of this kingdom of Ire-
land, his majesty at the humble suit and request of the
lords and commons in this present parliament assembled,
is graciously pleased, that it may be enacted, and bee
it enacted by the kings most excellent majesty, the lords
spirituall and temporall, and commons in this present
parliament assembled, and by authority of the same,
that from, of, and after the first day of this session of
parliament, it shall and may be lawfull to, and for all
the professors of the Roman Catholique religion, of
what degree, condition or quality soever, to have and
enjoy the free and publike exercise and profession of the
said Roman Catholique religion, and of their severall
and respective functions therein, without incurring any
mulct and penalty whatsoever, or being subject to any
restraint or incapacity concerning the same, any article,
clause, sentence, or provision in the said last mentioned
act of parliament, or in any other act or acts of parlia-
ment, ordinances, law or usage to the contrary in any-
wise notwithstanding. And be it also further enacted,
that neither the said statutes, or any other statute, act,
or ordinance heretofore made in your majesties raigne,
or in any the raigne of any of your highnesse most noble
progenitors or ancestors, and now of force in this king-
dome, nor all, nor any branch, article, clause, and sen-
tence in them, or any of them contained and expressed
shall be of force and validity in this realme, to extend
to be construed or adjudged to extend in anywise to en-
quiet, prejudice, vexe or molest the professors of the
said Roman Catholique religion, in their persons, lands,
hereditaments, or goods, for anything, matter, or cause
whatsoever touching, and concerning the free and pub-
lique use, exercise and enjoying of their sayd religion,
function, and profession: And be it also further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid that your majesties Roman Catholique subjects in the said realme of Ireland from the first day of this session of parliament shall be and be taken, deemed, and adjudged capable of all offices of trust, and advancement, places, degrees, and dignities, and preferments whatsoever within your said realme of Ireland, any act, statute, usage or law, to the contrary notwithstanding. And that other acts shall be passed in the said parliament, according to the tenour of such agreement or concessions as herein are expressed, and that in the meantime the said Roman Catholique subjects, and every of them shall enjoy the full freedom, benefit, and advantage of the said agreement or concessions and of every of them.

"It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the said earle, for and on the behalfe of his majesty, his heirs and successors: that his Ex. the Lord Marques of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authorized by his majesty, shall not disturbe the professors of the Roman Catholique religion in their present possession, and continuance of the possession of their said churches, jurisdiction or any other the matters aforesaid in these articles agreed and consented unto by the said E. until his majesties pleasure be signified for confirming and publishing the grounds and agreements hereby articled for, and condiscended unto by the said earle. And the said earle of Glamorgam doth hereby ingage his majesties royll and publique faith unto all and singular the professors of the said Roman Catholique religion within the said kingdome of Ireland, for the due observance and performance of all and every the articles, grounds and clauses, herein contained, and the concessions herein mentioned to be performed to them.

"It is accorded and agreed that the publique faith of the kingdome shall be engaged unto the said earle by the said confederate Catholiques for sending 10,000 men to serve his majesty by order and publique declaration of the generall assembly now sitting: and the supreme counsell of the said confederate Catholiques shall engage themselves to bring the said number of men armed, the one-half with musketts, and the other half with pikes, unto any port within this realme within the elec
tion of the said earle, and at such time as he shall appoint to be by him shipped and transported to serve his majesty in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the said Earle of Glamorgan, as lord general of the said army: which army is to be kept together in one entire body, and all other the said officers and commanders of the said army are to be named by the supreme counsell of the said confederate Catholiques, or by such others as the several assembly of the said confederate Catholiques of this kingdome shall entrust therewith. In witness whereof the parties of these presents have hereunto enterchangeably put their hands and seals the 25th day of August, 1645.

"Copia vera collata fideliter originali,
Thomas Cashell, P. Partricius,
Waterford and Lismore."

Digby denied the authenticity of the document—and asserted that it was either forged or surreptitiously obtained. In a tone of indignation which subsequent events must prove to have been affected, and without a particle of sincerity, he told the commissioners that their offer of the subsidies, on the terms which they proposed, should be scornfully rejected. "And for my part," continued he, "sooner than counsel his majesty to accept your assistance on the terms which you have made with Glamorgan, I would sacrifice the lives of my wife and children. Go back to Kilkenny, and inform the president of the federative assembly that the Protestants of England would fling the king's person out at his window, if they believed it possible that he lent himself to such an undertaking."

When the commissioners returned with this strange intelligence, consternation and amaze seized every one who heard it. At the time there were but few of the confederates in the city; the rest were spending the Christmas holidays in their homes, and anxiously awaiting the result which, they fancied, would restore peace to Ireland, and leave them free to succour the unfortu-
nate king. The nuncio immediately summoned as many of them as he could collect, for the purpose of ascertaining what was to be done in such a critical emergency. All of them protested vehemently against the injury which was inflicted on Glamorgan; and some were of opinion that they ought to march on Dublin, and demand his liberation from an unjust imprisonment, which they regarded as an insult put upon themselves. Far from regarding Glamorgan's powers as fictitious, they avowed their belief that he had been commissioned by the king to treat with them, and that the conditions on which they had agreed could not but be pleasing to his majesty, as they stipulated nothing which they had not a right to demand. Five of the confederates waited on the nuncio in his own house, to learn from him what supplies he could give in case they came to a resolution to besiege Dublin (an enterprise which he anxiously desired); but on hearing from him that he could not give an exact account of the money till his agent, Invernini, had returned from Flanders, where he was sent to purchase some frigates, their ardour began to cool. Mountgarret and Muskerry gave a different version of the arrest, and, in their overweening estimate of Ormond's probity, sought to screen him from any suspicion which might reflect on his honour and loyalty. But, notwithstanding the palliation which they offered for the conduct of the lord lieutenant, a great number of the confederates were for active measures, and were fully satisfied with the answer they subsequently received from the nuncio, who asserted that at the time he could take upon himself the expenses that might be incurred by a campaign in any one of the provinces, if they could assure him that it would tend to bring about a peace on the conditions which they had already made.

Nothing could be more acceptable to the prelates and people than this proposal. They had long since lost all respect for the promises of Ormond; but that section of the confederacy which called itself the Ormondist party, fearing that they might — the involved in a war, laboured against the popular feeling, and pressed their resolution to have the whole matter submitted to the general assembly.

This resolution had not the concurrence of the
prelates or the people, for although the truce with Ormond could not expire till the 17th of January, they regarded the recent transactions as justificatory of an infraction. But there were, of the confederates, some who did not hesitate to avow that, in case of hostility, the marquess would make terms with the parliamentarians, and turn all his powers against the assembly. Whether this might have been the case or not, certain it is that if they had resolved to advance on Dublin, it could not have stood a siege of eight days, open as it was to attack, and the castle without means of holding out against a vigorous effort.* Meanwhile, the nuncio wrote to the English queen and Cardinal Mazarin, informing them of Glamorgan's arrest, and deploring the state of insecurity into which the artifices of Ormond had drawn the Irish people. In his letter to Henrietta Maria, he assured her of the devotedness of the Irish Catholics to the interests of the king, and lamented the interruption which the expedition under the command of Glamorgan had met, by reason of his incarceration.

According to their resolutions, the assembly of the confederate Catholics met at Kilkenny early in January. The prelates and clergy approached the meeting with a feeling against Ormond, which was only embittered by his recent proceedings; and, now that Glamorgan's peace had been set aside, they calculated on terms to be proposed by the lord lieutenant, to which their oath of association, and the sweat and toil of five years in the cause of Catholicity, forbade their assent.

Their first act was to write to Ormond threatening to suspend all further negotiation, if the Earl of Glamorgan was not immediately freed from arrest. The release of the prisoner, they said, was absolutely necessary for the relief of Chester. Three thousand men were ready to embark,† and only waited the transports; all was at a stand by his imprisonment, and further delay compromised the king. Sir Robert Talbot was

* At this moment Ormond was in concert with Munroe in the north, and in great want of provisions. The castle, which at that time was the principal magazine of Ireland, had not arms or food to resist a siege.—Rinuccini's Corresp.
† These troops had been drawn out of the armies in the three provinces.
sent by the confederates to second this letter, and on the 22nd of January an order was given for his being bailed upon £40,000 sterling, security, given by the Earl of Kildare and the Marquess of Clanricarde. He was also bound to appear before the board within thirty days after notice. Nor need it be wondered at that Ormond could thus dismiss the man whom he impeached of high treason, for he was a party to the collusion, and professed himself quite satisfied with Glamorgan's commission, which had subjoined to it a defeasance* or starting hole, stipulating that the king should be no further bound than he himself might think fit, after he had witnessed the efforts of the Irish Catholics in his favour. Nothing can be more clear than that the whole transaction was meant as a blind for the English Protestants, and a delusive hope for the Irish Catholics.

On his release, Glamorgan proceeded to Kilkenny, where he was received by the assembly. Far from resenting the treatment he had received from Ormond, he praised and extolled his conduct, declaring that, under the circumstances, he could not have acted otherwise.

But these professions were far from satisfying the nuncio and the prelates. They immediately concluded that there was something fraudulent in the transaction, and determined to receive any proposition, which Glamorgan might advance, with greater caution for the future.

The assembly was now unhappily divided into two parties. The clergy were obstinately opposed to any peace which did not secure the free and open exercise of the Catholic religion. Their oath of association, they asserted, bound them to identify the interests of religion with the support of the king: nor would they accede to any terms which did not stipulate the restoration of all the cathedral and parochial churches with the revenues which had been wrested from them by "the reformation."

On the other hand, the lords and gentlemen of the Pale insisted on a peace, which, committing this impor-

* The nuncio seems to have been ignorant of this defeasance.
ant question to the ulterior decision of the king, would leave them free to succour him immediately. This expedient, they contended, was a sufficient security for the church, and the only means of effectually uniting the Protestant loyalists with the Catholics. They contended, moreover, that the articles of Glamorgan's private treaty (provided it was a bona fide transaction) were ample, and in every respect satisfactory. But the recent imprisonment of the earl had shaken the confidence of the clergy, and they regarded the devotion of Muskerry and Mountgarret to the interests of Ormond as the necessary consequences of their connexion with him. So generally did this feeling of distrust pervade the popular class, that Emerus, bishop of Clogher, was obliged to write to the Ulster chieftains, rebuking their adherents for having come to a determination not to join the troops intended to be sent to Chester. *

The division which now reigned in the assembly was nothing less than the reflex of the popular feeling. The old nobility, slighted by Ormond, and excluded from any participation in the management of the treaty, had identified themselves with the clergy, and preferred all the horrors of civil war to what they termed an ignominious peace. The nobility and gentry of the Pale were chiefly concerned for the security of their temporalities and the toleration of their religion, beside which they had nothing in common with the indigenous population. So deeply rooted was the aversion of the latter to the king's representative, that they hailed the nuncio's arrival as that of a general who was to raise the pontifical standard, and lead them against Ormond and the puritans, whom they identified in hostility to their creed and country. † It required no trifling labour, on the part of the nuncio, to remove the erroneous impression under which they laboured. It was industriously circulated that he came to make the pope protector of Ireland; and deep as was their sense of loyalty, they required no stimulus to shake off a yoke which misrule and tyranny had rendered intolerable. False, however, as it was,

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* Vindiciae Hibernorum. p. 77.
† Amongst others, Clarendon.
the impression had been made, not by Rinuccini, but by his enemies; for any such overture on his part would have been in direct opposition to the court of Rome, which was far more interested for the unfortunate Charles than those who propagated the slander.

But the moderate party was determined to conclude with Ormond, and in order to swell the number of their votes, they caused ex officio members to be elected to the council. This informality, however, could not produce the desired effect, for the clergy were determined, if they could not prevent the publication, at least to have it postponed.

They contended that Glamorgan’s treaty was not to be depended on, as it contained no positive guarantee for its fulfilment. All his promises were dependent on two contingencies; the good will of a capricious monarch, and his ability to realize them. Moreover, Glamorgan could not now be regarded as an agent free to treat on behalf of his majesty, inasmuch as he was bound to appear before the council board within thirty days after notice, so that they knew not how soon he might be summoned, and be obliged to leave the treaty without the royal sanction.

On the other side it was as vehemently argued that the Marquess of Ormond’s powers to treat with the confederates, should terminate on the first of April, and in case they could not conclude with him, the king might revoke his commission, and thus deprive the country of such a valuable acquisition. They were empowered to state, on the lord lieutenant’s behalf, that if the treaty was concluded, he would join with the confederates in expelling the Puritans, and the Marquess of Clanricarde would come to their aid. A more urgent argument advanced by the Ormondist party was, that if, instead of a peace, they only made a truce, the soldiers who were destined to proceed to Chester, might refuse to march, fearing that on landing they might be treated as rebels by the royal troops.

But these arguments were strenuously combated by the clergy. They insisted that it was easy for the Marquess of Ormond to procure a renewal of his patent, nor could they conceive how the royal troops could treat the Irish soldiers as rebels, without injuring the-
royal cause. The three thousand who were now ready to march and embark, were but an instalment of the ten for which Glamorgan had stipulated, and it was not within the range of probabilities that they would be maltreated by the royalists, as such conduct on their part would clearly prevent the rest from setting foot in England or Wales.

Whilst these discussions were pending, an incident occurred which was calculated to confirm the clergy in their opposition to Ormond's peace. The nuncio produced letters from Rome which had been despatched early in November, informing him that a treaty was about to be concluded between the pope and the queen of England, on behalf of the Irish Catholics. Sir Kenelm Digby, the queen's agent at the papal court, had been fully empowered to make terms for the Irish Catholics, which having received the approval of the head of the church, could not but be highly advantageous and honourable. The treaty, which was so materially to benefit them, included the English Catholics, and should of course rouse them to more strenuous efforts in the king's cause. Glamorgan, in order to give more weight to this argument, asserted that whilst he was detained in custody, Digby informed him that in case the holy see advanced an annual sum for the king's support, his majesty would extend the benefit of the pontifical treaty to the English Catholics.

It would appear that the president of the confederates had been notified of the proceedings at Rome; but, as if attaching little or no importance to them, he did not divulge the intelligence to the council.

Muskerry and Mountgarret affected to believe that this negotiation was nothing but a fiction, and meant to delay the publication of the peace with Ormond. Ley-

* At this moment there was a memorial sent to the queen by Col. Fitzwilliam, praying her majesty to vouchsafe to prevail with his majesty to condescend to the just demands of his Irish subjects, the confederate Catholics, at least in private, and the colonel undertook to bring an army of 10,000 men or more into England. He required that he should be appointed commander-in-chief, &c., with a month's pay in advance for the men on their landing. The queen expressed her satisfaction, but the money was not forthcoming.—Borlase, 155.
† Fromnecini, 96.
burn* denounced it as non-existent, and was sharply rebuked by the nuncio, and the general feeling of the laity in the assembly was, that such a negotiation on the part of the queen consort, herself unauthorized, was nugatory and futile.

Notwithstanding this acrimonious controversy, the nuncio induced the bishops to sign an agreement, by which they bound themselves to accept no other terms but what were stipulated in the pontifical treaty. He at the same time caused Glamorgan to avow that he would not any further pursue his own private treaty, but insist on the new project as more conducive to the king’s welfare and that of the Catholics of Ireland. The argument of the nuncio was, that it did not become a true son of the church to put his own peace in competition with that approved by the pope; and he therefore should wait for the original from Rome.

On the 7th of February the nuncio addressed the council, extolling the queen’s negotiation with his holiness, who had already contributed a considerable sum to Sir Kenelm Digby for the maintenance of the king. He produced the heads of the treaty which had not as yet been signed, and expatiated on the good-will which the pope entertained for the English Catholics, evidencing the fact by the offer which his holiness had made of contributing annually one hundred thousand crowns for the maintenance of the royal troops, till the king, in a free parliament, would be able to repeal all the penal laws against the English Catholics. On the word of a prince he assured them that the conclusion of these articles might be hourly expected, as it was probable that Sir Kenelm Digby was already on his way.

But nothing could abate the eagerness of Lord

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*This Dr. Leyburn was an Englishman, and one of the queen’s chaplains. He may be said to have been the leader of a small faction of the clergy who opposed the nuncio’s views. This faction consisted of Walsh and a few others, whom the nuncio represents as preaching this slavish doctrine:—“The Jewish people were years without a Temple—Our Lord instituted the eucharistic sacrifice in a private domicile; why, therefore, should the Catholics insist on the restitution of their temples?” The real state of the case, however, was simply this:—Rinneccini was determined, in due time, to enforce the monastic rule in all its rigour, and erratic spirits like Walsh’s and Caron’s dreaded the observances to which it would have bound them. —V. Rin.
Ormond's adherents for the peace. For fully five days the assembly had more the appearance of a conclave concerned with abstract speculations, than real practical measures, and it was not till the fifteenth of the month that Glamorgan succeeded in appointing seven of the confederates to confer with the nuncio "for removing mistakes and reconciling differences."

On the 18th Glamorgan signed an instrument in which he ratified the articles between the queen and the pope, and undertook that they should be confirmed by the king, provided that, if the original articles of that treaty arrived by the first of May, the said instrument was to be void; and in the mean time to be kept secret, unless the political articles of the peace with the lord lieutenant should be published before. In order to put an end to the debate, a convention was signed on the eighteenth, between the nuncio and the seven deputies, whereby it was stipulated "to continue the cessation till May the 1st, in expectation of the original of the pope's treaty, and then the nuncio should ratify what he and Glamorgan would agree on, that there might be no further delay of an honourable peace." But this should be no obstruction to the confederates treating with Ormond about political matters, provided they came to no conclusion or publication of articles, nor proceeded to any alteration of the civil government, nor did anything to the prejudice of the transaction between Glamorgan and the nuncio."

Glamorgan, who was now more urgent than ever for the immediate relief of Chester, took an oath that he would stand by the nuncio against all opposers of the pope's treaty, and the nuncio's measures for the good of religion, and the service of the king—for which end he promised to procure from France a supply of ships, arms, and money, which were to be placed at the disposal of the confederates. This was given under his hand and seal the 19th of February. Two days afterwards the nuncio came to the assembly, exhorting them to adopt vigorous measures against the parliamentarians, and promising them a peace within two months. More than two months had now been consumed in these.
debates, and it was not till the 28th of March that the articles of Ormond's treaty were signed by the marquess, on the king's behalf; and the Lord Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, John Dillon, Patrick D'Arcy, and Geoffrey Browne, on the part of the confederates. At the same time with these articles was signed a conditional obligation, whereby the confederates engaged to transport 10,000 foot into England or Wales; 6,000 by April 1st, and 4,000 by May 1st, following; and till the men were shipped, the articles were to be deposited in the hands of Clanricarde, and not to be of force or published till the 1st of May, nor then, unless upon sending of the men. And in case the above-mentioned forces were not sent (unless hindered by reasonable cause, allowed as such by the Marquess of Ormond), the articles were to be of no effect, and their counterparts returned to the respective parties.

The following is an abbreviate of the articles:

1. "That the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in the kingdom of Ireland, or any of them, be not bound or obliged to take the oath of supremacy, expressed in the second of Queen Elizabeth, commonly called the oath of supremacy.

2. "That a parliament may be held on or before the last day of November next; and that these articles agreed on, may be transmitted into England, according to the usual form, and passed, provided that nothing may be passed to the prejudice of either Protestant or Catholic party, other than such things as upon this treaty shall be concluded.

3. "That all acts made by both or either houses of parliament, to the blemish or prejudice of his majesties Roman Catholic subjects, since the 7th of August, 1641, shall be vacated by acts of parliament.

4. "That no actions of law shall be removed before the said parliament, in case it be sooner called than the last of November; and that all impediments which may hinder the Roman Catholics to sit in the next parliament, shall be removed before the parliament sit.

5. "That all debts do stand in state, as they were in the beginning of these troubles.

6. "That the plantation in Connaught, Kilkenny, Clare, Thomond, Tipperary, Limrick, and Wickloe,
may be revoked by act of parliament, and their estates secured in the next sessions.

7. "That the natives may erect one or more inns of court in or near the city of Dublin, they taking an oath; as also one or more universities, to be governed as his majesty shall appoint; as also to have schools for education of youth in the kingdom.

8. "That places of command, of forts, castles, garrisons, towns, and other places of importance, and all places of honour, profit, and trust, shall be conferred with equal indifferency upon the Catholicks, as his majesties other subjects, according to their respective merits and abilities.

9. "That £12,000 sterling be paid the king yearly, for the court of wards.

10. "That no peer may be capable of more proxies than two. And that no lords vote in parliament, unless, in five years, a lord baron purchase in Ireland £200 per annum, a viscount £400, and an earl £600, or lose their votes till they purchase.

11. "That the independency of the parliament of Ireland on the kingdom of England shall be decided by declaration of both houses, agreeable to the laws of the kingdom of Ireland.

12. "That the council table shall contain itself within its bounds in handling matters of state, as patents of plantations, offices, &c., and not meddle with matter betwixt party and party.

13. "That all acts concerning staple or native commodities of this kingdom shall be repealed, except wooli and woolseels; and that the commissioners, the Lord Mountgarret, and others, named in the twenty-sixth article, shall be authorized, under the great seal, to moderate and ascertain the rates of merchandize to be exported and imported.

14. "That no governor be longer resident than his majesty shall find for the good of his people, and that they make no purchase, other than by lease, for the provision of their houses.

15. "That an act of oblivion may be passed, without extending to any who will not accept of this peace.

16. "That no governor, or any other prime minister
of state in Ireland, shall be farmers of his majesties customs.

17. "That a repeal of all monopolies be passed.
18. "That commissioners be appointed to regulate the court of castle-chamber.
19. "That acts prohibiting plowing by horse tails, and burning of oats in straw, be repealed.*
20. "That course be taken against the disobedience of the cessation and peace.
21. "That such graces as were promised by his majesty in the fourth year of his reign, and sued for by a committee of both houses of parliament, and not expressed in these articles, may, in the next ensuing parliament be desired of his majesty.
23. "That the increase of rents lately raised upon the commission of defective titles be repealed.
24. "That all interests of money due by way of debt, mortgage, or otherwise, and not yet satisfied since the 23d of October, 1641, to pay no more than £5 per cent.
25. "That the commissioners have power to determine all cases within their quarters, until the perfection of these articles by parliament, and raise 10,000 men for his majesty.
26. "That the Lord Mountgarret, Muskerry, Sir Daniel O'Bryan, Sir Lucas Dillon, Nicholas Plunket, Richard Bealing, Philip Mac Hugh O'Relie, Terlogh O'Neal, Thomas Flemming, Patrick Darcy, Gerald Fennel, and Jeffery Brown, or any five of them, be for the present commissioners of the peace, Oyer and Terminer, and gaol-delivery, in the present quarters of the confederate Cathlicks; with power of justice of peace, Oyer and Terminer and gaol-delivery, as in former times of peace they have usually had.
27. "That none of the Roman Cathlick party, before there be a settlement by parliament, sue, implead, or arrest, or be sued, impleaded, or arrested, in any court, other than before the commissioners, or in the

* This article needs some explanation, as it is hard to reconcile such barbarous usages with a period so enlightened.
several corporations or other judicatures within their
quarters.
28. "That the confederate Catholicks continue in
their possessions until settlement by parliament, and to
be commanded by his majesties chief governour, with
the advice and consent of the commissioners, or any five
of them.
29. "That all customs, from the perfection of these
articles, are to be paid into his majesties receipt, and to
his use; as also all rent due at Easter next, till a full
settlement of parliament.
30. "That the commissioners of Oyer and Terminer,
and gaol-delivery, shall have power to hear and deter-
mine all offences committed or done, or to be committed
or done, from the 15th day of September, 1643, until
the first day of the next parliament."

Such was the result of these negotiations by which the
Catholics of Ireland were left in the strange condition of
an alliance with the king through his private agent, and
of suspended hostility through his lord lieutenant.

It has been asserted by Clarendon, that the nuncio
consented to the treaty which was now concluded with
Ormond; but that assertion is not founded on fact. He
steadily opposed it; and early in February caused the
bishops to sign a protest against any treaty which did
not guarantee the free exercise of religion, and the re-
storation of the church property, as well as the appoint-
ment of a Catholic lord lieutenant to succeed Ormond.
In fact, he could not, with any degree of consistency,
have assented to that peace; for, of its thirty articles,
the only one which touched the question of religion is
the first, by which it was agreed "That the professors
of the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom of Ire-
land be not bound to take the oath of supremacy ex-
pressed in the second of Queen Elizabeth," whilst the
vital subject was remitted to the consideration of his
majesty.

The meeting of the general assembly, before breaking
up, passed two resolutions, which tended much to expe-
dite business and remove abuses. By the first it was
determined, that for the future the supreme council
should be reduced to nine members; that is to say, each
province was to return two, who, with the secretary
made nine. This was found to be matter of great advantage, as much inconvenience was the result of the great number who sat in their former assemblies. The second resolution ordained that the clergy should furnish, through their own hands, two-thirds of the church revenues for the maintenance of the war, as many frauds had resulted from a system which, in this particular, needed much reform.

The supreme council remained at Kilkenny, and the nuncio, seconded by the bishops, set about remedying the deplorable state to which the country had been reduced by armistices, and the jealousies which were fomented by the contending parties. The adherents of Ormond, more intent on sending supplies to England than securing themselves, had sadly neglected the military affairs of Ireland. The time which they consumed disputing in their cabals, had been turned to good account by Munroe in the north, and the parliamentary lord president in Connaught. Rinuccini urged the supreme council to establish a military tribunal, to which all the generals and officers commanding the confederate troops should be amenable. Hitherto the commanders, as well as inferior officers, had been elected by their respective provinces. Clanricarde remained neutral, and the nuncio indulged a hope of drawing him into the confederacy. In fact, the neutrality of Lord Clanricarde was his reason for not presenting him with a bull which he had brought from Rome. In the person of the Archbishop of Tuam the confederates experienced a great loss, and the record which the nuncio has left of his character, cannot but be pleasing. "This prelate," says he, "when proceeding to Sligo took leave of his friends, quoting some old prophecies concerning the church over which he presided, (in sooth, the people of this country are much given to predictions,) and stating that he was destined to return no more. When surrounded by his enemies, he boldly declared that he rejoiced to lay down his life for religion; and gloriously has he closed the period of his labours, which have ere now procured him a reward in heaven."*

After the bishop's death, the command devolved on

* Rinuccini Nunziatura, p. 69.
the heroic Bourke; and it was resolved that he should not be removed. Preston, who commanded in Leinster, was far from being high in the esteem of the nuncio. Although an experienced soldier, he had not much love for the representatives of the "old Irish." He was a man of whimsical character, and full of all the prejudices which the Catholics of the Pale had ever nourished for their Celtic brethren. Alternately swayed by his attachment to Ormond and his love for the Catholic religion, he did not possess those attributes which belong to a man of bold and decided views. His hatred of Owen Roe was another cause of the nuncio's distrust; for although O'Neill and Preston had served from early youth under the same standard, there existed the most rancorous hatred between them. O'Neill despised the Leinster general, and he in return did not fail, on all occasions, to depreciate and ridicule his rival. Strange that at such a time these feelings of jealousy and mutual hatred should have existed! The province of Ulster was overrun by the Scotch; and, as we have already stated, the rival pretensions of Owen Roe and Sir Phelim had done incalculable mischief. Indeed, nothing short of the delegated majesty of Rome could have brought about a reconciliation.

Munster was almost entirely in the hands of Inchiquin, and the defection of Thomond aggravated the misfortunes of that province. Castlehaven, in the recent campaign, had not acted with spirit, and, in complaisance to Ormond, did not press the siege of Youghal; the fortress of Duncannon had been totally neglected; and, although it commanded the entrance to Wexford and Ross, the bickerings of the confederates did not give them time to garrison or strengthen it.

Rinuccini bitterly inveighed against this state of things, and charged the supreme council with indifference to matters of such mighty moment. But the spring had now come, and he resolved to strike a blow which was calculated to convince the Irish that they

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* Sir Phelim O'Neill was married to Preston's daughter. Henry, the son of Owen Roe, was married to the daughter of Luke Fitzgerald, and was slain in the year 1655, in the north, after quarter given. — *Morrison's Threnodia.*

† V. Afazzi, p. 136.
should place more reliance on their own swords and energies than on the delusive promises of a king "who had nothing of faith or generosity in him."* Before distributing the arms and money which he had caused to be brought to Kilkenny, the nuncio submitted his plan of a campaign to the council. He inclined to make Ulster the seat of war, for the following reasons:—First—Its vicinity to Scotland gave easy access to the enemy. Secondly—The devotion of its inhabitants to the Catholic religion was more fervent and sincere than that of the other provinces. It was now the granary of Munroe, who was continually detaching parties of his marauders into Connaught. But the more powerful reason was the superior generalship of Owen Roe, who confessedly surpassed all the others in military knowledge.

Moreover, it was easy to supply the wants of the men who were now crowding round his standard. "The soldiers of Ulster," says he, "and, in some parts, those of Connaught, naturally accustomed to suffering, and habituated to the frosts of that northern climate, have few wishes and few wants. Caring but little for bread, they live upon shamrock and butter. Their drink is milk, and, as a great luxury, usquebaugh. Provided they have shoes and a few utensils, a woollen cloak serves for their covering, more zealously careful of their sword and musket than of their personal comfort. They seldom touch money, and therefore complain but little about it."† In the latter respect they stood in strange contrast with the Leinster troops under Preston, for they served for pay, which was regulated according to the Flemish standard.

Muskerry and Mountgarret did not relish the nuncio's partiality for the men of Ulster; nor were they roused to a sense of the dangers which threatened that province, till the fugitives who were driven before Munroe's bands took shelter under the walls of Kilkenny, and foreshadowed the fate which menaced themselves, if not speedily averted.

Moved by these considerations, the nuncio made up

* Lucy Hutchinson's Memoirs of her Husband, p. 66.
his mind to give the entire of the supplies to the army under Owen Roe. But, to prevent the ill-feeling which he was told should result, he consented, however reluctantly, to bestow two-thirds of the arms, ammunition, and money on General Preston. The council, moreover, voted £3,000 to Ormond, on a proviso that he would immediately march into the east of Ulster, and operate against the Scotch.

Clanricarde, alarmed at the advance of Coote, consented to take the field in his province; and, in the absence of an enemy in Leinster, Preston was commanded to proceed and act under him. Muskerry, whose military acquirements were not of a grand order, was to proceed to Munster, and recover the castles delivered by Thomond to the parliament, and, if possible, to overwhelm Inchiquin.

The nuncio had already sent one of his retinue to report on the state of the fortress of Duncannon; and, when informed of its immediate wants, he obliged Preston to look after its defence. Many and bitter have been the reproaches cast on the head of Rinuccini; but, nevertheless, it must be admitted, that he sought to convince the Irish that they had within themselves resources which, if properly directed, might have insured success. To use his own sentiment, he found them "dazzled by the splendour of England, and chilled by the shadow of her greatness." If he failed in every other respect, does he not deserve some praise for having striven to teach the confederates that they might have obscured that glittering despotism which had so long and so fearfully ground them?

Of all these arrangements, nothing gave the nuncio greater satisfaction than the settlement of the question between Sir Phelim O'Neill and his great kinsman. "The generous reconciliation" which had been effected through him gave promise of some grand result. In a spirit savouring of the prophetic, he announced to the assembly that Ulster should soon be rid of its invaders, and the cathedral of Armagh restored to the ancient worship. There was nothing wanting to perfect these plans, but the presence of Invernizi, with the light vessels which were meant to cruise along the coast, and
intercept the supplies which the parliament was hastily sending to their adherents in the seaport towns.

Nor was the solicitude of the nuncio and the confederates for the king's relief in the least diminished by the more urgent exigencies of Ireland. By order of the supreme council 4,000 men were drawn out of the standing armies of Leinster and Munster, and 2,000 more out of the other provinces, and a day was appointed for their embarkation at Passage, in the county of Waterford. An order was issued for levying four thousand more, who were to be transported into England as soon as possible. That the troops might be sent without delay, an embargo was laid on all vessels in the river of Waterford and in the harbours of Wexford and Dungarvan.

But when everything promised fair, intelligence was brought to Glamorgan that the king had disavowed him as far back as the 29th of January; and soon after came the news of the capture of Chester by the parliament. There was now no place for the Irish to land on the coast of England, and the men returned to Clonmel and Cashel. Three hundred of them followed Lord Digby, to form a body-guard for the Prince of Wales, who was said to have taken refuge in Jersey; and a larger body sailed for Scotland, to assist Montrose, under whom they performed prodigies of valour.

Rinuccini did not conceal his feelings on this occasion; for, although he grieved over the king's losses, he was heartily rejoiced that those troops were not sent out of Ireland, where their services were so much required. Moreover, such a force could be of little avail to Charles, now that his enemies were in the ascendant; and supposing that the Irish troops had effected a landing in England or Wales, without cavalry to cover them, or strong places to receive them, their destruction must have been inevitable, for, by an act passed in October, 1644, it was ordered "that no quarter should be given to any Irishman, or papist born in Ireland."

Of the 300 men who accompanied Digby, 100 were left to garrison Scilly, and facilitate the communication between Ireland and the Continent; and it was now thought that the remainder would return with the Prince of Wales to Ireland; but the prince's advisers objecting
to such a step, he fled to the queen at Paris, whither he was soon followed by Digby, who had left the Irish soldiers to shift for themselves. Digby was received by the queen with the most flattering assurances of regard for himself and Ormond. He exaggerated the anxiety of his colleague for the king’s welfare, and deprecated the “absurd pretensions”* of the Irish Catholics, who would not accede to the lord lieutenant’s terms. An active partisan of Ormond, and a virulent opponent of the just claims of the Irish Catholics, he represented them in the falsest light, and succeeded in getting from Cardinal Mazarin the sum of 10,000 pistoles, “to enable the Marquess of Ormond to satisfy his Protestant officers, and displace those whom he had cause to distrust.” The queen, who was averse to the prince’s landing in Ireland, promised a supply of further sums, and, at the same time, declared that she would never suffer Sir Kenelm Digby “to hearken to anything on the subject of the pontifical treaty with Ireland, as the business of that kingdom was already in those hands that were best able to manage it, and that whatsoever was sought for should not be expected from any one but the lord lieutenant.”†

The promise made to the nuncio of waiting till the 1st of May for the arrival of Sir Kenelm Digby, who had not come, caused the commissioners, when they signed the peace on the 28th of March, to agree that it should lie as an escroll in the hands of Clanricarde, till they had sent the 10,000 men into England, and it should be thought proper to proclaim the peace; but now that that time had elapsed, the supreme council instructed Plunket to repair to Dublin, in order to convince Ormond of the impossibility of sending the forces for which they stipulated. Mr. Plunket was charged to desire the lord lieutenant to declare his judgment of such impossibility in writing, according to the proviso in the defeasance. He was likewise instructed to declare the necessity of the union of the entire nation; and, if the present publication of the articles of peace was necessary for that pur-

* Such has ever been the whining tone of men like Curry, and others, who, yielding to expediency, overlooked the grand principle of justice and right.

† Carte’s Orm.
pose, to show that they could not avoid publishing, at the same time, the articles with Glamorgan, for fear of a rupture among themselves, and to prevent the stopping of foreign supplies; but in case his excellency did not think the present the fitting moment to proclaim the peace, Mr. Plunket was to beseech him to act as a peer of the realm in the meditated attack on the Scots.

The occasion of the latter instruction was, that Sir Charles Coote, with the Laggan forces, had penetrated into the counties of Roscommon and Galway, with the intention of bringing supplies into Thomond, for the relief of Bunratty. But fearing that the attempt might fail, the parliamentarian general contented himself with burning the crops about Portumna and Loughrea, and then returned to his quarters with large preys of corn and cattle.

Irritated by the rapacity, and the wanton butchery of Coote, Clanricarde appealed to Ormond for redress, and called on him to proclaim Sir Charles and his adherents traitors and rebels. There was no palliation for their guilt, but Ormond urged that the council would not consent to such a proposal, as the most of them, and he in particular, were far from wishing to offend the parliament and the faction in England. Strange fact! The man whose exuberant loyalty would have prompted him to proclaim the Catholics, was squeamish and punctilious in all matters which might lessen his fame in the eyes of Cromwell’s myrmidons. He had an object to attain with the avowed enemies of the king; and the confederates, according to him, were not to be trusted. But the secret of Ormond’s craft and intrigue was simply this: by proclaiming Coote he would have openly declared war against the parliament, and obliged himself to act against the faction in unison with the confederates, and the overthrow of the Puritans must, of necessity, have strengthened the hands of the Catholics, and made their demands irresistible. Ormond would perish sooner than concede, and he well knew that the ruin of the Catholic body should be productive of immense advantages to his own aggrandisement.

Thus, when it was expected that Ormond would take the field against the Scots, as he had promised,
when the federative assembly had voted him three thousand pounds for the purpose; they clearly perceived that he had no such intention, and that his real object was to delude and deceive them. He was now informed that the king had placed himself in the hands of the Scots at Newark. The intelligence reached him about the 19th of May, and he dismissed the commissioners to the committee of instruction at Limerick, with assurances that they should soon hear from him by persons whom he would send to them fully authorised and instructed for that purpose. Thus, for the present, was the publication of the peace postponed.

Ormond had played his part adroitly, and won his game. The king was now at the mercy of the Scots; "they were the greatest opposers of the Irish peace, having all along entertained hopes that Ireland should be given up to them,"* and come what might of the king, Ormond had done nothing to compromise himself, with his majesty's enemies. That the king was in reality desirous of a peace, is evident from his letter of the 25th of April, wherein he expressed the desire; but if proof were wanting, it is to be found in Clanricarde's communication to Ormond, telling him that his excellency was satisfied that such was his majesty's avowed wish.† During these negotiations the nuncio was anxiously awaiting the articles of the pontifical treaty, and had to labour hard to convince the adherents of Ormond that it might be speedily expected. He sent to Rome to remonstrate against the delay, and to his mortification, was informed by the Cardinal Barberini, that Sir K. Digby was at Paris with the queen, and that in the event of concluding with her, he would proceed to Rome instead of hastening to Ireland.‡

It was now determined that the cessation should continue till June, and the nuncio, accompanied by some members of the supreme council, proceeded to Limerick about the middle of May.

The troops which were to have proceeded to England under the command of Glamorgan, had been unsuccessfully employed to reduce Bumratty castle since April.

* Carte's Ormond, vol. iii.
† This letter is dated the 3rd of June following.
‡ Rin. 128.
He had marched at the head of three thousand men from Limerick to Six-mile Bridge, where he pitched his camp, and proceeded to invest the fortress, which had been garrisoned and provisioned by the parliament forces. By a vigorous sally from the garrison, he was beaten off and driven to the walls of Limerick, and then retired on Clonmel. Rinuccini caused the Earl to be superseded by Lord Muskerry, and accompanied the army in a second assault on this stronghold, which, after a close siege of twelve days, surrendered to the confederates. This was his first essay in military tactics, and the speedy reduction of the place was mainly attributable to him. Immediately after the surrender of Bunratty he caused the captured banners to be borne in triumph to Limerick, and the effect produced by the display was to exalt him in the esteem of the popular party.

Inchiquin, maddened by the advance of the confederates, heart-rending barbarities on the peasantry of Munster, and the supreme council solicited Castlehaven who had been a spectator of the operations against Bunratty, to take command of their cavalry and march against him. He reluctantly accepted the command, for he was not disposed to offend Ormond who was far from being pleased with the success of the confederates, and he proceeded to Cloghnostye, "on the mountain that runs between the counties of Cork and Limerick," and found himself at the head of one thousand horse. Mac Thomas was his second in command, and having divided their whole force into squadrons, they hung on the flanks and rear of Inchiquin, and finally prevented the destruction of the crops by compelling him to retire to his garrisons.*

Whilst the confederates were gaining these advantages in the south, Sir Charles Coote was perpetrating the most wanton barbarities in the west, and this notwithstanding the cessation. It was in vain that Clanricarde expostulated with Ormond, and required him to proclaim this sanguinary man, who under the title of lord president of Connaught, was carrying death and havoc throughout the province. But Ormond was in treaty

* Castlehaven's Mem. 65.
with Coote, "in full assurance to make advantage of it," and would neither proclaim the parliamentarian lord president, nor march against his colleagues in Ulster.

Preston, who had consented to act under Clanricarde, had entered the province at the head of about three thousand men. He calculated on exciting the peasantry against the Scotch, and recovering Sligo. But he did not receive that cordial co-operation from Clanricarde which he was led to expect, and the result of a month's campaign was the capture of the Castles of Roscommon and Clunibrun, which capitulated after he had cut to pieces 350 of their horse. But if the confederates were not crowned with success against Coote in Connaught, and Inchiquin in the south, they had reason to congratulate themselves on the victory which was won by Owen Roe in Ulster. Brilliant as was the career of the grand nephew of Hugh O'Neill on the continent, he never did so highly distinguish himself as in that province where his ancestors ruled as kings. Munroe had been supplied with monies and ammunition by the parliament commissioners, and calculated on beating O'Neill's army if it again appeared in the field, but dreadful was the retaliation which was in store for the Covenanters.

The main body of O'Neill's army had already assembled on the confines of Leinster, and having heard that Robert Munroe was marching into Tyrone, he resolved to go in quest of him. Having given orders that each soldier should carry with him provisions for sixteen days, he commenced his march, and advanced sixty miles into the interior of Ulster. On the 2nd of June, Munroe, informed of O'Neill's onward march, called a council of war and determined "to make to the fields with a month's provisions." "This movement," says Munroe, "was necessary for the preservation of our quarters." The Scotch general had ten regiments of infantry, and fifteen companies of foot, followed by fifteen hundred waggons containing ammunition, and baggage with six fielding-pieces. Colonel Munroe was ordered to join the general (Robert) at Glasslough with three troops of horse, and 240 musquettiers, whilst Auchinbreck's troops were to follow in the rear of his columns. The English

* Carte's Orm. iii. 462.  † Munroe's Despatch.
commissioners had engaged with the Scotch general to send the Laggan forces into Connaught to intercept any supplies which might be sent from that province to the aid of the confederate troops, and maintain a communication with the Scots in Ulster. Having promised to comply with all the orders of the parliamentary commissioners, Munroe took leave of them on the second night of his march near Dromore.

On the morning of the 4th of June, he ordered seventy-two horsemen, under the command of his lieutenant, Daniel, to cross the Blackwater at Beinburb and scour the fields, and certify Colonel Munroe that he would fix his head-quarters at Glasslough. On the 5th of June, this body of cavalry fell in with a party of O'Neill's skirmishers, and took a prisoner near Armagh, from whom they learned that the confederate general had encamped the night before at Glasslough, and was marching in full force with an army of 5,000 foot and twelve troops of horse, to take up a position at Beinburb and Charlemont. Being thus informed, Munroe broke up his camp, and marched six miles further, to make a junction with Hamilton's troops, which were encamped four miles from Armagh, and at the same time ordered messengers to recall the cavalry, which he had sent to advertise Colonel Munroe of his movements.

Meanwhile O'Neill had encamped at Beinburb, between two small hills. The rear of his army was protected by a wood, and the right by the river Blackwater. He had also possessed himself of the bridge, and concealed his sharpshooters in the "scogs and bushes." Owen Roe was well informed of Munroe's plans; and in order to prevent a junction of George's forces with those of his brother, he despatched Colonels Bernard MacMahon and Patrick Mac Neny, with their respective regiments, to anticipate their design. This commission they executed to the satisfaction of their commander. But now, when everything that the ablest general of his day could devise to insure a glorious result had been carried into effect, there was a scene on the hill of Beinburb solemn and stern. "The whole army, after having confessed, and the general, along with the other officers,

* Munroe's Despatch, in the Thorpe Papers, R.D.S.
having received the most holy communion, the chaplain, deputed by the nuncio to the spiritual care of the army, made a brief exhortation, gave them his blessing, and, with loud cheers, they prepared for action.

Munroe, having reconnoitred O'Neill's position, and seeing that he could not force the bridge or ford, convened his officers, to consult on what course they should adopt; whereon it was resolved to march in view of the confederate troops, and pass the Blackwater at Kinard. As they advanced they were met by Colonel Richard O'Ferral, who occupied a narrow defile through which it was necessary for the Scotch troops to pass in order to face the Irish. The fire of Munroe's guns compelled O'Neill's officer to retire. And now the two armies stood front to front; and never did two hostile hosts meet with more enthusiastic rivalry or deadly hatred. The Scots, impelled by gloomy fanaticism, beheld an army of idolaters before them—the Philistines, whom the power of Gideon was to overthrow. The confederates, animated by the love of country and their religion, and led by a chieftain whose name was a spell-word in their ranks, looked on the present as the moment to rescue their homes and altars from thraldom and disgrace. "All our army, horse and foot," says the Scotch general, "did earnestly covet fighting, which was impossible for me to gainstand without reproach of cowardice, and never did I see a greater confidence than was amongst us."

Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham having cleared the pass for the Scotch horse, who were commanded by the Lord Viscount of Ardes, in the absence of Colonel Munroe, the whole army advanced to dislodge Owen Roe; but a shower of bullets from the "scrogs and bushes," which covered O'Neill's infantry, checked them; and then the Scotch cannon opened its fire with little effect, as owing to the admirable position of the Catholic troops only one man was struck by the shot. In vain did Munroe's cavalry charge—with the river on their right and "a marish bog" on the left, it was hopeless to think of stirring the confederates. For fully four hours did the Fabius of his country amuse the enemy with
skirmishing. During all that time, the wind rolling the smoke of Munroe's musketry and cannon in the face of the Irish ranks, concealed the adverse lines from their sight, and the sun had shone all day in their eyes, blinding them with its dazzling glare; but that sun was now descending and producing the same effect on the Scotch, when Munroe perceived the entire of the Irish army making ready for a general assault with horse and foot.

It was the decisive moment. The Irish general, throwing himself into the midst of his men, and pointing out to them that retreat must be fatal to the enemy, ordered them to pursue vigorously, assuring them of victory. "I myself," said he, "with the aid of heaven, will lead the way: let those who fail to follow me remember that they abandon their general." This address was received with one unanimous shout by the army. The colonels threw themselves from their horses, to cut themselves off from every chance of retreat, and "charged with incredible impetuosity."

Munroe had given orders to a squadron of his horse to break through the columns of the Irish foot as they advanced; but that squadron was panic-stricken by the terrible array of the Irish battalions, and retreated disorderly through their own foot, pursued by O'Neill's cavalry. Nevertheless Munroe's infantry stood firm, and "received the Irish, body to body, with push of pike," till at last their cavalry reserve, being routed in a second charge, fell, pell mell, amongst his infantry, which, being now broken and disordered, had no way to retreat but over the river which lay in their front.

Terrified by the fate of their fellows, who perished under their eyes in the Blackwater, the surviving Scots vainly sought to conceal themselves in the thickets that covered the country in the vicinity of the battle-field; nor was the darkness of the night able to protect them from their victorious pursuers. Pike and skew did what the musket had left unfinished, till they were cut to pieces, and the lowest soldier of the Irish was wearied with carnage, and oppressed with plunder. Three thousand two hundred and forty-three bodies were counted on the field; the infantry was completely cut

* Munroe's Despatch.
† Ilunionini.
off by the straggling parties on the two following days; and very few of the cavalry escaped. All the guns were taken by the Irish, together with the tents, colours, baggage, and fifteen hundred draught horses. Amongst the slain was found the body of Lord Blaney. The Lord Viscount Ardes was made prisoner. Munroe fled to Lisnegarvy, leaving his cloak and wig on the field, and twenty-one officers in the hands of O'Neill's army. Of the Irish troops only seventy were slain in the action, and one hundred wounded, amongst whom was a distinguished gentleman of Ulster, who served as a volunteer. The victorious army proclaimed that their success was attributable to the supplies given them by the Pope; and Sir Phelim O'Neill, on being asked for the list of his prisoners, swore that he had not even one, as he had given orders to his division to give no quarter to the Scotch.

The news of Owen Roe's victory did not reach Limerick till the 13th of July. Father Hartegan, one of the priests deputed to the spiritual care of the army, was the bearer of the joyful intelligence.

On the following day (Sunday) at four o'clock, a.m. all the troops in garrison at Limerick assembled before the church of St. Francis, where the nuncio had deposited thirty-two standards taken by the Irish general from the Scotch. These trophies were then borne in solemn procession by the chiefs of the nobility, followed by the nuncio, the Archbishop of Cashel, and the bishops of Limerick, Clonfert, and Ardfert. After these came the supreme council, the mayor, and the magistrates, with the entire population of the city. The procession moved on till it reached St. Mary's cathedral, where the Te Deum was chanted, and on the next day a mass of thanksgiving was offered to the Lord, "Who fought among the valiant ones, and overthrew the nations that were assembled against them, to destroy the sanctuary."†

Thus, while the Irish attributed the winning of that day to the interposition of heaven, the Scotch general, writing from Carrickfergus, on the 11th of June, to the parliament commissioners, ascribed his defeat to the

anger of "the Lord of hosts, who had a controversy with them, to rub shame on their faces till once they should be humbled; for it behooved them to taste of bitterness, as well as others of both nations." Yet, it does not appear that O'Neill made that use of his victory which he might have had if he commanded an army as disciplined as his people were brave. Instead of pursuing Munro he allowed him to fortify himself in Carrickfergus, whence he wrote to London for supplies, "now that they were humbled before God, and increased in courage and resolution, and that the enemy had not prosecuted their victory within the Scotch quarters, being more inclined to spoil than pursue them." His appeal was soon responded to by the parliament, and a paper was printed, and posted in the streets of London, giving an account of "the bloody fight at Blackwater, on the 5th of June, by the Irish rebels against Major-General Munro, where 5,000 Protestants were put to the sword."† O'Neill's army now increased to upwards of 10,000 men, as he found on the field, arms and ammunition sufficient to equip the new levies that flocked to him from all quarters. Rinuccini sent to congratulate him on his victory, and transmitted decorations for his officers, and surgeons to take charge of the wounded. On the return of his messengers he was somewhat surprised to learn that O'Neill had determined to call his troops the "Catholic Army," and emblazon the cross and keys on the banners of the "red hand." It was an ill-timed testimony of his homage to the church, for it was calculated to create division between himself and Preston, whenever their mutual co-operation might be required. But the phlegmatic disposition of the Ulster general could ill brook contradiction. Yet, if the victory at Beinburg had not all the fruits which might have been reaped from that bloody harvest, it secured the existence of the confederates.‡

* Munro's Despatch.
† This document, printed by Jane Coe, London, June, 15th, gives the following list: — "Taken, seven pieces of ordnance, 5,000 armes. 4,000 foot, and upwards, killed, taken, and routed. 600 horse routed. Lord Blaney taken, and dead; Lord Montgomery and Lord Ardes taken and dead, and almost all the officers."
‡ Nunziatura in Irlanda, p. 158.
confederation of kilkenny.

person of Lord Montgomery was found the order of march, and he himself declared that it was the intention of Munroe to penetrate to Kilkenny whilst the confederates were employed elsewhere, and make himself master of that city; nor is it at all unlikely that Ormond was privy to the design.

On the 2nd of June, whilst the nuncio was pressing the siege of Bunratty, Sir George Hamilton and Colonel Barry were sent by the lord lieutenant to Limerick, to acquaint the confederate council that he was well aware of the necessity of a union against the common enemy, but that he could not join with any party not deriving authority from his majesty; nor could anything further be done towards a union till the articles of peace were published, about which he had not, as yet, received his majesty's pleasure. With regard to Glamorgan's articles, he could not, either with safety to his conscience or honour, admit the publishing thereof, "his majesty having already publicly disavowed any power given by him to warrant them;" for which reason he expected from them a declaration of their resolution not to publish them.

It was now obvious that Muskerry and his party were anxious to publish the political articles concluded on the 28th March, and, if possible, to publish at the same time the articles of Glamorgan's treaty; but, when Nicholas Plunket and Brown presented themselves to Rinuccini to notify him of their intention of proceeding to Dublin for that purpose, he produced the protest of the nine bishops against any conclusion with Ormond which did not stipulate the free exercise of religion, and the retention of all the churches, which, up to the present moment, were in the hands of the confederates. The production of this protest, as it was signed without the knowledge of the lay members of the assembly, alarmed and confounded the commissioners. They urged that Glamorgan's articles were sufficient to satisfy the clergy, and that they would insist on the publication of them. Rinuccini scouted the idea, pointing to the king's disavowal of the Earl, and then warmly inveighed against the folly of committing themselves, soul and body, to Ormond, at a moment when they stood in the attitude
of armed men, who should enforce their rights instead of craving favours.

When the confederate commissioners received this answer, they communicated with the council, who immediately sent eight of their body, and the secretary, Bel-ling, to induce the nuncio to consent to the publication of the political treaty. The grand argument adduced for the purpose was, that the king, as he was now in the hands of the Scotch, would be induced to make war on Ireland, than which nothing was more desired by the parliament. They sought, moreover, to convince him that the publication of the political articles should be regarded as a means to an end, rather than a definitive agreement with the lord lieutenant; and that they themselves would be ready to take arms against Ormond, if, in progress of time, he did not cede all the advantages which they contemplated for religion.

But these arguments were unavailing. The nuncio was unbending. In a spirit which had something prophetic in it, he implored them not to rely on the promises of Ormond or the sovereign of England. He appealed to the history of the past, and dwelt at length on the tyranny and oppression exercised by the English in Ireland, and chided the pusillanimity of the men who were intent on signing an instrument which doomed them to dependence on the pleasure of a treacherous and faith-breaking monarch. Glamorgan was present on this occasion, and laboured to refute a singular argument advanced by the confederate commissioners, who asserted that the laws of England did not permit the monarch to revoke the concessions which he had once made in favor of the Catholics.*

But the earl put an end to the discussion by declaring that he would no longer insist on the publication of his own treaty, until he had received further powers from the king.

Nevertheless, the supreme council determined to publish the articles of Ormond's peace, and, to gratify the lord lieutenant, agreed to omit all mention of Glamorgan's concessions. These instructions were signed on

* Rinuccini, 142.
the 12th of June, and Sir Nicholas Plunket and Mr. Brown were deputed to proceed forthwith to Dublin. Before leaving Limerick they waited on the nuncio, who, when informed of their intention, received them coldly, and inveighed bitterly against a proceeding which was meant to put Ormond in possession of all the garrisons and strongholds belonging to the confederates, and thus compromise their own existence. His words had such effect on Plunket that he took ill, and Brown was obliged to go without him. When he arrived in Dublin he was mortified to learn from Ormond that, by a letter from Newcastle, his majesty had ordered him "to proceed no further in the treaty of peace, nor to engage him upon conditions with the Irish after sight of those orders." This letter was sent through the English committee of Ulster to Ormond, on the 26th of June, and Brown at once returned to Limerick to receive further instructions. Alas! it is pitiful to reflect on the temporising and vacillating conduct of the Catholics of the Pale at this moment. With three armies in the field, and the people roused to enthusiasm, such as had never been witnessed, they wasted, in intrigue and diplomacy, more time than was sufficient to raise themselves to a position of independence.

Whilst the rollied thunders of Beinburb were still pealing in their ears, they were clamorous for Ormond's hollow peace. Apprehensive of losing the church property, of which many of them were proprietors, they were now jealous and distrustful of the clergy, although the nuncio was empowered to confirm the transfers, as Cardinal Pole had done in the reign of Mary. O'Neill's victory served to embitter their inveterate and deep-rooted hatred of the Ulster Irish. They were well aware that no provision had been made for "the men of the north," and that they would never consent to lay down their arms till restored to their plundered estates.

These considerations determined Muskerry and Mountgarret and the rest to place all their hopes in Ormond, who would secure them in the possession of their estates, and connive at the toleration of the Catholic religion. They were satisfied to live in fetters, provided they were not butchered by legal enactments
against their persons and creed. Alas! how sadly did they contrast with the “old Irish,” who, scorning to live as aliens in their native land, had determined to perish in the assertion of their just rights.

Tired of delay, the nuncio wrote to Rome in the middle of June, declaring that, as Sir Kenelm Digby had not come with the articles of the pontifical treaty,* his means of preventing the publication of the peace with Ormond were utterly exhausted. He clearly told the cardinal secretary of state that a foreign protectorate was desired by many amongst the Irish, and that O'Neill and Preston had offered to march on Dublin, and take possession of the city, as it was easy to foresee that, in case of pressure from without, Ormond would surrender it to the parliament. He, at the same time, wrote to Henrietta Maria and Cardinal Mazarin, imploring them to expedite the treaty, and thus prevent the disruption of parties and the total loss of the country.

But Sir Kenelm never came. Some imprudent expressions in Rinuccini’s letters, betrayed by the nuncio at the French court to the English queen, awakened her suspicion; and it would appear that she had determined to abandon any further negotiation with Sir Kenelm Digby and the court of Rome.

Yet, strange to say, even in his captivity the unfortunate Charles did not abandon hope of succour from Ireland. With that systematic duplicity which characterized his actions, he wrote to Glamorgan, telling him to raise money by pawning his kingdoms, which he would repay if ever he won them back. “And tell the nuncio,” said he, “that if I once come into his and your hands, which ought to be wished for by you, both for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest despise me, I will do it; and if I do not say this from my heart, may God never restore me to my kingdoms in this world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next.” This letter he sent to Glamorgan. At the same moment he wrote to Ormond, through Lord Digby, that “he should

*It is now notorious that the heads of this treaty were already drawn up. Those who assert that there was no such treaty may find it either in Rinuccini’s Nunziatura, or in the Transactions of Glamorgan.
not proceed any further in the treaty of peace with the Irish."

Ormond was fully satisfied in his own mind that the king was desirous of peace on any terms; but well knowing that the council in Dublin was averse to any overture which might assist the monarch, he catered to their feelings, and contented himself with saying, that he would carry out to the very letter the instructions he had received from the king at Newcastle.

Mr. Brown had not reached Limerick when George, Lord Digby, arrived in Dublin on the 4th of July. He affected surprise on learning that the articles of peace had not been perfected, as his majesty, "since his being at Newcastle, had redoubled his positive orders to the lord lieutenant for the speedy conclusion of the peace, upon dispensation with the condition of the confederate Catholics of Ireland sending the men undertaken for them."

Digby immediately wrote to Ormond that the Scots had violated all their promises to the king, depriving him of liberty, and banishing from him all who were in his confidence. He then proceeded to show that the letter dated Newcastle was either surreptitiously obtained or a manifest forgery, but in every respect most contrary to what he knew to be his majesty's free resolution and uncontrolled will." He concluded by declaring that, if the peace were any longer interrupted, "the hinderers of it would be the occasion of subverting the main foundation resolved and laid by his majesty for the recovery of his crown and posterity's rights, whether by way of accommodation or war."

On the 28th of the same month, Digby drew up and signed a declaration, wherein he offered himself to be detained a prisoner until such time as his majesty should be at liberty to express freely his unconstrained will; and then, says the declaration, "if his majesty shall not justify me to have declared it faithfully, I submit myself to suffer death; and I desire that this declaration be entered in the council-book, that I have discharged my duty, in case the mischiefs here set down shall be occasioned by deferring the peace of this kingdom upon the aforesaid letter of the 11th of June." The council at Dublin seemed to attach little importance to Digby;
or were their objections removed, till Ormond entered another declaration on the council-book, stating "that he was satisfied that he had full authority to conclude the peace upon the articles deposited with the Marquess of Clanricarde," and took upon himself to be sole judge thereof, expecting only their assistance for causing it to be duly observed.

The articles were finally delivered by both parties on the 29th of July: those of the confederates by Lord Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, John Dillon, Patrick D'Arcy, and Geoffry Brown, in the presence of Lords Clanricarde, Digby and Taaffe, Daniel O'Neill, and De Moulin, the French envoy. The council, on the same day, ordered a proclamation to be issued ratifying the articles of peace, and enjoining all persons to pay due obedience to the same.

Thus did Ormond triumph. The confederation was virtually dissolved. The grand object for which the Catholics had taken up arms was referred to the ulterior decision of the king. The only concession in the treaty touching the vital question of religion released the Irish Catholics from taking the oath of supremacy. No provision was made for the plundered inhabitants of the north, who had been ruined by the Scotch and English undertakers; and as if to cap the climax of their folly, it was agreed by the Lords Mountgarret and Muskerry, that the "confederate Catholics should be commanded by his majesty's chief governor until settlement by act of parliament." It was a base desertion of principle, this surrender of their rights; but, in this betrayal of trust, do we not see something typical of that parricidal act by which, in after times, a corrupt and venal senate sacrificed the country to the imperialism of England?

On the 1st of August the peace was solemnly proclaimed in Dublin, although the Protestants showed the greatest aversion to it. On the 6th the Marquess of Ormond sent Dr. Roberts, Ulster-king-at-arms, to proclaim it at Waterford and Kilkenny. He executed his office at Kilkenny, Fethard, Callan, and Cashel; but was absolutely hunted from the towns of Waterford and Clonmel.

* Orm. vol. ii. p. 10.
On the 20th the Ulster-king-at-arms arrived in Limerick, and, attended by the mayor in his regalia, proceeded to publish the peace. But so indignant were the people that they assembled at the market-cross, headed by Alderman Fanning, and Lynch the warden of Galway, and prevented the proclamation. Such was the popular feeling that they removed the mayor from office and elected Fanning in his stead. *

It would be idle to imagine that this peace gave satisfaction to the people of Ireland. On the contrary, it was soon ascertained that it gave them no guarantee for these rights which aroused them to take up arms and maintain a war of five years' duration. It was indignantly rejected by the whole province of Ulster, the cities of Waterford, Limerick, Clonmel, and Dungarvan. Twenty of the great Irish families in the province of Munster, signed a protest against it. Galway, with twelve noblemen and gentlemen, refused to receive it; and in the province of Leinster it was treated with contempt by all the heads of the "old Irish." † It was a fearful moment for Ireland. The wily policy of Ormond had accomplished his designs. Divisions reigned in the council of the confederates; and the bishops and clergy, headed by the nuncio, determined to convene a synod at Waterford, to submit the treaty, clause by clause, to their consideration. O'Neill, at the head of his victorious army, was pursuing the Scots when the intelligence of the peace reached him at Tanderagee. Preston was at Birr; and, concluding that the treaty had the approbation of all parties, caused rejoicings to be made in his camp.

But he soon found his mistake, when he learned that O'Neill's troops were marching in haste to the borders of Leinster, and thereon sent to express his regrets for the misunderstanding.

It has been constantly argued that Owen Roe was solicited by the nuncio to relinquish the prosecution of his victory after the battle of Beinburb, and move his army to protect the assembly at Waterford, and silence

* Fanning perished heroically, being taken by Ireton after the siege of Limerick, and hung for his intrepidity against the Cromwellians.
† Vide Hib. Dom. ad Sapp. 1. 878.
all opposition to their resolutions. This, however, is not substantially true, for O'Neill, without the order of the confederate council, had increased his forces to 10,000 men, with more than 1000 horse, and desired nothing so much as an opportunity of taking signal vengeance on the adherents of Ormond, by whom he supposed he had been excluded from the possession of his estates in Ulster. Actuated by such feelings, he did not await any summons from the nuncio, but marched at the moment when he heard of the peace, well knowing that the bishops and clergy would not respect it. His intention was to sack Kilkenny, and he would, doubtless, have carried his design into effect, had he not been dissuaded by Rinuccini from shedding innocent blood. His troops, however, were now self-styled "The Catholic Army," and Owen Roe proclaimed himself the right arm of the clergy.

The synod of the bishops and clergy met at Waterford, on the 6th of August. It was composed of three archbishops, ten bishops, five abbots, two vicars apostolic, fourteen representatives of the religious orders, and the provincial of the Jesuits.† They were all unanimous in their abhorrence of the peace, and on the 12th of the same month, they issued the following decree "from the congregation of the secular and regular clergy convened at Waterford on the 6th of August:"

"As to the question between us moved, and for many days discussed, whether such as would accept of that peace contained in the thirty articles remitted unto us from the supreme council, are to be declared perjurious, and consequently, whether as perjurious, they are to be excommunicated; we having given ear to each one's opinion and sentiment on this matter, as also having read the writings of some doctors of divinity, it is decreed, and by each one's vote in particular, (none contradicting), that all and every one of the confederate Catholics that will adhere to such a peace, and consent to the furtherers thereof, or in any other manner or way will embrace the same, shall be absolutely as per--

* Rinuccini, p. 224.
† The Archbishop of Cashel seems to have doubted the expediency of Rinuccini's measures, but finally acquiesced, saying,—"In verbo tuo laxabo rete."
jurious esteemed, chiefly inasmuch as there is no mention made in the thirty articles, nor promise for the Catholic religion or safety thereof, nor any respect had for the preservation of the kingdom's privileges as were promised in the oath of association, but on the contrary, all remitted to the king's will and pleasure, (from whom as the case stands at present with his majesty) no certainty of benefits can be had or expected; yet, in the mean time, all the arms, armies, fortifications, even the very supreme council of the Catholic confederates are to be subjected to the authority and rule of his majesty's council of state, from whom that we might be secure we have taken that oath.

"Out of which, and several other reasons, we (moved thereunto by conscience) would have it known, to all and each person, as well the Irish natives as the foreign nations, that we gave no consent, nor never will, to any such peace, if they will not grant us further, surer, and safer conditions for our religion, our king, and country, according to our oath of association.

"And to the end, our flocks and all the confederate Catholics, who in their general assemblies required our sentence in this spiritual matter appertaining to ourselves as ecclesiastical judges, may know for certain what is by us determined herein, and as godly and faithful Catholics, obeying their pastors, may concur with us, we have ordered this decree to be written, and published everywhere in the English and Irish tongue. Given under our hand and seal, Waterford, this 12th day of August, 1646. —Nicholas French, Chancellor."

The result of this decree may readily be imagined; never was there a more decided reaction. The people unanimously rejected the peace; nothing could have given more pleasure to the general of the Ulster forces than this declaration of the bishops; and Preston, who had been vacillating hitherto, fearing the censures and hating the secretary, Belling, at once declared for the nuncio and the clergy.

Shut up in Kilkenny, whither they had gone after the publication, Muskerry and Mountgarrett, with the

* I have given this from the "Unkind Deserter," as it is probably the transcript of the original.
other councillors, prepared an appeal from the censures, and sent to Waterford to persuade the clergy to adopt some other course less objectionable to their patron Ormond. But, in this instance, they discovered their own weakness, and found out, when too late, that the power which they possessed when leagued with the hierarchy, had forsaken them. The confederate soldiers positively refused to obey them; and when the deputies returned from Waterford with word that Rinuccini and the bishops insisted on the appointment of Preston as general of the horse, and O'Neill as major-general of the army, they sent for Ormond to come to Kilkenny, in the hope that his presence might create a diversion in their favour.

Ormond eagerly embraced the proposal, and sent some persons to treat with O'Neill, and, if possible, gain him over to the peace. But the Ulster general spurned the overtures of the lord lieutenant, and sent him back an indignant refusal. The nuncio had forwarded him at this time a sum of about £9,000 which had been borrowed from Diego della Torre, the Spanish envoy.

Ormond, however, set out from Dublin on the 28th of August, with 1,500 foot and 500 horse. He arrived at Kilkenny on the 31st of the same month, and was joyfully received by his adherents; but great was his mortification on learning that the troops which were drawn into the city after the siege of Bunratty, had gone over to the party of the nuncio and clergy at Waterford. From Kilkenny the lord lieutenant, accompanied by Clauricarde and Lord Digby, proceeded into Munster, foolishly thinking that he might conciliate Inchiquin, and prevail on him to join his forces with those of his own party against the troops of O'Neill; but in his progress through the country Ormond had ample evidence of the popular disinclination to submit to him on the terms of the Dublin treaty. Many of the towns shut their gates at his approach, and the mayor of Cashel sent to implore that he would not enter that city, as Owen O'Neill, who had encamped on the 9th of September at Roscrea, had sent to inform the magi-
trates, that if they received the lord lieutenant he would storm the place. Digby's overtures were rejected by Inchquin, who, in answer to a letter forwarded to him, replied, "that the peace now concluded by his majesty's authority, to the utter ruin of all that profess the Protestant religion, or submitted thereto, had to all the world evidenced the just grounds of his separation from what he (Digby) was pleased to call his duty."

To add to Ormond's disappointment he had now learned that Piers Fitzgerald, alias Mac Thomas, who formerly served under Castlehaven, had collected a strong body of cavalry and declared for the Waterford resolutions. Indeed, the Marquess's expedition into Munster was far from successful, and on the 11th of September he was informed by Sir Richard Talbot, that he should take precautions to secure the ford of Moygany, the only place where he could cross the Barrow without marching through the counties of Carlow and Kildare to Munsterhaven. O'Neill's emissaries were already in the county of Wicklow raising the O'Byrnes and O'Tooleys, and it was likely that they had been instructed to intercept him if he returned by their country to Dublin.

Ormond was now apprehensive that O'Neill meditated some design against his person, and determined to return to the metropolis. He, therefore, sent Sir Luke Dillon and Dr. Fennell to the prelates at Waterford, to state "that he considered his commission for concluding a peace was determined by that which he had already made, and that if it did not take place, there was no possibility of renewing a treaty for another, and was apprehensive that his return to Dublin should put a stop to all further negotiations."

Having sent this message to Waterford, Castlehaven came to inform him that he had not a moment to lose, as Preston and O'Neill were rapidly advancing to cut him off. Ormond fled to his troops, stationed at Callan, where they were faced by 400 horse under Mac Thomas. Thence he dispatched orders to Sir Francis Willoughby, who was at Gowran, to march with all possible speed and secure Leighlin Bridge. When the major-general

* Irish Tracts, R.D.S. Thorpe Papers.*
came within three miles of the place he was told that Sir Walter Bagnall, with a hundred men, held the fort “at the bridge end,” and he thereon sent to know if he might find that officer a friend or enemy, and received an answer, that the pass lay open to him. He crossed the bridge and left a detachment of his men to await Ormond on the Carlow side. Two hours before day the marquess, having joined these troops, fled to Kilcullen, thence to Ballymore-Eustace, and on the 13th entered Dublin, to the surprise of the citizens, who verily believed that he had been made prisoner by O'Neill and Preston. He had reason to be grateful to Bagnall, for if he held the bridge against him for half-an-hour longer he must have fallen into the hands of Owen Roe.

When Ormond was about to return to Dublin, he left Digby at Kilkenny, to learn the result of his negotiation with the bishops at Waterford: and, presuming on his powers, the latter made a proposition that, if the nuncio and three or four of the bishops would consent to the peace, and cause it to be observed by all over whom they had power, and join, under the lord lieutenant, against the common enemy, if they might privately receive a firm assurance of the repeal of the penal laws, and that the Catholic clergy should not be put out and molested in their ecclesiastical possessions before a new parliament was called, the said assurance should be procured them collaterally, severed from the articles of the peace, to which the lord lieutenant had no power to add. But this proposition was rejected, and expediency abandoned. The bishops had no guarantee for the fulfilment of the conditions offered, even were they inclined to receive them; and they feared that in the present, as well as in a former instance, Digby and Ormond could find a “starting hole” whereby the king might escape any obligation, as in the treaty with Glamorgan. When Digby received the refusal, he did not think it safe to remain any longer, and set out for France to solicit arms and monies to crush the men who were now bent on maintaining the independence of Ireland.

The destinies of the country were at this moment in the hands of the clergy and Owen O'Neill. The nuncio, elated with his temporary triumph, sent his dean to Rome, to convey to Pope Innocent the relation of affairs,
and procure aids for the prosecution of what he regarded a glorious crusade against the Puritans. To give greater stability to the new confederation, he determined to proceed to Kilkenny, and establish his head-quarters there. The way was open for him. Owen Roe lay encamped within three miles of the city; his army consisted of 12,000 foot, and 1,500 horse; his troops were refreshing themselves, after storming Roscrea Castle, on the 17th of September.

On his approach to the city Rinuccini was joined by Preston and Diego della Torre, at the head of the gentry. He did not now enter as a messenger of peace; on this occasion he appeared as a triumphant general, surrounded by the military, and hailed by the acclamations of the soldiers. "The victor of Beinburb" on one side and Preston on the other, he had reason to feel proud of his escort. But his first act was one of harshness and imprudence. He no longer thought of conciliation; and yielding to the suggestions of Preston, who had a personal dislike to many of the old council, he caused them to be committed to the castle of Kilkenny, on the 18th, the day of his entry.

Colonel Bagnal, who had connived at the escape of Ormond, and Sir Robert Talbot, were likewise imprisoned; and of the old council, D'Arcy and Plunket were the only exceptions to this impolitic proceeding.

The nuncio and clergy now assumed the government to themselves, and on the 26th, by a solemn decree, appointed a new council, consisting of four bishops and eight laymen, ordering all the generals to be subject to their orders, and investing them with the same powers as the former council. The unanimous voices of those who signed the decree at Waterford appointed Rinuccini to the presidency, intending thus to do greater honor to the court of Rome, on whose sympathies they were now to place all reliance. Never did any event give greater cause for joy to the chieftains and people of the "old Irish" than this change of the confederate government. The grand object which engrossed their cares for so many years, they fancied was now achieved. He who was now the head of the government could not feel less interest for the cause of religious independence than themselves. Unbending and uncompromising as they knew the nuncio
to be, they no longer feared the craft and fatal influence of Ormond. Religious as the character of the war had been, it was now to be doubly more so;—the moderator of the council was a minister of the vatican, and the general of the army was the champion of the church.

The enthusiastic devotion with which the Jews honored their leader, Maccabeus, was not more intense than that with which the "old Irish" now regarded "Owen Roe." He it was whose right hand was to restore the temple, and avert the captivity of the people who had been dispersed. Heaven, they believed, had nerved the arms of his soldiers on the day of Beinburb; but now, when they saw the cross and the keys interwoven on the banners of the red-hand, they looked on him with a feeling of veneration.

"This age," wrote the nuncio to Pope Innocent X., "has never seen so unexpected a change. I should compare it to the most famous successes in Europe. The clergy of Ireland, so much despised by the Ormondist, were, in the twinkling of an eye, masters of the kingdom. Generals, officers, and soldiers, strove who should fight for them; and, at last, the supreme council, deprived of all power, was confounded with amazement to see all authority devolve on the clergy."*

Muskerry being now removed from the command of the confederate troops in Munster, Glamorgan was appointed in his stead, and the nuncio wrote to Rome intimating that as soon as Ormond was driven out of Dublin it was the intention of the new council to create the former lord lieutenant. The reasons assigned for the appointment of Glamorgan were the high consideration in which he was held by the Catholics, and his unflinching fidelity to Rinuccini's views; moreover, the nuncio never relinquished his design of sending troops to England, and he thought that he could not commit the leadership in this affair to any one more seriously concerned for the interests of the king. The idea of appointing an Irishman to that high post was fraught with danger, inasmuch as it would have created jealousies and rivalry, which it was the object of all to avoid, that the great cause might not sustain any injury from the

* Nunziatura in Irlanda.
conflict of parties. But a stronger reason was founded on the king's letter from Newcastle, in which he insinuated that he contemplated coming to Ireland and placing himself in the hands of Glamorgan and the nuncio.

The new council was to continue in existence till the next general assembly, and orders were immediately issued for levying troops and raising monies for the maintenance of three armies. For these purposes there was no lack of compulsory enactments; where the arm of the flesh failed the spiritual weapon was in readiness; but neither was required to awaken the energies and hatred of the Catholic population against Ormond. The grand object was to seize Dublin, and secure it against the parliament. It was well known that Ormond was in concert with them, and anxious to surrender the government to any but the confederates.—And so desirous was he to secure the city against O'Neill and Preston, that, on his return from Kilkenny, he set about repairing the fortifications "from the College to St. Keven's, and so to St. James's Gate."* The Marchioness of Ormond, with several ladies of quality, might be seen carrying baskets of earth to the workmen on the ramparts.†

In fact there could not have been any doubt of Ormond's intentions. By letters published early in September, it was currently stated that the lord lieutenant "was incensed against the Irish rebels," and that he had offered to capitulate with the king's enemies. So sensible was he of the necessity of giving Dublin to them, and of prosecuting the war in connexion with the parliament, against the Irish, that Captain Willoughby, and Captain Wood, two sea captains with whom he had some overtures, had very good reason to believe that he would deliver Dublin to them both, and cause to be delivered the rest of the garrisons in Ireland in his power to the use of the parliament.

"There are already come from Dublin, and are with us," says the parliamentarian correspondence, "Quar- ter-Master Willoughby, Sir Gerald Lowther, and Sir Jobe Davis, sufficient pledges of the reality of this truth,

* Irish Tracts, R. D. S. † Carte's Orm.
that the Marquess of Ormond doth really intend to comply with the parliament against the rebels. That he desired fifty barrels of powder to be sent to Dublin to secure it against the Irish, and satisfaction being given by the said gentlemen coming to, and remaining with us, there are twenty barrels sent, and thirty barrels more are to be sent afterwards. It is desired that the supplies of soldiers from Liverpool and Bristol be sent over to Dublin and other parts possessed by Ormond and his party to secure them for the parliament."

Nor were the confederates ignorant of Ormond's intrigues with the parliamentarians. They knew that Dublin was ill provided against a combined attack. The Wicklow clans were well inclined to swoop down on the city from the south side, and only waited the presence of O'Neill and Preston on the north bank of the Liffey. Within the walls the lord lieutenant could not muster more than 6,000 men, so that to make it tenable against the confederates, with his customary duplicity he invoked the aid of those who were at war with the king to crush the men whom he had the hardihood to designate rebels.

When the confederates were made aware of Ormond's designs, they concluded that further delay was fraught with danger, and they determined to march at once, and if possible save the city before the arrival of the supplies from England. But the rivalry and mutual hatred of Preston and O'Neill, caused them to pause before the armies were marched from their camps. The nuncio had reason to doubt Preston's sincerity. His conduct, whilst acting under Clanricarde in Connaught, was calculated to awaken suspicion in the minds of those who were the avowed enemies of Ormond. A considerable sum, part of the monies brought by Lord Digby from France, had been given to Preston, and this circumstance was of itself sufficient to create fears for the fidelity of the Leinster general.

When, however, it was debated in the council whether Preston should have any share in the siege of Dublin, French, bishop of Eerks, argued that it would not be

* Irish Tracts, R.D.S. —Extracts of Letters from Chester, and published by order of the Parliament.
politic to exclude the Leinster general from the command of his troops in his own province, and that he should co-operate with O'Neill in the enterprise. Finally, it was concluded that the two generals should have joint command; and the nuncio, who never forgave Preston's rejoicings on the publication of the peace, made him take an oath that he would act faithfully and sincerely in the operations against the city. Preston's heart was not in the cause, and he positively refused to take the oath till the following clause was added, namely, that they would not attack the city without first having sought more ample concessions from the lord lieutenant, and that all their movements should be regulated by his declaration. Long before either of the two armies moved from their cantonments, the Leinster general asserted that he feared O'Neill's design was to attack him, and destroy his troops. The nuncio's partiality for Owen Roe was a cause of perpetual disquiet to him, and if anything were required to confirm it, it was the unequal distribution of the monies, for Rinuccini on the 22nd of December, bestowed 8,000 dollars on O'Neill's forces, when the sum which he gave Preston was only about £150.

The two armies marched from their respective quarters at the end of October. The united forces amounted to 16,000 foot and 1,600 horse. O'Neill's troops took Maryborough, Stradbally, Grange, Mellan, and all the strong places in the Queen's County, till he came to Athy, where he crossed the Barrow, and was joined by the nuncio. Preston, whose route lay through the county Carlow, declined storming the castle of the town, though feebly garrisoned, and lingered on his way to the capital. He complained bitterly that the troops under the command of O'Neill were garrisoning the various strong places which they had seized in the province of Leinster, and gave out that the attempt on Dublin was all but justifiable. From Harristown they continued their march to Nass, and on the 9th of November encamped at Lucan, in order to arrange their plans. There it was agreed that Preston's head quarters should be at Leixlip, and O'Neill's at Newcastle. The winter had set in with unusual rigour, and all the country, for miles around, presented the appearance of a dreary waste. Ormond,
terrified by their approach, at the suggestion of Castle-
haven caused the mills to be burned and the crops de-
stroyed. The citizens were dreadfully alarmed, and the
exaggerated reports of the ferocity of O'Neill's creaghts,
determined many of them to embark for England. To
quiet their apprehensions, the lord lieutenant had writ-
ten to Munroe, in Ulster, to send him aid, and the pow-
der sent by the parliament was looked on as an earnest
of their good feeling to the inhabitants of Dublin. Such
was the weak condition of the defences about the city,
that the inhabitants wondered that the two armies did
not advance and seize it in the broad day; but their
wonder grew more strong, when they beheld from the
battlements of Christ Church, and the high ground
about the castle, two hundred watch-fires blazing in the
night time on the other side of the Liffey.

Where the confederate armies fancied they would find
an abundance of provisions, they now discovered that
the foresight of Ormond had ruined their hopes. A
flood in the Liffey, swollen by the heavy rains, had car-
rried away the bridges, and thus prevented the supplies
from being brought from the county Wicklow. The
rains were succeeded by snow and frost; and from
twenty to thirty of the soldiers, night after night,
perished at their posts.* Indeed, nothing sustained
them, save the hope of good quarters in Dublin, which
they now regarded as in their grasp. But there was a
more deadly enemy within their camps than the storm
which raged without—dissension and fear of each other.
They sent to Ormond, demanding admission of Catholic
troops into Drogheda and Dublin, and a free and public
exercise of the Catholic religion, such as Catholics en-
joyed in other countries. Their proposition being re-

darded as "too scandalous," did not get even a reply
from the lord lieutenant. When they should be up and
stirring against him, the two confederate generals were
taking precautions against each other. O'Neill accused
Preston of intriguing with the lord lieutenant, and me-
editating a plan which would have put him in a position
to be attacked by Ormond from the city and the Lein-
ster general from his camp. Preston, on the other

* Pihlopater Iran.
hand, affirmed that he believed O'Neill's design was to destroy him and cut off his army. The nuncio clearly saw the impossibility of reconciling the two generals, and summoned the council to consult whether it was not best to seize and imprison Preston. The opinions varied. Some thought it best to inflict that punishment, as all they held dear was jeopardized by the vacillating conduct of the Leinster general. But, at an unfortunate moment, it was decided, contrary to the nuncio's sentiment, that such a course would be fatal. Under such circumstances, the nuncio deemed it his duty to prevent bloodshed between the two armies, wisely concluding that the loss of Dublin was inconsiderable, when compared to the result of a conflict between O'Neill and Preston. It was a strange sight to see the president of the council going from camp to camp of the confederate armies, endeavouring to effect a union between the respective leaders. But if the fact moves us to pity, and excites our contempt for the temporizing Preston, it conveys to us a moral, never too often repeated, that in union there is hope, and in everything beside reverse and ruin.

On the 11th of November Clanricarde came to Preston's quarters, and laboured to persuade the nuncio and council, through him, to sign a peace with Ormond. He engaged to obtain a repeal of all the penal enactments, and that the queen and prince should confirm the articles until the king would be at liberty to declare his assent in a free parliament; but the fear of committing himself to such uncertain conditions, induced the nuncio to withhold his consent. It was evident that Ormond feared the loss of Dublin, else he would not have commissioned Clanricarde to negotiate with the nuncio; and the former knew well that every delay on the part of the confederates added to his chances of holding the city against them. Contrary to Owen Roe's avowed request, Rinuccini, accompanied by Heber Mac Mahon and the Bishop of Ferns, visited Preston in his tent, and vainly sought to induce him to lay aside his apprehensions of O'Neill's good will and sincerity; but the nuncio, perceiving that he could not succeed, charged the Leinster general with having formed a design to seize his person, and commit him and the Bishop of Clogher
to the custody of Ormond. Preston did not deny the charge, but merely asserted that he never would consent to the arrest.

They were now fully twelve days before Dublin without having made any attempt on it. Provisions were every day becoming more scarce; and the council was once more summoned to suggest some decisive step. The two generals were present; and one day, while the council was urging an advance, and all were assembled to discuss it, some one knocked at the door of the chamber, and Preston rose suddenly to open it; having heard three or four words from the person without, he returned in a fright, and said the English were already in Dublin. In a moment Owen Roe and the others sprang up from their seats, as if a serpent had stung them, and, thinking each man of himself, departed from his companions. The generals signalled by cannon fire that every man was to return to his post; and O'Neill having made a bridge of trees and house timber over the Liffey at Leixlip, returned with his troops into Meath, and thence into the Queen's County. This occurrence took place on the 16th, and the next morning the members of the council fled to Kilkenny in the utmost alarm.

The nuncio remained three days at Lucan after the departure of O'Neill; during that time the Marquess of Clanricarde made several propositions, and informed him of the falsehood of the report of any English having landed. The only concession which Ormond authorized Clanricarde to make, was the admission of Preston's troops to garrison Dublin, on condition that they would unite with the troops under Ormond, and compel the council to accept the peace, with the addition of Clanricarde's engagement. The nuncio, however, proposed the free exercise of religion as an indispensable condition, but as Ormond was opposed to the insertion of any such agreement, the negotiation ended in smoke. Preston had accepted Ormond's proposal, and according to his agreement with Clanricarde, a day was appointed on which he was to unite his troops with a detachment led by the latter from the gates of Dublin. But in the mean time the nuncio had expostulated with the

* Nunziatura in Irlanda.
Leinster general, who expressed his sorrow for having made such terms, so that Clanricarde, on the day appointed for the rendezvous, found a letter of excuses instead of an army of allies, and with loud indignation returned disappointed to Dublin.

Rinuccini soon afterwards followed the council to Kilkenny, where he caused O'Neill and Preston to sign a mutual agreement, by which they bound themselves to forget all past dissensions, and whether acting singly or collectively for the future, to have but one object present to their eyes—the independence of their religion, and the deliverance of their common country.

Nothing could have given greater joy to the members of the old council imprisoned at Kilkenny, than the failure of the siege of Dublin. Whenever they received news of any disaster to the confederate arms, they drank to their losses in beakers of beer. They naturally concluded that their liberation was nigh, and as the government, in the hands of the clergy, was only temporary and provisional, they calculated on a crisis which would again restore them to the power which they had lost.

It was now resolved to call a general assembly of the kingdom, as it was urged that such a proceeding would give greater satisfaction to the people who were anxious for the formation of a government in which the representatives were not elected solely by the clergy. Contrary to the wishes of the nuncio, the members of the old council were now released from imprisonment. Belling entered on a defence of his own conduct and that of his colleagues in the matter of the peace concluded with Ormond, and published in August. He asserted that in signing the peace he had done nothing more than what was sanctioned by Pope Innocent, who, in the presence of Luke Wadding, cautioned the delegates of the confederates against seeking more than his majesty was able to concede in his difficulties. This was an assertion which required more than the word of Belling for its confirmation, and the nuncio denied that his holiness had ever made any such statement, as it was totally irreconcilable with the instructions he had

*Philop. Iræu.*
received from Rome, which charged him not to abate a single tithe of the just demands of the Catholics.

In the meantime Ormond was carrying on a negotiation with the parliament commissioners, Clotworthy, Meredith, King, and Salway, who had anchored in the bay of Dublin on the 13th of November. At the prayer of the citizens he invited them to land on the 14th, and fixed their quarters at Ringsend and Baggotraith, and on the day following opened a treaty with them which was carried on till the 23rd of the month. The terms which they proposed not being agreeable to the lord lieutenant, they embarked a few days afterwards, and carried their supplies to the Scots in Ulster, who, in the absence of O'Neill, had sent 700 men from Lisneganvy, and ravaged the counties of Cavan, Monaghan and Louth, and amongst other places, demolished Carrickmacross.

The result of the negotiation with the parliament commissioners was prejudicial to the lord lieutenant; it sowed such seeds of jealousy and discontent* that the citizens of Dublin refused to contribute further to the payment of his troops, so that he was forced, in the cold and wet winter, to draw out his half-starved and half-naked army and march into the county Westmeath, to procure provisions. The defection of Preston, who, in his excuse for not adopting Ormond's offer, asserted that his troops were not "excommunication proof," was a sore blow to him. His object was to act with the Scots in Ulster, and having gained over the unsteady Preston, to annihilate O'Neill, and thus force the observance of the peace. In his present circumstances one incident saved him from the army of Owen Roe. While he was keeping "a melancholy Christmas"† at Trim, a short cessation, proposed by Muskerry, was agreed to, else "the half-starved and half-naked" army of Dublin must have made a sorry figure before the Ulster general.

Thwarted in his scheme, he did not despair for a moment, and the assurance sent him by his kinsman Muskerry, "that in the approaching general assembly matters should be arranged agreeably to his pleasure," consoled him for the uneasiness and trouble he experienced in the vicinity of O'Neill's army.

* Borlase.
† Cox.
Nor was Preston's vacillation useless to the lord lieutenant; on the contrary, Ormond had strong reasons for calculating on the sympathies of the Leinster general. His enmity to O'Neill, however it might have been masked, must sooner or later develop itself, and as he had but little feeling for the "old Irish," he knew that the nuncio would eventually distrust him. One thing was certain, and that certainty could not but be grateful to Ormond: the two generals who had quarrelled under the walls of Dublin, were so divided by the antagonism of class that their cordial co-operation could not be looked for. On leaving Dublin the lord lieutenant had been induced to believe that by making an attack on Athlone, he might get possession of that important fortress. It had been surprised early in September, and taken by one of O'Neill's officers from Lord Dillon, who held it for Ormond. Dillon had made his profession of faith on the 6th of December, and was received into the Catholic church by the nuncio, who entreated Owen Roe to reinstate him in the command. But, so determined was the Ulster general, that he could not be induced to comply, and sent Richard O'Ferrall and Roger Maguire, with positive orders to hold the place against Ormond and every one else.

The day of the general assembly was now at hand, and on the result of the meeting the fate of Ireland depended. The subject which had hitherto divided the council of the confederates was that of religion; and, as if anticipating the decision of the majority, Ormond wrote to Digby, who was setting out for Paris, that the commands to be forwarded to him by the queen and the Prince of Wales, touching that vital question, "should not thwart the grounds he had laid to himself."

"For, in that matter," ran the instruction of the lord lieutenant, "I shall obey by suffering, and particularly that there be no concession to the Papists to perpetuate churches or church livings;" but, as far as regarded the quiet exercise of their religion, it might be free for his majesty to tolerate it, if he could see anything in them but 'Irish rebels.'"

Thus the sum of all they had struggled for was to be the toleration of their creed. The blood and sweat of five years were to be rewarded by a connivance at the
practice of their conscientious convictions, in the rude hut and "up in the mountain solitudes." At the fitting time the cathedrals and the ecclesiastical revenues were to be given back to the Protestant clergy, who had already petitioned Ormond for stipend till they were restored to their benefices. Out of these sacred edifices, which the piety of their forefathers had erected, the Catholic clergy were to be expelled, to propitiate the lord lieutenant. The craven-hearted Catholics of the Pale seconded his views, and as they were his adherents and sycophantic clients, he looked on them as his most useful instruments in creating division and disunion. But they were destined to discover their error when it was irremediable, and find that the man on whom they placed such hopes and confidence was "an inconstant friend and an unforgiving enemy."

**CHAPTER VII.**

Never did that city seated on the "stubborn Nore" contain within its walls a more august or brilliant assemblage than on the 10th of January, 1647. The morning of that memorable day beheld the representatives of the confederate Catholics assisting at high mass in the cathedral of St. Canice. It was a solemn scene, such as memory loves to dwell on. David, Bishop of Ossory, was the officiating priest, and a choir of Italians sung the responses. On the left of the grand altar sat the nuncio on a lofty throne, arrayed in glittering cope and jewelled mitre; around him sat eleven bishops, with the primate, Hugh O'Reilly, at their head. Immediately behind the bishops, sat the temporal peers, attended by their esquires. Diego della Torre and Du Moulins, the envoys from the Spanish and French courts, had distinguished places near them. Two hundred and twenty-four gentlemen,
representing the Commons of Ireland, occupied the remaining space about the richly ornamented altar. The cheering ray of the winter sun shone feebly through the great eastern window,* whose brilliant tints had excited the artistic cupidity of Rinuccini. The piety and chivalry of the land were represented within the sacred edifice, and above the heads of that glorious assemblage, were suspended the torn banners of Beinburb, for they had not as yet been sent as votive offerings to the holy see.

There they knelt around that altar which they had sworn to uphold. Many an illustrious name has been preserved to us of those who were on that day invoking blessings on the cause of their religion and country. M'CCarthy Riagh and O'Sullivan More, from the south; O'Donnell and M'Gennis, from the north; O'Conor Don and O'Conor Sligo, from the west; Preston and Talbot from the plains of Leinster, with the descendant of Pheagh Mac-Hugh O'Byrne, from his foralice of Ballynacorr, in the Wicklow mountains. The "ite missa est," pronounced at the conclusion of that day's solemnity, sent them forth to struggle for their homes and altars on their own soil, and on almost all the battled-fields of the continent. But of all who were now kneeling beneath the roof of St. Canice, one† alone was destined to find a grave within its precincts. Little did they then think of that fearful storm which was soon to sweep their native land and desolate their homesteads; but if they could have anticipated how fondly aftertimes should cherish the recollection of their virtues and heroism, it might have consoled them for the bitter trials and heart-burnings they had to endure. Sir Phelim O'Neill perishing on the scaffold, a martyr to truth,‡ and Terence Albert O'Bryan, the Bishop of

*This window was the gift of Bishop Ledred; and Grose in his Antiquities states that Rinuccini offered 700l. for it, in order to send it to Rome. It were better he had succeeded in purchasing it, for it would have been preserved though at a distance from us. When Axtel was governor of Kilkenny in Cromwell's time, his savages smashed it, in a fit of holy indignation against popish saints and pictures.

† Mountgarret, who died in 1651.

‡ Vide Hib. Rom.
Emly, in sight of the gibbet, pronouncing in the ears of Ireton, the prophecy of his death by pestilence, are facts which cannot be forgotten. Irish genius has yet to make them glow on canvass in the temple of nationality; nor shall distinction of creed prevent us doing honor to the men whose love of fatherland must endear them to the recollection of all.

But the scene is changed, and the bishops, nobles, and commons are assembled in the great gallery of Kilkenny castle.

The nuncio was the first to address the assembly. Adverting to the congregation of the prelates and clergy at Waterford, he solemnly declared that necessity alone had compelled him and the bishops to adopt that course, which was indubitably agreeable to the people at large, however otherwise it might have been to the adherents of Lord Ormond. Much contrary to his own wish he had been induced to take the conspicuous and onerous part of president of the congregation, which he was now ready to resign, in order to bring about an indissoluble union of parties. In terms which were any thing but flattering to the commissioners engaged in the late negotiations with Ormond, he repudiated the articles of the peace which they had concluded. They had done this, he affirmed, without the consent of the prelacy and people of Ireland; but as it was now evident that laity and clergy longed for repose, he exhorted them to proceed to the conclusion of an honorable peace, which fully guaranteed the independence of their religion. "So anxious," he continued, "is Pope Innocent for the security of your religion and country, that he has recently sent from Rome the Dean of Fermo, with supplies of money and paternal assurances of his good will towards you. The benevolence of the holy father is only commensurate with the joy he has experienced on receiving news of your victories; and if proof be wanting, see it here in the request which I am commissioned to convey to you, that you will send the standards* captured from your enemies,

* "These standards," writes the nuncio to Cardinal Paullillo, "were so torn in the death-struggle at Beinburg and elsewhere, that he was obliged to remove some of them from the staffs in order to forward them to Rome."—Rinuccini.
that they may be hung up in the basilicas of Rome, to record your devotion to the holy see, and the indomitable bravery of the Irish people."

He concluded his address by assuring them that his feelings were all opposed to any position which would impose on him the burden of temporal concerns, as his solicitude was for the weal of that religion for which they had taken up arms. Yet, if any thing in the history of the events which had transpired remained to console him, it was the timely victory won by the men of Ulster; "for," said he, with marked emphasis, "if heaven had not fought on the side of O'Neill, on the memorable day of Beinburb, the representatives of the Catholic confederates would not be to-day assembled in this goodly city. The churches must have been desecrated—the priesthood scattered—and the peers temporal and spiritual who now listen to my voice, either sacrificed by the swords of the Puritans or languishing in prison."

The address concluded, and received with acclamation, a most important point was now to be discussed before entering on the consideration of other matters. There was, indeed, a unanimous desire amongst all parties for the conclusion of peace; but the conditions on which it was to be drawn up constituted the stumbling-block between the clergy, and Muskerry and Mountgarret, who thought of nothing so much as catering to Ormond.

Smarting under the blow inflicted by the edict of Waterford, which denounced them as perjurers, the commissioners now sought to justify their proceedings in the matter of the treaty, and disprove the crime which the declaration of the prelates meant to attach. In this discussion three weeks were consumed, and the heat of the contending parties was near bringing about the most disastrous consequences to the entire body. The demon of discord was amongst them, and when it was moved by the Bishop of Ferns that Preston should be impeached, as conniving with the adherents of Ormond, swords and daggers were near being drawn on both sides. * In this matter it required the joint influence of the prelates, and Plunket, the chairman, to suppress a most unseemly tumult.

* Philop. Iræn. 41.
Day after day was the unhappy question of the Waterford declaration raised and discussed;—the commissioners, on the one side, vindicating their conduct in the transaction with Ormond, and the prelates, on the other, defending the course they had adopted. In self-defence it was argued by the commissioners that their consent to the thirty articles was founded on the secret concessions of Glamorgan, and therefore the charge of perjury was not sustainable. This assertion was far from satisfactory to the prelates, who maintained that when the commissioners were subscribing the treaty they must have known that Glamorgan had been disavowed. In order, however, to terminate such rancorous recriminations, the commissioners now agreed to condemn the peace; and, for that purpose, an instrument was drawn up which embraced both points—the evacuation of the peace and the vindication of their own conduct. The resolution, published the 2nd of February, set forth that the commissioners had acted honestly, and pursuant to their instructions, in making the peace, and that the clergy had acted conscientiously in rejecting it. It is hard to reconcile such contradiction, but as the commissioners could not be induced to reject the peace on any other terms, the resolution was agreed to. It was now necessary that the assembly should advertise Ormond of what they had done by a public manifesto, and on the same day it was almost unanimously resolved, that “they would not accept that peace, and therefore they protested against it as invalid and of no force, and that the nation would accept of no peace not containing a sufficient security for the religion, lives, and estates of the confederate Catholics.”

This resolution was published two or three days after Lord Taaffe and Colonel Barry had got a safe conduct to come into the confederate quarters. They brought a letter from Ormond to the chairman of the assembly, urging the necessity of adhering to the peace concluded in August, and asking £1,000 per month for the subsistence of the king’s troops; but before the deputies were granted an audience they learned that, out of three hundred, twelve alone were for Ormond’s peace, and they consequently declined presenting the lord lieutenant’s remonstrance.
It was now moved, that a new oath should be administered to all persons for the continuance of their union till all the propositions which were annexed to it should be obtained and secured. The nuncio successfully pressed the matter, and it was finally subscribed by the peers, spiritual and temporal, and all the commons, without dissent. The propositions annexed were precisely those which had been drawn up by the prelates in the assembly of Waterford, and of which no mention was made in the thirty articles of Ormond. They were as follows:

1. "That the Roman Catholic clergy and laity have and enjoy the free and public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion throughout the kingdom, as it was in the reign of Henry VII. or any other Catholic king, his predecessors.

2. "That the secular clergy of Ireland, viz., primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans, chapters, archdeacons, and other dignitaries; vicars, and all other pastors of the secular clergy, and their respective successors, shall have and enjoy, all and every of them, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and immunities, in as full and ample manner as the Roman Catholic clergy had or enjoyed within this realm at any time during the reign of the late king, Henry VII., king of England and lord of Ireland, any declaration of law, laws, statutes, power, or any other authority to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. "That all laws and statutes made since the time of King Henry VIII., whereby any restraint, penalty, mulct, or incapacity, or other restriction whatsoever, is or may be laid upon any of the Roman Catholics, either of the clergy or laity, for the said exercise of the Roman Catholic religion within this kingdom, and of their several functions, jurisdictions, and privileges, may be repealed, revoked, and declared void in the next parliament, by one or more acts of parliament to be passed therein.

4. "That the primates, bishops, ordinaries, deans, and chapters, archdeacons, chancellor's, treasurers, chanter's, guardians of collegiate churches, prebendaries, and other dignitaries, shall have, hold, and enjoy all the churches and church-livings in as large and ample man-
ner as the late Protestant clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the 1st day of September, 1641, together with all their rights, profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties to their respective sees and churches belonging, as well in all places now in possession of the confederate Catholics, as also in all other places that shall be recovered by them from the adverse party within this kingdom, saving to the Roman Catholic laity and their respective rights, according to the laws of this kingdom.

Such were the conditions on which peace with Ormond was to be sought. Henceforth they were solemnly sworn to preserve their allegiance to the king intact, but never to lay down their arms till the aforesaid articles were fully ratified. A proclamation, enjoining all Catholics to contend for these their chartered rights, was published by order of the general assembly on the 8th of March, and all who refused to take the oath with the annexed conditions, were denounced as traitors to their God and country.

But if any proof were wanting of the overweening loyalty of those men who were denounced by Ormond as Irish rebels, it is to be found in the history of the transactions of the confederates during this meeting at Kilkenny. Amongst other questions there discussed, was that of the appointment of the bishops to Irish sees. The Catholic lawyers, amongst the most conspicuous of whom was Mr. D'Arcy, contended that the right of patronage was vested in the crown, and that the choice of bishops and incumbents should be made in a settled form between the supreme council (who acted at present in the king's right) and the metropolitans and chapters.* The novelty of the doctrine startled the nuncio, who imagined at first that it was a scheme on the part of the Ormondist party to introduce into the vacant sees their own clients and adherents; but he was soon made aware that the four lawyers who advanced the proposition, vesting the right of nomination in the crown, were really sincere in their opinion. Taking away that right, they contended, would amount to a breach of their allegiance, as they had sworn to main-

tain inviolate all his majesty's just prerogatives, rights, and jurisdiction. Another argument insisted on was, that they had no other means left them of preventing Protestants being appointed to the vacant sees, if it was not admitted that the *jus patronatus*, or power of appointing, was actually vested in the crown. Conceding that power to the Pope, they said nothing could be expected from a Protestant monarch or executive. In vain did Rinuccini endeavour to convince them that no such power belonged of right to the crown. Granting that at any point of time such privilege belonged to it, that privilege must have been granted from the Holy See; and now that the King of England professed no longer the doctrines of Rome, the power of nominating, if it ever granted such, must naturally have reverted to the fountain head.

The nuncio repudiated their pernicious dogmas, and after times has put the seal on his decision. But yet "so stiff" were the lawyers in their opinion, that he was forced to move the article might be set aside till he had consulted the court of Rome on the subject. But it was a foregone conclusion, and having satisfied the importunity of these over loyal men, whose temporizing failed in this instance, he assured them that any recommendation emanating from the supreme council should be treated with marked respect by the Holy See, which, however, would not acknowledge the right of election vested in any other than the representative of the "Fisherman."

Having settled this point, the other debates turned on the obligation of the oath recently taken; in regard of which it was moved—"That though the propositions of the clergy were ratified and approved by the assembly, and annexed to the oath, yet the assembly should not by any of these propositions be excluded from assenting to any medium to be agreed to by vote of that body, and inserted by them in their instructions about churches or ecclesiastical lands, in parts and places possessed by the Protestants, at the conclusion of any peace or accommodation to be made with the lord lieutenant, or any other person empowered by his majesty."*

* Rin. p. 201; Carte Orm. p. 597.
The assembly now set about considering the propositions submitted by Barry on behalf of Ormond. The peace was pronounced as of no force, but they consented to a cessation for three weeks, till March the 13th, and soon after to a month longer, allowing the lord lieutenant to enlarge his quarters in the county of Dublin in lieu of the money which he demanded for the maintenance of his troops.

As soon as the cessation was concluded, a proposal was made in the general assembly to treat the question of a peace, as it was now no longer doubtful that Ormond had written on the 6th of February to the parliament commissioners, offering to deliver the towns and garrisons to such as they should depute to receive them. For this purpose Geoffry Brown and Dr. Fennel were ordered to proceed to Dublin to propose a conjunction of the confederate forces with those of Ormond, on the distinct understanding that both armies should act independently of each other, and under their respective leaders. The propositions annexed to the oath were to be an indispensable condition to this arrangement, and the confederate troops were to be admitted into the king’s garrisons, or to have the towns put into their hands. Ormond, who was willing to lend a ready ear to any accommodation with the parliament, scouted the proposals of the confederate deputies; nor did he condescend to give them a formal answer till the assembly sent Theobald Butler to press him on the subject, when he declared that he would not assent to the propositions.

Thus, when all hopes of a peace were entirely frustrated, the assembly turned their attention to the re-appointment of the generals who were to command their troops in the various provinces. The treasury was empty, and the crops wasted, and a solitary chance was left to console them in the anticipation of many evils. The Dean of Fermo had not yet appeared with the monies which had been given by the Holy See, and collected by the indefatigable industry of Luke Wadding. His coming was hourly looked for, and the assurances given by Mazarin led the confederates to think that the Queen of England was interested in their cause, and consequently would not fail to succour them, now that they stood in arms against the parliament.
Conflicting and various were the communications from the court of the English queen; at one moment it was rumoured that she designed coming with the Prince of Wales, and that she inclined to the demands of the Catholics in the matter of their recent treaty with the lord lieutenant, and that the latter, far from negotiating with the rebels in England, was determined to hold Dublin for her majesty and the prince. But the more energetic of the council clearly perceived that it was to be a death struggle between them and the parliament, and took their precautions accordingly. It was now referred to a select committee of the confederate council to devise means for the support of their troops, till the supplies which they were expecting had arrived. The exigency was promptly met, and a resolution of the committee determined that, along with the ordinary contributions, a tenth of all fruits and chattels should be given by the laity, and an eighth by the bishops and clergy, secular and regular. Everything that could tend to replenish their exhausted coffers was readily effected, and the chalices and church furniture were turned into money.

At the same time it was resolved that "Owen Roe" should have the command of the Connaught, as well as the Ulster forces. Preston, feared and distrusted by the nuncio and clergy, was re-appointed to command in Leinster; and, much to the annoyance of Muskerry and his party, Glamorgan was to head the troops of Munster.

Never did the confederates apprehend greater danger of their existence than at this moment. The storm which so long lowered was about to burst on the land; nor did it need the wit of a seer to foretell the havoc and ruin which were suspended above their heads. The blow which was struck by O'Neill in Ulster had only stunned the Covenanters; the supplies sent by the parliament had recruited Munroe's strength, and he now burned for revenge. From the south there came disastrous news. Inchiquin was up again, merciless and infuriated; and the Marquess of Ormond, falsely stating that the "insolent demands of the Catholics" had compelled him to treat with the king's enemies, was about to open the gates of Dublin to that ruthless faction.

At such a moment, and when so much lay at stake,
no practicable alternative was adopted by the nuncio or the lord lieutenant. The former was not a man for the doctrines of expediency; or, in other words, he was too much the statesman of principle. He did not care to bring about a union between the Catholic and Protestant aristocracy, but devoted all his energies to realize an imaginary project. Yet he might have perceived that in the council of the confederates there were fatal jealousies and false friends, and that the bond of their common religion alone kept them for the while together. Were it not for this, into how many sections must they not have been divided? Nevertheless, let us not throw the blame on the confederates, or stigmatise them as the cause of all the evils which came on their native land. The fatal policy of Ormond was not less culpable than that of Rinuccini. The assembly had continued their meetings ten weeks longer than at any other period, in the hope of inducing him to forego his country with the parliament, but all in vain. He hated the Catholics with an intense hate, and would rather have seen the crescent flying from the Castle of Dublin than the standard of the confederates. He higgled too long, says his eulogist O'Connor, and allowed the seasonable opportunity for action to elapse. Had he thrown the weight of his influence into the scale against the Puritans as against the nuncio, Preston and O'Neill would have joined him against the Scots. The nobility and gentry would have been with him to a man, and the monarchy would have been saved.

All other resources failing, it was now determined by the confederates to have recourse to the sword. Freedom of conscience, and the restoration of the churches and the plundered estates of the Catholic nobility and gentry, were the objects which banded them together. The exhortations of their clergy cheered them to the struggle, and the poor but faithful peasantry flocked around their standard wherever it was raised.

The last act of Ormond cleared away all doubt as to his intentions towards the parliament. His second son, Lord Richard Butler, with the Earl of Roscommon, and

Columb. ii. 228.
Sir James Ware, had been sent as hostages for his performance of the articles, in consideration of which, he was to surrender Dublin to the English rebels. The assembly resolved, therefore, to break up in the beginning of April, and before adjourning they appointed their next meeting to take place on the 12th of November following. A new supreme council of twenty-four was now elected; all of whom, with the exception of Muskerry and three others, were inflexibly opposed to the Marquess of Ormond.

The hostages had scarcely arrived in England when 1,000 foot and 400 horse were marched from Ulster, and received by Ormond into the garrisons of Drogheda and Dublin, where they were allowed their own form of worship, and had churches assigned to them as well as ministers. Colonel Castle had already been admitted to the city with his regiment which had lately arrived from England, and the letters forwarded by Ware and the Earl of Roscommon gave Ormond to understand that he would soon receive reinforcements from the traitors on the other side of the channel.

Yet, such was the inclination of the Irish Catholics for peace, and their zeal for his majesty’s service, that they gladly availed themselves of an incident which they thought was calculated to promote it. Indeed, any honourable peace could not be too dearly purchased by them, for their treasury was empty, and the country reduced to a state approaching sterility.

The truce with Ormond expired on the 10th of April, and Preston marched his forces into the county Carlow, and sat down before the castle, which he took by storm. It was evidently the intention of the confederates to march on Dublin, and repair the errors that had been committed there in the last winter. Their object was to take the city out of the hands of Ormond, and prevent the landing of the parliamentary troops. Indeed the lord lieutenant would freely have ceded it to any power save the confederates, and was now begging the intervention of the terrible Inchiquin, who had an army of 5,000 foot and 1,500 horse at his command, with the

* Notwithstanding the king’s command, “not to submit to them on any terms,”
promise of supplies from England. He had already taken Dromana, Cappoquin, and Dungarvan, which were but feebly garrisoned by the confederates. In order, therefore, to oppose him, it was settled that Preston, instead of carrying the war into the quarters of the lord lieutenant in Leinster, should at once proceed to Munster and act with the troops under the command of Glamorgan. The incident which favoured this design was the arrival of Dr. Leyburn, who, under the assumed name of Winter Grant, had recently come from the court of the English queen with instructions for the lord lieutenant; it was, therefore, resolved, on the 10th of May, that the confederates should embrace the opportunity of Grant's coming, and renew their overtures for an accommodation.

Lord Digby, who was at Leixlip on May the 12th, wrote to Ormond, advertising him of Grant's arrival, with despatches from the queen of an urgent nature. Grant immediately afterwards presented himself in Dublin, and having consigned the despatches to the lord lieutenant, assured him, that the queen and prince had such unbounded confidence in him, that not even the reports which were hourly reaching them of his negotiations with the parliament, could shake or diminish. The notion of delivering Dublin to the king's enemies was farthest from their suspicions. But Leyburn, who had so much confidence in Ormond's integrity, was soon undeceived, for he did not scruple to inform him "that if there were necessity, he would rather give up the city and the places under his command to the English, than to the Irish rebels."

Leyburn, who affected to believe that Ormond would never submit to the parliament, and that a successful negotiation might induce him to join the confederate troops, was now commissioned to procure a cessation between the lord lieutenant and the Catholics. Ormond freely consented to a cessation for three weeks, well knowing that, ere that time had elapsed, the additional reinforcements and troops should have arrived from England. His object was to gain time, and when Leyburn was about proceeding to Kilkenny, "he desired
to know from his excellency what he should say in case it was objected by the confederates, that he consented to so short a cessation only that he might gain time to receive more forces from the parliament." To which he got an answer, "that he should receive orders on the way, if, on consideration, there was cause." Accordingly, on the next day, a courier overtook him with a letter from the lord lieutenant, which empowered him "to undertake to the confederates that if a cessation should be agreed upon, he would not receive into the garrisons under his command, forces from the parliament during three weeks; but M. Leyburn was to use his utmost endeavours to procure a cessation without that condition, or at least that it should be kept private; which last he was to engage them in before he consented to the said condition."

But on the arrival of Leyburn in the confederate quarters, he was astonished at finding that they were already aware that Ormond was in treaty with the parliament, and that he had upwards of three thousand of their men long since admitted into the city and other garrisons where his orthodoxy did not exclude them from the free exercise of their religion. The confederates soon perceived that this manœuvre on the part of Ormond was of a piece with his accustomed duplicity, and they forthwith objected to so short a cessation; but at the same time proposed to lengthen it to six months, provided his lordship would, in the meantime, admit no more of the parliament forces into his garrisons. But Herod and Pilate were now friends. The extermination of the confederates was Ormond's ambition, and he positively refused to accede to their requests.

Nor can it be said that Rinuccini exercised any influence in this negotiation carried on by Leyburn, on behalf of Ormond, with the confederates. He had been absent during that eventful period, and solely occupied with ecclesiastical affairs in Wexford and other towns. When the final answer of Ormond reached the supreme council resident in Kilkenny, he hastened thither, only to learn that Leyburn, as well as the queen, had formed an exaggerated notion of Ormond's loyalty and sincerity. The terms on
which the confederates insisted, were in his eyes utterly impracticable. The propositions regarding religion and settlement of a peace, which would enable him to act with the truly loyal Catholics against the parliament, he heartily despised; and all negotiation was put an end to when he declared that their proposals were fitter to be treated on in a league offensive and defensive, between neighbouring princes, than between his majesty's governor of a kingdom, and his subjects of the same, declined from their obedience.*

It has been asserted, though no mention of the fact occurs in Rinuccini's despatches, that Ormond was at this time carrying on a negotiation with O'Neill, on whose honour he placed great reliance. But it is difficult to understand how this could have been the case, as there was no provision made for the restoration of the forfeited lands in Ulster; moreover, the Ulster general had too much reason to dread Preston, to place himself, as it were, between two fires, as he must have done had he marched into Leinster, and taken up a position between Preston and the city. However the case may be, Rinuccini is charged with having detained the Ulster general's nephew at Kilkenny, when he was sent by Owen Roe to persuade the council to an accommodation.†

Every expedient had now been tried which was calculated to preserve Ireland from the English rebels; but Ormond was in their confidence, and clearly saw that the king's circumstances were irretrievable. For awhile it had been argued that the advent of the Queen and Prince of Wales might have created a salutary reaction, and brought about a union of parties, which would throw difficulties in the way of the parliamentarians. But that hope was soon abandoned. The capital was in the hands of the enemy. Ormond was, in reality, at their mercy; and it is stated, on the authority of many, that he sought to dissuade the queen from such an enterprise, if she ever really meditated it, urging that the step would render her husband's enemies still more implacable.

All hope of taking Dublin out of Ormond's hands had

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* Carte.
† Phillip. Iron. 
now vanished. O'Neill asserted that fifteen days would have been sufficient to seize it; but the reluctance of the people of Leinster to receive his army, and the want of money and provisions, determined him to make no attempt. Fifty thousand dollars, forwarded by the Holy See for the confederate armies, were still on the coast of France. The parliamentary cruisers stood in the way, and these succours, so desirable at this moment, awaited a favourable opportunity of being brought to their destination.

In the beginning of June, the supreme council proceeded into Munster, and made their head-quarters at Clonmel. Inchiquin was dealing death and devastation along the sea coast, almost into the county Cork. The jealousies of the confederate generals had given him time and opportunity to place one-half the province under contribution. Glamorgan awaited orders to act, as well as money to pay his troops; and a great portion of the army reluctantly obeyed a general who had superseded Lord Muskerry. Several regiments mutinied, demanding that he should be re-appointed, whilst others threatened to take his life. At the very doors of the council-chamber these clamours were kept up, till, on the 12th of the month, as they were debating on the best way of suppressing the insubordination, Muskerry went out, and getting on horseback, as if he were going to take the air, proceeded to the camp; in an hour's time the whole of the army declared for him, and turned Glamorgan out of the command. The next day he entered Clonmel, attended by a guard, and Glamorgan, by way of reparation to his honour, was reinstated for a few days, and then ceded the command to Muskerry. The latter immediately resigned in favour of Lord Taaffe, a creature of Ormond, without any character for military achievements.

Thus was Muskerry enabled to give his whole attention to political affairs in the supreme council; and the troops in Munster were completely at the beck of his dependant, who was in the interest of the unsteady Preston and the faithless Ormond. The nuncio soon afterwards proceeded into the province of Connaught, to concert with Owen Roe whatever measures were most necessary against the perils which they knew must fol-
low the surrender of Dublin. Nor had they long to wait for that base and perfidious act, which was, in a great measure, the cause of the death of the unfortunate Charles; and, what is far more to be lamented, the undeniable cause of all those horrors which subsequently came upon unhappy Ireland. But Ormond, in the spirit of a well-known distich, would rather see the loyal and faithful Catholics exterminated by the swords of the Puritans, than admitted to hold the city against those men whom he subsequently pronounced to have been the murderers of the king's person, usurpers of his rights, and destroyers of the Irish nation; by whom the nobility and gentry of it were massacred at home, and led into slavery or driven into beggary abroad."

And yet this very man had already entered into terms with the ruthless faction, which he thus characterized; for on the 7th of June, their commissioners came into this moment, Ormond was well aware that the king's person had been sold to the parliament by the Scotch, and still he did not hesitate to sign and conclude a treaty with his enemies on the 19th, by which he obliged himself to surrender the sword on the 28th of the following month, or sooner, upon four days' notice. An incident, which is worthy of being recorded, occurred at the time. Smith, who was then lord mayor, and at the venerable age of four score years, waited on Ormond, when he heard that he was about to deliver the city into the hands of the parliamentarians, and sternly informed him that he held the king's sword, and would never resign it to rebels. Whereon Ormond checked him, and ordered him to withdraw. The patriotic mayor was subsequently sent for, and Ormond, never at a loss for stratagem, read a letter from the king, artfully suppressing the date and circumstances under which it was written, and thus imposed on the credulity of the old man, who would have died to sustain his country and sovereign.

Digby and Preston remonstrated in vain. The latter was ready to make a junction with the forces in Munster under Taaffe, and hold the city against the invaders;
but all to no purpose. Ormond declined all overtures which might have averted the pending destruction; "because, forsooth, he held it by no means safe." He was greedy of gain, and knew that he could not expect anything from the king, who was now in imminent danger of his life. He could not serve two masters, and therefore bowed to mammon. On the 16th of July, he got notice to remove with his family from the castle, and deliver the regalia within four days; but, as the messenger, who was commissioned to give him £5,000 for his treachery, had not yet arrived, he did not depart for a few days. The messenger finally came, and having got his reward, and a promise from the parliament of £2,000 per annum, he sailed from the city on the 28th of July.

It is recorded of him that he indulged in a histrionic performance before the Irish coast had "failed his sight," likening himself to Hannibal when recalled to Carthage, and predicting to those around him that he would one day return in power to that city which he had basely and treacherously surrendered; but, alas! ere his ship had reached the mid channel, Jones, with his myrmidons, were in Dublin, and the fate of Ireland was sealed. Yet, this baseness of Ormond did not open the eyes of his dupes and adherents. They were fascinated by him; they hoped in him and swore by him. Nor did his kinsman, Muskerry, discover the duplicity and heartlessness of the viceroy till, when stretched in the last agonies on his death-bed, he declared to those about him that "the heaviest fear that possessed his soul, then going into eternity, was his having confided so much in his grace, who had deceived them all, and ruined his poor country and countrymen."

Indignation and alarm seized the minds of the people when the news of Ormond's conduct travelled through the land. Hitherto they had warred and struggled for their religion, but now, when the swords of the parliamentarians were at their throats, they began to learn that they were to fight for their very existence.

In vain was Clanricarde importuned to take his place in their ranks. His influence was great, but his sympa-
thy with Ormond was greater still. He did not hesitate to impute to the confederates the crime which any unprejudiced man must have thrown on the lord lieutenant, and he determined to preserve a strict neutrality.

Owing to the imbecility of the gasconading Taaffe, who had command of the Munster forces, Inchiquin, with a small army, thinned by disease, was destroying by fire whatever he could not reach with the sword. Owen Roe was in the heart of Connaught, without money; and such was the feeling created by Muskerry against him in the south, that the inhabitants of Munster would more willingly have received the troops of the grand seignor into their province than those he commanded.*

An effort, however, was to be made to recover the capital, and the faction who had adhered to Ormond declared that it should be regained with as much ease as it had been lost. The undertaking was committed to the hasty and rash Preston, who fancied that he would eclipse the military genius of his rival by capturing Dublin. Nor could the success of his enterprise be separated from the anticipation of O'Neill's destruction. Muskerry urged him to advance without delay on the city, and promised that he should be immediately joined by the troops under Taaffe, and that their combined forces should then proceed to attack O'Neill,—the grand obstacle to the project which they now contemplated, the recall of Ormond.

Jones had scarcely established himself in Dublin, when he sent orders to the north to Coote and Conway to put their troops in motion, and join him in Leinster. The forces under his command did not amount to more than 4,000 foot, two regiments of horse, with two demi-culverins, "one saker, and four sakaruts." He marched from Dublin on the 1st of August, and took up his quarters in the village of Swords. On the next day he continued his march through Hollywood to the Naul, and thence to Garretstown, where he got notice that the forces from the north were en route to join him. On the 4th he pitched his camp on the hill of Skreen, where he was met by Colonel Moore with the Dundalk troops, and

* Carte.
soon afterwards by Titchbourne, with those of Drogheda, and Conway, with a party of the old British,—making altogether 700 horse and 12,000 foot, with two pieces of ordnance.

Here they held a council of war, and whilst they were debating, Cadogan and Graham came from Trim to inform them that Preston had on that morning raised his camp, and marched with his entire force, consisting of 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse, to a place called Portlester, five miles west of Trim. On the same day Jones put his troops in motion, and advanced to the hill of Tara, where he reviewed the army, and on the next day proceeded to Skurlockstown, within a mile of Trim, where he quartered for the night.

Next day he resumed his march and advanced on Trimleston, where Preston had left a feeble garrison, and the parliamentarian general having surrounded it in hopes of drawing Preston to a fight, sent out a party of fifty horse to ascertain his movements. They soon brought back word that the confederate general had broken up his camp at an early hour, and was crossing the country towards Kilcock, with the intention of throwing himself between Dublin and Jones's army.

The march was immediately sounded, and before the parliamentarian columns crossed the Boyne, the garrison of Trimleston surrendered. Great was their joy, and on they went singing hymns to the Lord of Hosts, till they reached Lynch's Knock.* Preston was strongly fortified on Dungan Hill, not more than a mile from their position. This was on the 8th of August, and the sanguine hopes of Preston and the adherents of

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* Lynch's Knock, with its ruined castle, may be seen within the beautiful demesne of Summerhill. The property was given some time after the action here narrated to the brother of Colonel Jones, who was appointed Bishop of Meath. There are some traditionary stories concerning the battle preserved in the neighbourhood; and the peasantry point out a grave on the brow of the hill, which they call Colkitto's burial-place. It is evidently that of some distinguished man of Preston's army, but not of the chivalrous Alexander. Were it not for a neat little volume, published by Dr. Butler, Protestant rector of Trim, it might be difficult to identify the locality, which is in the townland of Drumlargin. Trimleston Castle is a most interesting ruin, and might be easily restored, were such the wish of its lord.
Ormond, who calculated on triumph, were soon to be completely frustrated. A steady general, such as O'Neill, would have harassed the parliamentary troops; but Preston was the Marcellus, choleric and mercurial, and the Fabius was not where he should have been.

Jones advanced in full force to the foot of the hill, but Preston’s guns being badly pointed, did little execution. The action commenced at ten o’clock, a.m., and at twelve, when the confederate general grew weary of skirmishing, he determined to charge down the hill and overwhelm the phalanxes that were forming at its base. His infantry were met with undaunted bravery, and, notwithstanding the exertions of Alexander Mac Donnell, surnamed Colkitto, were thrown into confusion, and driven back to their former position. Again and again did they come to the charge, and as often were they broken. Preston’s cavalry, which was badly placed, their horses being fetlock-deep in the marshy ground, spurred to protect the foot, but they were encountered by Jones’s cavalry, when the whole force was driven into an adjacent bog. They were now surrounded by the entire strength of Jones, Moore, Conway, and Titchbourne, and a withering fire from their guns and musketry, literally mowed down the devoted men to whom no quarter was given. With a desperate effort some of the confederate foot forced their way out of the bog, but they were hacked to pieces by Jones’s dragoons; and Preston, seeing all hope vanished, fled precipitately from the scene of slaughter, leaving his carriage and papers in the hands of the enemy. On the field and about the hill were reckoned of the confederates killed about 5,470, of whom 400 were the “redshanks” belonging to the brave Mac Donnell of the Isles.

In his retreat, followed by about five hundred foot, the wreck of his army, Preston burned Naas, Harristown, and Moyglare. He did not even make an effort to recover his four guns, “each carrying a twelve-pound shot,” and sixty-four fair oxen, which attended his train. The parliamentarians had only twenty killed in the action, and very few wounded. Immediately afterwards Jones retired to Dublin with his prisoners, colours, and baggage; “nor would he allow the standards
taken from the confederates to be brought in triumph to the city, for that would be attributing to man the work which was due to the Lord alone.”

On his arrival in the city he was met with good news from the parliament; they had forwarded him £1,500 for the temporary sustenance of his forces, and £1,000 as a reward of his good services against the rebels.

Disastrous as was this blow, the confederates did not despair; many a man, who had hitherto shrunk from the contest, was now ready to gird on the sword; but if anything could make us look with contempt on the followers of Ormond who had calculated upon signal success, it is the expression of obsequious respect with which they now turned to Owen Roe. Indeed he had had melancholy proof of his rival’s inferiority, and bitterly remarked, when the news of Preston’s defeat reached him, that he acted without judgment, and needlessly sacrificed his troops. But all hope was not lost while O'Neill had an army; nor has the poet exaggerated the esteem in which the descendant of a hundred kings was held at this moment by his countrymen.† Yet, sad it is to be obliged to say that the destruction of Preston’s army was the salvation of O’Neill’s. Yes, the Fabius of Ireland still lived, and had he commanded at Dungan’s-hill, the “red hand” must have floated from the Castle of Dublin.

The craven-hearted crew who had hitherto affected to despise him, now sent to implore his protection and aid. The army of Leinster was annihilated; they had no longer a single garrison between Dublin and Kilkenny, and well might they tremble for their safety. A few months before Muskerry and the Butlers were loud in their denunciations of O'Neill. The cruelty and the rapacity of his soldiers were their constant theme; and when a few women had been plundered in the vicinity of Kilkenny by some marauders, they came to the council-room to represent their grievances to Muskerry, who ordered them to proceed to the residence of the nuncio,

* Irish Tracts, R. D. S.
† “Sages in the council was he, kindest in the hall,
Sure we never won a battle—‘twas Owen won them all.”
Spirit of the Nation, 4th ed. p. 5.
and inform him of the unbridled licentiousness of his favourite general. But all this was now forgotten in their hour of need. Flushed with victory, Jones was once more in the field, and no one knew at what moment he would be thundering at the gates of Kilkenny. In this state of things the Bishop of Ferns was despatched to Owen Roe, who was about to besiege the Castle of Eniskillen and force his way into the heart of Ulster, and solicited him to advance immediately and intercept Jones. The suggestion was cheerfully adopted, and the Ulster general, at the head of 12,000 men, came with lightning speed and pitched his camp on the ground where Preston had been defeated. It was the salvation of the confederates; for, as Rinuccini remarks, the Fabius of his country, in the midst of bogs and marshes, kept Jones in such check by the rapidity of his movements, that for fer quattuor, non quater me nubit, munda et sileat turba.”

Fearing a surprise which might utterly destroy him, Jones retired into Dublin, and Owen Roe’s light troops advanced even as far as Castleknock, getting plunder and provisions *go leor*, and reducing the English within the city to the direst distress.⁠†

Never was there a more unfortunate appointment than that of Taaffe to the command of the Munster troops. He was totally unfit for it, and in every respect inferior to Preston. When Glamorgan, who was really a chivalrous man, was removed from the command, he consigned a fine army to Taaffe, consisting of 12,000 foot and 800 horse, with an excellent park of artillery. He was keeping up a correspondence with Ormond, who had gone to France and remained utterly inactive, whilst Inchquin was destroying every thing about him. But he was doing the work of Ormond, who meditated coming back at no distant period, and calculated on finding Taaffe’s troops ready to march with him and second his views.

Inchquin, after having put the counties of Limerick and Clare under contribution, entered Tipperary on the 3rd of September. He had no artillery with him, and his soldiers had no more provisions than they could

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* Rinuccini, 336.
carry in their haversacks. He stormed ten or twelve small castles, and then crossed the river Suir near Cahir, a fortress deemed impregnable by the English as well as Irish troops. But an accident led to the capture of it. One of Inchiquin's foragers had been hurt under its walls, and was permitted, at his own request, to send for a surgeon to dress his wounds. One Hippsley, an ingenious man, who knew something of the healing art, assumed a disguise, and was admitted to the interior of the fortress, where the wounded man lay. But, being better skilled in the science of fortification than surgery, he observed a point in the outward bawn where the castle was assaultable, and when he returned reported the fact. It was thereon agreed that he should lead an attack; and the pusillanimity of the Munster guards was such that, on seeing the outworks and some turrets taken, the governor appointed by Taaffe surrendered the whole place in a few hours after. Thus was reduced a castle which, in 1599, held out for two months against the Earl of Essex and an army of 20,000 men—thus was the most important fortress in all Munster lost, by the want of discrimination in the hot-headed fool who now was to oppose Inchiquin. Had there been at the time a well-organized system of military affairs in Ireland, he should have been shot, to prevent greater disasters.

Inchiquin, having fortified himself in Cahir, began to make continual incursions into the surrounding country. His soldiers, who a short time before had nothing but roots to subsist on, were now abundantly supplied with every necessary; the finest county in Ireland lay open to them; and in a very short time they destroyed £20,000 worth of corn. It may not have been the case—yet it would appear that there was a bloody collision between the arrogant Taaffe and the inhuman Inchiquin. Whenever the latter advanced, the former fled; nor did he fire a shot while the ferocious Murrogh was butchering the peasantry, and burning their crops.

There is not on record a more appalling tragedy than that of Cashel, and the guilt is to be thrown on Taaffe as well as Inchiquin. Towards the end of September, when the confederate general heard of his approach, he fled, leaving a feeble garrison in the city of King Cormac. Soon after, Inchiquin sat down before its gates,
and sent to the municipal authorities, to state, that if he did not get £3,000 and a month's pay for his troops, he would take the place by storm. The messenger brought back word, that the authorities would not accept his terms; Inchiquin opened a fire on the crumbling wall, and then dashed into the town. Short was the struggle, but, oh! it was revolting and bloody. The feeble garrison laid down their arms, and were butchered in cold blood. Those who remained in their houses were dragged out by Murrogh's soldiers, and basely murdered at their own doors. In the midst of the carnage a multitude fled to the cathedral on the rock. As they hurried to the sanctuary, their feet plashed in the blood of their relatives and friends; but they thought that the sanctity of the place might protect them, and they grouped around the altars and concealed themselves in the crypts. O Down the savage Inchiquin: supplications and cries for mercy were unavailing: the banditti who followed at his heels took possession of the doors and windows; volley after volley was poured into the church; and when the ringing of the musketry and the groans of agony had ceased, in went the murderers, and dragged forth from their hiding-places the few who survived. The old man stricken in years was hacked to pieces on the floor: the tender girl and the venerable matron shared the same fate. Twenty priests, who were concealed under the altars, were pierced by the pikes of these savages, and when the work of slaughter was done they fired the town. Three thousand human beings had ceased to live, and this bloody deed was done by an Irishman who had been brought up in the "school of wards," and had every germ of humanity and nationality plucked from his heart by the anti-popish education which he received.

Oh! if on that fatal night when the cruel Murrogh retired, some wayfarer, attracted by the fitful glare of the burning roof-tree half quenched in blood, had entered the city, he must have concluded that it had been visited, not by the wrath of man, but that of God, for some dire outrage against his majesty.

On went this destroying demon, unopposed by Taaffe. Ere he reached Fethard, the townspeople had heard of the butchering in Cashel: they dared not resist,
and they surrendered at discretion. Clonmel was yet to be taken—but there was within its walls as gallant a heart as ever throbbed beneath the plaid—that man was Alexander Mac Donnell of the Isles. He had escaped from the slaughter at Dungan-hill, and with a single regiment of his followers, he closed the gates, and dared Inchquin to the contest. But "Murrogh of the burnings," well knowing the stubborn foe he had to deal with, retired from before the town. Oh! shame and degradation. This gallant chieftain, with a small body of troops, was able to scare away Murrogh, whilst the Quixotic Connaught general was retreating with 7,000 men. But Inchquin was glutted with blood, and retired to Cahir; and Taaffe continued his march into the county Cork.

The parliament was well satisfied with the achievements of their proselyte; and as he had complained that Lord Lisle was about to supplant him in the presidency of Munster, they dreaded to displease him, and thereon refused to renew Lord Lisle's commission. Inchquin was, therefore, proclaimed president, and he had scarce retired from Clonmel, when he received large supplies of men and money from England.*

It was a moment of dreadful suspense for the confederates. Jones was cooped up in Dublin by the watchful vigilance of O'Neill, who was encamped at Trim. But they knew not the hour when Inchquin would take the field again and march straight upon Kilkenny.

Taaffe was the only hope they had in Munster, and now that the time for the next general assembly was fast approaching, that general received orders towards the middle of October, to watch Inchquin's movements, and if possible to destroy his army. It was warmly argued in the council at Kilkenny, that the season was too far advanced to resume hostilities, but the party which was ever doubting the sincerity of Ormond's adherents, prevailed, and orders were immediately issued, commanding Taaffe to attack Inchquin if any favourable opportunity presented itself. Early in November the latter took the field. He advanced

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* Ludlow's Mem.
towards Mallow, and lay encamped there till the 12th of the month. Taaffe had no alternative, and he determined to fight. His army consisted of 6,000 foot and 1,200 horse. Inchiquin's troops did not amount to more than 5,000 foot and 1,200 horse, with an excellent train of artillery. Taaffe quitted his quarters at Kanturk, and on the 12th, encamped on the hill of Knockninoss, commonly called Knock-na-gaoll, or Englishman's Hill, a few miles west of Mallow. There was an old prophecy connected with this spot which induced him to pitch his camp on it. The prophecy ran, that the representative of the Mac Donagh should win a battle there and recover his patrimony. Now it so happened that Taaffe's grandfather had got all the possessions of the Mac Donaghs "as the reward of his services against the rebels in the late wars," and by a strange sort of logic, he concluded that he was the representative of the clan Mac Donagh in a far more agreeable sense than that of lineage. The vain man regarded this as the prestige of victory, and therefore strongly entrenched himself on the hill. He had with him Lieutenant-General Purcell and the brave Colkitto: irrespective of the prophecy, his position was a good one, and a better general would have held it against twice the number which Inchiquin brought into action.

Inchiquin was but little disposed to risk a battle under such disadvantages; but, at the instance of Colonel Semple and some other officers recently come from England, he was prevailed on to march against the confederates. Both armies were in view of each other at one o'clock on the 13th. Inchiquin seeing the danger of attacking his enemy on the hill, encamped at a place called Garryduff, and sent this characteristic note to Taaffe:

"My Lord—There is a very fair piece of ground betwixt your lordship's army and ours, on this side the brook, whither if you please to advance, we will do the like. We do not so much doubt the gallantry of your resolution, as to doubt you will not come; but do give you this notice to the end, you may see we do stand upon no advantage of ground, and are willing to dispute our quarrel upon indifferent terms, being con-
fident that the justness of our cause will be, this day, made manifest by the Lord, and that your lordship's judgment will be rectified concerning your lordship's humble servant,

"INCHIQWIN.

"Garryduff, Nov. 18th, 1647."

As no answer was sent to this communication, Inchiquin determined to advance and take a position on the right of the hill, where he brought up his guns and opened a heavy fire on 3,000 Scotch and Irish, commanded by Mac Donnell, and two regiments of horse, led by Purcell; Taaffe himself being on the left with 4,000 infantry and two regiments of cavalry as a reserve. The troops under Mac Donnell, after a few vollies, dashed impetuously down the slopes, and throwing away their muskets, slew the artillerymen with their broad swords, and seized the guns, and then attacked the left of Inchiquin's position, which they chased off the field for a distance of three miles, killing 2,000 of them while they lost but five. Lord Castle-Connell's regiment now advanced from its position on the hill to attack Inchiquin in front, but they were so vigorously met by the latter, that after a few vollies they broke and fled, and were immediately followed by the rest of the Munster troops. In vain did Taaffe call on them to rally: with his own hand he killed many of the fugitives, but they were panic-stricken and could not be brought back. The cavalry, under Purcell, followed the infantry, and Inchiquin turned his whole force on the few brave men who had seized his guns. So sure were those brave fellows that Inchiquin was in full retreat, that they were resting on the ground and had not time to load when they were shot down and piked. The heroic Alexander, who was now returning to his men, was met by fourteen of Inchiquin's cavalry, and having killed four of them with his own hand, was treacherously assassinated while parleying with an officer. It was a disgraceful flight, and only to be remembered as a stain upon the national character. The loss to the confederates amounted to 1,500 men, not to mention officers and the materiel; whilst that of Inchiquin was comparatively trifling, if we take into
consideration the booty that was found on the field. It was a lamentable day for the confederates, for it cost them the life of the ardent and chivalrous Colkitto, to whose valour Inchiquin did not fail to do honour;* for in his letter to Lenthall, the speaker of the House of Commons, he states "that none truly fought but the regiments commanded by Alexander Mac Donnell, the rest having fled to Liscarroll and New Market."†

Gratefully was the news of this victory received in England. Every reverse which the confederate arms sustained, was hailed with the most frantic plaudits. The fanatics from their pulpits, and the dictators in the parliament, bore testimony to the heroic prowess of Murrogh the burner, whom they regarded as fighting the battle of the Lord, against the unrighteous; and they soon after sent him £10,000 for his army, and a present of £1,000 for his own good services.

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CHAPTER VIII.

The defeat at Knockninoss was communicated in a few days afterwards by Taaffe to the general assembly, which had met at Kilkenny on the 12th of November.

Pending the election of the representatives, every nerve was strained by the Ormondist party to return members who were favourable to their views: nor were they disappointed. They had toiled with incredible activity to carry their point, and they could now command a majority in the federative assembly. Ulster, which used to send sixty-three members, now sent only nine; the state of the country interfered with the election, and the nine demanded to have sixty-three voices. The other provinces, for the same reason, were also defective, but not in an equal degree; and the demand of the Ulster mem-

* There is, says Smith, (Hist. of Cork) a very odd kind of music well known in Munster by the name of Mac Alisidrum's march, being a wild rhapsody made in honour of this commander, to this day much esteemed by the Irish, and played at all their feasts.
† Irish Tracts, R. D. Society.
bers was silenced, on the plea that the other provinces might insist on a similar privilege. The Ulster members were opposed to peace, and, although they sat in the assembly, they declared that their province would regard the decisions of the council as invalid, and of no force.

The only opposition which was now dreaded by the Ormondist party was that of the bishops elect. The bulls from the holy see had already arrived, nominating to eleven vacancies. The new prelates, with the exception of John* of Tuam, were all in the interest of the nuncio; for he was a De Burgho, and warmly attached to the policy of Clanricarde. The new bishops, however, were an important addition to the nuncio’s party; and much did the Ormondists dread the influence they were likely to command. They were admitted to the assembly, in right of their sees; but Muskerry objected to the bishop of Ross, whom he declared not qualified to take his place amongst the spiritual peers, as he had not been recommended by the supreme council; but, circumstanced as the confederates were at that moment (for they were meditating a negotiation with Rome), the objection was not pressed, and the bishop elect was admitted to his place.

Never before did the council of the confederates meet under more gloomy auspices. Wailing and lamentation might be heard throughout the length and breadth of the land. Within four months they had lost two armies, and the ravages of war were such that the country remained untilled, and looked as if it had been struck with the curse of sterility. One gallant heart was yet undismayed, and beat high with hope. From the rock of Dunamase to the northern bank of the Liffey did his faithful clansmen carry his standard. That man was Owen Roe. Inchiquin, flushed with recent victory, might have marched on Kilkenny, if he did not dread the celerity of movement and the masterly tactics of O’Neill. Jones dared not to cross the Liffey, for he would have driven him back with slaughter; and yet there was in this new council many a man who sighed for O’Neill’s ruin as the only hope for Ireland.

* He was the very antipodes of his predecessor Malachy.
rally enough, the first question submitted to the consideration of the assembly was the unhappy state of Ireland, almost brought to ruin by the dissensions and misfortunes of her own children. With a feeling of devotion as intense as that with which the sun-worshipper turns to his god, the Ormond party now looked to England, in the vain hope of effecting some accommodation with the king. But the project of sending deputies to the royal person was soon abandoned, when the news reached them of his captivity in Carisbrooke Castle. The immediate effect which this astounding intelligence produced, was the publication of an edict from the assembly, calling the people to arms, and offering, to all officers who would desert Inchiquin’s standard, the same grade which they held in their former employment, provided they declared for the confederates. A strong inclination for peace pervaded the assembly, and the Ormondist faction would have openly avowed it, could they have hoped to gain any thing like reasonable terms from the parliament; but their undeniable loyalty to the king, which far exceeded their devotion to their country, removed all hope in that regard.

As the means for protracting the war were now totally exhausted, the question of a foreign protectorate was openly mooted in the assembly. In the selection of foreign princes who were deemed as most eligible, the pope was the first whose name was introduced. Nor were the agents from the French and Spanish courts inactive whilst the question was being discussed. These two courts had a serious interest in that subject, and both put forward rival claims. Indeed Ireland was, for both, the nursery of soldiers; and a singular instance of their mutual jealousies on the subject is recorded as having taken place early in this year. M. Tallon and Diego della Torre\* had enlisted several regiments for the two crowns, and sailed from Waterford with the levies; but they had not cleared the Irish coast when Tallon attacked Torre’s ships, and carried all the soldiers to France. Thus the French envoy pressed the claim of the French crown, as more likely to be beneficial to Ireland in case a foreign protectorate was determined on.

\* Carte’s Orn.
to the exclusion of Spain, which he represented as intriguing with the English parliament. But the rival pretensions did not meet much encouragement from the assembly.

As to the pope, no matter how earnestly Rinuccini might have wished to have him proclaimed protector, his inability to furnish means would have been sufficient reason for negating such an appointment. But, along with this consideration, the distance between Ireland and Rome, would have rendered such an expedient perfectly useless. The instructions which the nuncio had received from his court were satisfactory on the subject; for he had been already warned, "not to let that point ever come into consultation, as a protectorate at such a distance could be of no use to the Irish, who could expect but little succour from the pope; moreover, it would expose the Papal See to the jealousy of princes, and exhaust its exchequer, beside a thousand other reasons which forbade any thoughts of that nature."*

But these discussions were introduced into the assembly by the Ormondist faction, without any real view to their practicability. Their grand object was to restore Ormond to power. The nuncio and prelates had thought that the queen would have appointed Glamorgan, now Earl of Worcester, to the viceroyalty of Ireland. But Ormond who had been at St. Germains long before, succeeded in depreciating the earl, and lessening him in the eyes of her majesty. In the last interview which Ormond had with the king, he received a positive assurance that he should one day return to Ireland invested with the plenitude of power. And the queen, caught by his obsequious flattery and magniloquent promises, confirmed the determination of her consort.

A curious circumstance transpired during these debates. A book, entitled "An Apologetic Discussion," written by an Irish Jesuit, invalidating the title of England to the sovereignty of the sister country, and exhorting the Irish to elect a king from among themselves, had been brought into the country, and widely circulated. It was immediately concluded by the partizans of Ormond, that the Irish meant to place the crown on O'Neill's

* Carte. p. 2.
head, and thus renounce their allegiance to their rightful sovereign. The book was, thereupon, condemned and ordered to be burned by the executioner; and the author, who had struck hard at English misrule, was consigned to all the pains and penalties of high treason, should he ever venture into the country.

But the Ormondist party had now made up their minds to adopt a more practicable course to realize their darling project. By an act of the assembly it was resolved to send agents to the Queen and Prince of Wales, and also to the Pope and King of Spain.

The agents who were to proceed on these missions were soon named. French, bishop of Ferns, and Nicholas Plunket were to proceed to Rome. Muskerry, Brown, and Heber MacMahon were appointed to the French court.

Nor was this scheme without its hidden treachery. It was the object of Ormond's partisans to remove from the assembly all whom they knew to be hostile to their designs. French and Plunket were in the interest of the nuncio and clergy, and MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, was O'Neill's second in command, and most useful to that gallant chieftain.

When the nomination took place, MacMahon rose in the assembly and declared that he would not leave the kingdom. Loud murmurs of disapprobation followed the announcement. A majority of fifty had already determined the question, when the patriotic bishop addressed them in Latin:—"My lords and gentlemen, hence I will not go. My character and motives have been misrepresented in your English and French courts; my life, therefore, would be endangered; and, setting this consideration aside, my ignorance of the French and Sassenagh languages must incapacitate me from taking part in the negotiations you contemplate." The Ormondist were thunderstruck when they heard this. Many of them cried out that the confederation was dissolved and utterly ruined by the dissensions of the prelates. Preston rushed out to collect his troops, for the bishop was guilty of contempt, and it was likely he would be committed to prison. The gates of Kilkenny were

* Vide Hardiman's Hist. of Galway.
closed, and a messenger proceeded to O'Neill's headquarters to inform him of the occurrence. When Owen Roe heard the treatment which his friend experienced, he sent back word that he would not act very leniently with the assembly if the slightest indignity were offered to the prelate.

When the assembly received notice of O'Neill's intentions, they dropped the question, and the Marquess of Antrim was appointed in place of the bishop. Nor are we to be surprised at the indignation of Owen Roe at this moment. MacMahon was his confidant and friend; they loved each other with the tenderest affection. On the morning of Beinburg the bishop shrived his chief, and in that evening's ever-memorable sunset he was charging at his side. MacMahon knew nothing of court chicane and wily intrigue. The crozier was not any longer useful to him in protecting his flock, and he therefore had girt on the sword. He was to O'Neill what Daiberto, Bishop of Pisa, was to Godfrey,* in the days of the crusaders, and he would not be separated from him. What business had that stern old bishop in the saloons of St. Germains, when his people were in arms for their lives, their altars, and homesteads?

At no former period was there a greater want of energy on the part of these Ormondist than at the present moment. They were now paralysed by the effects of their own imprudence. The prejudice which they had excited against O'Neill was the cause of all the disasters in the south; and even now, when he was ready to march, at the head of 12,000 foot and 1,500 horse, they lacked the spirit which was required. But they dreaded O'Neill, as if he meant to exterminate them, root and branch; and they hated the nuncio, as though he were in concert with him to wrest the ecclesiastical revenues out of their possession. When energetic action was required they preferred going a-begging beyond seas, and they consoled themselves with the hope of being beneficial to the country by soliciting alms from despots, when they should have been usefully engaged in hunting them out at home. View it as we will, the remnant of nationality was at this moment

* De Rossi "Il conte Ugolino."
in the hearts of O'Neill and the clergy, for they alone were ready and willing to sacrifice all to it.

Those craven cowards, who could fight with "courteous words," were now determined to bring over the Prince of Wales; and if they did not succeed in their designs, they were to insist on the immediate recall of Lord Ormond.

After a month's discussion, a draft of the instructions to be given to the respective agents, was submitted to the supreme council, and corrected by the bishops. When corrected, they were signed by nine prelates and six lay peers. The Roman agents were directed to assure the pope, that they would insist upon such terms as would secure the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion, on having a Catholic lord lieutenant, and publishing the religious articles at the same time with the civil. They were then to solicit aids; and, in case a satisfactory settlement could not be had, they were to implore the holy father to take on himself the protectorate of Ireland.

Those destined to France and Spain were charged to solicit arms and money, and assistance to procure them a happy peace; and if they found such a peace could not be had, and that the pope would decline the protectorship, they were to inform themselves where it could be placed most for the advantage of the nation, and manage it accordingly.

Such were the instructions; but an important point remained to be settled before the departure of the deputies—the appointment of members who were to govern in the assembly whilst they awaited answers to their negotiation. The Ormondistes proposed the very men who had been instrumental in concluding the former peace, and the clergy objected to them. A medium was therefore agreed upon, that an equal number of both should be chosen; but Muskerry had made an arrangement early in the session, which in a great measure sadly discomfited the party which was opposed to his views.

As members might be absent on an occasion when it would be necessary to sign or issue orders, he proposed that supernumeraries should be appointed to fill their places; and the result was, that forty-eight were ap-
pointed who were all devoted to the interests of Ormond and Muskerry. In vain did the prelates protest against this arrangement; and the bishop of Ferns, seeing that his absence was a trick devised by the anticlerical body, would fain withdraw from the embassy; but the Ormondists were now in a majority—masters of the assembly; and the council were, almost to a man, in favour of their views.

The prelates knew well that Ormond would never consent to any peace which would leave the Catholics in possession of the churches, and the public exercise of religion with all its splendour; and they accordingly drew up a document which they signed, pledging themselves that they would never consent that the queen or prince of Wales should be invited over till the religious articles should be secured, or that any peace should be made which would tend to lessen the public exercise of their religion.

French and Plunket sailed from Waterford on the 10th of February; but, meeting with storms, were forced to put back, and sailed again on the 17th. They brought with them a strange document, signed by Owen O'Neill and eight bishops, entreaty the pope to raise Rinuccini to the dignity of cardinal. Muskerry and Brown sailed soon after;—nor should it be forgotten that there was a strict understanding between the nuncio and Muskerry, that a special provision should be made for restoring the "old Irish" to their plundered estates in Ulster. But Muskerry was not sincere when he acquiesced in this matter, for he had no notion that such justice should be done the kinsmen and abettors of the man who had been a thorn in the side of Ormond. Yet it is not honourable to his memory that he left an impression on Rinuccini's mind that O'Neill would be restored, at the very moment when he was cordially opposed to such an adjustment. *

The Earl of Antrim, whose services in the king's cause entitled him to a much higher place in the royal esteem, sailed before his colleagues; and he thought he would have been immediately appointed lord lieutenant. But

* Carte, ii. 20.
he was a Catholic; and he had soon reason enough to find himself undeceived. Could the urgent instance of the nuncio and the Irish bishops have carried this point, a great good would have been effected; but Glamorgan was refused; and such was the fatal leaning to the bi-
fronted Ormond, that all hopes of the queen and prince were centred in him.

They landed at St. Malo on the 14th of March, and soon afterwards waited on the queen at St. Germains. Taaffe and Preston, who were humbled by their recent defeat, were now siding with the Ormond party in the cry for peace, and forwarded private instructions to Ormond, assuring him of their devotion to his interests, but, above all, of their hatred of the nuncio, O'Neill, and the prelates, whom they represented as plotting the introduction of some foreign power. They expressed the most ardent desire for the advent of the Prince of Wales, and only wanted assistance to march against O'Neill, who was the only obstacle they dreaded. But in case the prince would decline coming into Ireland, they entreated to be furnished with such instructions as should guide them in all things conformable to the royal feelings.

On the question of religion, however, they were profoundly silent. As it had been agreed that this point should not be touched till some communication came from the deputies who had gone to Rome. The chief and grand subjects which engaged their negotiation re-
garded temporal concessions, which were calculated to secure to them their estates; nor did they get a final answer from the queen till the 13th of May.

That answer rated them on their rebellious conduct in rejecting the former peace; and to this fruitful source were ascribed all the misfortunes of Ireland and of the king himself. Adverting, then, to the question of reli-
gion, she assured the Marquess of Antrim in parti-
cular, "that, under existing circumstances, there was no giving them a final and conclusive answer; but she assured them, that she would soon give them some such as she should think fit to receive in Ireland more par-
ticular and full propositions from the Irish confederates; and that the person thus authorized should be instructed
in whatever was consistent with justice and his majesty's honour."*

Such was the queen's reply. Much like every other royal speech dictated by the minister, and far more full of promise than good intentions. Ormond dictated it—Queen Maria pronounced it. The person to be authorized to restore peace to Ireland was the Marquess of Ormond, and his adherents hastened back to prepare for his advent.

Ormond, who had been secretly treating with Inchiquin before the surrender of Dublin, still kept up a correspondence with him; and he had no reason to be disappointed. Inchiquin was to the parliament what Preston was to the confederates, fond of changing sides, and actuated more by private resentments than a sense of public duty to their respective parties. The vacillation of both these men was of great use to Ormond; and he could not but be rejoiced when he learned that "Murrogh of the burnings" had once more declared for the king. The monies which had been advanced to him by the parliament, he declared were insufficient for the payment and maintenance of his troops; and, after a short repose, he took the field again, and threatened to re-enact the tragedy of Cashel in the city of Waterford. The vigilance of the garrison, however, compelled him to abandon his deadly intentions, and he marched into the county Kilkenny, murdering the peasantry, and exacting contributions. Jones, whose army was reduced to great straits in Dublin, finding that O'Neill's troops had retired on Kilkenny, now marched out of the city, and secured provisions, having reduced Maynooth Castle, which was but feebly garrisoned; and the simultaneous movements of Inchiquin and the parliament-governor of Dublin led many to think that it was a preconcerted design between them both.†

The presence of O'Neill saved Kilkenny at this moment, for Inchiquin had not the ability or the force to meet him. All the mischief which Murrogh had committed up to the present did not amount to more than mere border raids, and the supreme council held a meeting at Clonmel, where Rinuccini made an offer.

* Carte.  † Rinuccini. p. 296.
on the part of Owen Roe, to advance into Munster, and quarter his army in the very cantonments occupied by Inchiquin’s troops. But all these overtures were rejected by the Ormondists, who had rather see O’Neill extinguished than Inchiquin suffer the least molestation.

Exasperated by this determined opposition, which led him to think that he was to be victimized, to the implacable resentment of Muskerry and his partizans, O’Neill sent word to the council that he would immediately retire into the north, and leave them to shift for themselves. But such was the nuncio’s influence with him, that he was induced to protract his stay in Leinster, to keep watch and ward over the faction which was secretly plotting his ruin. An event had lately transpired which added to the hatred already conceived for Owen Roe by the Ormondists. Whilst Rinuccini was eagerly expecting the arrival of the Dean of Fermo, with the supplies of money from Rome, the ship so long expected was signalled from the ramparts of Dun-cannon, and the Dean Massari landed at Waterford on the 23rd of March. Along with the money there came a letter from the pope to Owen Roe, extolling his love for the religion of his fathers, and his chivalrous devotion to his native land. The sword of the Earl of Tyrone, “which had rifted the field like lightning at Beal-an-atha-Buidhe,” had been carefully preserved by Father Luke Wadding; and the hand of the pontiff blessed the blade, and ordered it to be given to him who well could wield it. This simple circumstance, taken in connexion with O’Mahony’s book, was the signal for an outcry. O’Neill was to be a king; the book was the declaration of his sovereignty, and that sword was the emblem of royalty. Henceforth no matter on what side he stood, as long as a man could be found to oppose him, O’Neill was doomed to ruin and destruction.*

But the real intentions of Ormond’s abettors did not transpire till about the beginning of April, when Colonel John Barry, the companion of Ormond in his flight from London, landed in Ireland. He immediately gave out

* Gall. of Irish Writers, p. 98.
that the marquess had a secret commission from the king to treat with Inchiquin, and having been furnished with a safe conduct by the supreme council, he hastened to notify them of the fact. The Scotch who were cooped up in the seaport towns in Ulster, were anxious to change sides, and nothing now remained but the coming of Ormond to unite all parties in a determined league against Jones in Dublin and all those who were in the interest of the parliament.

The supreme council gladly seized the opportunity of writing to Murrogh, proposing a truce; but, affecting to disregard them, his answer was addressed to Dr. Fennell, one of Ormond's creatures, demanding 4,000 dollars per month as the price of his adhesion. This was gladly accepted, and the men who would not give a fraction to O'Neill, readily accepted the offer of him whose hands were stained with the blood shed at Cashel. Two months before the supreme council had resolved to raise an army of 7,000 infantry and 700 horse, but now that Ormond was to come, the project was abandoned, for he, forsooth, was a host in himself, and nothing but his presence was required.

A proclamation, calling a meeting of the confederates at Kilkenny on the 20th of April, was now circulated throughout the land, and many and various were the anticipations to which it gave rise. The question which was to fix attention, was a treaty or truce with Inchiquin. The Ormondists hailed it as the consummation of their hopes, for it would restore their idol to power. But, alas! there were many who could easily foresee that in the coming session the prophetic warning, too often disregarded in Ireland, was to be fulfilled to the very letter:—“Every kingdom divided shall be made desolate.”

Owen Roe was at Dunamase, girt by his faithful followers, while the confederates were assembling in the city of Kilkenny. Sad and anxious were the moments which the gallant chieftain spent in the ancient halls of the O'Moores, waiting the result of the deliberations of his friends and foes. Oh! how the lordly soul of the Ulster general must have burned with indignation, when he reflected that the destinies of his country were now to be poised by the descendants of those Norman
barons who had secretly sworn to destroy him and his. And all this, to propitiate Ormond and Murrogh O'Brien! The craven slaves had tied up his hands, when he was ready to strike a blow which might have saved the country; and they were now ready to purchase the friendship of a blood-stained wretch, even at the price of his extinction. What wonder, if he let loose the creaghts whom these pusillanimous temporizers so much dreaded? But the influence of the nuncio withheld him. The dean of Fermo had come from the Vatican, to convey to him the blessing of the holy father. A considerable sum of money, from the same source, and by the same agency, was placed at his disposal; and from the ramparts of that stronghold he often turned his looks in the direction of Kilkenny, awaiting the signal which was to call him forth to battle again for the land of his sires. But, alas! division and dissensions have ever been the bane of Ireland. Such were the causes which brought the Norman to our shores; and now the same spirit of discord was destined to work our ruin again:—

"Ex illo fluere, ac retro sublapsa referri
Spes Danaum, fractae vires, aversa Dei mens."

Rinuccini was at Waterford when a letter from the supreme council, now packed with the adherents of Ormond, summoned him to attend the assembly. An intercepted despatch from Inchiquin, which revealed a conspiracy against the life of O'Neill, had fallen into his hands; and some dark hints about an attempt to be made on his own person caused him to pause.

Before he ventured amongst them, he addressed a reply to their summons, which set forth that, as they were unable to carry on the war against Jones in Dublin and Inchiquin in Munster, it was deemed expedient to treat with the latter, and thus leave them free to march against Jones, and make themselves masters of the metropolis.

But Rinuccini knew that it was a foregone conclusion, and that they had determined to carry their point against all opposition. He therefore wrote to the council, to dissuade them, if possible, from making any truce with Murrogh O'Brien. He besought them, above all
things, to consider well the character of the man whose hand they were now ready to grasp. That hand was red with the blood so wantonly shed at Cashel; and, but a few days before, he who was now meditating an alliance with them was anxious to take their lives, even at the very walls of Kilkenny. "What!" wrote the nuncio, "are you now going to bestow on Inchiquin those monies which, if properly allocated, would send O'Neill's army into the south, and utterly destroy those bandits who, being disregarded by the parliament, are driven by necessity to court your friendship? Europe is shocked at the atrocities of this man, and will you parley with him when you ought to avenge your brethren, sacrilegiously murdered and plundered by his brigands. Cessations and truces have been the ruin of the country, and are you to make terms with a man who, if he were not driven out by the famishing state of his troops, would not dare to take the field?"

"Let me supplicate you to do something worthy of yourselves and the confederacy. You have an army ready to march,—send it into Munster, and leave me free to inform the holy father that you have restored religion, and rescued the peasantry from the cruel and exorbitant taxation imposed by a man on whose sincerity you can place no reliance. I will attend your summons, but before I come I have thought it well to put you in possession of my sentiments."

His epistle met a prompt and argumentative reply. Inchiquin was fortified in almost all the strong places in the south. It was not now the time to undertake sieges, even though they had the means; "and granting that O'Neill's army could be sent into Munster, are we to suppose," said the Ormondist, "that Jones and the other parliamentarian generals will remain inactive? What terms can we expect from the queen and Prince of Wales, if, instead of making war against their avowed enemies, we reject the overtures of a man who is willing to fight with us under the same standard and for the same cause? The churches which he has desecrated we will restore, and our care will be to see the plundered peasantry indemnified for their losses. Let us not then reject the
overtures of the man whom our refusal will exasperate, and drive back to the ranks of the parliament, and finally induce him to give Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale into their hands. What doubts could be obtained of his fidelity to the new cause since he had imprisoned those who refused to sign for the king? And as to his capacity and sacrileges, which the Christian world must execrate, remember that our own countrymen are at this moment spoiling the peasantry almost under the walls of Dublin. Write, therefore, to Rome—supplicate the holy father to send us aid through Plunket and the Bishop of Ferns; and now that we are no longer apprehensive of Inchiquin, let us make a stern struggle for the cause of that king to whom our oath of association conscientiously binds us."

An additional argument was borrowed from the supposition that he sanctioned a truce which O'Neill was about to negotiate with the Scotch, as if to convict him of factious inconsistency. But these arguments were unavailing. Rinuccini was firm in his resolve to oppose the truce with Inchiquin. He dictated a letter in reply to this, arguing that the parliamentarians in Dublin were as badly off as the troops of Inchiquin in the south, and that immediate action against one and the other was more necessary than truces and diplomacy. He treated the assumed inability of the confederates to carry on the war as the result of pusillanimity, and concluded by denying that he ever was concerned in any truce between O'Neill and the Scotch.

But the object of this correspondence was to induce the nuncio to proceed to Kilkenny, on the assurance that nothing should be done "without his entire satisfaction;" but, in fact, it was not for the purpose of gaining his concurrence, but rather to secure a portion of the money which had been recently sent from Rome.

He proceeded, however, and the session commenced on the 20th of April;—it was doomed to be the last in which he was ever to take part.

The question which now fixed the attention of Ireland was that which had already formed the subject of the correspondence between the nuncio and the supreme council. The long catalogue of the reverses sustained by the confederate arms, and the difficulties to which
Ireland was reduced, furnished ample matter for the eloquence as well as intrigue of both parties.

The enemy, said the Ormondists, is almost at your doors. Jones, aided by the rebel parliament of England, is only waiting his opportunity to march against you, and Inchiquin in the south will soon be in a condition to operate with him, if you reject the truce which he offers. Under such circumstances, you cannot pause a moment to conclude with him. We are destitute of means, and cannot oppose him. The political articles which he proposes are unobjectionable, and the two which regard religion must prove satisfactory in our present disastrous condition.

The articles touching that most important subject stipulated that no confederate Catholic should suffer any injury in the free exercise of his religion, so long as the said cessation should be observed; that the property in the actual possession of the clergy as well as of the laity shall remain in the same undisturbed state as it had been when the cessation commenced.*

Such were the conditions made by Inchiquin in the matter of religion; and be it observed, that it was resolved that the Catholic religion should not be exercised in his quarters or garrisons. The enlightened policy of Europe at the present day will not tolerate the persecution of the Christian of any denomination in Turkey; and are we to wonder that an enlightened Italian, in the year 1648, would not sign his consent to such terms on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland?

He took, however, the real view of the case, and rejected the terms, as far from consonant to the spirit of the oath by which the confederates had bound them.

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* The following are the articles of Inchiquin's treaty:

"It is agreed and resolved, that none professing the Catholic religion, cleric or laic, suffer any molestation or detriment from the Lord Inchiquin, or any of his adherents, on account of the free exercise of religion, and the performance of its functions, during the continuance of this truce, always excepting that it be not practised or exercised in the garrisons or quarters of the said Lord Inchiquin.

"2ndly. It is agreed and resolved, that the property pertaining to laics and clerics, now in their possession, be secured to them respectively, and continue to them, without any detriment, from the day on which the truce commenced, with the same advantages as before, provided that they submit to this agreement, and do not decline to pay the taxes and afford their contributions to the public cause."
selves, and manfully scorned the truce on such dishonourable proposals.

But the Ormondist in the council gladly acquiesced, and, in a true sense, may be said to have preferred their monarch and the possession of their revenues to their God and religion.

"Make no truce with this man," said the nuncio, "he has three times changed sides. If the massacre at Cashel has left no trace on your memories, recollect that a month ago he pillaged the town of Carrick, and slew the inhabitants, who were Catholics, palliating the atrocity by asserting he could not restrain his soldiers. Remember, too, that he has driven the Catholic clergy out of the cathedral of Callan, and introduced those who do not profess your religion. Talk not of your inability to carry war into his quarters. The army under Jones has been worn out watching O'Neill during the summer, and does not amount to more than 3,000 men. Preston, with the troops recently levied in Leinster, ought to be able to meet him. Inchiquin has not more than 3,000 men in Munster; they are naked and hungry, and you fear him when you ought to despise him. In Connaught and Ulster, the Scotch are able to do little more than commit robberies for their sustenance. At the present moment Owen O'Neill has an army of more than 6,000 men. He is ready to act against Inchiquin in the south, and I will supply monies to pay his troops, and thus rid you of these scruples with which the ravages of his soldiers have so long afflicted you. I exhort you to union of heart and purpose; and remember that your rulers of England have never treated you, Catholics, with respect, except when you stood in a united and formidable league."

The energetic remonstrance of the nuncio produced an instantaneous effect. John, Archbishop of Tuam, whose political tendencies were on the side of Clanricarde, and consequently of Ormond, seized a pen, and signed the condemnation of the truce, and the same course was immediately adopted by thirteen of the bishops. But the truce had been already concluded between the Ormondist and Inchiquin at Dungarvan.

* Rm. pp. 312, 420.
It had scarcely been signed when the Ormondists proclaimed through the country that peace was restored, and that they were soon to march on Dublin, and drive Jones from the metropolis. Mountgarret, at the head of 300 horse, entered Kilkenny, to intimidate the refractory and enforce obedience. But there was a terrible weapon still in reserve. The sword of Aodh O'Neill was not potent to carry out the nuncio's views, and he determined to have recourse to another, which, if it did not pierce the flesh, effectually contributed to divide the spirit.

Inchquin's designs against O'Neill were now developed. Preston and Murrogh united their forces. They had pledged themselves to see the truce observed, and to resort to violence when it might be deemed necessary. Heavens! that the petty feeling of jealousy could instigate the scion of the house of Gormanstown to grasp the bloody hand of Inchquin, and pledge himself to destroy the gallant O'Neill. Yet such was the case. All who did not obey that fatal truce were to be pursued as rebels. Fourteen bishops, the majority of the clergy, and the popular feeling, were opposed to it. O'Neill was still the unshaken friend of the hierarchy, and was involved in the same condemnation. Far better for Preston that he had nobly fallen under the walls of Louvain, when his laurels were fresh, than live to conspire against the braver and the nobler soldier; but he represented in his own person the deadly hatred of his class for the "old Irish" nobility. Taaffe, that braggart who found that the prophecy of Knock-na-gaoll was not to be realized in his person, was also in arms, hectoring and vapouring over the new alliance. Clanricarde, who worshipped England and everything English, hailed the dark storm which lowered over the land; for it only concealed from his view for a moment the messiah of his political faith. That messiah was Ormond. Clanricarde, therefore, abandoned his neutrality, and 3,000 men assembled round him, to march against O'Neill. Is it for this that

"Glory guards Clanricarde's grave"?

Seven days after the publication of the truce, a crowd
was attracted to St. Canice's cathedral by a strange document affixed to the gate. It was a sentence of comminatory excommunication against all who would respect the truce. On that same day, the Dean of Fermo, by order of Rinuccini, took down the com-
minatory sentence and substituted another, _late sentence_, against all abettors of it, and an interdict against all cities, towns, and villages in which it should be received or observed.

Oh! it was a fearful expedient, and there is but one consideration which can reconcile a true Irish heart to this hasty proceeding—that is, the preservation of O'Neill—for was not his life immeasurably more valuable than a host of such men as Preston, Clancarode, or Muskerry? Alas! no other reflection remains to palliate the cruelty of such a measure as that of an interdict. Harsh and heartless we would not hesitate to pronounce Rinuccini, if this act were not meant to throw the ægis of his spiritual authority round the man who fought for the church of his fathers. But, view it as we will, it was impolitic to bar the gates which lead from earth to heaven, and refuse the consolations of religion to the afflicted and sorrowing spirit. Was it for this that brave hearts sighed and toiled? Or could the men who rose for their religion in the year 1641 have anticipated that ere seven years a dignitary of their own church would have quenched the lamp, and forbidden the celebration of the mass on those very altars for which they fought, and bled, and died.

But, where is Rinuccini? At day break on the morning of the 27th he scaled the garden wall of his house, and accompanied by two attendants, proceeded through an unfrequented gate to Maryborough, where Owen Roe lay encamped. The gallant chief was ignorant of the doings at Kilkenny, and when he heard of the truce he began to think of his personal safety. His army had not been collected—700 true hearts were all the protection which now surrounded him, and when he learned that it was the nuncio's intention to quit the country, tongue cannot tell the pathetic grief of the noble chieftain. Messengers were soon despatched
from Kilkenny with overtures to Rinuccini, inviting him to return, and offering to cancel the truce if he would advance £10,000; but the die was cast. O'Neill and the bishops sent back a draft of some propositions to the supreme council, which, after a lapse of twelve days, were returned with such modifications as were not acceptable. The delay in the transmission was to give Preston an opportunity of collecting all his forces, and surprising O'Neill. On the twelfth day after his arrival in Maryborough, a messenger rushed breathless into the apartment where Owen Roe and the nuncio were conversing, stating that Preston with ten thousand men were marching on Birr, four miles distant from the camp. "At the announcement," says the nuncio, "O'Neill's features underwent an extraordinary change; astonishment was the first emotion, and then a sudden palor shadowed his visage." But Preston did not advance, and ignorance of O'Neill's numerical inferiority saved him for the moment.

But the censures and the excommunication were doing well. Preston's troops began to mutiny. Unlike their chief they were not all "excommunication proof," and 2,000 of them deserted to O'Neill—happily for the latter; for when the nuncio sent his confessor to Preston, in the vain hope of winning him over, he declared that either he or Owen Roe should speedily perish, and that the opinion of eight bishops was against the validity of the censures.

O'Neill and the nuncio bade an eternal adieu to each other. The former broke up his camp; and now that the supreme council had dared to brand him as a rebel, he hastened to collect his troops. Ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse soon rallied round the standard of the "red hand." But let it be the work of him who has written the Life of Aodh O'Neill to tell how his gallant descendant vindicated the honour of his name; how he scared Preston on the broad plains of Leinster, and baffled five generals at the pass of Ballaghmore. The nuncio retired to Galway, and the din of arms gave place for a while to theological controversy.

Walsh was the corripheus of those who impugned the
validity of the censures. Four bishops who had sanctioned the condemnation of the truce, now declared themselves satisfied with some modifications which had been introduced, and protested against the nuncio. The supreme council issued a circular cautioning all ecclesiastical authorities against interfering with their subjects on account of the censures or interdict.

Scandal and division were the natural results, and a deputation proceeded to Galway, warning Rinuccini that an appeal had been made to Rome against his "uncanonical proceedings." A scene ensued which it would be needless to record. Suffice it to say, that priest was armed against priest; secular and regular were alternately engaged in the most acrimonious conflict of controversy; nor did greater excitement prevail in the days of Savonarola.

In vain did the nuncio endeavour to convocate a national synod. He issued a summons to the bishops on the 13th of July, to meet him on the 15th. Clanricarde's troops blocked up every pass. O'Neill, who was now on the borders of Leitrim, sent two regiments to facilitate the approach of the bishops who yet remained on his side, and Colonel Maguire lost his life in storming the Castle of Drumruisk.

But all too late. The synod never met, and Rinuccini hastened to retire from that fated land, where, to use his own sentiment, "he had never seen the sun." The schemes and the hopes of his enemies were fully realized. Ormond landed at Cork on the 29th of September, 1648. He then proceeded to Carrick-on-Suir, where he was met by the bishops and members of the supreme council, and thence marched to Kilkenny. The life of Charles I. terminated almost simultaneously with the existence of the confederation, and a new era began to dawn on Ireland, remarkable for its fidelity to that house of Stuart, which, alas! but ill requited her unhappy and misgoverned children.

In the month of February, Rinuccini sailed from Galway and proceeded to Rome. The state of his own

* The gross aspersions cast upon the Jesuits, the champions of the cross and literature, by this disobedient friar, are as foul as any that their modern maligners have penned.
principality demanded his immediate attention, but it was necessary that he should give Innocent X. an account of his luckless nunciature. Some fatality seems to have been attached to that office. Nicholas Sanders, an Englishman, sent by Gregory XIII., died of starvation under a tree in the mountains of Kerry. Owen O'Hagan, Bishop of Ross, who had been appointed by Clement VIII., perished in the wars of Tirowen with a sword in one hand and a rosary in the other. Could his predecessors have been called from their graves to meet Rinuccini on his return, what a similarity of incident must they not have narrated?

Yet, let us do justice to the memory of the man. It has been asserted, on the authority of Walsh and the disappointed Callaghan,† that he was met with rebuke on his return to Rome. "Temerarie te gessisti, are the words which Innocent X. is said to have applied to him. But any charge from such men as Walsh or Callaghan should be cautiously received. The former stands convicted of maligning many an illustrious name, and echoed the cry of Ormond's pack, who denounced the men of 1641 as "bloody rebels." The sycophant of Ormond could entertain no kindly feeling for Rinuccini, who laboured to reconcile him to the observance of the monastic rules, which he boldly disregarded. Aiazz, Rinuccini's biographer, informs us that he was offered a high place of dignity in the pontifical court, which he modestly declined, preferring his pastoral charge at Fermo.

Nor let it be said that he was a bigot; whoever would make the charge ought to reflect under what circumstances Rinuccini had to act. Had he not to contend with men who were the avowed and unrelenting enemies of the Irish Catholics; and would he not have deserved to be branded as untrue to his charge, if he did not urge them on to win their own again? Did he do aught that

† The author of the Vindiciae Hibs. thought to become Bishop of Cork, but was disappointed by the Nuncio's veto. He subsequently produced his scurrilous work in reply to a book from the pen of the Rev. Paul King, a pious and patriotic Franciscan friar. V. Bishop Talbot's "Friar Disciplined."
was irreconcilable with enlightened policy, in insisting on freedom of conscience and the untrammelled exercise of that religion of which he was a minister.

Will any one blame him for so far interfering in temporal concerns, as to aid the plundered Catholics of Ulster in wresting their property from the robber gripe of the undertakers? Yes: he had an incontrovertible right to enforce these just demands; and, when argument failed, he was justified in resorting to the sword. Scotland had won religious independence by this weapon, and why should not Ireland have tried it? Let those who would condemn him on the score of bigotry, reflect that he was acting against men who had sworn the extirpation of the "idolatrous papists," and then ask themselves how can they justify their assertion? His notions, it is true, were purely Italian: he did not think Catholicity could flourish where it was unaccompanied by all the pomp and splendour which he was accustomed to in his own sunny clime. Catholicity in Ireland appeared to him like a leafless branch of the mighty tree, and he fain would see it in full flower. Perhaps, in this particular, he erred; but, according to the rigid laws of justice, he had a right to insist on the restoration of the cathedrals and the ecclesiastical revenues to the Catholic clergy; and who will blame him if he sighed for the day when he might hear Catholic psalmody pealing in all the temples of the land? No, he deserves not the name of bigot; nor can the charge be sustained.

But a graver accusation is brought against him,—he is charged with having divided the confederates. This is an assumption: it supposes that they were united before his advent. But it is false. Failure was the result of their divisions, and he vainly sought to convince them that they had within themselves all the elements of strength and power if they combined. Under the walls of Dublin, was it his fault if O'Neill and Preston fell on each other, and gave Ormond the satisfaction of witnessing the two armies in deadly strife? Were not Muskerry and Preston, and Belling and Clancarade, the sworn friends of Ormond, and the avowed enemies of the Ulster Irish and their glorious chief? But enough: the censures were inexpedient, but in one
sense they were useful. The man who stood by his creed had a right to be protected by it. He loved Ireland, and would have died for her independence; but he lived to learn that Cromwell triumphed, and shed the blood of her noblest sons. Amongst those, many were of that party which clung to Rinuccini. They were faithful to the last, and lion-hearted when others shuddered at their doom. General Purcell fainted when Ireton pronounced his death sentence:* and Terence Albert O’Brien, the bishop of Emly, scorned Ireton to his teeth, and foretold that he should soon meet him at the tribunal of God;—and this was the case; for the blood of the bishop was not concealed on the block before Ireton died of the plague.

Heber Mac Mahon, bishop of Clogher, died nobly for fatherland; but in another place will the record be longer and more minute. On the list of martyrs to religion and country, you will nowhere find more illustrious names than those, and they were all of Rinuccini’s party and sentiments. I dare not contrast with them the Ormondist who survived these virtuous and patriotic men. The storm swept harmlessly over their heads. Ormond got more by the revolution than his Norman ancestors won by the sword: his fortunes, and those of his adherents, were created out of the ruin of the Catholics; for they were scattered to the four winds of heaven.

But it is time to record one proof of Rinuccini’s love of Ireland. On his return he caused frescoes to be painted in the archiepiscopal palace at Fermo, of the actions which had been fought during his nunciature; the bad taste of one of his successors caused them to be destroyed. It is to be regretted, for they would have thrown a light on this period of our history. How gladly would the pilgrim turn from the tomb of Hugh O’Neill to the pictures of Bunratty, Beinburg, and Ballaghmore! But all that now remains, in that old city, to recall the memory of the man, is the monumental inscription.

The summary of an eventful life may be collected from a single line engraved upon it:—

"Ad fœderatos Catholicos Hiberniae pontificia legatione functo."
Above that tomb many of our exiled chieftains have trod and wept. Many a prayer, too, has been offered within the cathedral of Fermo for "the dear old land!" Oh! may she soon arise from thraldom and provincialism, to take her place amid the nations!
APPENDIX.

TABLE OF THE LEVIES ORDERED BY THE SUPREME COUNCIL IN THE YEAR 1642.

Referred to at page 52.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties</th>
<th>Infantry</th>
<th>Cavalry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Westmeath</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meath</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kildare</td>
<td>3000</td>
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<td>Wexford</td>
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<td>2400</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilkenny City and County</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louth</td>
<td>1700</td>
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<td>3000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlow</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                       | 31,700   | 550     |

I have thought it advisable to insert the following letter, referred to at page 120. It has been regarded by some as evidence of a collusion between Glamorgan and Lord Ormond:

"LORD HERBERT (PRETENDED EARLE OF GLAMORGAN)
HIS LETTER TO HIS LADY.

"My dearest heart, I hope these will prevent any newes shal come unto you of me, since my committment to the Castle of Dublin, To which I assure thee I went as cheere-
fully and as willingly as they could wish, whosoever they were by whose meanes it was procured, and should as unwillingly goe forth, were the gates both of the Castle and Town open unto me, until I were cleered, as they are willing to make me unserviceable to the King, and lay me aside, who have procured for me this restraint; When I consider thee a Woman, as I thinke, I know you are, I feare least you should be apprehensive: but when I reflect that you are of the House of Thomond, and that you were once pleased to say these words unto me, That I should never, in tenderness of you, desist from doing, what in honour I was obliged to doe, I grow confident, that in this you will now shew your magnanimity, and by it the greatest testimony of affection, that you can possibly afford me; and am also confident, that you know me so well, that I need not tell you how cleare I am, and void of feare, the only effect of a good conscience, and that I am guilty of nothing, that may testify one thought of disloyalty to his Majestie, or of what may staine the honour of the family I come of, or set a Brand upon my future posteritie. Courage (my heart) were I amongst the King’s Enemies you might feare; but being only a prisoner amongst his Friends and faithful Subjects, you need doubt nothing, but that this cloud will be soone dissipated, by the Sunne-shine of the King my Master, and did you but know how well and merry I am, you would bee as little troubled as my selfe, who have nothing that can afflict me, but lest your apprehension might hurt you, especially since all the while I could get no opportunity of sending, nor yet by any certaine probable meanes, but by my Cousin Bruertons, Master Mannerings, our Cousin Constable of the Castle, and my Lord Lieutenant’s leave: and I hope you and I shall live to acknowledge our obligation to them, there being nothing in this world that I desire more, then you should at least heare from me; And believe it (sweet heart) were I before the Parliament in London, I could justify, both the King and my selfe in what I have done, And so I pray acquaint my Father, who I know so cautious, that he would hardly accept a Letter from me, but yet I presume most humbly to ask his blessing, and as heartily as I send mine to pretty Mall, and I hope this day or to morrow will set a period to my businesse,
to the shame of those who have been occasioners of it: but I must needs say from my Lord Lieutenant, and the Privie Councell here, I have received as much justice, nobleness and favour, as I could possibly expect: the Circumstances of these proceedings are too long to write unto you, but I am confident all will prove to my greater honour; And my Right Honourable accuser, my Lord George Digby, will be at last rectified and confirmed in the good which he is pleased to say he ever had of me hitherto, as the greatest affliction that he ever had, did doe what his conscience enforced him unto, and indeed did wrap up the bitter pill of the Impeachment of suspicion of high Treason in so good words, as that I swallowed it, with the greatest ease in the world, and it hath hither had no other operation, then that it hath purged Melancholy: for as I was not at the present not any way dismayed, so have I not since been any way at all disheartened. So I pray let not any of my friends that's there, believe any thing, untill ye have the perfect relation of it from my selfe. And this request I chiefly make unto you, to whom I remaine a most faithfull, and most passionately devoted Husband and servant, "GLAMORGAN.

"Remember my service to my Brother, my cosin Browne, and the rest of my good friends."

"London: Printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honorable House of Commons. March 17, 1645."

This document, preserved in the original at Rome, has been translated in that great organ of Catholicity, the Dublin Review: March 1845. It may be regarded as a perfect picture of that portion of Ireland which came immediately under the notice of the Italian writer, who is thought to have been Father Arcamoni, the nuncio's confessor. This letter must have been written immediately after the arrival of the nuncio:—

"The courtesy of the poor people among whom my lord the nuncio took up his quarters, was unexampled.
A fat bullock, two sheep, and a porker, were instantly slaughtered, and an immense supply of beer, butter, and milk, was brought to him; and even we, who were still on board, experienced the kindness of the poor fishermen, who sent us presents of excellent fish and oysters of most prodigious size in the utmost abundance. While we were creeping along in the frigate, in the track of the nuncio, I observed a harbour about half-a-mile in length, and a pistol-shot in breadth, so very beautiful, that curiosity led me to take the boat and go on shore, for the purpose of examining the wonders of the place. In a short time I was surrounded by an immense multitude of men, women, and boys, who had come running down from different places in the mountains to see me; and some of them happening to observe the crucifix which I wore on my breast, they all made a circle round me, and kissed it one after another. After this, they made signs of the greatest affection and friendship to me, and conducted me, almost perforce, to one of the nearest huts, where I was seated on a cushion stuffed with feathers; and the mistress of the house, a venerable old dame, sat down beside me along with her daughters, and offered to kiss me, according to the usage of the country; and had I not explained by signs, that this would not be becoming in one who bore Christ crucified on his breast, and who accompanied the nuncio as priest, I think they would have been offended. The old dame then brought me in a wooden vessel, a great draught of most delicious milk, expressing the utmost anxiety that I should drink it. As it was of a most excellent flavour I drank copiously of it, and was quite revived by the draught. They all endeavoured to stand as close to me as possible, and those who were able to touch me, considered themselves happy; so that it was with difficulty I could disengage myself from them, in order to return to the frigate: on the contrary, they wished to escort me to the very water edge, and some of the young men wished to accompany me altogether. What is most remarkable, is, that in these wild and mountainous places, and among a poor people who are reduced to absolute misery, by the devastations of the heretic enemy, I found, notwithstanding, the noble influence of our holy Catholic faith, for there was not
one, man, woman, or child, however small, who could not repeat, the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, and the commandments of the Holy Church.

"The country through which we have passed, though mountainous, is agreeable; and, being entirely pasture-land, is most abundantly stocked with cattle of every kind. Occasionally one meets a long tract of valley, interspersed with woods and groves; which, as they are neither high nor densely planted, partake more of the agreeable than of the gloomy. For seventy miles the country which we met was almost all of this character; but having once crossed the mountains, we entered upon an immense plain, occasionally diversified with hills and valleys, highly cultivated, and enriched with an infinite number of cattle, especially oxen and sheep; from the latter of which is obtained the very finest of what is called English wool.

"The men are fine-looking and of incredible strength; they are stout runners, and bear every sort of hardship with indescribable cheerfulness. They are all devoted to arms, and especially now that they are at war. Those who apply themselves to the study of literature are most learned; and you meet persons of every profession and science among them.

"The women are remarkably tall and beautiful, and display a charming union of gracefulness with modesty and devotion. Their manners are marked by extreme simplicity; and they freely mix in conversation everywhere, without suspicion or jealousy. Their costume is different from ours, and somewhat resembles the French; except that they wear, besides, a long cloak and profuse locks of hair, and go without any headdress, contenting themselves with a kind of handkerchief, almost after the Greek fashion, which displays their natural beauty to great advantage. They are extremely prolific, and almost all the women who marry have large families. There are some who have as many as thirty children alive; and the number of those who have from fifteen to twenty is immense; and they all are handsome, tall, and robust, the majority being light-haired, and of a clear white and red complexion.

"They give most superb entertainments both of flesh and fish, for they have both in the greatest abundance.
They are perpetually pledging healths, the usual drink being Spanish wines, French claret, most delicious beer, and most excellent milk. Butter is used on all occasions, and there is no species of provisions which is not found in the greatest abundance. As yet we have all accommodated ourselves to the usages of the country. [A line is here effaced.] They also eat fruit, as apples, pears, plums, artichokes; and all eatables are cheap. A fat ox costs a pistole, a sheep thirty bajocchi, a pair of capons or fowls, a paul, eggs a farthing a-piece, and so on for the rest in proportion. You can have a large fish for a soldo. But game is so abundant that they make no account of it at all. Birds may almost be killed with sticks, and especially thrushes, blackbirds, and chaffinches. Both the salt and fresh water fish are most exquisite, and so abundant, that for three pauls we bought one hundred and fifty pounds of excellent fish; as pike, salmon, herring, trout, &c., and all of excellent quality. We got a thousand pilchards and oysters for twenty-five bajocchi.

"The horses are very plenty, stout, handsome, swift, and cheap; so that for twenty crowns you might buy a nag, which in Italy would be worth a hundred gold pieces."

FINIS.
THE
GERALDINES,
EARLS OF DESMOND,
AND THE
PERSECUTION OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN, WITH
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY THE REV. C. P. MEEHAN.

"These Geraldines, these Geraldines, not long our air they breathed—
Not long they fed on venison, in Irish water seethed—
Not often had their children been by Irish mothers nursed,
When from their full and gential hearts an Irish feeling burst;
The English monarchs strove in vain, by law, and force, and bribe,
To win from Irish thoughts and ways this 'more than Irish' tribe;
For still they clung to fosterage, to breithamh, cloak, and bard—
What king dare say to Geraldine, 'your Irish wife discard?'"—
T. Davis—Spirit of the Nation.

DUBLIN:
PUBLISHED BY JAMES DUFFY,
10, WELLINGTON-QUAY.
LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO.
STATIONERS' HALL COURT.
1847.
TO JAMES DUFFY,
BOOKSELLER AND PUBLISHER.

Dear Sir—I present and dedicate to you this little Volume, originally published in the Latin tongue. To the translation I have given as many of my leisure hours as I could snatch from graver occupations. You are well aware of the rapidity with which I have performed my task; and I hope that this consideration will disarm criticism of its sharpest weapon. A few pages on, you will find that Dominicus O'Daly dedicated his work to two illustrious Cardinals, who, in the days of the "Confederation," did signal service to Ireland. Were it not for them, Béinburb would not now be a field of glory, or the name of Owen Roe linked to any enterprise more remarkable than the defence of Arras. O'Daly inscribed his book with the names of men who sent military aid to this country at a time when the Catholics took a stand which, in my judgment, surpassed in grandeur and determination, even that of the Volunteers at a later period of our history. I cannot, therefore, be deemed inconsiderate in dedicating the Translation to one who has furnished the rising generation with an artillery more effective than that supplied by the Barberini. You, Sir, have been instrumental in diffusing amongst the people of this country a spirit-stirring literature, which has exposed the misrepresentations of traducers and calumniators, and taught the humblest peasant that this land had once a name among the nations, and is still
worthy of being raised up from her degraded condition. A soul has come into Ireland, and no matter how the cynic may sneer, or the envious disparage, 'tis nevertheless incontrovertibly certain, that there has arisen of late such an array of talent as our island has rarely witnessed. He who, with others, evoked that genius which is stamped on the pages of the "Library of Ireland," is in his grave; and if his spirit could be again embodied on our earth, it would surely rejoice at the successful labours of his coadjutors. There is, however, one exception to this unqualified yet sincere laudation; but I shall not say more about it, lest the acknowledgment might savour of that humility so remarkable in the days of the Pharisees, and so much cherished in ours. For many a weary year anterior to the establishment of "the Library of Ireland," we were a vast assemblage of talkers; our people had no means of becoming acquainted with the past, save such as they were able to collect from the harangues of popular orators which, less pellucid than the waters of Lough Neagh, rarely unveiled "long faded glories," and too often petrified ardent hopes and the germs of manly thought. A potent arm, 'tis true, has unrivetted the chain which for ages rusted into the very heart of our country; all time and all posterity will give honor to him who did that great work; but to accomplish what still remains to be done, could not be effected within the narrow limits of one man's life. 'Tis not enough to have given freedom to the slave, if he be not furnished with such teaching as will ever after secure to him the possession of it. The unfettered captive will, doubtless, disport him in the sunshine that blesses his vision, and, forgetting in the enjoyment of the present the wearisome
night of bondage that has past, too often neglect to take heed against a tyranny which might be disposed to send him back to his dungeon. A people worthy of the permanent blessings of freedom will sedulously labour to intrench themselves on ground from which no wily fraud or hostile array can ever again dislodge them. He who is ashamed of his progenitors rarely raises himself in the estimation of men, or ever achieves any work which is likely to reflect honor on his name. Even so it is with a people. They who would aspire to a position of respectability before the world, must have impulses from without as well as from within. The innate love of liberty is never half so potent as when purified and lighted by the recollection of the times which preceded its overthrow. Such memories as these have hallowed as with a sacred fire, the lips of the patriot orator, from the days of Demosthenes to those of Curran. Memories like these have sent the life-blood in quickened current to the hearts of such men as Hugh O'Neill, Tell, and every other patriot soldier who stood up to smite oppression. Nay, more—we are informed on the authority of Holy Writ that the recollection of Sion rendered the captivity of the Hebrew so painfully burdensome, that his fingers could not touch the harp-string in a land of servitude. There is nothing, then, at variance with truth in the assertion that, in order to win freedom, we must be learned in the history of the past; and that, in order to guard it, we must be schooled by those who have chronicled its rise and wept over its decline.

Whosoever would say that the present is not the time for insisting, by every honorable effort of "the voice and the pen," for the restoration of Ireland's just demands, is worse than a slave: for he would fain imbue
the minds of his contemporaries and subordinates with false teaching. The uneducated man may fancy that in his person filched privileges have been re-asserted, and immemorial rights vindicated, provided he has picked up some stray plume of grandeur wherewith to bedizen him. The shallow-minded man will feel honored by the recognition of some ephemeral Croesus or titled aristocrat, and inwardly wonder how the rest of his fellows can speak of discontent. Could we fancy a nation made up of such unenviable constituents, we should have no hesitation in conjecturing to what end it must speedily come; but a people whose souls teem with grand memories will strive to live over again all the best that remains of the past. Taught by the fatal experience of their predecessors, they will steer wide of the shoals whereon their freedom was wrecked; and their children's children will honour their tombs, in lasting gratitude for the greatest of all legacies—liberty wrung from the grasp of despotism, guarded with a vigilance like that of the stars, * and bequeathed to posterity as a holy inheritance.

And now, no country has more glorious recollections interwoven with its history than Ireland; and surely no other has so frequently seen the chances of independence snatched from her grasp. In my humble judgment, the last and the best was in the time of the Catholic League; and were it expedient to recall the causes which led to failure, 'twere only necessary to write the one sad word, "Division." 'Tis not in the nature of our age that such an opportunity will present itself again; but a better—

* "By the words of the Holy One, they shall never fail in their watches."—Eccl. xliii. 11.
ay, far better—is slowly, yet surely, approaching. Sectarianism and its fiendish train are rapidly disappearing—for God was never more outraged upon earth than in the reckless conflict between man and man. From the days of Nebuchadnezzar to those of his representative, Nicholas of Russia, every tyrant has made religion a pretext for oppression. They who failed to do the dictator's bidding paid dearly for their reluctance; and the conduct of those in power so influenced their subordinates and menials, that the people became degraded, and instruments in the hands of their unscrupulous masters. The history of Ireland illustrates—ay, fatally illustrates this assertion. Yet I recal the word—for, far from being fatal, these sad experiences inculcate a mighty moral—teaching us that the union of all parties is essentially necessary to the weal of our common country, and that the holy name of religion should never set man against his fellow-man, or counsel him to shed that blood which God has given for a holier sacrifice. The history of those divisions, so painfully sad, are now within every man's reach. The chronicle of those days, when hope—

"Like purple birds
That shine and soar,"*

seemed nearest to us, is as easily procured. The melodies which cheered our forefathers in the banquet-hall at home, or solaced them round the watch-fires when they camped in foreign lands, are becoming familiar to our people. The portraits of those illustrious men who shed the blessings of knowledge on their own and other

nations, are now household pictures. They who have given the time which others devote to the frivolities of life, to such arduous works as these, deserve well of their country; and she will yet divide her gratitude between them and you.

In dedicating this volume to you, I fancied that I might thus acknowledge your claim on my respect. Would that I could do more to evince it. As a priest of your religion I can bear testimony to the great good which has resulted from the valuable and cheap editions you have given of our Catholic works; and as one whose habits are not altogether eremitical, I congratulate you on that increasing prosperity which enables you to give employment to so many of our fellow-citizens in the various departments of paper making, type founding, printing, and book-binding. It is but doing you justice to say, that in these various branches you have circulated your capital at home—set native hands to work—and saved us the folly of sacrificing this important trade to some English speculator, who amassing wealth here, returns to spend it in the richest country under heaven.

Having said so much, it only remains for me now to speak a few words concerning this book. The author of it is already known to the readers of the "Library of Ireland,"—nor will I do more than refer them to the Biography written by my friend Thomas D'Arcy Magee. Should any one be over hasty in condemning O'Daly, I would have him seriously consider that he has written nothing that is not founded on fact. The conclusions he has deduced may or may not be erroneous—I am nothing more than his interpreter. Whosoever peruses it with attention must, at once, perceive that the author was a clansman by right of his father; and,
consequently, saw nothing wrong in the carriage of the Desmonds. This part of the work I have not noted as I could have wished—my occupations interfered, and it is probable that I have not as yet acquired the necessary amount of reading; yet I claim some share of credit in this regard, for the original of O'Daly is as bald as the skull recently apostrophised by "Shamrock." As to the accuracy of the translation, I cannot be taken to task, for it is as literal as our "Saxon guttural" would allow me to make it.

That, however, which concerns me most is the second part of the work, as there may be some who will censure me for having given an English version of "the Persecutions." If so, they must either charge me with clothing Latin fiction in an English vesture, or attribute to me sentiments of stupid bigotry. I will answer the last assumption first. Those who know me, and whose opinions I value, will absolve me of such a crime; and as for those who, without knowing me, make such a charge, I care very little. Heaven is witness, that this is not the time for acrimonious controversy, when the scenes that are daily passing before us find no parallel, save in those which, moving before the prophetic vision of Jeremiah, made him articulate such wailing tones as will thrill every heart to the end of time. Were controversy of any sort profitable, just now, it ought to be such as would prove manifestly to our rulers, that they who are gorged with the fatness and riches of the world should not allow the people of this land to perish of famine; for the Romans did not suffer even their slaves to die of hunger. A highly gifted genius, whose name is written on a brighter lintel than that where Dante
Alighieri read of Hope's proscription,* has discoursed in numbers stern and beautiful on this painful subject. May they on whom the responsibility rests, look to us in time or abide the consequences of their neglect, for with truth we may say to them—

"We are wretches, famished, scorned, human tools to build your pride,
But God will yet take vengeance for the souls for whom Christ died.
Now is your hour of pleasure—bask ye in the world's caress,
But our whitening bones against ye will arise as witnesses,
From the cabins and the ditches in their char'd uncoffin'd masses,
For the Angel of the Trumpet will know them as he passes.
A ghastly spectre army before the great God we'll stand,
And arraign ye as our murderers, the spoilers of our land!"†

But pardon me this digression, and let me resume and conclude. As to the materials of the second part of this volume, 'tis quite true that there are many facts obviously over-coloured; yet, 'tis nevertheless quite certain that the proclamations of Elizabeth, James the First,

* "Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate.
Questa parole di colore oscuro
Vid'io scritte al sommo d'una porta;
Perch'io: Maestro, il senso lor m'è duro."
Inferno, Canto III.

Should this book fall into the hands of the editor of the Waterford Chronicle, I beg to assure him that the lines here quoted do not contain a single word of treason—nay, that they do not even hint at the Bequests Act or Colleges Bill. I have not time at present to translate them, but Father Kenyon may take it into his head to give us the English version. I beg moreover to inform the Editor that Dante does not, and never did write for the "Nation," either prose or verse. This, I hope, will prevent him from falling into a mistake, and confounding Dan. Alighieri with some Young Irisher who may rejoice in the name of Dan. Gallagher.

† "Speranza," in Nation newspaper, Jan. 25, 1847.
and Charles the First, not to speak of Cromwell's, or things more terrible than Mrs. Radcliffe ever dreamed of; nor did I rest content with these, but studied as long and as well as I could, the fragmenta Historica, scattered over the Hibernia Dominicana, and the writings of David Routh, bishop of Ossory. Should any one be anxious to read fiction of Irish History, he will find much of that character in Carte, Borlase, but most of all, in Sir John Temple,* who, more fortunate than Saul in the cave of Endor, had not to put on a disguise, in order to conjure up ghosts and take down their sworn depositions.

Again, if there be strong language in the book, I am not answerable for it. The phraseology of Father O'Daly's time is not that of to-day. And, above all, let those who read, remember that the author was outlawed for his religion, and driven to seek shelter in a distant land. What wonder then if he employed epithets so freely bandied by Protestants as well as Catholics, at the period when he wrote? Could he look on unmoved while the torch was being applied to the roof-tree which had sheltered his brethren for ages; or was it in the nature of man at any time to write sweet and soothing sentences, when reflecting on those who sent him houseless on the world? The yearnings of

*The veracity of Sir J. Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion, may be judged by the following extract from his catalogue of depositions. "Hundreds of the ghosts that were drowned by the rebels at Portnadow Bridge, (in 1641,) were seen in the river bolt upright, and were heard to cry out for revenge on these rebels. One of these ghosts was seen with hands lifted up, and standing in that posture from the 29th of December to the latter end of the following lent!"
O'Daly's heart were for an Irish grave; and this boon was denied him. That which they dug for him by the banks of the Tagus has its terrible history; for when God commanded Lisbon to quake, as though he were coming to judge the world, the Irish exile's sepulchre revealed its tenant—shaft, column, temple, tower, and shrine, tottering from their foundations, sunk into it in shapeless ruin, and caverned his bones still deeper in a foreign soil. Nothing now remains of him save this volume, and the head-stone which once marked the spot where he was buried. No matter what praise or censure may result from the translation, I console myself with the consciousness of having endeavoured to wake, at least in some degree—

"The old weir'd world that sleeps in Irish lore;"

and with ardent wishes for your happiness here, and hereafter, remain your obedient servant,

C. P. MEEHAN.

SS. Michael and John's,
Dublin, Jan. 30, 1847.
THE RISE, INCREASE, AND EXIT
OF THE FAMILY OF
THE GERALDINES,
EARLS OF DESMOND, AND PALATINES OF KERRY, IN IRELAND.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
THE PERSECUTION INFLECTED ON THE IRISH PEOPLE
BY THE ENGLISH.

COLLECTED OUT OF VARIOUS WORKS, AND WRITTEN IN LATIN, BY
BROTHER
DOMINICUS DE ROSARIO O'DALY, O.P.T.S.P.,

Censor of the Supreme Court of the Inquisition; formerly
Visitor-General in the Kingdom of Portugal; and now
Vicar-General and Founder of the Irish Convents
of the Dominican Order in Portugal.

PRINTED BY CRAESBECK: LISBON.
A.D. 1655.
TO THE MOST EMINENT PRINCES,

ANTHONY AND FRANCIS BARBERINI,

CARDINALS OF THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH.

I present to your view the mourning of your daughter, like unto "the mourning of ostriches," Mich. i., (most eminent princes and cardinals, in rank and dignity equal, vivid images of all other virtues, prototypes of firmness and fidelity, patrons and protectors of the Irish nation). Behold, "the sea monsters" of English heresy "have drawn out the breast" of your daughter; "they have given suck to their young, and the daughter of your people is like the ostrich in the desert," Thren. iv. 3. She has left her eggs on the earth, nor has she warmed them in the dust. "She is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers." She has left her young in the dust, to be trodden on by the feet of beasts. Truly, Ireland, like a young maiden (who is to be guided by the circumspection of a parent, rather than the caprices and vanities of youth), must ever own herself more indebted to your prudence than to her own sufficiency; for you, in the days of her sorrows and trials, protected her, as long as she hearkened to your wisdom—cherished her, till she grew cold—and counselled her, till she grew foolish. But, alas! Tully (Reth, lib. 1) hath taught us that wisdom, without strength, may be of much avail, and that strength, without prudence, availeth little. One of you (the Cardinal Anthony) has shown himself the protector of Ireland; and the other, to speak the truth, a powerful aider in her struggles. One of you, by solicitude and earnest prayer, faithfully clung to her; the other stretched out the arm of authority to defend her. One of you exerted all his energies for the sake of the Irish nation, to foster and cherish the order of friars preachers—and in this work he stands proudly conspicuous—
let the Halls of the Minerva* at Rome attest the fact; the other, an anxious spectator of events, gave all his powers of mind and ample revenues to sustain the war in Ireland, by sending a Legate, together with copious supplies. One of you, in the pontificate of Urban VIII., of blessed memory, deputed a most prudent and pious man, the reverend Peter Francis Scarampi, to discharge a most important duty in our island; and when Urban passed from this world, you, most eminent Cardinal Francis Barberini, offered to take on you the onerous duty of Legate, and to sustain the war at your own expense.

Would that he who now rules the Christian world might only signify a desire authorising me to dwell at greater length on these subjects; but my memory shall never lose the grateful recollection of that humanity and kindness with which Cardinal Francis took me into his confidence, in the year of the Jubilee, at Rome. I shall not be silent whenever the remembrance of these events recurs; but, above all, of the generous avowal I myself heard him enunciate, that he was ready to present the Irish people with a sum of 500,000 gold pieces, to maintain themselves against oppression. What need is there of more words? Many schoolmasters has our country had—verily, many teachers—but very few fathers. Destiny so willed it that she should have pretended friends in abundance; but, alas! few true ones. Prompters there were many, but actors have been scarce; vows and protestations of love were made her, but, oh! God, they were violated as soon as made. You alone, most eminent princes, have proved yourselves the sincere patrons of our people. Avenging time has confirmed the truth of my statement. The sense of gratitude which I shall ever cherish for you is, therefore, my motive for inscribing to you this little work, whose object is to depict the persecutions inflicted by the English on the people of Ireland. To none beside you should such a work be dedicated; for you have sought to console a weeping people by your sage admonitions, and aided them by your largesses when they appealed to

* The great College of the Dominicans at Rome, so called because built on or near the site of the Temple of Minerva.
arms. For these reasons, therefore, spurn not the work of my hands; but, if I may advance another reason why you should receive it kindly, bear with me for a while.

In the land of Hetruria there flourished once a mighty vine, thither transplanted from the desolated plains of Troy. Florence claimed this beauteous plant her own; and well might she glory in it, for “its branches stretched forth unto the sea, and its boughs unto the river” (Ps. 79). From the banks of the Arno, and the shores of the blue Tyrrhenian Sea, the branches of that great tree extended themselves to the far off land of Ireland. That tree was the noble race of the Geraldines, who, under the shadow of Tuscan banners, penetrated regions whither Roman cohorts did not dare to venture. Well nigh five hundred years did the Florentine plant bloom and flourish on our soil. And fame has not been silent; for your Eminences are learned in the history of the Kildares and Desmonds. Oh! how deeply treasured in my heart are the memories of that beloved race! “The shadow of it covered the hills, and the branches thereof the cedars of God” (Ps. 79). But the destroyer out of the wood hath laid it waste. Heretic wrath hath laid it low, and the fierce boar of England hath torn it up by the roots. The history of this Florentine family has been my special study; for it is intimately connected with that of my religion and country; and fondly does she cherish the remembrance of the Geraldines. Nor do I think I have imposed on myself an ungrateful task in rescuing from the accidents of time their chivalry and piety. Accept, then, most eminent princes, this little book, and protect it by your authority. Five hundred years of nobility, and fidelity to their fathers' faith, must entitle the Geraldines to your esteem; my little work is ambitious of it, too. Receive it, then, and its author, with the same benignity and commiseration which have marked your elevated characters in regard of your Eminences’

Most observant client,

Fr. DOMINCUS DE ROSARIO O’DALY.
Preface

Concerning the Invasion of Ireland by the English.

Five hundred years have now well nigh passed away (benevolent reader) since Adrian the Fourth, an Englishman, conferred, by his bull, the title of Lord of Ireland on King Henry the Second—ever since that memorable event the English have ruled in Ireland. Far be it from me to judge whether flesh and blood prompted the Vicar of Christ to bestow on a King of his own nation the Irish land, on some vain and unfounded pretence. Historians of great weight have asserted it. I enter not into the lists of controversy—neither do I intend to assert that the Head of the Church was deluded by the false representations of Henry—nor to argue with the Church concerning the justice of the fact. I am not ignorant of the limits which must circumscribe the Pontiff, in deposing or removing Princes; in what cases and under what circumstances he can assert or deny the right of temporal dominion—nor am I ignorant of the question so often raised: whether the Pope has any power over temporalities—and of what nature that power is; 'tis enough for me to know the fact, and, knowing it, to be able to account for it. The authority of great historians has taught me that this King Henry the Second, putting on the semblance of zeal for religion, acted
the part of a tyrant and hypocrite, in order to advance his power, and glut his avaricious lust. Granting that he may have been at some former period an excellent King, 'tis indubitably certain that he subsequently became an inordinate tyrant, and the unrelenting enemy of the immunities of the Church.

When Adrian the Fourth was elevated to the Apostolic chair, in the year 1154, Henry wrote him letters of congratulation, in which the princely hypocrite dared to lecture him on the art of ruling; not only instructing, but admonishing him as to those who should be raised to the dignity of Cardinals, and promoted to ecclesiastical benefices. Another artifice had he recourse to, in order to effect his designs against Ireland—he affected, forsooth, a holy indignation against the Turks, and insisted on the necessity of redeeming the Holy Land, purpled by the blood of Christ. But these were artifices and stratagems by which he obtained from the Pope, about two years afterwards, that is, in 1156, a bull, authorizing him to reduce Ireland to law and order. This is apparent from the indulg in which Adrian recapitulates the assertions made by King Henry; for that instrument commences thus:—"Laudably has your magnificence given your thoughts to the propagation of God's glory on the earth, thus accumulating for yourself a weight of felicity in heaven; for it appears that you are desirous of extending the territories of the Church, by declaring to a rude and ignorant people, the truth of the Christian faith, and extirpating weeds from the vineyard of the Lord, as it well becometh a
Catholic Prince.” And again, “You have signified to us, beloved son in Christ, your desire of invading the land of Ireland, to reduce the people of that island to laws, and to weed the vineyard of the Lord in that region: you have, also, announced your intention of levying a tribute of one penny on each house within the limits of the country, to be paid annually to St. Peter’s chair, and have declared your determination to maintain whole and inviolate the rights of the Irish Church”—“We, therefore, . . . . . . . .” but I refer you to the annals of Baronius for the whole of this bull of Pope Adrian.

Therefore, Henry got power to invade Ireland, to extend the boundaries of the Church, and to declare to an ignorant and rude people, the truth of the Christian faith—to root out weeds from the Lord’s vineyard—to subjugate the people to laws—and to pay one penny annually, out of each house, to the See of St. Peter.

Behold, reader, on what pretexts the dominion of Ireland was transferred to an English king. But how false and specious were these artifices of the devil, to level, instead of consolidating, the strength of the Church, against the princes and powers of darkness, must be evident to every one who will patiently peruse the matter which follows:

Primo—Certain it is that the boundaries of the Roman Church were not, and could not have been extended by the fact; for, fully more than seven hundred years before the time of the second Henry, the whole island was Catholic—so much so, that it knew not the name of heresy or schism,
till introduced by the English themselves. Yea, truly was Ireland a Catholic country since the year 431, in which Pope Celestine sent St. Patrick to preach the Christian faith. Thus, it is manifest, that the first and second pretext on which the alienation of dominion was founded—namely, to widen the territories, and to announce to a rude and ignorant people the Christian faith—must have been false and specious.

Second—Equally certain is it that the third and fourth pretext insinuated in the words "to uproot the weeds of vices from the Lord's vineyard, and to subjugate the people to laws," are of themselves fictitious, and only invented for the occasion. Know you not the fable of the wolf and the lamb? Whilst innocence was drinking out of the stream in its course, the thief, who was seized with a desire to devour it, cries out, "you have muddied the fountain head." Even so was it with Henry the Second, who, inflamed by lust of dominion, describes the Irish as rude and untaught in religion; and thus obtained from Adrian, his countryman, an indulg to restore the faith, and the triumph of morality. But, it is known to all, that in the days of Henry there were five provincial kings in Ireland, one for each province, and all subject to the supreme ruler, King Roderick—this was the custom from the earliest time, if you desire to know the political and civil regimen—and the subjects of these Potentates were all, without exception, Catholics. But, if you search the history of the Irish Church, you will find that in the days of this Henry, and long before him, illustrious and holy
men ruled it from the metropolitan chairs of the four provinces—and that Cardinal John Papiron, in the year 1151, or 1152, was sent as Legate by Pope Eugene the Third, to bestow on them the honour and dignity of the pallium. (See Baronius in the annals of that year.)

In the See of Ardmacha was St. Malachy, who died in the year 1148, and is mentioned, in no less than three letters, as Legate and Archbishop. If we may credit Baronius, he was succeeded by Christianus in the archiepiscopal see—(Christianus was a disciple of St. Bernard)—but it is more likely that he succeeded him, not as Archbishop, but Legate, because his name is not found in the list of the bishops of Armagh, and it elsewhere appears that this Saint Christianus, under the name of Bishop of Lismore and Apostolic Legate, presided at the council of Cashel in the year 1172, the very year in which Henry came in person to the Irish shores.

Moreover, at the very time of Henry’s landing, and for a considerable time after it, St. Laurence O’Tuathail was Archbishop of Dublin. This saint was the son of Moriarty, King of Leinster, by the daughter of O’Brien, King of Thomond, who, following the example of St. Romuludus, renouncing the royal purple, was first appointed Abbot of Gleandaloach, and, in progress of time, was elevated to the metropolitan See of Dublin. This illustrious Archbishop was appointed Legate, and, resisting the tyranny of Henry the Second and his iniquitous government of Ireland, was per-

* Of whom it is written Scotica Romuldo debeat Hibernia Sceptrum.
executed by him, and died in exile, in Normandy, A.D. 1181, and was afterwards canonized by Honorius the Third, in the year 1226. Nor are we to give credence to an English historian, (Rogerius),* cited by Baronius, who asserts that Henry the Second was acknowledged by all the Archbishops and Bishops in the Council of Cashel; for in Surius's life of St. Laurence O'Tuatail, it is stated that he proceeded to Rome on business connected with the Church, as well as on the subject of the dispute between King Henry, of England, and Roderick, King of Ireland, and thence returning in the capacity of Legate Apostolic, with (as it has been gravely asserted) a bull from the Pope, condemnatory of King Henry, was denied entrance at any of the ports, and soon after died in exile. Hence it is that Surius describes Henry acting the tyrant against this saint, as he did a short time before against St. Thomas of Canterbury. It is certain, too, that St. Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus O'Dubhay, Archbishop of Tuam, together with Fœlix of Lismore, and the Bishops of Waterford and Limerick, were present at the Council of Lateran, under Alexander III., in the year 1179, at which Council Laurence was appointed Legate to Ireland; and no matter how probable it may appear that St. Laurence discharged the legatine duties in Ireland for a brief space, (for he died three years afterwards), nevertheless, it is still certain that he died in exile at Eux, in Normandy, far from his native land. From a life of him,

* De Hovenden.
written by a monk of the monastery in which he died, we collect some important facts—the most remarkable of which is, that every potentate and minor prince in the land was opposed to Henry; and this is as certain as that Cardinal Vivian was appointed Legate to Ireland, immediately after the death of St. Laurence, in the year 1183. Concerning Vivianus, Philip O'Sullivan, author of the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, relates that when the northern princes rose to a man, and spurned the English yoke, the Cardinal, truckling to English influence, pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who would carry on war against their invaders. But the infamy of this man, and his efforts to crush a people struggling against oppression, may be read at full length in the history of Cardinal Baronius, who, quoting William of Newbury, writes thus: —“Vivian held a general council, but without success—the civil war which tore the vitals of the land, interfered with his designs—nor could he perfect the work he had at heart. He was finally obliged to retire, overloaded with Irish gold, for he was avaricious; and this thirst of wealth consigned his name to eternal infamy.” From which I conclude that this Cardinal, corrupted by the bribery of Henry the Second, was base enough to whet the edge of the spiritual sword, forgetful of his own honour, and to pronounce spiritual pains and penalties against men who fought for native freedom; and from this it followed, likewise, that when the English had been in the country for eleven years, neither people nor clergy acknowledged them as masters or conquerors.
But let me speak of the general state of the island about the time of the arrival of Henry the Second—or at least, let me shadow forth a feeble notion of the splendour of its Church. I will not here attempt to enumerate these ancient monuments of piety, so abundant, that the hermitages of monks, and other pious men, were as numerous as the cottages and the domiciles of the agriculturists; I will barely glance at these asylums of holiness which were famed all the world over—for example, that of St. Mongret, in the county of Limerick, where, in the time of St. Cormack O'Cuillenanan, Archbishop and King of Munster, there were forty contemplative sages, five hundred learned preachers, and six hundred psalmists, who poured forth daily to the Lord of Heaven the tribute of their praises. All this is evident from the Psalter of Cashel, composed by the same King Cormack, as may be seen by reference to Dr. Keating. Look you, also, to the monastery of Benchor, restored by St. Malachy, A.D. 1130, in which there were, in the days of old, three thousand monks, and out of which, in one day, nine hundred souls winged their flight to Heaven. Of this monastery much will you find glorious and record-worthy in St. Bernard, where he writes of Malachy. Pass for a moment from these more ancient monuments of our piety, and regard this fact: in the course of ten years before the English invasion, besides innumerable oratories repaired and restored, as is evident from Ware and other writers, there were not less than twenty-four grand abbeies of the Cistercian order founded and erected. Moreover, there were
then in Ireland universities, whose fame had spread through the world—these were not less than four or five, along with innumerable schools, the fountains of knowledge in every department. Amongst these, the most celebrated was that of Lismore, founded A.D. 636, by St. Carthag, and the most famed of all the western seminaries. This glorious academy of the arts and sciences was established by that holy man, who was subsequently Bishop of Tarentum; and when the Ostmen succeeded in ruining its halls, it was finally restored by St. Malchus, after Brian Borroume had expelled them from our island.

Now, generous reader, I pray you, is there any thing in all this which needs a long or critical defence? Long before the days of the invasion Ireland had a civil government, and Catholics were her kings—in the ecclesiastical government, she had holy men canonized by the church—three successive apostolic legates, Malachy, Christianus, and Laurence; and also some general councils. Ever devoted to the hierarchy were her people—copious was the number of her saints—far-famed in literature were her children—and such the purity of her faith and morals, that the name of a heretic was never heard, or if pronounced, was not understood. On what ground; therefore, was founded this idle pretence of conforming the island to laws and civilization? Surely, the morality of the inhabitants and the state of the kingdom were not worthy of reprobation, unless among barbarians. But that you may know who and what was this Henry—this reformer of morals—how perverse was his character—how fickle in his engagements
how faithless in his promises, and cruel in his conduct—in a word, how prejudicial to the interests of Catholicity and the Pontifical authority—attend, I beseech you, to the following summary:

Let me then refer you to Baronius, who, writing of the year 1664, places before your eyes the constitutions of Clarendon, in which the immunities of the Church, and its ancient privileges, are sought to be destroyed. But against this tyrant there arose another "Simon, the high priest, the son of Onias, who in his life propped up the house and fortified the temple."—Eccles. This champion of the faith was St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was persecuted by Henry, and afterwards won a glorious guerdon by martyrdom. This holy Prelate proceeded to Pope Alexander III., who was then in Gaul, and laid a statement of the affairs of his Church before him, when the iniquitous King added worse and more tyrannical enactments to a code already characterized by intolerance. The following, selected out of many, may serve to elucidate my assertion:

1. If any one be found carrying letters from the Pope, or any instrument from the Archbishop of Canterbury, containing an interdict against the Catholics of England, let him be arrested and adjudged guilty of treason against the king.
2. No monk or cleric of any order shall be permitted to cross the seas and land in England, unless privileged by the letters of the king; whoever shall dare to contravene this order, let him be cast into prison.
3. Let no one appeal to the Pope or the Archbishop.
4. No mandate of the Pope or Archbishop shall be re-
ceived in England by any man; whosoever shall have been found acting contrary to this order shall be imprisoned.

5. It is also generally forbidden that any mandate, whether from layman or cleric, be carried to our Lord the Pope, or to the Archbishop; whoever does so, let him be imprisoned.

6. If any of the clergy or laity shall hold themselves bound by the terms of the interdict, let them be expatriated, together with their kindred, nor shall they take their chattels along with them.

7. Let the chattels of all those who espouse the part of the Pope and Archbishop, no matter of what order, sex, or condition, be forthwith confiscated to the king.

8. Let all clerics, who have benefices or property in England, be forthwith admonished that if they return not within the term of three months, all such benefices and property shall be confiscated to his Majesty.

9. The monies called Peter's pence, shall be no longer paid to the Pope; but collected with greater diligence, and consigned to the royal treasury, to be disposed of as the king shall think fit.

The tenth enactment denounces the Bishops of London and Norwich, who fulminated the interdict against the Lordship of Count Hugo.

Behold now, good reader, how this tyrant Henry became intolerable and domineering: "he grew fat and kicked." Eight years after he had obtained the Papal brief for the conquest of Ireland and the subjugation of the Irish to laws, on condition that he would pay tribute to the Holy See, and guard the rights and immunities of the Church—behold, I say, his marked contempt for Pope Alexander III.; verily, instead of protecting the Church, he desired nothing more than the annihilation of the Papal supremacy. Let it also be remarked, that some have thought this Bull of Adrian IV. to have been spurious; 

* A most mistaken notion, as is apparent from O'Donnell's letter to Pope John XXII.
for although, according to Baronius, the original instrument may be seen in the Vatican, nevertheless it does not appear on what day or year it was issued; but be it observed, Philip O'Sullivan says it was given in the second year of Adrian's Pontificate, A.D. 1156.

I pause not here to investigate what demon from the abyss tempted Diarmid M'Murrough, King of Leinster, to bring the English amongst us. History has sufficiently instructed us on that fatal subject, and I rest content with what I have stated of the invasion. I have it not at heart to question the right of English dominion over the Irish people, for, cursed as it has been, a possession extending over five hundred years has confirmed it; but there is one subject which I will not hastily dismiss—to wit, the utter recklessness of honor and principle on the part of our tyrants, and the fortitude and constancy with which the Irish have sustained "the burden of Babylon." Alas! five hundred years have seen my countrymen bearing the toil and sweat of the day—treachery and treasons have beset their footsteps—the pitfall was digged for honor and simplicity. Oh! how many of them have perished victims to wiles and snares; even as I write, ruin is hovering over the land, and, what is still more strange, not alone the ancient inhabitants have sunk beneath it, but, along with them, have perished the children of those who invaded our shores in the days of King Henry. Scarcely had they come amongst us, when they exchanged the soil and salt of England for that of our country; they adopted our habits, our language and cus-
toms; and these invaders, and their posterity, resisted English tyranny and extortion with a boldness and determination which was only equalled by that of the aborigines; for their God, their children, and possessions, both struggled without ceasing. But I will not trench on the labours of those whose duty it is to narrate the wars of our own times.

But, ever foremost in the van of those who fought for freedom has been the illustrious family of the Geraldines. Let none gainsay it—although they were the first to fall in their country's battle. If it be pious to love your natal soil, chivalrous to arm for it—if it be the obligation of religion to prefer God to a king, and magnanimous to spurn dangers and difficulties—then to the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond, let fame bestow the palm of piety, chivalry, and magnanimity.

Hence it is that I have felt myself bound, as it were, by a twofold obligation of truth and history, to write the transactions of the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond; for, although the whole of the Irish nobility may be now described as totally extinct, nevertheless something remains which must outlive the tyrannical oppression of the English; to wit, the unblemished honor and reputation of the Geraldines—though God knows this may be fleeting and evanescent.

I therefore divide this little work into two parts. The first shall treat of the origin of the Geraldines, their lineage, and prosperity in the land of Ireland, and, finally, of their ruin in the battle for their country's liberty, and indomitable attachment to the ancient faith. The second part
shall treat of the horrid persecutions inflicted by
the English on the Irish people after the over-
throw of the Geraldines. But in this matter, I
confess, I do not treat my subject as amply as I
might, for I pass over many things in silence, lest
I may be accused of adding pain to pain, or em-
bittering still more the cup of our sorrows. This
may not be in strict accordance with the rigid
rules of history; truth whispers that I ought to
lay it bare before the world, but modesty counsels
a becoming silence. If the Geraldines have had
powerful rivals—nay, determined enemies in Ire-
land—(whose fortunes are nothing bettered by
that country, and whose love of country can nev-
ever be put in competition with theirs)—I do not
envy them; but I will never suffer the honor and
the glories of the Geraldines to remain unchroni-
cled. But of the recent struggles and dissen-
sions which have torn and divided you (beloved
fellow countrymen), I will say nothing; they are
shrouded in darkness, and I shrink from touching
these gaping wounds, lest I should make them
bleed afresh; but my undertaking must prove
acceptable to you, men of Ireland, as well as to
those of other lands, if I shall have proved that
Ireland fell beneath English oppression, barba-
rity, and cruelty, after sustaining every hardship
for the freedom of her faith and her homesteads.

But mark me, generous reader; I wish it not to
be understood that I indulge hostility to the Ca-
tholics of England, or that I confound them with
our persecutors (of the latter I echo the saying of
Gregory the Great, they should not be called An-
gli but Angeli, provided they were Christians),
but as I am a debtor to truth, I will not disguise from you the transactions of these heretics who, like the fabled two-headed serpent of Lybia, without a single generous feeling, have crept into the flock of Christ, and poisoned the people with their deadly venom. If it be objected to me that this is a painful and aggravating narration, I ask, in reply, why do you commit those deeds from the exposure of which you are ready to turn away? God be then propitious to my design. Bear with me, reader, and then farewell.
THE NAMES OF SOME OF THE INVADERS OF IRELAND WHO CAME FROM ENGLAND IN THE TIME OF DIARMID, KING OF LEINSTER.

Henry the Second, and King John, his son; Richard, Earl of Strongbow; Robert, son of Stephen, uterine brother of Maurice, son of the great Gerald, and germane brother of the King of England, from whom descend the Stephensons, all of Clannskine; Raymond le Gros, son of William, son of Gerald the Great, from whom descend the Graces, in the county Wexford, and Mac Maurice, of Kerry; Maurice, son of Gerald the Great, son of Maurice, son of John, son of Robert, son of William, son of Robert the Great, of Windsor. (From this you may adduce that Mac Maurice of Kerry descended from Raymond, nephew of Maurice, the first of the Geraldines in Ireland.)

Herveus de Mateis, alias de Monte Marisco, son of Gilbert, first Earl of Clarence in England, son of Richard, Earl of Anjou and Brienne, in Normandy, who came to England with William the Conqueror; the aforesaid Herveus came with Earl Strongbow and Maurice the Geraldine into Ireland. This Herveus was uncle to Earl Strongbow, and the maternal uncle of Maurice, as Cambrensis writes.

Hugh Cantoval, alias de Gundevilla, knight (the name is of Norman origin), was left by Henry the Second, as Cambrensis informs us, together with Robert, son of Bernard, in charge of Waterford, with forty other knights, as appears from the history of the conquest of Ireland, written about the year 1549, by William Mac Diarmid. From these descended the Cantwells and Condons. In the ancient records of these families you will frequently find them called Cantown. But the name is precisely Cantwell; for the English name is formed out of the Norman one, i.e., Town pro Villa.

Gilbert Caosluig, from whom descend the Mac Costelloes.

Hugo de Lacy, from whom descend the Lacy's, of Munster.
With Diarmid, King of Leinster, came many other noble knights, as Cambrensis and Camden inform us.

Robert Barry, whom Henry the Second left in charge of the garrison of Wexford, placing under his command twenty knights; together with Robert came the Meylers. From the latter sprung a clan well known in Leinster, and from the former the family of the Barrys, in Munster.

Maurice Prendergast, from whom sprung the family of that name.

Milo de Cogan, Risterd de Cogan, Walter de Ridenford, Robert, son of Bernard, William de Burgo, Humber, alias Humphrey Bohun, Philip Hasting, Hugo Tyrrell, David Gualensis, nephew of Raymond le Gros, Robert Poer, Osbert de Herlotesa, Philip de Brensa, alias Brus, Griffin, nephew of Robert Fitzstephen, Walter Barry, Philip Duvalensis, *i.e.* Duval, Adam of Hereford, Gerald and Alexander, sons of Maurice Gerald, Silvester Geraldus Cambrensis Barry, knight, the historian, brother of Philip Barry, and nephew of Fitzstephen, John Cursen, Raymond Cantemar—*vide* Camden de Hibernia.

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THE RACE OF THE GERALDINES IN IRELAND, TAKEN FROM THE IRISH AND ENGLISH RECORDS.

1. Maurice (Fitz), or son of Gerald, of Windsor, was the first of the Geraldines, who landed in Ireland with Diarmid MacMurrogh, ηά 1160, A.D. 1169.

2. Gerald, son of Maurice, Viceroy of Ireland, died in the habit, in the monastery of Youghal, A.D. 1205.

3. Maurice, who built the monastery of St. Francis, at Youghal (some think him to have been the same Maurice who married the daughter of Geoffrey Morrison, Viceroy of Ireland), died A.D. 1257.

4. Thomas, Justiciary of Ireland, was slain at Callan (Glean-naroughta), with his only son John, knight, who built the monastery of Tralee, A.D. 1260.

5. Thomas Symiacus, called *A Nappa*, or of the ape, whose wife was Jane, daughter of Lord Barry, had two,
sons, Maurice and John, from whom sprung the Mac Thomases, Lords of Desies. This Thomas, after having governed thirty-nine years, died, and was buried at Tralee, A.D. 1229.

6. Maurice, first Earl of Desmond, was Viceroy of Ireland. His first wife was daughter of the Duke of Buckingham; his second was daughter of Geoffrey Morrison, Viceroy of Ireland, who had for her dowry an island of Kerry, with many other possessions; his third wife was daughter of the Red Earl, or, as some would have it, Eleonora, daughter of MacMaurice, of Kerry. He died at Dublin, A.D. 1305.

Here there is a discrepancy in the ancient vernacular records; for some of them place Gerald after Maurice, whilst others have inserted another Maurice and his son John between Maurice and Gerald. Thus:—

7. Maurice, the younger, Viceroy of Ireland, who was drowned in the year 1358.

8. John, son of Maurice, died A.D. 1369.

9. Gerald, or Garret, son of the above-named John, whose wife was Eleonora Butler, daughter of the Earl of Ormond, died in the year 1390, leaving three sons, John, James, and Maurice.

10. Earl John, who was drowned in the river Suir, near Ardfinn, A.D. 1409.

11. Thomas, son of John, was driven into exile by his uncle James, and died in Normandy, A.D. 1420.

12. James, son of Gerald, who took to wife Maria de Burgo, daughter of Mac William, of Clanricarde, had two sons, Thomas, and Gerald, Lord of Desies. James died A.D. 1450.

13. Thomas, son of James, Viceroy of Ireland. His wife was Eliza, daughter of Lord Barry. This Thomas was beheaded at Drogheda, A.D. 1466. His sons were James, Maurice, Thomas, and Gerald, of Mocollop.

14. James, son of Thomas, was slain, together with his son, at Rathkeale, A.D. 1487.

15. Maurice, son of Thomas, called Maurice of the Chariots. His wife was Evelina, daughter of Lord Roche. He had two sons, James and Thomas, and died A.D. 1519.

16. Thomas, son of Thomas, whose son, and grand-son James, were slain by Brien, surnamed the Black, at
Athlicaille. This Thomas married the daughter of the Lord of Muskerry. He was called Thomas the Bald, the Victorious.

17. John, son of Thomas, son of James, brother of the aforesaid Thomas, took to wife Morea, daughter of Donatus O'Brien. He lived two years in possession of the earldom, and died leaving four sons, James, John oge, Maurice dlúir, and Thomas.

18. James, son of Maurice of the Chariots, son of Thomas, died, and was buried at Tralee, 1574. He had a daughter named Jane, who married James, Earl of Ormond. She died A.D. 1577. Here some have introduced John, son of Thomas, son of James (of whom we will speak anon), and insert James, his son. This James was thrice married. His first wife was daughter to Lord Roche; the second, the daughter of O'Carroll, of Ely; the third was the daughter of M'Carty Mor. He had four sons. By his first wife, Thomas rua; Gerald, alias Garrett, and John, by the second; the issue of his third marriage was James. Thomas, the first-born of James, had two sons, James and John.

19. But Gerald, or Garret, second son of James, took to wife Eleonora Butler, daughter of Mac Piers. He was slain in battle on the 11th of November, 1583.

20. James, son of Thomas rua, was proclaimed earl by his own people; but Queen Elizabeth liberated from prison James, son of Garret, and set him up against the first-named James, whom she caused to be committed to the Tower of London, where he died, as some say, of poison.

21. James, son of Garret, was delivered as a hostage for his father. Having endured seventeen years' imprisonment in the Tower of London, the Queen sent him into Ireland with the title of Earl of Desmond; but when the power of James, son of Thomas rua, was crushed, and peace restored, she gave herself no further concern about the earl, who went back to England, where, it is said, he died of poison, A.D. 1602.

* Mr. John O'Donovan—perhaps the most learned of living Irish topographers—has told me that this place is in Muskerry, county Cork. 'Tis now called Atticallan, and means "The Ford of the House of Wood."
22. The last of the line was Garret, son of John, son of Thomas *rua* (or Rufus), who was created earl by the King of Spain. This one died in the service of the Emperor of Germany, A.D. 1632.

Hitherto we have written the descent of the Geraldines, from Maurice, son of Gerald. The following is the genealogy of Maurice:

Maurice, son of the great Gerald, son of Maurice, son of John, son of Robert, son of William, son of Robert Mór, that is, the Great, Constable of the King of England, in the lordship of Windsor.
THE GERALDINES.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE GERALDINES.

It is a fact beyond doubt that the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond*—a race renowned for valour—derived their origin from the ancient Trojans. Ten years' siege had reduced the glorious city, and cut off all its leaders, with the single exception of Æneas, who, being compelled to fly, on account of the concealment of Polixena,† daughter of King Priam, assembled about him a trusty band of youths, who had outlived their country's overthrow, foremost of whom in dignity and

* Desmond, in the Irish, signifies South Munster. It was divided into three tracts.—1st, Clancare, which lay next the sea, between the bay of Dingle and Kilmaire river; 2nd, Bear, lying between that river and Bantry; and 3rd, Everagh, or Evaugh, situated between Bantry and Baltimore. There was also another part of it, says Smith, Hist. of Cork, which lay next the Shannon, being the small barony of Sragticonner.

† Polixena was not concealed, but immolated to the manes of Achilles, by Neoptolemus, his son, as the Greeks were going to embark.
bravery was the founder of our Geraldines. Girt by these faithful followers, and after seven years of vicissitudes by sea and land, Æneas at length set foot on the coast of Italy.* King Turnus having been slain in battle, Lavinia, his daughter, was wedded to Æneas, who, succeeding his father-in-law, ruled over Latium. Æneas soon afterwards divided the land of Italy amongst his followers, assigning to each his portion, and in the distribution, he bestowed on the great ancestor of our Geraldines that region of Heturria, where Florence now stands.†

CHAPTER II.

THE GERALDINES COME TO ENGLAND.‡

William, Duke of Normandy, asserting that he had a better claim to England than Harold, and finding that repeated remonstrances failed, determined to assert his right by force of arms; he

*Niebuhr, l. 150, rejects this tale of Æneas and his colony—had he lived in the time of O'Daly, he would have regarded him as a classical heretic.

† For some very curious and rare documents concerning the Heturrian origin of the Geraldines, the reader is referred to the Appendix, as they are too long to be introduced here, and would be deprived of their great value if cut up into fragments for annotations.

‡ A rapid transition this of the Geraldines from the banks of the Scamander, over the seas, to Latium, thence across the Tiber to the Arno, and finally, to the Thames. There is not, however, any exaggeration as to the number who, from all quarters, flocked to the
therefore resolved to collect a mighty army; and when the fame of this went abroad, thousands came from all quarters to rally round his standard. Amongst these was one who, yet a stripling, rivalled in valour the boldest of the adherents of the Norman Duke—from him descend the illustrious Geraldines of whom we are to write. Followed by a chivalrous band, he was warmly welcomed at the court of William, and appointed to high command in the army destined to invade England. When every preparation had been made, they passed the sea, and landed on the shores of England,* in the year of our Lord 1066. A mighty battle ensued, and despite the valorous bearing of the English, King Harold fell, leaving his kingdom and crown in the hands of the conqueror. When, therefore, William was in possession of the throne, he determined to reward his adherents with most ample possessions. As the reward of their valour, he gave to our Geraldines the castle and lordship of Windsor, of which they held possession till the days of Walter, son of Ether. This Walter had three children; from the first of whom (William) sprung the Earls


* At Pevensey, on the 28th of September, 1066. The battle alluded to in the text, is that of Hastings, fought on the 14th of October, 1066, in which King Harold and his two brothers were slain.—For the description of the battle, see Thierry's Norman Conquest, p. 69.
of Windsor—from the second (Robert) the Earls of Essex; but the third, Gerald of Windsor, having married the daughter of the Prince of Wales, had of her Maurice Fitzgerald, from whom descended Thomas Fitzmaurice, Justiciary of Ireland, who was buried at Tralee.* He left two sons, John and Maurice—the former the first Earl of Kildare—the latter, the first Earl of Desmond. But now we shall narrate the cause of their coming to Ireland.

CHAPTER III.

ARRIVAL OF THE GERALDINES IN IRELAND.

Dermid MacMurrogh, king of Leinster (one of the five provinces of Ireland), had ravished the wife of a neighbouring prince; the name of this woman was Devoirgilla, and she was far-famed for her beauty. Her outraged husband, burning for vengeance, summoned the princes of the land to meet him in council, and aid him in bringing back his wife. They consented to assist him, and declared war against Dermid, who, deserted by his own subjects, as they dreaded civil war, fled into England, to implore aid and subsidies. Henry II., who was then king of England, was actively prosecuting a war in France; thitherward hastened Dermid, who, being received by

* Tralee, "the Strand of the Leigh," in the year 1213, a dominican monastery, was founded here by John Fitz-Thomas, who was buried there with his son Maurice, both slain at Callan, in Kerry, by Mac Carthy Mor.
the king, made him an offer of a yearly tribute provided he aided him to recover his throne. King Henry, whether touched by pity or moved by a desire to enlarge his territories, promised him aid, and despatched letters to Richard Earl of Pembroke, commonly called Strongbow, commanding him to collect troops and proceed to Ireland to reinstate Dermid in his own dominions, reserving the other parts of Ireland to Henry himself. Now Strongbow was a man of fearless daring, who, having squandered in luxury and debauch his paternal revenues, gladly seized an opportunity of retrieving his ruined fortunes by any means; he therefore collected a band of adventurous youths, fitted out ships, and prepared everything necessary for the prosecution of his orders. The most distinguished of this band were Maurice Fitzgerald, knight, Robert Fitzstephen, Robert Barry, Miles Cogan, and Raymond Le Gros, progenitor of the noble house of Lixnaw.

Truly these are names which must be immortal; but that I may not prove prolix (for it is not my object to write a concise history), they landed at Wexford, and many were the battles which they fought with the native Irish; finally, that desperation might add to daring, they caused their ships to be burned, thus leaving themselves without hope of retreat. Soon afterwards Strongbow

* Earls of Kerry. Their seat was in the barony of Clanmaurice, and the town of Lixnaw or Lisnaw, together with its old bridge, were built by Nicholas, the third Baron of Lixnaw, A.D. 1320. For particulars of great interest concerning this family, v. Hib. Pac.
came in person, and, placing himself at the head of his companions, they succeeded in reducing Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, as much by treason as by force of arms; the island was thus in a great measure subdued, and Dermid restored to the dominion of his fathers. Henry, in the meantime, grateful for the service done him by these brave youths, bestowed large grants on each of them, to be retained for ever by their posterity. On Maurice Fitzgerald he bestowed the largest reward of possessions, as well as honours; which, being won by the sword, he increased in progress of time, and, having long and boldly guarded them, finally bent under the weight of years, and died.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST DISASTER OF THE GERALDINES.

The descendants of this Maurice, through a succession of seven generations, became so powerful in wealth, honours, and landed possessions, that they excited the envy as well as hostility of the prince of Clancarthy and the other chieftains, who dreaded their increasing power. They therefore conspired to destroy Thomas Fitzgerald, then Justiciary of Ireland. Now, it so happened that when Thomas, and his son John Fitz-Thomas, were upon an expedition for the king, these M'Carthys, with their adherents, sur-
prised them between Kerry and Desmond.* Fitzgerald had but few followers, and seeing no chance of escaping, dashed boldly amongst the enemy, but, after he had given many and signal proofs of valour, slaying many of his foemen, he and his son fell by the swords of those who were allied to him by most sacred ties (for M'Carthy Mor was the son-in-law of Fitzgerald). Alas! the whole family of the Geraldines had well nigh perished; at one blow they were cut off, father and son, and now there remained but an infant one year old, to wit, the son of John Fitz-Thomas recently slain. The nurse, who had heard the dismal tidings at Tralee, ran about, here and there, distraught with grief, and left the cradle of the young Geraldine without a watcher; thereon an ape (which was kept for amusement sake) came and raised the infant out of the cradle, and carried him to the top of the castle; there, to the astonishment of those who passed by, the ape took off the babe's swaddling clothes, licked him all over, clothed him again, and brought him back to his cradle, safe and sound. Then, coming to the nurse, as it were in reproof for her neglect, dealt her a blow. But ever after was that babe called "a nappa,"† that is, of the ape; and when he grew to man's estate he was ennobled by many

* This battle, of which there is ample detail in "The Annals of the Four Masters," was fought between M'Carthy Mor, Prince of Desmond, and the Geraldines, in the county Kerry. The scene of the fight is given as Glenaroughta—that is the valley of the river Roughta.

† I have not been able to ascertain whether this legend
virtues. Bravely did he avenge his father's and grandfather's murder, and re-erect the fortunes of his house; he left a son, Maurice Fitz-Thomas, who was the first Earl of Desmond.

CHAPTER V.

CREATION OF THE EARL OF DESMOND.

This Maurice was created Earl of Desmond by Edward III., in the second year of his reign.* He married the daughter of Galfridius Morrison, Justiciary of Ireland, and received as her dowry the sweetest island of Kerry, together with its whole territory. Not long after this Maurice led an army into Scotland at the king's command; and, having rendered signal services, returned home loaded with spoil. As a reward for his services he was then appointed to command a fleet, which swept the seas and chased away the pirates, who had long rendered a passage to England unsafe. As long as Maurice lived he kept the Irish nation within the limits of caused the Geraldines to introduce the Ape into their armorial ensigns. Certain it is, that the Gherardini of Tuscany had no such device on theirs. Nor are we to rely on the story given above, for O'Daly himself seems to throw some doubt on it.

* Edward's Irish policy was to retain power here by using the nobles, resident in Ireland, whether of native or Norman origin. Some he attached by titles, to others he granted stipends, and interfered not with the prerogatives of any, so long as they left him at liberty to pursue his Scottish and French wars.
obedience to the English crown, and thus endeared himself to the king. Now, when he had enjoyed the title fifty years, he died, bequeathing all to Maurice Og, that is, Maurice the Younger, of whose exploits we have no record; but in truth he had but little time to achieve much, for he was only two years in possession of the paternal honours when he was drowned on his voyage to England, A.D. 1358.

John Fitzmaurice, a man of splendid intellect and brother of the deceased (who left no issue), held the title till the year 1369. This earl gave sore travail to the Irish chieftains, who were indignant that their ancient patrimony should be held by strangers.*

Garret, or Gerald, a man remarkable for prudence and military renown (who, they say, was skilled in magic), succeeded to the earldom, and lived thirty years from the time of his accession, that is, to the year 1399. He left a son, Maurice Fitzgerald, who died about the end of the aforesaid year, leaving no children. He was succeeded by his brother John (a youth of great promise, who, in the following year (that is, 1400), perished in the waters of the river Suir,† whilst journeying to Clonmel, and, indeed, without having done anything worthy of himself or his ancestors.

* A remarkable proof of the falsity of those who assert that the landing of Henry had reduced the whole island to submission.

† At Ardsinnan, when returning with his followers, who had made an incursion into the Earl of Ormond's territory, A.D. 1399.
CHAPTER VI.

FIRST RISING OF THE GERALDINES AGAINST THE ENGLISH, AND THEIR RECONCILIATION.

Thomas, son of John, succeeded his father. He rose in rebellion against the English, and, being summoned to appear before the Lord Justiciary, was compelled to give twelve Anglo-Irish barons as bail for his appearance. Soon afterwards, being charged with rebellion, nor daring to appear, his bails were heavily mulcted. The entire property of the earl was forfeited to the crown; but he himself, after wandering about for a long time through Ireland, at length, being destitute of friends and money, fled to France, where he died in exile, A.D. 1420, twenty years after he had succeeded to the earldom of Desmond.

James Fitz-Garret, third son of the former Earl, and uncle to Thomas, recently deceased was now restored to his nobility and possessions by the king. This earl was famed for his warlike character, and great prudence in the civil administration. Thirty years was he Earl of Desmond, and, dying in the year 1450, bequeathed all his possessions to his son Thomas.
CHAPTER VII.

THOMAS FITZ-JOHN IS MADE VICEROY—HIS TRAGIC END.

Now, when Thomas succeeded his father, he soon earned for himself a glorious name, by means of his great prowess. He was beloved by Edward IV.; for, during the long and bloody contest between the Houses of Lancaster and York, Thomas Fitzgerald was ever on the side of the king. In nine battles, fought with Henry VI., he acted the part of soldier and chieftain; and when the whole family of Lancaster had perished (with the exception of the Earl of Richmond), and Edward was in peaceful possession of the throne, he resolved to remunerate the Geraldine according to his deserts, and invest him with all honours. He therefore created him Viceroy of Ireland, and, before dismissing him, called him to a private interview, which we shall here narrate. "Tell me," said the king—"I conjure you by the recollection of our friendship and intimacy, see you aught in my administration either injurious or disagreeable to my people?"

The earl, therefore, candidly informed him that he knew nothing which could be turned to his Majesty's prejudice, save the marriage which he had contracted with Elizabeth,* wife of Sir John

* Elizabeth Woodville, who told Edward she was too low to be his wife, and too high to be his concubine.
Gray (a short time before slain at St. Alban's). "Wherefore," continued the earl, "I think you would do well in divorcing the present queen, and forming an alliance with some powerful foreign princess." The king, who thought highly of Desmond's opinion, assured him that he rejoiced when he considered that the marriage already contracted could injure none but himself, and kindly took leave of the earl. Desmond held the reins of government in Ireland seven years, during which time he administered all concerns honourably, and, at the end of the eighth year, retired full of merits to his own territory. Many happy years did he then pass, till he perished most tragically, as I shall now tell.

King Edward, on a certain occasion, was moved to great anger (for what cause I know not) against the queen, whom he bitterly reproved; nor less censorious was the reply of the proud-minded consort, whereat the king, growing warmer, said, "Long since would I have broken thy insolent spirit, had I hearkened to the advice of my trusty servant, Desmond." The queen, hearing this, gave way, and begun to meditate vengeance against the earl. Now, when the parties became reconciled, she elicited from the king the history of his interview with the earl; for his Majesty did not suspect that she meditated revenge. She thereon clandestinely possessed herself of the king's privy seal, and sent letters to Worcester, then Viceroy in Ireland, ordering him, on receipt of them, to summon and behead the earl. Worcester immediately cited the Desmond, and, in obedience to his orders, caused him to be decap-
tated at Drogheda, to the great astonishment of all the magnates and people of Ireland.*

CHAPTER VIII.

HIS SONS MEDITATE REVENGE—THE KING CONDEMNS THE VICEROY, AND BESTOWS THE PALATINATE, TOGETHER WITH THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF DUN-GARVAN, ON THE EARLS OF DESMOND.

Now, when the death of the Earl of Desmond was proclaimed throughout the land, his five sons, who were most valiant men, raised their standards and drew their swords, resolved to avenge their father's murder. They devastated the entire country, far and near, even to the gates of Dublin; and King Edward, bitterly deploring the untimely fall of the brave earl, was exasperated against the queen; but she, who was the cause of this great iniquity, consulting her safety of soul and body, fled to an asylum. The Viceroy, being called out of Ireland, and ordered to appear in court, produced the order signed with the king's privy seal. But, although he urged this as a palliation of his offence, nevertheless he was soon after put to death, and immolated to the angry manes of the Desmond. The king then admonished the Desmonds by letters, not to sully their father's escutcheon with the soul blot of rebel-

* The obituary is thus given in the mortiloge of Askeaton:—"Died, Sir Thomas, Earl of Desmond, and Justiciary of Ireland, who was slain by the swords of the wicked at Drogheda, A.D. MCCCCLXVIII."
lion; protesting at the same time that the Earl of Desmond had been put to death without his order, nay, without his knowledge. Finally, he promised pardon for all offences committed since the earl's death, and granted his full clemency to all who would immediately return to their obedience. Thereon, when the Desmonds read these letters, they laid down their arms and consulted peace. The king, adding beneficence to clemency, bestowed on James Fitz-Thomas, eldest son of the earl, the palatinate of Kerry, together with the town and castle of Dungarvan.* Many were the immunities and privileges which he added to be held by the Desmonds and their posterity for ever; and long did they enjoy them, till (as we shall hereafter narrate) they lost them all.

Thomas Fitz-James, who, as we have seen, was put to death for his loyalty to his prince, was in possession of the earldom for twenty-four years, and, dying, left five sons, born to him of his wife, who was daughter of Lord Viscount Barry. The eldest was James; the second, Maurice; the third, Thomas, the Bald; and the fourth, John. They were all in their turn Earls of Desmond; but the fifth son, Garret, received as his hereditary property Mocollop,† and the entire territory of Cosh-

*Achad-Garvan, an abbey, was founded here in the seventh century, by St. Garvan. This saint gave the name to the town and port.
†“Mocollop Castle,” says Mr. O'Flanagan, in the beautiful description of the Blackwater, in Munster, consists of a circular keep, or donjon, flanked at the base with square towers. Nearly half of the principal
bride.* Even in our day the descendants of this Garret, as well as those of Maurice Fitzgerald, still remain. The deceased earl had also a brother (Garret) from whom the family of Desies is descended.†

Now, James Fitz-Thomas, having made terms with King Edward, and received immunity for any act which he had committed to avenge his father's death, became Earl of Desmond. He was a man of singular prudence, and largely, to the detriment of the Irish, did he increase the territories he had acquired. But, lo! when fortune seemed to smile upon him, he was murdered in his castle of Rathkeale,‡ by the perfidy of his

tower was battered down by Cromwell's cannon, but the winding staircase is still tolerably perfect.

* Coshmore and Coshbride, in the county Waterford. Bounded on the north by the county Tipperary; on the west by the county Cork; on the east by the barony of Desies; and on the south-east by that of Immokilly, in the county Cork; and contains the parishes of Lismore, Mocollop, Tallow, Kilwatermoy, Killcogan, and Templemichael.

† Desies is commonly described as within Desies, and without Drum, in the county Waterford. Desies within Drum is bounded on the south and east by the ocean, on the west by the Blackwater river, and on the north by Desies without Drum. Desies without Drum is bounded on the south by Desies within Drum, on the south-east by the ocean, on the west by Coshmore and Coshbride, on the east by Upperthird and Middlethird, and on the north by Upperthird and Glanebirry baronies.—Vida Smith's Waterford.

‡ Rathkeale had three castles built by the Desmonds, one of which commanded the river Deel. It had also a priory of Augustinian canons, of the order of Arosia, founded and endowed by Gilbert Harvey, a.d. 1289.
own sons, and, as some think, with the connivance of his brother John.

Him did Maurice Fitz-Thomas, his brother, succeed. This man was subsequently far-famed for his martial exploits. He augmented his power and possessions—for all his sympathies were English—and a furious scourge was he to the Irish, who never ceased to rebel against the crown of England. The bitterest enemy of the Geraldines, he made his prisoner, to wit, MacCarthy Mor, Lord of Muskerry; and now, having passed thirty years, opulent, powerful, and dreaded, he died, to the sorrow of his friends and exultation of his enemies.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SLAUGHTER AT MOURNE ABBEY.

But his enemies had soon reason to turn their exultation into bitter grief, for when James Fitzmaurice became earl, he rivalled the valour of his fathers, and many a victory did he gain over his enemies. He was, in sooth, a glorious hero; but, in an evil hour, he made an incursion into Muskerry, and was met at the monastery of Mourne* (situate between Cork and Mallow), by

The murder here narrated is again alluded to by O'Daly at the end of the volume.

* The MacCarthys were Lords of Muskerry, and the Chieftain, named Laider, built the castles of Kilcrea and Carricknamuck, the abbey of Kilcrea, and the nunnery of Ballyvaradane, with five churches. Cormack Og
Cormark Og Laider, Lord of Muskerry, McCarthry Riagh, and the confederated Irish; and here, for the first time, was the glory of the Geraldines dimmed, not so much by the valour of their foes as by their own temerity; for, on that dreadful day, the uncle of the earl, to wit, Thomas the Bald, was the chieftain of the horse, and, impetuously charging, he disordered the array of his footmen, and thus opened the way for his foes to march to triumph; whereupon the earl, after having done prodigies of valour against the serried hosts of his enemies, was obliged by necessity to fly the field.

He had no male children born to him in legitimate wedlock: he had, however, an only daughter named Jane, who married James, earl of Ormond; she was the mother of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, Knight of the Garter, a man much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth of England.

Laider, who vanquished The Desmond in this battle at the Abbey of Mourne, was buried here. Smith, in his History of Cork, gives a beautiful description of this splendid monument of the piety of the MacCarthys. The Irish called it Monaster-na-mona, and it was destroyed by Morrogh O'Brien, who, in the reign of Edward IV., rebelled in Thomond, and ruined several walled towns in Munster, particularly Mourne and Buttevant. It had many great possessions, a large domain on the spot, and five ploughlands in the parish of Templemichael, in Muskerry. The last of the MacCarthys buried here was Cormack, who died A.D. 1616.
CHAPTER X.

CARDINAL WOLSEY URGES HENRY VIII. TO PROCEED AGAINST THIS EARL, AND SUMMONS THE EARL OF KILDARE, THEN VICEROY, TO ENGLAND, CHARGING HIM WITH RELUCTANCE TO ARREST DESMOND—THE EARL OF KILDARE IS COMMITTED TO THE TOWER—WOLSEY MEDITATES KILDARE'S DEATH.

This earl, James Fitzmaurice, held a secret correspondence with Charles V., king of Spain, hoping to contract marriage with the daughter of the emperor. Many messages passed between them, of all which Henry VIII. was a long time ignorant. It is commonly thought that Charles V. at this time meditated an invasion of Ireland; and when at length the intelligence of these facts reached the king of England, Cardinal Wolsey (a man of immoderate ambition, most inimical to the Geraldines, and then ruling England as it were by his nod), caused the earl to be summoned to London; but Desmond did not choose to place himself in the hands of the Cardinal, and declined the invitation; thereon the king despatched a messenger to the Earl of Kildare, then Viceroys in Ireland, ordering him to arrest Desmond, and send him to England forthwith. On receipt of the order, Kildare collected troops and marched into Munster to seize Desmond; but, after some time, whether through inability or reluctance to injure his kinsman, the business failed, and Kildare returned. Then did the Cardinal poison
the mind of the king against Kildare, asseverating that, by his connivance, Desmond had escaped—
(this indeed was not the fact, for Kildare, however so anxious, could not have arrested Desmond). Kildare was then arraigned before the privy council, as Henry gave willing ear to the Cardinal's assertions; but before the Viceroy sailed for England, he committed the state and administration of Ireland to Thomas his son and heir, and then presented himself before the council. The Cardinal accused him of high treason to his liege Sovereign, and endeavoured to brand him and all his family with the ignominious mark of disloyalty. Kildare, who was a man of bold spirit, and despised the base origin of Wolsey, replied in polished yet vehement language; and though the Cardinal and Court were hostile to him, nevertheless he so well managed the matter, that he was only committed to the Tower of London. But the Cardinal, determined to carry out his designs of vengeance, without knowledge of the king sent private instructions to the Constable of the Tower, ordering him to behead the earl without delay. When the Constable received his orders, although he knew how dangerous it was to contravene the Cardinal's mandate, commiserating the earl, he made him aware of his instructions. Calmly, yet firmly, did Kildare listen to the person who read his death-warrant; and then, launching into a violent invective against the Cardinal, he caused the Constable to proceed to the King, to learn if such order had emanated from him, for he suspected that it was the
act of the Cardinal, unauthorized. The Constable, regardless of the risk he ran, hastened to the King, and, about 10 o’clock at night, reported to his Majesty the order of the Cardinal for destroying Kildare. Thereon the King was bitterly incensed against Wolsey, whom he cursed, and forbade the Constable to execute any order not sanctioned by his own sign-manual; stating, at the same time, that he would cause the Cardinal to repent of his usurped authority, and unjust dislike to Kildare. The Constable returned, and informed the earl of his message; but Kildare was nevertheless detained a prisoner in the Tower to the end of his days.

* * There is a chapter in Galt’s “Life of Wolsey” full of errors and gross misrepresentations of Ireland and the Irish. It is only fair, however, to give him credit for the spirited sketch he has given of the dialogue between Wolsey and Kildare: “My lord,” said Wolsey, “you will remember how the Earl of Desmond, your kinsman, sent letters to Francis, the French king, what messages have been sent to you to arrest him (Desmond), and it is not yet done . . . but, in performing your duty in this affair, merciful God, how dilatory have you been . . . what! the Earl of Kildare dare not venture! nay, the King of Kildare: for you reign more than you govern the land.” “My Lord Chancellor,” replied the Earl, “if you proceed in this way, I will forget half my defence; I have no school tricks nor art of recollection; unless you hear me while I remember, your second charge will hammer the first out of my head. As to my kingdom, I know not what you mean . . . I would you and I, my lord, exchanged kingdoms for one month; I would, in that time, undertake to gather more crumbs than twice the revenues of my poor Earldom. While you sleep in your bed of down, I lie in a poor hovel; while you are served under a canopy, I serve under the
CHAPTER XI.

HIS SON REJECTS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM—MEDITATES REVENGE—ANOTHER VICEROY SENT IN HIS PLACE, WHO, AFTER A BLOODY WAR, HAVING PATCHED UP A FICTITIOUS PEACE, PERFIDIOUSLY ARRESTS THE SON AND FIVE UNCLEs, WHO ARE SENT TO ENGLAND, AND PUT TO DEATH.

Now a false rumour was spread in Ireland that the Earl of Kildare had been put to death, and Thomas, his son, called Silken Thomas,* roused to fury, flung away from him the viceregal sword, which he had received from his father. Without pausing to learn the truth of the statement, he made an onslaught on the Anglo-Irish—wasting with fire and sword everything, even to the Castle of Dublin. When the news of his revolt reached

cope of heaven; whilst you drink wine from golden cups, I must be content with water from a shell; my charger is trained for the field, your jennet is taught to amble.” O’Daly’s assertion that Wolsey issued the Earl’s death warrant, does not appear to rest on any solid foundation; and the contrary appears likely, when such usurpation of royalty was not objected in the impeachment of the Cardinal.—*Vide Galt’s Life of Wolsey, pp. 124, 125.*

* So called from the silken banners said to have been carried by his standard-bearers. Harris says that when he heard the rumour of his father’s death, he hastened to St. Mary’s Abbey, Dublin, where he resigned the sword of state, and declared war against the crown of England. In his zeal for the Geraldines, O’Daly omits many of the rash and cruel acts of Silken Thomas. Cromer, then
the King, he sent another Viceroy* to Ireland, who, with a powerful army, sat down before the castle of Maynooth, the strongest of Kildare's castles. But when Thomas had garrisoned the castle with men equal to its defence, and had stored it with great supplies, he proceeded in haste northwards, to collect provisions, and unite the people against the English. In the mean time, the castle of Maynooth, owing to the treason of its keeper, was placed in the hands of the English; the castle, otherwise, must have been impregnable. But when Thomas returned from

Lord Chancellor, besought him on his knees to be considerate, but all to no purpose. Allen, the aged archbishop of Dublin, being obliged to land at Clontarf, and take refuge at Ardtain, vainly sought his life at the hands of the infuriated Fitzgerald—but he was inexorable—the bishop was slain, and his blood reddened a hoary and venerable head. Harris relates that about this time a shock of an earthquake was felt in Dublin, and that the Earl of Kildare died in the tower, "as though he was struck through with a deadly arrow."

*Sir William Skeffington was now made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and hastened to besiege Maynooth—a castle erected by John, Earl of Kildare, A.D. 1426. Pareas, collector to Silken Thomas, being "blinded by avarice," betrayed the garrison to Skeffington and Brereton. Skeffington then marched against him, and the battle alluded to in the text was fought near Naas. Leonard, Lord Grey, is said to have made terms with him, and he is also accused of having violated the solemn promise of indemnity, given to Silken Thomas, and his uncles, who were subsequently put to death in London. "The ship," says Harris, "in which the FitzGeralds were carried to London was called the Cow," which when they learned, their courage fell, occasioned by a prophecy which said, "that an Earl's five sons should be wafted for England in a cow's belly, but should never return."
his expedition, he fought a bloody battle with the viceroy, in which there was fearful slaughter on both sides, till night coming left the question of victory dubious. On the following day peace was made between Thomas and the Viceroy, who stipulated forgiveness of the past, and the restoration of the family to all their former possessions. But Thomas and his five uncles were soon afterwards arrested, contrary to all honour, and put on board the same ship. Some of them were arrested in Dublin, others in the country; they were carried off to London, and beheaded—their property was confiscated to the crown; and by this untoward event, (the father had already died in prison), the whole family of Kildare was well nigh destroyed. The younger brother of Thomas, that is Garret, survived, and he was subsequently restored by Queen Mary to the paternal honours, and a portion of his ancestral estates. Hitherto we have been digressing, in order to show that the Munster Geraldines brought not final ruin upon the house of Kildare (and, verily, it is amongst the first of our country, whether we regard its wealth, magnificence, or nobility); but let us return to what concerns us most.
CHAPTER XII.

JAMES FITZMAURICE DIES—THOMAS THE BALD IS MADE EARL—HIS ATROCITIES—THE PREMATURE DEATH OF HIS SON, MAURICE FITZ-THOMAS, AND HIS NEPHEW, JAMES FITZMAURICE—THE SUBTLE STRATAGEM OF ANOTHER MAURICE, WHO OBTAINS THE LORDSHIP OF KERRY, THROUGH THE INTERFERENCE OF HIS BROTHER THOMAS.

James Fitzmaurice, having been earl for eleven years, breathed his last A.D. 1536. Thomas the Bald, uncle of Maurice, and third son of him who was put to death at Drogheda, was inaugurated Earl of Desmond, after his nephew. Far-famed was he in feats of arms; in nine battles did he win the palm of victory; he commanded the horse in a memorable action between the Earl of Kildare, then Viceroy, and the great O'Brien; sharp and bloody was that contest, and the victory was, subsequently, a matter of question between the combatants. Another subject for gratulation had this earl: the two Lords of Muskerry (one of whom was his wife's father), fell beneath his sword. He had a son born to him of the daughter of the aforesaid Lord of Muskerry; his name was Maurice Fitz-Thomas. He, dying during his father's lifetime, left an only son, James Fitzmaurice, who at the time of his father's and grandfather's decease, was in the court of Henry VIII. Thomas died aged eighty, leaving the title to his successor and nephew, James Fitzmaurice, who, when he heard of his father's and
grandfather's demise, sought leave from the king to return to Ireland. The king loaded him with honours, and fitted out ships to accompany him to the Irish shores, and provided him with a number of men who were ready to stand by him against those who were inclined to dispute his title to the patrimonial honours and inheritance. Thus did he pass the seas and land on the southern coast, journeying thence towards Cork, and passing through the territories of Lord Viscount Roche, he fell into the toils laid for him by his kinsman, Maurice Geraldine, and was unfortunately slain, A.D. 1542.

Alas! this horrid act was the first step to the ruin of the glorious family of the Geraldines. Divine justice took terrible revenge, and soon after extirpated the whole race of John of Desmond; for this Maurice, who shed the blood of his kinsman, was the second son of John of Desmond, who was brother to Thomas the Bald, and son of the Earl who was beheaded at Drogheda. But let us speak of this Maurice: he was a man famed in war and princely in his castles, but nature stamped him with a fiendish character—humanity abandoned him—no generous trait distinguished him—impetuous and dishonourable, he was hated by every one. Wherefore, fearing that his eldest brother might seize his possessions, he deemed it safer to have him far removed from him, and, for this reason, conferred on him a tract of country called Kerricurihy, of which he

* Kerricurihy (called in the jargon of Elizabeth's time Kerrywherry) was given by James, fifteenth Earl of Desmond, to his brother Sir Maurice of Desmond. It
made him lord, in the hope that he might fall 'neath the sword of those who were the implacable enemies of the Geraldines; or, at least, if this did not take place, that he might be out of the way of inflicting injury on himself; but Maurice, having attained his eightieth year, still bore the brunt of many an assault, repelling and crushing his enemies. Now, when an octogenarian, he made an incursion into the lands of Muskerry, and was met in battle by Diarmid Mac Teig, his father-in-law, and made prisoner. Diarmid committed him to the custody of four horsemen, while he himself hastened to pursue the flying bands of Desmond; but in his absence, the guard fell upon the latter, and barbarously slew him. Yet we retract the word; for they only meted out to him the same treatment which he gave to all those whom the fortune of war made his prisoners. He had two sons and three daughters, the first of whom married McCarthy Riagh, the second the Viscount Roche, and the third Diarmid Mac Teig, Lord of Muskerry; his eldest son, Thomas, did not long survive his father; but he left a son, Thomas the younger, who subsequently perished in the wars of the Desmonds; the second son, James Fitz-Thomas, remained to represent and propagate the race. John Desmond, fourth son of the Earl who was beheaded, enjoyed the Earldom after (as we have seen) the legitimate heir had been cut was anciently called Muskerry-millane, and was owned by the MacCarthys, and, after the Conquest, was granted to Richard De Cogan, and from him called "Long-a-gowganig," i.e., Cogan's Ship.
off by the treachery of Maurice; but he held it only for one year, for, like Achab in Holy Writ, he acquired it by the shedding of blood, and in bloodshed lost it. He left many sons, the eldest of whom was James, the second Maurice, well known for his cruelty, the third John Og, all of whom, together with their children, perished in the last war of Earl Garret, with the single exception of Maurice Fitz-John, who died in Spain.

CHAPTER XIII.

James Fitz-John and his sons, particularly Garret Fitz-John, are introduced on the stage; the parts they played in this tragedy.

James Fitz-John succeeded his father, and, with a splendid retinue, hastened into England, and made submission to Henry VIII., acknowledging, at the same time, that all the property of the Desmonds was forfeited to the Crown by reason of the murder of the legitimate heir; but he boldly asserted that this act was committed, not by his hand, but that of his brother Maurice. The king, who was at this period engaged in the French war, and desirous to see commotion entirely calmed in Ireland, received him with the greatest kindness. He then confirmed to James his ancient patrimony, reinstated his brother, and sent him back to Ireland with the title of treasurer to the kingdom and president of Munster. Fourteen years did he fill those high and honorable offices, and dying, left three sons, Garret, John,
and James. He had, moreover, another son, called Thomas "the Red," born of the daughter of Viscount Roche, who, they say (I know not on what grounds), was not lawfully married to the Earl. However that may have been, Thomas Rua was declared illegitimate, and many calamities followed the brothers in their contentions; for this was a subject of never-ending division among them.

Now Garret Fitz-James, even in his boyhood, gave glorious promise. His first expedition was against M'Carthy Riagh, on whom he inflicted great and deplorable losses; but, in an evil hour, he marched into Muskerry, and was set upon by a great body of the natives, led by Edmond MacTeig, Lord Muskerry's son, by whom (his valorous bearing notwithstanding) he was made prisoner after his horsemen had been put to flight. Six years did he pine in captivity, shut up in the castle of Askeaton.* At length the prayer of his wife prevailed (she was the daughter of Maurice Desmond), and Edmond, her kinsman, took compassion on the Earl, and set him free.

Now, it so happened, that when Garret was restored to liberty, some one brought him word that Thady M'Murrogh O'Brien was besieged in his castle of Inchiquin,† by the Earls of Tho-

* Askeaton. A magnificent castle of the Desmonds, in picturesque ruins, still remains in this place. It was fired by the Desmonds when retreating to Shannet. Near it James, the seventh Earl of Desmond, founded a monastery, A.D., 1420. The castle was almost totally destroyed by Malby, A.D., 1580.
† In the county of Clare, the ruins of which still remain.
mond and Clanricarde. He thereon sent a promise that, on a given day, he would hasten with supplies of men and provisions to his friend—nor did he fail; for, having collected about five hundred foot and sixty horsemen, he crossed the Shannon at Castle-Connell,* and having made his brother commander of the horse, marched rapidly towards Inchiquin, resolved to give battle, and raise the siege; but when the earls heard of Garret's approach, they retired from before the castle, to collect what number of men they thought necessary to encounter him. In the meantime, he succeeded in throwing into the castle supplies of men and provisions; and now, when Garret was returning, his men being loaded with spoil, Thomond and Clanricarde fell upon him. He clearly saw that the only hope of escape was in a dashing charge; and having briefly exhorted his clansmen to follow his example, and not to dread their unwarlike array, such was the shock they gave the earls, that they broke and fled. Brilliant was this achievement of Garret, honourable to him, and disastrous to his enemies. These, and many other chivalrous deeds, did Garret perform, which the narrow limits of this book will not suffer us to recount. Soon after his father's death, surrounded by a noble retinue of a hundred youths, all of honourable birth, he proceeded to do homage to the queen, by whom he was graciously received, and restored to all his ancestral honours by a new patent.

* Castle-Connell, county Limerick. This castle was anciently called Carrig-Gnuiil, originally the residence of the O'Briens, kings of Thomond. Destroyed in 1690 by order of De Ginkell.
CHAPTER XIV.

CONTENTIONS BETWEEN GARRET, EARL OF DESMOND, AND THOMAS BUTLER, CALLED THE BLACK—THE BATTLES OF BOHERMOR AND AFFANE NARRATED.

But now, when Garret returned to Ireland, sore contentions arose between him and Thomas, Earl of Ormond (surnamed the Black). They both were young in years, hot in blood, and equals in the high offices which they held in the queen’s court. But Ormond was a prudent and sagacious man; silently and phlegmatically did he carry out his schemes. Desmond, on the other hand, was frank, fiery, and impetuous. But the queen inclined most to the House of Ormond; for, during the civil wars, the Butlers sided with the family of Lancaster, as the Desmonds did with that of York. The first cause of quarrel between the earls was the subject of boundaries. They were neighbours; and it frequently happened that they made incursions into each other’s territories, for the purpose of carrying off a prey; but now, when both parties became infuriated, this lust of dominion was only to be sated by blood. They therefore appointed a day to meet in mortal combat, at a place called Bohermor, situated between the counties of Limerick and Tipperary: even to this day the place is called “The Battle Field.” Desmond was followed by four thousand foot, and seven hundred and fifty horse; the flower, too, of the
Munster nobility followed him to the field. Nor inferior was the host which owned Ormond its leader—whether you regard the pomp, rivalry, or chivalry of the combatants; besides, Ormond had a considerable supply of great guns. Thus stood they, face to face, for fully fourteen days—their blood boiling, and both parties anxious for the battle-cry of their mutual leaders. Some of the nobility, however—chiepest of whom was the Countess of Desmond (mother of Ormond)—adjusted terms, and for a while there was the semblance of peace. But the countess, dying soon afterwards, the wound which had been healed gaped afresh; for John Geraldine, brother of Earl Garret, repulsed Ormond's men, and killed, with his own hand, John Butler, brother to the Earl, in single combat. This did John Geraldine, even while yet a boy. Now it came to pass that Desmond made an incursion into the territory of Desies, in order to secure rents which were due to him; and Desies immediately sent off to Ormond, begging him to come and befriend him. He was rejoiced that he had an opportunity of meeting Desmond, and complied with his kinsman's request. He brought with him a large body of men, to intercept the Desmond on his return; and the latter, never thinking that Desies had invoked Ormond's aid, was but ill prepared against their superior numbers.

Desmond, accompanied by a small band, had reached Affane*, where he saw Ormond in battle

* Affane, formerly called Arthmean, or Aghmean, from Aghaford, the Blackwater being fordable hereabout. This
array; and, despising the counsel of those who urged him to retreat, turned to his companions and said that he would rather meet the edge of the sword than turn his back on a Butler. Then came they to blows; and the little band of Desmond did all that men of valour and chivalry could. Bloody was the struggle to win the victory, or, at least, to save their lord, who, dashing into the midst of the enemy's cavalry, rushed upon Ormond. Thus separated from his own men, he was struck down by a gun-shot, discharged by Edmund Butler, knight; and, unfortunately, the earl was unhorsed. His soldiers were all killed, and the earl himself was brought captive to Clonmel. When his wounds were healed he was sent to London, where he was incarcerated in the Tower for seven years. 'Twere well for him that the imprisonment had been perpetual.

Battle was fought A.D. 1564. Desmond in this action lost 300 men; and when carried off the field wounded, made the well-known reply to the interrogatory, "Where's now the great Earl of Desmond?"—"Where, but on the necks of the Butlers." "Affane," says Smith (Hist. of Waterford) "is famous for the best cherries in Ireland, being first planted here by Sir Walter Raleigh, who brought them from the Canary Islands."
CHAPTER XV.

REVOLT OF THOMAS RUA—AGAINST WHOM JAMES FITZMAURICE IS SET UP.

In the meantime, his eldest brother, Thomas Rua (Thomas "the Red"), reputed the illegitimate son of James Fitz-Thomas, thinking to raise his own fortunes upon those of his brother, took the earldom into his own hands, now that the brothers of Desmond were prevented by the queen and Ormond from prosecuting their right. The ministers of the queen aided Butler in this; and although all the brothers were opposed to Thomas Rua and his pretensions, none of them was more determined to oppose the claim of Thomas than James Fitz-Maurice (the second son of Maurice Desmond, second son of John Desmond, brother of Thomas Moel, or Thomas the Bald, both sons of Thomas of Drogheda), which first-named Maurice, as we have said, was slain by Diarmid Mac Teig, Lord of Muskerry, and received a sad yet meet reward for the stratagem by which he slew James Fitzmaurice, legitimate son of Thomas the Bald, and heir to the earldom.

Bravely, therefore, did this James Fitzmaurice come forward to vindicate the right of Garret; nor less daring were his achievements. He was ever formidable to his enemies—defeat never tracked his march—and in the eyes of all was he deemed worthy to be earl. However unwilling
Queen Elizabeth might have been, nevertheless, the resistance of the Geraldines compelled her to liberate Desmond from the Tower; who, having received indemnity for the past, hastened into Ireland. But, ere he set sail, the queen called to his memory the ancient fealty of his house, and the honours bestowed on the Geraldines by her predecessors, the kings of England; and then, exhorting him to be firm in his allegiance to the English crown, dismissed him. Desmond, returning thanks for this favour, pledged himself to pay attention to her injunctions in all things not opposed to the mandates of God; and then, having passed the sea, notwithstanding the fictitious claim of Thomas Rua, was received in Ireland with exceeding great joy, and immediately restored to all the honours of the earldom.

CHAPTER XVI.

ZEAL OF GARRET FOR THE CATHOLIC FAITH—HE IS ARRESTED BY SIDNEY, VICEROY OF IRELAND, AND SENT TO ENGLAND WITH HIS BROTHER.

Now when he had been restored to the peaceful possession of his patrimony and ancestral honours, and saw himself girt with many a gallant band of vassals, sorely did Garret grieve at the insults which were showered by the preachers of the Reformation on the professors of the ancient religion. Then did he say to himself: "It ill comports with a man of my position and feelings to tolerate this; for, no matter how loyal I may be,
I will not swerve from the fealty I owe my God." Then did this champion of the faith openly avow his love and veneration for the Catholic faith, causing all its rites and ceremonies to be performed even under the eyes of the queen's ministers, and swearing to guard the religion of his fathers even to the last. Verily, the name of these innovators was odious and intolerable to him.

In the year of salvation 1575, when Elizabeth had heard how the nobility of Ireland treated many of her edicts—but particularly when she was informed of the inflexible determination manifested by the Geraldines to resist her tyranny—she formed a plan to crush, if possible at one blow, Desmond, together with his people. This, indeed, did she afterwards accomplish, as we shall narrate. But, alas! their destruction brought ruin and woe on the Irish people, and the Catholic religion.

To carry out her design, she wrote to Sir Henry Sidney* (a man of consummate craft and splendid accomplishments) to lay a snare for the Desmond. He accordingly issued an invitation for the nobility of Ireland to meet him on a given day, in the city of Dublin, to confer with him on some matters of great weight, particularly re-

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* Sir H. Sidney landed at Skerries, Sept. 12, 1575. From thence he went to Drogheda, where he was sworn on the 18th, the plague then raging in Dublin. At this time Surleboy, Mac-Mahon, and O'Donnell, together with Turlough Lynogh, were in arms in the north, and had discomfited Baker, the English captain, at Knockfergus.
garding religion. This was the queen's plan, and by her committed to Sidney for execution. (He had instructions, moreover, to arrest the earl on his appearance in Dublin, and commit him to prison.) The dynasts of Ireland, little suspecting the dark design of the viceroy, hastened to the city, and along with them the Earl of Desmond, and his brother John. They had a safe conduct from Sidney, and had scarcely arrived when they were seized and committed to the castle.

After being detained for a short time in Ireland, they were sent off to London, shut up in the Tower, and condemned to pass five weary years in its loathsome solitude. During this time, the Queen of England more than twice contemplated putting the Geraldines to death; and this was believed throughout Ireland, Scotland, and England. But the great and good God, who never abandons those who confide in Him, not only prevented their death, but liberated them in the manner which I will now narrate.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REVOLT OF JAMES FITZMAURICE—HIS STRUGGLE FOR THE CATHOLIC FAITH, AND THE RESTORATION OF HIS KINSMEN TO THEIR ANCIENT HONORS AND INHERITANCE.

Now, while the earl and his brother John were languishing in captivity, they conferred together concerning their possessions in Ireland, and after
mature deliberation concluded that unless their people were subject to some one who would lead them against the Reformers, who were possessing themselves of all the property of the Irish Catholics, even their own territories must be soon overrun and laid waste. Their kinsman, James, who was then in Ireland, was well known for his attachment to the ancient faith, no less than for his valour and chivalry; therefore did the Earl and his brother privately intimate to him their anxious desire that he would take on himself the leadership, at the same time instructing all who owed them fealty to be obedient to him and submissive to his behests. Gladly did the people of Earl Desmond receive these commands, and inviolable was their attachment to him who was now appointed their chieftain.

And now, when James was elevated to the place vacated by the Earl (detained in chains by the impious), fired with zeal for holy religion, he began to meditate war against Elizabeth; but as a resort to the arms of the flesh can be of little avail without first recurring to the armoury of the spirit, he deemed it wise to send a herald to Pope Gregory XIII., to pray his blessing on the undertaking, and the concession of Indulgences which the Church bestows on those who draw the sword for the faith.

Gladly did the Pontiff receive the embassy, and spiritedly did he animate our chieftain to the glorious work. Then forth flashed the sword of the Geraldine; like chaff did he scatter the host of Reformers; fire and devastation did he carry into their strong holds; so that, during five
years (for the war lasted that time), he won many a glorious victory and carried off innumerable trophies. But here I have not room to recount the many singular actions in which he defeated John Perrot,* then President of Munster. In a word, victory ever followed his standard, and this fact coming to the knowledge of the queen, who dreaded his growing power, now that success seemed to be certain, sent unto him an embassy, the object of which was, to bring about a peace.

To those commissioned by the queen, James Fitzmaurice gave answer, that he would gladly lay down his arms, provided the liberty of the Catholic worship was stipulated and guaranteed, and that his kinsmen were restored to their ancient inheritances and all honours. The queen thereon sent word that she would acquiesce to these demands and send the Earl and his brother safely into Ireland, provided James Fitzmaurice laid down his arms and desisted from spoiling the land.

* It is necessary to observe that, during Perrot's administration, no effort was made to forward the Reformation in Munster. He was appointed in 1584, and was succeeded in 1588 by Sir William Fitzwilliam. Among the more notable acts of the former, was the partition of Connaught into shires or counties; he added Clare to Munster, and the rest of the province he divided into Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and Leitrim. Ulster was also cut up into shires by Sir John Perrot. For an interesting account of his departure from Ireland, see Ware.
CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EARL AND HIS BROTHER ARE SENT BACK TO IRELAND—NEW TOILS ARE LAID FOR THEM—THEY REVOLT AGAIN.

Although this treaty was ratified by the queen, and sealed with her seal, her perfidious mind, and her perfidious counsellors never meant to carry it into effect. She received the earl and his brother with bland words and smiling countenance; ordered a ship to be fitted out in regal state, to carry them to their natal shores; and, when the Desmond kissed her hand at parting, she thus addressed him: "You are well aware of our friendly disposition towards you, and now we would fain exhort you never again to sully the splendour of your ancient house with the dark stain of rebellion. Be loyal, and ever will you find in us a kind and considerate queen." To this the earl replied, that he never had been guilty of any rebellion—that the fidelity of his house to the Crown of England was well known, and that when he drew the sword, it was only in defence of immemorial rights, and the vindication of his religion, which suffered daily insults from the stipendiaries of the queen in Ireland. "Concede therefore," continued he, "my liege sovereign, that these men may no longer be allowed to touch my rights, or offer violence to my religion—for on this subject I owe allegiance to my God."
queen then reiterated the promise already made to James Fitzmaurice, and the earl and his brother departed.

But she had privately directed the captain of the ship to proceed at once to Dublin, and to avoid every other port (for the residence of the viceroy was in Dublin). The object of this was to hand over the earl and his brother to the Lord Deputy. Now she had already instructed him to induce Desmond by cajolery to fix his residence in the city, and then to despatch John to his brother James, and persuade him to come at once to Dublin, in order to secure them all, and, having committed them to prison, (oh, grief!) to behead them.

But the earl, on his arrival in the city, was informed by some member of the Council, who, exteriorly professing the Catholic religion, was, nevertheless, devoted to the persons of the Catholics, that a plot was laid for the ruin of the great and glorious family of the Geraldines—for, in sooth, he sympathized with the earl, who immediately sent word to John and James, cautioning them, on no terms, to leave their territories or approach the city. "Come not back," wrote he, "for if you do, you will only have exchanged the prisons of London for those of Dublin; but stay, and enjoy liberty on the fair wide plains of Munster." Having despatched this message, the earl himself escaped from Dublin at daybreak, and, mounting a fleet horse, in five days afterwards reached the residence of his uncle and brother in the remote regions of Kerry, far far away from his inexorable foes.
And now, when they had reflected for a while on this recent treachery of the English and their evil designs, the blood of the Geraldines boiled in their veins, and, like unto magnanimous lions long hunted and struck at by the spears of the pursuers, they resolved to turn on their enemies. Oh! how their wrath kindled and blazed. Forth hied they to the open plains; their pursuers were in turn pursued; loudly sounded the deafening war-cry of their followers, and, ere it burst upon their enemies, they had plighted a solemn vow to die as became men, rather than desert their faith, their country, and their friends.

Thus did these three brave men, deeming it base to suffer any longer the wiles and perfidy of England, betake themselves to the field; daily did they do battle with their foes; theirs was rage and madness in that terrible scene; carnage marked their track; for, as I have said, they resolved to slay and be slain, rather than suffer the Catholic religion to be outraged within their territories—nay, to suffer all torment rather than to be again circumvented by the lures and artifices of a treacherous race. Lo, here was magnanimity, here was honor! Oh, would to God all the nobles of Ireland had rallied round their banner! How glorious would not this nation have been today! But those who failed them declined from the right path, and bitter has been their penalty. Grant, Heaven, that in another world they suffer not for their derelictions to religion and country! not that I would suggest disobedience or disloyalty to the kings of England, legitimate as they are, and acknowledged by our forefathers—but
rather would I impress on my countrymen the necessity of giving to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's. And well might the noblesse of Ireland have complied with that injunction, though they lost their heart's blood combating for the ancient immunities of their country and creed, knit together in an indissoluble bond of friendship and feeling.

And now sorely did Elizabeth grieve over the disasters which her armed bands sustained in this conflict; and again did she send words of peace to the Earl of Desmond. Wherefore the earl was importuned by many of his friends to submit to a peace; and, indeed, he was little loath to embrace it, for his treasury was well nigh exhausted, and, yielding rather to necessity than inclination, the peace was agreed upon for two years. Stringent, however, were the conditions; for he stipulated that no one should be persecuted for his religion within the territories of Desmond, and that neither he nor his brothers, nor any of his kin or dependents, allied to him by treaty or blood, should be summoned before the Lord President. Such were the conditions, and, accordingly, was the peace concluded.

CHAPTER XIX.

LEGATION OF JAMES FITZMAURICE TO THE POPE AND CATHOLIC PRINCES.

Now, when this matter had been arranged, the earl begun to think that, if not within the term
of two years, at least at their expiration, the queen would most certainly wage war upon him. Wherefore, in order to take the necessary precaution, he despatched James, his brother, to Pope Gregory XIII., to implore his blessing on the undertaking he anticipated, as well as a renewal of the indulgences to those who would take up arms for religion and country. Now, though James was somewhat chagrined at the conclusion of the peace, and would fain have dissuaded the earl from making terms, he nevertheless received from him pardon for any acts which might have pained him, inasmuch as they all were meant to procure Desmond’s liberation. He therefore besought the earl to bestow on him some lands which he was able to defend, in order to maintain that rank which his high lineage conferred on him; but the inopportune counsel of a woman (to wit, Eleonora Butler, Countess of Desmond) thwarted James’s hope. She was the mother of an only son, and much did she labour to persuade Desmond that it would be dishonourable to sequestrate any portion of his domains, but rather that the whole should be bequeathed to his son, James Fitz-Garret, then a baby. Desmond, indeed, in this instance, appears to have been too uxorious and forgetful of himself; and, not regarding the claim and merits of his kinsman, who had perilled everything for him, rejected his suit. Much did James marvel at this great ingratitude; but he was willing to forget such unmerited treatment, and generously resolved not to peril the common cause for a family feud. He, therefore, departing for Rome, brought along
with him his two sons—for they were as yet unfit to wield the sword; and he trembled lest the fortunes of war might throw them into the hands of the enemy. He knew, moreover, that Pope Gregory XIII. was well affected towards the Irish Catholics, and that by presenting to him these youths, the pontiff would be still more anxious to aid the Irish Catholics in their struggle. It occurred to him, also, that if he should fall, these would be thus preserved, and, when grown to man's estate, would be enabled to avenge their father's blood. Who could tell but at some distant day these two boys might excite the pity of Catholic princes, and return to their own land with galleons and troops?

Thus, when the necessary preparations were made, they commenced their journey, and sailed away for France. Here they were courteously received by the king, who promised him assistance against the English, and vowed to defend the Catholic faith. The king was but too well inclined, when the counsels of his ministers prevented him from carrying out his intentions. From France Fitzmaurice proceeded to Spain, where he was received at court by Philip II.; but this monarch had already made a treaty of peace with the Queen of England, and, not wishing to violate it, contented himself with giving Fitzmaurice recommendatory letters to be laid before the Pope, beseeching him to look to the condition of the Irish Catholics. But when the king saw the two boys, Maurice and Gerald, he loved them; and, in truth, they were fair to behold, and well worthy his affection. He therefore
resolved to take them to himself, and committed them to the charge of Cardinal Granville,* then Legate à Latere in the court of Madrid. Well did the illustrious Cardinal watch over them. At the royal expense they were educated in the university of Alcalà, and trained in all the science of chivalry befitting their noble origin. And here let me speak of these noble youths. In the king's court and in the presence of his Majesty, did their innate humour move to mirth, whilst the character of nobility stamped upon them excited the compassion of those who knew their history. Cardinal Granville acted on many occasions as interpreter for them; and the quickness of their comprehension, as well as mirthful repartee, won the admiration of all who heard them. Honour and majesty characterised all their actions and sayings, and in a very brief time they outstripped all their youthful comppeers in the science of arts and arms. Nor in this rivalry did they lose the affections of their noble schoolfellows; on the contrary, they were loved by them all, reverenced and esteemed. Amongst those attached to the youthful Geraldines, let me mention Thomas Granville, nephew to the Cardinal, who loved them with a brother's love, and who, when Maurice (the eldest) died, became so devoted to Gerald, that he never could bear to leave his side. Alas! how faithful was this at-

* Granville was by birth a Burgundian, and warmly attached to the interests of Ireland. He was in the habit of dictating to five secretaries, in five different languages, at the same time. He died some time before the expulsion of 1588.
tachment; for when the expedition against England was undertaken, a.d. 1588, Granville insisted on embarking with Gerald in the same ship, in which (oh, grief of griefs!) both were lost on the Irish coast. Sorely were they lamented in the land of Spain and Ireland; but Granville and Maurice had been friends in youth—in death they were not separated.

Here, too, might I narrate the many calamities which befell Alphonsus de Leira, the vice-admiral of that fleet, on account of Gerald's death. Alphonsus was a man of noble birth, and great military experience. When his ships were tossed upon the rocky coast that renders navigation so perilous on the western shores of Ireland, seeing that he could not ride out the furious gale, his crews took to their boats and gained the land. Soon was the strand crowded by the native Irish, armed and desperate. "Who are you?" they demanded. And when informed that they were part of the Spanish expedition, they asked again, "Where, O where, is the Geraldine?" And, woe is me! when told that

* In the "Icon Antistitis" there is a most pathetic account of the shipwrecked Spaniards, who were cast on the coast of Galway. Those who fell into the hands of the English authorities only escaped a watery grave for a bloody one. Nothing can be more creditable to the memory of the Galway ladies than their pious humanity on that occasion. When the English put a number of the Spaniards to death, they left them to feed the crows, till the dead bodies were decently shrouded and buried by the ladies. I am indebted to my friend, Mr. James Hardiman, for a copy of this rare and beautiful work, which shall shortly be translated.
he had perished in the gale, loud and mournful was their wailing. "Go, go," said they; "since you have lost Gera'd, we want you not."

And now in vain did Alphonsus hope for rest and comfort. His drooping seamen would not even be allowed to pitch a camp. He, too, bitterly bewailed the death of Gerald; for, living, he would have been life to him and his; but, alas! he bent again his humid sails, and vainly sought to gain the open sea. The storm lashed the waters into foaming billows, and drove back his doomed ships on the terrible reefs. Soon did they go to pieces, and, miserable to be told, their crews all perished. The history of these matters might well employ me, were it my object to write it; but as I am only making a compendium of the actions of the Geraldines, I fear lest my pen might be shipwrecked. I therefore return to the land I left, namely, to James.

CHAPTER XX.

JAMES ARRIVES AT ROME, AND RETURNS TO SPAIN.

Now, James having left his two sons with King Philip of Spain, proceeded to Rome, to the court of Gregory XIII. The Pontiff received Fitzmaurice with the greatest honours, and so far was the Pope from denying him any favour, that he bestowed on him whatever he asked, giving a considerable sum of money to him, for the purpose of the war; finally, having imparted the
Pontifical benediction, he addressed to him a spirited exhortation, in which he added to that fire of zeal with which Fitzmaurice burned for the holy faith. "Defend it," said the Pope, "and in me you will ever find a friend." In the letter which the pontiff addressed to the Catholics of Ireland, he appointed the Earl of Desmond general-in-chief, as well in matters of war as peace; to James he gave the rank of second in command; and, in case of James's death, he appointed John; and, providing for the contingency which might cut off the last named, he ordained that the post should be conferred on James, brother of the Earl, as you may learn from the letter which follows:

Greg. XIII. to the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, as also to the Catholic Princes, Earls, Barons, Clergy, nobles, and people of Ireland, health, and apostolical benediction.

"A few years ago, we admonished you, through our letters, when you took up arms to defend your liberties and rights, under the leadership of James Geraldine, of happy memory, that we would ever be ready to assist you against those English heretics who have deserted the holy church of Rome. Praiseworthy throughout all time must his exertions be in thus endeavouring to cast off the hard yoke which the English have imposed upon you. Strenuously did we exhort him to prompt and fearless action, and in order more efficaciously to move him thereto, we conceded to all those who contritely confessed their sins, pardon and remission, provided they enrolled themselves under the banners of the aforesaid James, the champion and defender of the Catholic faith, or aided him by counsel, provisions, or other things necessary for the sustentation of his army. This indulgence is the same as that which was imparted to those who fought against the Turks, for the recovery of the Holy Land. But, lately have we learned, with the profoundest sorrow, that James fell in battle, stoutly fighting for the faith. John Geral-
dine has succeed him, and has already given heroic proof of his devotion to the Catholic religion: We, therefore, exhort each and every of you to pay the most implicit obedience to him, and that you study to aid John, as you would have aided the aforesaid James, if he were living. We, therefore, impart to each and every of you the same indulgence, provided you shall have first confessed and communicated, and adhered by every means in your power to the general-in-chief, John, and in case of his demise, which God avert, to James. We, therefore, decree, that the power of obtaining this indulgence shall last as long as the aforesaid John and James shall live.

"Given at Rome, die Maii xiii., M.D. LXXX. Pontificatus nostri, anno octavo."

Now did James yearn for home, fearing that the spirits of his people might flag; and in his last interview with Pope Gregory, he besought him to appoint a certain Englishman, named Stukely, to the command of the vessels destined to convey men and arms to Ireland. This Stukely, who accompanied James out of Spain, had wasted his patrimony in Ireland by luxurious living, and, hoping to repair his fortunes, addicted himself to the Desmonds. The pontiff knew not how to deny him any favour, but he dreaded much that James was greatly deceived in reposing any confidence in an Englishman on such an occasion; but Fitzmaurice asserted that he was fully convinced of Stukely's fidelity, and he was created by the pontiff Lord of Idrone, and appointed vice-admiral of the fleet under James, till its arrival in Ireland. The Pope gave two thousand soldiers, levied in his own states, fully equipped for the fated expedition. Then did Fitzmaurice take leave of the Pope, and delegated Stukely to conduct the troops by sea to Ireland. Passing
rapidly through France, Fitzmaurice came to Portugal, and sailing thence with a few Spaniards, landed on the coast of Kerry. His sudden arrival struck fear into the hearts of his enemies, who thought he was accompanied by great forces. But let us turn awhile from Fitzmaurice to Stukely.

CHAPTER XXI.

STUKELY AND HIS TROOPS ACCOMPANY KING SEBASTIAN TO AFRICA.

Stukely, having taken the command, shaped his course for Portugal, and sailed into the harbour of Lisbon, at the very moment that King Sebastian was preparing an expedition against the Moors in Africa. When the king heard of him, he sent for him, and exerted all his powers of persuasion to induce him to accompany him in his erratic warfare against the Africans. He finally consented to accompany Sebastian, with the troops under his command, when he heard the king avow that on his return he would aid him with large supplies for Ireland. Now, Stukely violated the promise made to the Pope, and the oath he had sworn to Fitzmaurice. It may be that he seized King Sebastian's offer as a surer means of retrieving his fortunes, or was reluctant to be concerned in a war against his own sovereign. But, not long after they landed in Africa, a terrible battle was fought, purpled by the blood of three kings. Muley Moluc perished in the heat of the
action, having drunk immoderately of mare's milk, and exhausted by exertion—Mahamet, who was the author of this expedition, was slain by the Moors—King Sebastian, who was recognised by his glittering armour, was suffocated while the victorious Moors were disputing as to whom he should be surrendered. And with him the race of the Lusitanian Kings had like to cease. The new Lord of Idrone, Stukely, (inferior in dignity, but not in valour,) experienced the same fate, the meet reward of his treason to Fitzmaurice. Nothing could have happened more agreeably to the wishes of Queen Elizabeth; for had Stukely come with his Italian swordsmen while Fitzmaurice lived, it would have fared ill with the English—and little money, and less blood would have sufficed to drive them out of Ireland.*

* It is asserted that this treacherous Stukely was a natural son of Henry VIII.; according to others, he was maternally descended from the MacMurroghs, Kings of Leinster. The 4th of August, 1578, is a day most remarkable in the annals of Portugal, for it cost the life of the young enthusiastic Sebastian, as well as that of the Abdel-Kader of his time, 'Muley Moluc. 1,500 Christians perished in this rash undertaking, and amongst the rest, the troops destined by the Pope for Ireland. O'Daly exaggerates the number of the latter; as Muratori, in his annals, makes them amount only to 600 foot. King Sebastian is thought by the populace of Portugal to be still asleep, like Hugh O'Neill's horsemen, in some enchanted cave, whence he is yet to come to restore the glory of Lisboa.
CHAPTER XXII.

THE ARRIVAL OF JAMES FITZMAURICE—HOW JOHN SLEW HENRY DANVERS—FITZMAURICE IS KILLED.

Now when James Fitzmaurice had landed on the Irish coast, in total ignorance of Stukely and the fleet, he was immediately joined by John Desmond, the earl's brother. Mighty were the possessions of this John, and accomplished were his manners; wherefore, that he might ingratiate himself with Fitzmaurice, and give testimony of his homage to the King of Spain (having no means of proceeding to his court), he resolved to perform some very notable action. Now it so happened that Henry Danvers, of the county of Cork, on hearing of the arrival of Fitzmaurice and the Spaniards, retired into the county Kerry, and took up his abode in the principal castle of the Earl of Desmond at Tralee. At dead of night, John, who had been his gossip, entered the chamber, accompanied by his retainers, and slew Danvers, Arthur Charters, and some others. This fact has been often stigmatised and described as derogatory to the honor of John of Desmond; yet, I think unjustly, for Desmond only killed an avowed enemy, who not only sought to crush the cause of liberty, but did signal injury to John

* This murder was committed A.D. 1579. "The pretence," says Smith, Hist. of Kerry, p. 163, "was Sir Henry Danvers' holding session of gaol delivery in Desmond's palatinate."
himself in the house of Lord Muskerry. At length he united his forces to those of Fitzmaurice, and having unfurled their banners, they marched from Kerry into the county Limerick. Having pitched their camps, it unfortunately happened that one of John's soldiers ill used a woman. Now, when notice of this was brought to Fitzmaurice, he was greatly pained, for he well knew that his cause could not prosper while such acts were permitted; as a rigid enforcer of military discipline, he ordered the culprit to be brought to trial. On the other hand, John contravened the order; so that, to prevent the calamity of a conflict between both parties, Fitzmaurice deemed it more expedient to separate from his kinsman than connive at such infamy.

In the meantime he marched towards Connaught, where he contemplated being joined by John Burke, brother to the Marquis of Clanricarde, and, on his route, he bent his way to the monastery of Holy Cross,* in the county Tipperary, according to a vow which he had made; but, while passing over the lands of Theobald Burke, his near kinsman, he was not a little surprised to find Theobald himself, at the head of a large force, pursuing him in the direction of the open country. Now when Fitzmaurice saw that his life was perilled in a quarter where he had

* Founded by Donagh O'Brien, King of Limerick. It is said that Pope Pascal II. sent a piece of the Cross to Murtagh, King of Ireland, about the year 1110. This relic was covered with gold, and set in precious stones. There is a tradition that it still exists.
least reason to dread danger, he sent one of his men to Theobald, beseeching him to draw off his forces, nor offer outrage to one so nearly allied to him. Burke, who dreaded that he would suffer if he allowed the angry lion to pass him by, or, perhaps, in the hope of raising himself in the queen's estimation, sent him back word to prepare for battle. Fitzmaurice, seeing no chance left him of avoiding a conflict, did such deeds as I dare not pass over in silence; for although he was far inferior in force, yet he exhorted his men to fight bravely to the last, encouraging them rather to lay down their lives like men than disgrace themselves by flight. He had about a hundred foot and very few horse; he cared not to bring more with him, as he never foresaw any danger; but when the two parties came to blows, bravely fought they both, until at length some vile hireling discharged a gun at Fitzmaurice, who was easily recognised by his yellow doublet, and struck him to the ground. Wounded as he was in the breast, he artfully concealed the injury he had received, exhorting his men to stand firm, even against overwhelming numbers. This was his last action—to falter for a moment he deemed unworthy of his name and progenitors—and then, in the last effort, he dashed into the midst of his enemies, like another Achilles, foremost in battle front, striking about him with sword and lance, until he made a lane for himself to where Theobald stood, and with a single blow, cleft his skull in twain, and with another stroke killed his brother William. Now, when the soldiers of Burke had taken to flight, Fitzmaurice, feeling that his wound was
mortal, quietly retired from the scene of action, and called to his side Dr. Allan, an Englishman, who was his chaplain. Alighting from his horse, he declared that he was mortally wounded, and within the space of one hour, (having piously confessed his sins,) made his will, appointing John, brother of the Earl, who was absent, to be commander-in-chief, as was ordered in the Pope’s letters. In his will he exhorted him to make no peace with the English, as he had fatal experience of their treachery, but to persevere unceasingly, as the Roman Pontiff advised. At this time he was ignorant of Stukely’s violation of oath and honour. Having prayed a short while, he surrendered his spirit to God (who, doubtless, warmly received it); and bitter was the grief of Allan, his chaplain, and the few who stood near.

Here I pass by in silence the grief which so sudden and unexpected affliction brought upon Fitzmaurice himself; not indeed because Fitzmaurice knew that he was dying, but because he died thus soon (his prayer ever was to die for the faith of Christ); but when he grieved, 'twas because he fell when hope seemed brightest. In silence I pass over the wailing of his men, who, when they returned from the pursuit, beheld their loved leader dead. All the Catholics of Ireland mourned for him; and as often as they fought their foes, in the five years war which ensued, so often did they miss the right hand that smote for them, and the counsel that used to guide them. He was, in truth, a name of terror to his foemen, and a guiding star to his friends. This calamity was felt by all, and his death was the beginning of the ruin of Des-
mond’s house. Gifted with a noble mind, affable, prudent, learned and pious, his graceful address charmed and conciliated every one. But, if events had realised the projects he had conceived, there can be no doubt that he would have effected glorious results—but with him all fell to the ground. Loud was the mirth and exultation of the English—terror came upon the Irish who were deprived of such a leader. Whatever I have stated concerning him, that and much more have I received from those who knew him well—they fall far short of the eulogy which such a man deserves. When Fitzmaurice was dead, his kinsman, Maurice Fitz-John ordered his head to be cut off; but, as he could not give his body such honourable sepulture as it was entitled to, he left it concealed under an aged oak, where, not long after, being found by a hunter, it was brought to Kilmallock, fixed upon the gallows tree, and shattered by the musket fire of the heretics, who dared not to look him in the face while living. Now, as the prime mover of this first war was cut off, let us see what became of the rest.

CHAPTER XXIII.

JOHN ASSUMES THE COMMAND—DEATH OF HIS YOUNGER BROTHER, JAMES—HOW JOHN HIMSELF DIES.

John Desmond obtained the supreme command after the death of Fitzmaurice. Earl Desmond did not contest the appointment which Fitz-
maurice made in his last will upon the field of battle. That will was sealed with blood; and John and James subsequently proved how worthy they were of the command which devolved on them. Daily were they engaged with the enemy, and carnage abounded. In the open plain they routed the English troops, led by the Duke of York, Herbert, and others.* And when the English found that they could not subdue armed men, they turned their weapons against women. Ay did they vent their fury on the quiet townsman, and brutally did they stab with their daggers the feeble mother and the infant sucking at the breast; thus cooling their impious thirst with the blood of Catholics. To such extremity were matters now brought, that the husbandman no longer tilled the land, and supplies of food could with difficulty be procured. No wonder, then, if the spirits of the Geraldines began to fall. The supplies sent by Gregory XIII. had been lost in Africa, and diverted from their destination. Yet did these Geraldines persevere to the last, unappalled by dangers, nor corrupted by the temptation of reward. God, who knows my heart, now sees that I cannot speak of the ruin which came upon them without tears and groans. For, let me ask, who is there—a true Irishman—who can listen to the story of their destruction, or mention it, without bitter grief? Ever were the Geraldines loved in Ireland, and venerated for their devotion to the faith; but particularly by those who valued their religion and country.

* At Monow, in the county Limerick.
And how could I, who am an Irishman—and the son of that Irishman who, leaving all that he held dear, even from his boyhood, sat by the hearth of these Desmonds, and when he grew up was made the depository of their confidence, held command under them in their last wars, and saw the slain Geraldines with his own eyes—how, I say, can I, the son of such a father, commemorate them without sigh and groan, unless I be lost to all honourable sensibility?

And now bear with me while I write of the death of each of them, as well as blinding tears will let me. It so happened that James, youngest brother of the earl, who had scarcely arrived at the years of puberty, proceeded into the territory of Lord Muskerry. James was, in truth, beloved by all—of bold spirit and unblemished morality. Now, when on his return from the expedition, he was pursued by Cormack Mac Teig, Lord of Muskerry, taken prisoner, and brought before the Lord President.* Strongly did he urge the youth to renounce the Catholic faith, and acknowledge the queen’s supremacy; telling him, at the same time, that he would confer on him the highest honours and rewards if he took up arms against his brethren. But nobly did he spurn this tampering—bravely did he avow that he would acknowledge no head of the church save the Roman pontiff.

* It is almost superfluous to remind the reader that Grey was the deputy who left Queen Elizabeth little in Ireland to rule over save ashes and dead bodies.—Vide Leland, v. 2. p. 283.
Whereon the Lord President ordered him to be beheaded, his intestines burned, and his body to be cut into four quarters, and suspended in chains from the gates of Cork. Thus, with a martyr's constancy, did the generous youth shed his blood for the Catholic faith.

Now, when James was put out of the way, there remained only the earl, and his brother John, who went immediately to work to protect themselves and avenge their kinsman. The queen, learning this, sent the Marquis of Ormond, with a large force out of England, to destroy the remnant of the Desmonds. And verily she could not have selected any one for this purpose more faithful to herself or inimical to the Geraldines. On the other hand, King Philip of Spain, pitying the Irish, sent eight hundred men to the aid of Desmond. They landed on the coast of Kerry, and fortified themselves in that strong place which is called "The Golden Fort."* When Grey, the Viceroy of Ireland, heard of their landing, he collected all the troops he could, and on his march into Munster, was

* This, of course, refers to the massacre of Smerwick, where the Italians and Spaniards landed, A.D. 1580. They erected the Golden Fort, and "their commander," says Muratori Annal. d'Italia, "shamelessly surrendered the stronghold." Seven hundred men were flung into the sea, after Grey had guaranteed their lives and liberties. Wingfield and Sir Walter Raleigh were the principal actors in this bloody drama; and the latter got forty thousand acres in the county Cork for his _honorable_ services. The island on which the Golden Fort was erected is called in the Irish annals, "Oilean an oir."
joined by the Marquis of Ormond. Now the "Golden Fort," garrisoned by the Spaniards, in the opinion of every one, was deemed impregnable. But what is there so strong which treason may not destroy? The Spanish leader, who was called Stephen San Joseph, instead of animating his men to stern resistance, made terms with the English viceroy, first stipulating the safety of his troops. Thus was this important place betrayed to the English, who, soon repenting them of the assurances given to the Spanish commander, basely murdered the entire garrison. But let us relate how that came to pass.

After the viceroy had invested the Golden Fort by sea and land, and kept up a continual fire on it for about forty days, the English began to be weary of their fruitless attempts, and to dread the rigours of the coming winter. They knew, moreover, that they could not take up their winter quarters in the open field against a garrison so well furnished with guns and provisions. And having maturely weighed all these matters, they resolved to seize by fraud that which their arms could not achieve.

Having sent the Spaniards a flag of truce, they demanded a parley. In the Spanish garrison there was at that moment an Irish cavalier, named Plunket, who protested against any overture, and vainly sought to dissuade San Joseph from visiting the English commander's camp; but he was not listened to, and San Joseph at once proceeded to the viceroy's quarters, bringing Plunket with him to act as interpreter. They were received with the greatest blandness and courtesy
by Grey, who promised the Spanish commandant the most honourable terms if he would surrender the fortress. Now Plunket interpreted all the viceroy advanced as the very opposite of what he really said—namely, that the garrison had no chance of escaping destruction if they did not throw themselves altogether on the mercy of the English, and beg terms of him. Greatly did San Joseph marvel at this insolence, which denied him and his honorable terms; as he then held a place which, in the opinion of all, was deemed one of the strongest in Ireland, and amply provisioned to hold out many months' siege. Whereon Plunket interpreted that the commander had made up his mind never to surrender the garrison; and, consequently, that it was only sacrificing his men if the viceroy sat any longer before it. But the expression of Plunket's features, and the fiery indignation of the Spaniard, caused Grey to suspect that his words had not been fairly interpreted; and then Plunket was bound, hand and foot, and committed to prison, another interpreter having been procured to supply his place.

San Joseph having returned to the fort, reported to his men that he had obtained the most unexceptionable terms, and that seeing the defence of the fortress utterly impracticable, he had resolved to consult the safety of his soldiers. But even in his chains did Plunket cry out, "Treason!—treason! Mind you, that on the holding of the fortress all the hopes of the Catholics depend. The very inclemency of the season must compel the viceroy to quit the field ere long. The Geraldines,"
continued he, "are hastening to aid you with men and supplies. Abandon your position, and the hopes of the Catholics are for ever lost!" Of Plunket's opinion were Hercules Pisano and the Duke of Biscay; but the soldiers gave willing ear to their commander, who, preferring life to glory, forfeited both; for the place being surrendered in the month of December, the entire garrison was put to the sword, with the exception of the Spanish commander, who was contemptuously driven out of the kingdom. Plunket, too, was reserved for a more painful death. A short time after the rendition he had all his bones broken by strokes of a hammer, and thus gave up the ghost. "Ever after will Grey's faith" become an adage amongst the people, whenever they would speak of consummate perfidy. Behold what value these English attached to treaties, oaths, and honor, which amongst savage nations are esteemed inviolable.

Now, when Grey had got possession of the Golden Fort, he garrisoned it, and threw troops into all the cities and towns of Munster, issuing orders to all commanders to persecute the Geraldines with fire and sword, and thus, if possible, put an end to the war. But John of Desmond, being followed by his faithful adherents, addressed them in words like these: "Brave and faithful men! you well know that the cause for which we have drawn the sword is most just; we are rallying together for the preservation of our faith and our country's liberty. Would to heaven, that the rest of our nobility had been true to their word, and laboured with us for the same ob-
jects. The enemy, who seeks your destruction, is not far off. He comes to introduce innovations and anarchy; we are banded together for that religion and freedom, transmitted to us by our ancestors. These English strive to detach you from the old creed of your forefathers, for they hate the holy see. They impose on you onerous and exorbitant taxes; and the nobility of the land, which should be the rampart of a people's liberty, they have deprived of all authority, that they may bestow its domains and honors on their abject sycophants. How long will you tolerate this state of things? Who are the advisers and ministry of the Queen of England?—who, but men taken from the veriest dregs, who pander to her worst caprices? Have they not dared to brand me and my brother, the Earl of Desmond, with the stigma of disloyalty and treason, but for this object, that they may possess themselves of our estates, and thus bend the other nobles of the country to their purposes? But we have sworn to maintain our immemorial rights; and should it ever be our lot to gain that place to which we are entitled in the Council Chamber, to watch over the interests and rights of the land, to the princes of the priests will we secure their immunities—to the nobles of the country their honors and privileges—and to an oppressed people that liberty of which they have been spoiled. Without you we cannot accomplish this; and if you droop and submit your necks to the intolerable yoke, all future ages will regard you as abject slaves. This will be enough to justify us for engaging in this war."
When he had done speaking, his people prepared to march. Loudly rang out the cheering sound of applause, and proud was their array. Forth marched they to Gortnatibrud, in the county Limerick, where they were met by the enemy. The heavy horseman and the light horseman abandoned their chargers, determined to do battle on foot. Dr. Saunders, an Englishman, exhorted John to be of good cheer, and promised that, while the Catholic troops were engaged in conflict, he, like another Moses, with outstretched arms, would invoke blessings on them; nay, more, that he would never quit the spot if victory did not wait on John of Desmond's banner. Whilst Saunders prayed on a rising ground, Herbert, the leader of the English troops, advanced, and a veteran soldier came to inform Desmond, that if he would insure success, he ought at once to attack the English. Thereon John gave the word of command, and such was the fury of the Geraldines, and their eagerness for the onset, that they

* Mr. John O'Donovan tells me that Gortnatibrud, in the county Limerick, is translated, "Ager fontis," by P. O'Sullivan Beare, in the Hist. of the Irish Cath. fol. 97. This place is mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1579. It is now called Gortnatiobrat; i.e. field of the spring, and more generally known as "Spring-field." The ruins of a square castle mark the battle-field alluded to in the text; and O'Donovan states, that the peasantry tell strange stories about the Desmonds and this action with Malby. It is not my province to go into details, as they belong of right to some one who will chronicle the heroes of Munster, as Mr. Mitchel has done for Ulster.
could not be restrained. Terrible was the conflict, and equal was the ardour of both armies; at length both parties had so far advanced, that they were separated only by an oblong dike which bordered a neighbouring wood. John never spared himself a moment; he was this moment a general, and the next a common soldier; his command-word animated the men; his example roused them. Early in the action Herbert’s horse, after some loss, broke and fled; but the infantry were, for the most part, slain in the field; their guns and banners were soon carried into the camp of the Geraldines.

A few days after, Malby, President of Connaught, passed through the city of Limerick, and pitched his camp at Enabegh. The English soldiers were few; but he had also under him the Irish auxiliaries, who drew the sword against their countrymen. Foremost among these were Ulick and John Burke, sons of the Earl of Clancaricarde. Thomas Geraldine, son of John, was the leader of the cavalry, and he sent out some scouts to reconnoitre; whereon the English horse retired and took refuge in the camp, till seeing the fewness of the scouts, they charged and put them to flight. At this moment John of Desmond gallopped up, commanding the fugitives to stand, which, when the English saw, they halted where they were. Now, John, perceiving that they dared not to advance, gave orders to attack them without delay. When the word was given, on came the Geraldine troops, and their foemen fled before them; but it was easy to perceive
that their object was to disorder the array of the Catholics by feigning a retreat. There was not a moment to be lost, and John dashing forward against the right wing of the enemy, caused it to retrograde; indeed the crashing noise of the great guns did more in this instance than their shot; for, owing to the inequality of the surface, the guns were badly pointed: nevertheless, many of the English turned and fled, and a distinguished officer of theirs being killed, terror seized many of them. Again and again did the Geraldines charge, and at last the whole English force fled to a bog. Their great guns and standards fell into John of Desmond's hands, after an hour and a-half of conflict; but the Catholics had to mourn the loss of Thomas Geraldine, John's son, and also the loss of Thomas Browne, knight.

After this victory had been obtained, and Desmond's men had taken a little sleep and food, they marched from Conniloe in the direction of Aharlow. At this moment the queen's cavalry were encamped near Kilmallock; when they were told of Desmond's approach, they speedily mounted, and soon did the hostile forces meet in fierce battle. Wild and impetuous was the charge of the Geraldines—steady and unbroken was the marshalled array of the English horsemen. Three hours did the conflict last, nor was the lust of victory such an incentive to daring deeds as the innate and mortal hatred which fired the adverse hosts. At length, when many had fallen on both sides, the Geraldines continued
their march, and gladly did the English cavaliers seek shelter within the walls of Kilmallock.* Many were the victories which John of Desmond won from the English, not to speak of three hundred raids which were crowned with success; but if there be any truth in that adage which says, "'twere well for them who have reached the pinnacle of glory to die when they have attained it, lest blind fortune should become adverse," surely it had been well for John to have died in this moment of his triumph; but the weapon of fate was concealed for him—its relentless point was, even now, turned against him, and he fell beneath it, as we shall now inform you.

The war had lasted two years, when Zouch† was appointed to the military command in Munster. A plot was by him laid for the destruction of Sir John of Desmond; thus was it effected. John had matters of importance to transact with David, son and heir of Lord Viscount Barry, and appointed to meet him at Castle O'Lehan,‡ where he was to be joined by the Condons and the Se-

* The Balbec of Ireland derived its name from St. Molach, who founded a monastery here for Canons Regular in the beginning of the seventh century; it was taken in 1568 by James Fitzmaurice, and in 1572 by Sir John Perrott, Lord President of Munster.

† Zouch arrived in Ireland A.D. 1580, and with Sir Walter Raleigh—for whom, by the way, there is too much sympathy in this country—did signal service to Queen Elizabeth in extirpating the old inhabitants, and, robber-like, wresting from them their inheritance.

‡ The residence of the O'Lehans, and now called Castle Lyons.
neschal* of Imokilly. A traitor, named John, conveyed information to Zouch of the intended meeting, who thought that such an opportunity was not to be neglected. He therefore left Cork at day-break in the morning, and lay in wait for his victim near Castle O’Lehan; nor long had he been here before the arrival of John, accompanied by Fitz-John, the heir of Strancally,† and an escort of seven horsemen. Now, when John of Desmond saw Zouch’s troops, he thought them the soldiers of David Barry; the heir of Strancally detecting the mistake, advised him to fly into a neighbouring wood, but he was too intrepid; and he who of old used to be most collected in all cases of emergency, at this moment could not mount his charger: “for,” as O’Sullivan relates, “a torpor came over him, and the horse, which at other times was quiet and easily mounted, now became restive, plunging and rearing. ‘Depart now, my brave companions,’ said John, ‘for

* A branch of the FitzGeralds, called Seneschals of Imokilly; their residence was Castle-Martyr. A.D. 1420, James Earl of Desmond was constituted Seneschal of the baronies of Imokilly. From this Earl of Desmond, this branch of the FitzGeralds had the title.

† Strancally Castle yet remains, though in ruins. An absurd tradition, copied from Smith and Seward by Mr. O’Flanagan, in the description of the Black Water, makes the princely Desmond nothing less than a murderer, who invited guests to his hall and then cast them into a cave at the base of his castle. Surely whatever the Desmonds got, they won by the sword nobly and honourably; and the owner of 570,000 acres needed not to resort to such horrid stratagems for his aggrandisement. Such Rhenish legends can add but little interest to the picturesque scenery of our country.
I cannot mount. I feel myself deprived of all strength, and know that the hour of death is at hand." Now the seven horsemen left him, and he was deserted by all, save the Lord of Stran- 
cally, who, turning to him said, 'I will never 
abandon you, my glorious chief, under whom I 
have so often been led to victory against those 
heretic dogs. I will not leave you to perish alone, you 
who so often have led me triumphantly through 
hosts of foemen! now, if necessary, will I follow 
you to the death.' Having spoken thus, they were 
immediately surrounded by Zouch's soldiers, and 
refusing to give up their arms, a villain, by name 
Thomas Fleming, (who, it is said, was once a ser-
vant to John of Desmond,) plunged a spear into 
his throat ere Zouch could ward off the blow, for 
he was desirous to seize the Geraldine alive; and 
now, when the spear-head was taken from the 
gushing wound, John proclaimed aloud his devo-
tion to the Catholic faith, and gave up the ghost. 
His head was then cut off, sent to Dublin, and 
spiked in the front of the castle; his body was 
conveyed to Cork, and hung in chains at one of 
the city gates, where it remained nearly three 
years, till on a tempestuous night it was blown 
into the sea. His kinsman James might have 
escaped beyond seas during the troubles that 
followed; but he thought it base to fly his coun-
try in her hour of need. He was, however, sub-
sequently taken prisoner, sent to Cork, and, as 
some assert, put to death.
CHAPTER XXIV.

THE DEATH OF THE EARL—ESCAPE OF HIS MURDERERS—THEIR FATE.

And now, when Earl Garret was bereft of his two brothers, and most illustrious cousin, James Fitzmaurice, no one remained to him able to conduct the war, save Maurice Geraldine, a truly brave man. He was the Earl’s cousin, and subsequently held high command in the Catholic fleet, under Philip of Spain. On him, therefore, did Earl Garret confer the supreme command, and, what was extraordinary, he himself (the earl) girded on the sword, took the field, and, for three years, carried on the war; in many a hard-fought field did he came off victorious, and often, alas! did his enemies triumph. At length the queen, growing weary of the contest, sent him offers* of peace, with a promise of restoring to him his domains and high privileges, provided he committed into her hands Dr. Saunders (the Nuncio from Pope Gregory XIII.), who, being an Englishman, might be said to be her own born subject. To those who brought the message the most pious earl replied, that he would never betray the priest, though his enemies were hourly multiplying around him. “Tell the queen,” said he, “that though my friends should desert my standard, and my life be set at a price by rea-

* The Lords Justices, Wallop and Loftus, are said to have offered him these terms, or some like them.
son of my refusal, I will never commit this man into her hands." When this answer was delivered, Desmond gave orders to his people to make ready for every contingency, and having collected a number of troops, marched out of the county Limerick into Tipperary, for the purpose of procuring provisions. He had not been long encamped at Gortnapiisi,* when word was brought him, by his scouts, that they had seen the English, in the darkness of the coming morning, lighting torches by the fire of their muskets; nor long did Garret wait till he had ocular proof of their vicinity to his quarters. Thereon he hastened to prepare everything for the conflict, and gave orders to five hundred musqueeteers to conceal themselves in the thick brushwood which covered the encampment, whilst the mailed footmen, with their battle-axes, took up a conspicuous position on a neighbouring eminence.

This he did in order to draw the English into a snare, and thus leave them exposed to the shot from the brushwood, and the crushing charge of his mailed infantry from the heights. To his musqueeteers he gave orders not to fire till the English had passed them by. The English then advanced to dislodge the men who were on the eminence; they did not detect the ambush, and scarcely had they passed the men who crouched under the spreading trees and tangled briars, when the musketry blazed out, scattering the English foot, and compelling them to hasten back whence they came. Many of them were killed,

* "Pea-field," in the county Tipperary.
and more must have fallen, were it not for the
darkness of the hour and the thick foliage, which
prevented the Geraldines from taking surer aim.
But now, when the sun rose in the heavens, the
two armies beheld each other face to face; nor
long did the English withstand the charge of the
Desmond; the wild shout,* and the impetuous
shock caused them to fly and retreat to the moun-
tains. The first to fly was the English standard-
bearer, and to him they ascribed the disasters
which followed: for, although some of their men
still held their ground, they suddenly became
panic-stricken and disordered by this occurrence.
Then dashed madly forward the Geraldine infan-
try who were in ambush, and, assisted by the ca-
vality, brief and bloody was their work. Down
went the English under the thundering hoof and
gleaming battle-axe; few of them remained to
tell of that morning’s defeat, and these few were
the prisoners of the Geraldines.

Immediately afterward Garret marched in the
direction of Cashel, scattering his bands over the
beauteous plains of Tipperary, wasting the whole
face of the country, and carrying off preys of
cattle and corn, as O’Meara’s† writes in Latin
verse:—

``Quo tu Patre satus Dux illustriissime bellis
Qui Geraldiadum premeris? Hæc prima cruenti
Semina martis erant: hæc ob Desmonius, igne
Et ferro vastat qua se Tipperaria cum que
Libertas tendit."

* Shannet aboo!"—The old place for ever... the battle-
cry of the Desmonds. Shannet, an old castle looking
down on Shanagolden.

† O’Meara was a native of Tipperary, and adopted the
When the news of this event reached the enemies of Desmond, all the chieftains of those who opposed him assembled at Cashel, in order to concert a plan for attacking him without delay. Three brothers of the Earl of Ormond—to wit, Edward, Peter, and Edmond Butler—together with Mac Piers, and Purcell Baron, of Lochmogh, had collected a strong body to march against Desmond. Having crossed a chain of rugged mountains, they approached him at Cnoc-Graff, and afterwards descended into the valley which is adjacent to Cashel, and thence marched by unfrequented ways along the banks of the Suir. Loudly sounded their shrill pipes, and gaily did their banners flaunt before the breeze, when they found themselves in presence of him they sought to overthrow. The ground on which they met was thickly covered with copsewood, and left little room for the heavily armed to act. Nevertheless, when the signal was given, the Butlers commenced the attack. Furious was the onset; and then it would appear that the Geraldine was worsted; but the seneschal of Imokilly who was on Desmond's left, soon checked the impetuosity

medical profession. He practised in his native county, and published a magnificent poem in Latin, on Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, in the year 1615. A translation of the passages, introduced by O'Daly, will be found in the Appendix. O'Meara died in the early part of the seventeenth century. No profession has given more valuable men to Irish literature than O'Meara's. Smith, Curry, and R. R. Madden, have deserved well of their country. A more elegant gentleman, or accomplished scholar, than Dr. Cane, of Kilkenny, does not exist.
of the Butlers, by bringing up against their right wing the mailed horsemen, together with the archers on horseback, and a body of foot. After a long and bloody contest, night came to separate the combatants; and the right wing of the Butlers giving way, the whole army fled over the precipitous banks of the Suir, then swollen by a flood, closely pursued by the Geraldines. Many of them were swallowed up in the whirlpools; whilst those who survived the day's disaster took shelter in the neighbouring hills. After the battle, the Desmond consulted as to the prudence of following up his success, when, at the suggestion of the seneschal of Imokilly (a man of considerable experience, who had done great deeds under Maurice Fitzgerald), it was deemed inexpedient to stir from the field of action, but far better to look after the wounded and wearied men who had been engaged since dawn. At this moment it was near set of sun, the river scarcely fordable, the horses jaded, and the footmen unable to march. The opinion of the seneschal prevailed, and Earl Desmond on that night pitched his camp not far from the city of Cashel. He soon afterwards wasted the county, and routed with slaughter the English leader, Roberts, who advanced as far as Scourlogue, vainly thinking to subdue him.

'Tis, however, far from my intention to speak harshly of the illustrious house of Ormond; for, beyond all doubt, had not the earl of that name been detained at the queen's court, it might have fared otherwise with the Desmond. But here I must remark that Dr. O'Meara, following his
own caprice, would fain obscure the glory of the Geraldines, and, in over-coloured verse, bestow the meed of all his praise on Ormond. He, in fact, puts forth statements which are more like the phantoms of his own brain than real facts. Now, is it not notorious that, with the exception of that of Affane, the Geraldines in every encounter triumphed over the Butlers. And why, in the name of common sense, does he dare to impeach the chivalry of the Desmonds, for not engaging in a gladiatorial encounter with the Butlers, when he himself must have known the causes which interrupted it? Is not the valour of Earl Garret known to the whole Irish nation; and did not English monarchs at all times acknowledge the bravery of those from whom he sprung? But O’Meara, however, reluctantly admits its truth in the very verses which follow:

"Praedixere locum pugnæ; qua proximus oras
Vergit ad occiduas, faecundus piscibus amnis
Surius, occasum versus bis millia bina
Hic locus antiquus distat Tipperaria: totus
Unde tenet nomen comitatus; martis arenam
Hic statuunt, certumque diem vexilla movendi
Obvia et infesto miscendi spumea ferro
Prælia præscribunt," &c. &c.

And here, lest I might have forgotten it, let me assert that, on the day of Affane, when the Desmond saw the superiority which his enemies had in numbers, and himself almost left alone— even when a chance of retreat presented itself, he scorned to fly, and dared the Butlers to the contest. This, however, O’Meara admits, as you may perceive:
"Palantes dant terga fugae, perque arva feruntur
Præcipites, turpemque fugam, fædasque suorum
Ut mentes vidit Desmonius astra frequenti
Voce ferit, rebusque unum quod restat egenis
Nunc prece, nunc diris fugentes sistere dictis
Nititur: O socii, O nunquam devicta juventus
Quo fugitis, quonam discissit pristina virtus?
Quot contra pugniant, nobis animæque manusque
Sunt totidem aut plures: Sed non tot fortia corda,
O pudor, O nullo delendum dedecus ævo;
Abjicite ignavos animos confidite dextris,
Non pedibus, revocate iras convertite currum
Rumpendum, qua nos hostis densissimus urget
Est iter: huc et honos et nostræ gloria gentis
Nos vocat, hæc fatus medios prorumpit in hostes
Prosternitque sola ferrata cuspite multos."

Nor less lavish of encomium is this O'Meara,
when he writes of Maurice Geraldine. Only
hear him:—

"Hinc alia exhaustis longe majora per omnem
Tristia Momaniam nascuntur bella: Dinastæ
Desmonio patruelis erat Mauritia proles
Jacobus vir ad arma citus, nullique secundus
Marte, famis patiens, et nudo vertice sævos
Ferre potens imbres, et ventos, otia nunquam
Amplexus: molli non somno addictus: in armis
Sæpe vigil: longas noctes transegit humique
Provectus: faciles plumas, ostrumque superbum
Spernebat, fœlix, omnique exparte beatus,
Has si naturæ dotes, artesque stupendas,
Pro pace, et patria, sceptris, et principi, pugnans
Exercere velit."

Now, is not this a glaring proof of O'Meara's
impiety? He, forsooth, in every other respect a
Catholic, dares to call the Geraldines, the strenuous
supporters of their religion and country, the
destroyers of both! Here is the man who does
not hesitate to extol the Butlers, by whose supineness this land of Ireland was trodden down by the English. Ay, truly was it ruined by Ormond; for, had he leagued himself with his uncle Desmond for altars and for hearths, this land would never have fallen by fraud or force of arms. But his charges are not levelled against the Desmond only. His pen, dipped in gall, would fain asperse men of unsullied honor and patriotism, to wit, O'Brien, O'Donnell, Mac Guire, Mac Sorely. This encomiast of the Butlers strings together high-sounding verses, and would, if possible, extol to heaven the very men who confederated against the Geraldines, and ruined their country. And what reward do the Butlers now enjoy for all this treachery and abandonment of principle? What shall I say of the grandfather of the present marquis? What words of mine will do ample justice to his pious and exemplary grandfather, Walter; not to speak of Thomas, surnamed the Black? Was not Thomas Butler, father to James,* Duke of Ormond, ever odious to the English, by reason of his attachment to his country and creed. Ay did this devotion of his to the religion of his fathers cost him liberty and life. For 'tis notorious that he was arrested, shipped for England, and lost on the voyage. Alas, stern and relentless fate, why did you cut short the thread of his existence? Had he lived, how much would not

* He who was Lord Lieutenant during the Catholic league. For his base character, see Rt. Rev. Dr. French's "Unkind Deserter."
his life have benefitted Ireland? Had he been spared to superintend the education of James, he
would not have sucked the milk of heretic doc-
trines, nor would he have acted a part so dishonor-
able in the wars of our times. But, as it is,
the shades of his father and grandfather reprove
and execrate his carriage in this last tragic scene.

But, even when Garret found himself reduced
to extremities, like another Aurelian, he addressed
his followers in such words as these: "Brave and
generous friends, you all have lived to witness
the ruin which has come upon our country—you
have seen desolation lowering, and listened to the
tempest which has wasted it far and wide. In
the days of old the kings of England cherished
the nobility of this land, bestowing on them splen-
did possessions, and consulting with them on the
concerns of the state. They did more—they
sought to conciliate the other orders, by ruling them
equitably, and avoiding oppression. You know
that by justice kingdoms are made eternal, and
that every social structure based on tyranny must
fall and crumble. The sovereign who rules ac-
cording to justice is regarded as the common pa-
rent, and cheerfully is he obeyed; but the tyrant
throughout all time must be abhorred, though
fear may counsel men to dissemble it. But our
rulers, ever since they renounced the Catholic
religion, scorned to regard the nobles of this land
who have remained true to their faith; they have
no part in the council of the realm—nay, they
are treated with ignominy. As for the people—
are they not harassed, and ground down by such
imposts as our ancestors never knew? Spies and
informers are sent amongst them, and the misrepresentations of these hirelings are the ground on which Queen Elizabeth has formed her notions of the Irish people. 'Fore Heaven we are trampled on by a gang of mailed marauders, who hold us in contempt. Look to the sacred order of our priesthood—is it not despised by those innovators who have come amongst us to plunder and banish the rightful owners from their time-hallowed possessions? In the days of old the kings who ruled this land were wont to select twelve representatives out of the first order of the nobility—nor was there any enactment made touching the freedom of the subject and the commonweal, without their vote and approbation; but you are witnesses here to-day of the degeneracy into which we have fallen—privileges are overlooked—rights are despised, and liberty is a mere catch-word—the military command is committed to adventurers—the civil administration is in the hands of spies, hirelings, and defamers; but what is most deplorable of all, we are denied the right of practising and professing our religion openly. Heresy is making rapid encroachments, and we are called upon to do homage to those base-born churls who, in the queen's name, mock and spurn us. To such men we must submit our lives, liberties, and fortunes—the property which our fathers have handed down to us is no longer secure—nay, as I said before, our very lives are at the disposal of the perjurer and the robber. Can you who have been born and reared in liberty subject yourselves to such a state? I know that you cannot; and 'tis to remedy this deplorable condition of our
country that we have taken up arms. A desparate cancer must be cut out, even with the knife—petitions, remonstrances, supplications, all have failed. See, then, the only means left for redress—the sword. Nature dictates this step—justice nerves our arms—necessity compels us to take it. The greater part of the nobility of this land will ultimately co-operate with us; for, although they may apparently differ with us, believe me, that with the exception of Ormond, and a few others, who are deluded by the queen, the rest of them are even now praying the God of Hosts to bless and prosper our arms. Come, then, let us rally round our altars and hearths, and shame upon the man who would barter honour and liberty for servdom and disgrace.

Such words did Earl Garret speak, and soon after did he send Cornelius O'Daly (a man of remarkable eloquence) to solicit the co-operation of many of the nobles who had not yet openly declared against the queen. But, alas! after escaping many dangers, consequent on his mission, he laboured in vain; for those very men, consulting their own ease, preferred it to the public weal, and had sold themselves to bondage. Alas! such is the condition of poor human nature—weak and desponding man is too often troubled about trifles—fears that which he ought to despise—avoids that which ought to be met sternly—and, whilst flying from imaginary evils, is, at the end, overwhelmed by those which are palpable. Such, indeed, was ultimately the case with those who shrank from joining Desmond; they were blind to coming events, and soon saw
the airy hopes which they indulged stripped of all substance. Soon after their refusal to confederate with him a frightful torrent rushed over the land they ought to have saved; but they were whelmed in it, and destroyed. Oh, sacred Heaven, in the four years' war, during which the Geraldines struggled against Elizabeth's tyranny, did not this fated land endure more from English barbarity than ever came upon her in the days of the Danes?

But, let us draw the veil over that calamitous period, and return to the history of Garret, Earl of Desmond. After four years of blood and rapine, Queen Elizabeth offered terms to all those who returned to their allegiance. To this amnesty there were great exceptions, to wit, Earl Garret and his kindred; but that noble-hearted hero, preferring the safety of his people to his own, retired into the woods, and, oh, shame and sorrow! soon was he abandoned. Thus deserted, he knew not where to turn; but he still indulged a hope of getting succour from Spain. Many a long and weary night did he spend wandering through the bogs and mountains, deprived of the common necessaries for himself, and the few retainers who

* Those who submitted were the Condons and others. Zouch carried on the war effectively against Desmond, who in vain attempted to storm the garrison of Adair, whence he fled to Aharlow, in the county Limerick. Saunders, the Pope's nuncio, died a short time preceding the events here narrated. And such was the condition of the once mighty Desmond that he was obliged to keep Christmas in the wood of Kilguag, near Kilmallock. He was here surprised, and saved himself by rushing out of the hut in his shirt, and standing with the countess up to his chin in water.
clung to him. At last he succeeded in reaching the fastnesses of Kerry, and was obliged to carry off some cattle for his sustenance; but it unfortunately happened that those who were sent to seize the prey, barbarously robbed a noble matron, and left her naked in the field. When the fact came to the knowledge of her kindred, they collected a party of men, and, led by a foster-brother of the earl, approached his hiding-place, I know not whether with the intention of taking his life, or avenging the injury done to their sister. At this moment there were with Earl Garret, John MacWilliam and James MacDavid—these were the only companions who partook of his miserable hut at the time of his death. Cornelius O'Daly and a few others were at a short distance from him in the valley (Gleann-an-ghuinntigh), watching the cattle that had been seized the day before. Had O'Daly been present he would not have deserted his lord at the crisis, as did the aforesaid two, and far be it from me to glory in my relationship to him who was faithful from beginning to the end. I would not, for the sake of O'Daly, cross the boundaries of truth. Whatever I have written I have had from those who are trustworthy, and many books and manuscripts. Let no one, therefore, accuse me of vanity; but let me do justice to O'Daly—he was a brave soldier, ever faithful to his lord, and so truly patriotic, that, when all was lost, he preferred his honour and reputation to any compromise with the queen. Had he been recreant to his principles he might have saved whatever property he owned; but in the Irish parliament held after the
wars of the Desmonds, it was forfeited to the crown, as may be seen in the acts then passed; he was thrice arrested by Ormond, and honourably acquitted. But let us pursue our narrative. The party led by the Earl’s foster-brother tracked him like blood-hounds during the darkness of the night, and, on the 11th of November, entered his miserable hovel at dawn of day. The few horsemen, as we have ere now related, basely took to flight, and the earl was alone, and stripped. A soldier whose name was Daniel O’Kelly smashed his right arm with a stroke of his sword, and then cut off one of his ears by a second blow. This O’Kelly then dragged him out, and being apprehensive lest any might come to the rescue, brutally separated the head from the body. Thus perished Desmond in the twenty-fifth year of his earldom. His aged body was thrown on the highway as food for the birds and beasts. O’Daly, soon after this deed of blood, followed in pursuit of the murderers; but they had secured themselves against attack in a strong castle, and on the next night a troop of horse cuirassiers came in the solemn stillness (for even then they dreaded the people), and carried away the head of Desmond to the city of Cork.

* As in later times, so had this miscreant his reward from the government. On December 14th this she-devil (Elizabeth) ordered that her well-beloved subject and soldier, Daniel Kelly, who slew the late traitor, Desmond, for his very good services therein, should have, at least, for 30 years, without fine, so much of her lands spiritual or temporal, as should amount to £30 per annum.

† Gleann-an-Ghuintigh, where the Earl of Desmond was
The queen, when she heard of the earl's death, would not believe it till she saw the head, which was then sent to London, and impaled within an iron cage on the Tower of London as a sign of terror to the Irish princes and Catholics, whom she hoped to deter from resisting her tyrannous will. Now, when that princely earl was no more, the spirits of his faithful followers began to droop, and loudly did the paeans of their enemies resound. Desmond's possessions were forfeited to the crown, and all those of every age and sex who honoured his memory were maltreated and outraged. The entire property was parcelled out amongst adventurers, and they were put in possession of those great domains which used to pay the Geraldines more than 40,000 golden pieces per annum. The Catholics began to seek abodes beyond seas, and the few who remained behind, and believed the fallacious promises of the queen, had to endure tyranny, extortion, and robbery.

But, as to those who went beyond seas, neither did it fare well with them—in suffering and exile did they wander about, sustained and consoled by one hope—that the God in whose cause they fought and bled would one day reward them for assassinated, is in the parish of Ballymac Elligot, and about five miles to the east of Tralee. P. O'Sullivan translates the Irish name "Vallis Cunei." The spot is still pointed out by the peasantry by the name of "Boher-an-Jarla"—i.e. the Earl's road, and the trunk of an old tree still marks the fatal scene. Smith, in the Hist. of Kerry, states that the body was interred in a small chapel near Castlemain, and that the name of Moriarty is execrated by the natives, in consequence of his implication in the earl's murder.—v. Hist. of Kerry, p. 276.
their miseries and faithfulness in this world. Fain would I record the names and histories of those who perished thus; but, as I have not the materials by me, I must pass them over in reluctant silence.

But there is one of whom I must needs speak, lest I might be charged with ingratitude, namely, of Thomas Fitzgerald, the last and only son of John, with whose life and actions you are already conversant. He was, indeed, a noble youth, devout to God, and excelling in the purest morality—manly was his form, and brilliant were his accomplishments. He was skilled in many tongues, so much so that he spoke with fluency Latin, Spanish, Irish, English, and the idiom peculiar to the Celts of Scotland. This noble youth was maintained and educated by the Cardinal of Sienna, then protector of the Irish in the papal court. Rome was the city of his adoption, till Philip of Spain sent the armada* against England.

Then gladly did he avail himself of an opportunity of fighting for his country. Whilst the king was fitting out that expedition, most useful were the suggestions made by this excellent youth, and of his eloquence let those 600 Spaniards speak, who, driven on the coast of Scotland, owed their escape from imprisonment to his interposition. This, too, was effected at his imminent

* The debris of this mighty armament, with its 8,000 sailors and 20,000 troops drifted on the Norwegian, Scottish, and Irish coasts. English historians state that near a hundred vessels perished—the Spanish, 32. Such was the fate of the invincible armada—certainly ruined by the same elements which, in a later age, shattered Napoleon’s army on the snow plains of Russia.
peril; for the English queen, having heard of his landing in Scotland, sent to the king (James) to have Fitzgerald arrested, and given up as a subject of her own, then in rebellion; but James sent word privately to Fitzgerald, who, escaping in the darkness of night, after many dangers, at length arrived in Spain.

But in the year of the second expedition,* Thomas, accompanied by the Archbishop of Tuam and Maida, (he was by birth a Biscayan,) far-famed for knowledge in military matters, put to sea in the hope of uniting the Irish princes in a combined effort against England. But, like its predecessor, this armament was storm-tost and shattered on the coasts. The archbishop, however, escaped, and died a natural death.

Now, let us briefly narrate the career of those who were instrumental in murdering the Earl of Desmond; and, first, of Daniel O'Kelly. He was arrested in England, charged with highway robbery, and, notwithstanding the mediation and influence of Ormond, was hanged as he deserved.

* The cause of the second expedition, which was as unfortunate as the first, may be accounted for by the horrors committed in Gallicia by the English, who landed there and perpetrated the most wanton outrages on the people; they were, however, beaten out of the country, after losing one thousand men. Portugal, too, was the scene of much butchery. The commander of the English was the Earl of Essex, one of Elizabeth's favourites. "Philip," (says the Hist. of Spain and Portugal, in Lardner's Cyclop.) "to avenge these insults, resolved to equip an expedition for Ireland, where he certainly would have been joined by the disaffected Romanists." Would that he had succeeded!
Nor less marked was the punishment which subsequently overtook Owen Mac Daniel, the foster-brother of the earl, and leader of his captors. This inhuman villain was at one time accused of stealing cattle, and sentenced to die. They were about hanging him when the earl, contrary to the advice of the judges, saved him, and set him at liberty. That such treason and ingratitude could come from such a source!—but he met a meet reward. Fifteen years was he tortured in soul and body; shunned by every one, and universally execrated, as every hired informer ought to be. But when the Princes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell raised their standards, Mac Daniel was seized and gibbeted by order of the Lord of Lixnaw, at his own door. Much might I write of this noble lord—how steadfast and true he was to his country and religion—how many actions worthy of immortal fame he performed; but, as this is not my scope, I leave it to other hands. My object is to write of the house of Desmond.

CHAPTER XXV.

CONCERNING JAMES FITZ-THOMAS RUA, AND HIS FATHER JOHN, NEPHEW OF THE GREAT EARL—SOME PARTICULARS CONCERNING JAMES FITZ-GABRET, HIS SON AND HEIR.

Thomas Rua survived his three brothers.—Throughout all these troubles he sought repose and quiet in his castle; and dying, left two sons, James and John. When they grew up, ill did they brook the violence and usurpation of the undertakers, who, after their uncle's death, ha
become purchasers of their ancestral domains; but when Tyrone's wars commenced, they, too, raised their standards; and having expelled the adventurers, and laid waste their lime-stone bawns, they enjoyed a portion of their property for more than two years. They met and defeated Norris,* at the head of one thousand men; and thus did signal service to King Philip of Spain. But let us see how that came to pass. The English, with a powerful army, had landed in Flanders, and were devastating the country to the walls of Brussels; nay, having entered the city, were actually preparing to stable their horses in the principal church of Brussels, when news was brought them of the commotions in Ireland.—Deeming it therefore more prudent to extinguish the fire in their own house, they re-embarked, and thus rid Belgium† of their hated presence. But when the queen saw James Fitz-Thomas‡ acknowledged by the Irish as their leader, that most crafty woman resolved to unwedge the

* Sir Thomas Norris, son of Henry Lord Norris, and brother to Sir John Norris, was, on October 30th, 1597, chosen Lord Justice of Ireland, upon the death of Lord Borough, who succeeded Sir William Russell in the year 1598. He was obliged to shut himself up in Cork, where he was beleaguered by the Desmonds and Tyr-owen's forces.

† The good and pious Queen Elizabeth, in order to foment disturbances in the Netherlands, sent her weak and profligate minion, the Earl of Leicester, at the head of 6000 men, into Flanders and Belgium; but he was obliged to retire, after doing much mischief and achieving no triumph.

‡ Commonly called the Sugawn Earl of Desmond. He was exalted to the title by Tyrowen.
wedge; and thereon sent over to Ireland James Fitz-Garret, the only son of the late earl, who had been sent by the Countess of Desmond as a hostage for his father.

Seventeen years was he a prisoner in the Tower of London, and vainly did the Countess of Desmond hope to protect her husband by parting with her child; for on the day after his arrival in London the Earl of Desmond was proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, a traitor to the queen. But now was this youth to be wielded by the hands of this most crafty woman (Elizabeth), as a fit instrument to create fatal divisions. The stratagem succeeded; for no sooner was he landed,* than the Irish flocked round him as the natural heir of the great Desmond. Thus, all the projects of Fitz-Thomas vanished in the air. Where to go he knew not; many and painful were his vicissitudes. In the light of day he had to contend with sworn enemies, and in the night time he had to betake himself to the shelter of the woods. He was finally betrayed by some of his own soldiers to Sir George Carew, then president of Munster, but was rescued in a short time afterwards by some of his adherents, when within six miles of the lord president’s house.

* He landed at Youghal, and was received in Kilmallock with great festivity—the people showering down salt and wheat on him as he passed. On the Sunday following he disgusted his clansmen by his apostacy; they strove to “dehort” him from “church,” but he lent them a deaf ear. On his return he was railed at and spat upon.—(Hib. Paccata, p. 164.) After this he was regarded as any other private gentleman.—Ibid.
By these faithful friends he was conveyed to a place of security; but his spirits soon drooped; nor did he dare to trust himself again in the haunts of men. Wandering through the woods, he was finally seized by the White Knight* in a cave, where he had taken up his abode, committed to the custody of the lord president, by whose order he was subsequently sent to London. Seven years did he pine in captivity, and then died. Alas! he little suspected that the White Knight could have been guilty of such heinous treason.

His brother John sailed away for Spain, and lived there for some years, but in a fashion no-wise adequate to his princely birth. The king, urged thereto by the envy of his courtiers, allowed him but a very slender pension, forgetful, as it would seem, of what was due to a child of the great Geraldine. He soon afterwards died, leaving a son, who was called Garret, whom the King of Spain, at my instance, promoted to the dignity and title of count.

Now, when James Fitz-Thomas and his brother John had been driven out of Ireland, James,†

* So called from the colour of his armour. His base desertion of his kith and kin, and submission to Sir George Carew, then president of Munster, in a great measure committed the entire south to the English. He and one Diarmid O'Connor entered into league against the Geraldines, and resolved to take them up by the roots. Elizabethan gold corrupted them both.

† This was surely a rotten branch of the great tree, and yet it is hard to blame this James, son of Garret, if we call to mind the corrupting influence of English education, and the unceasing assiduity with which they sought to denationalize the heads of the great Irish
who had been sent over by Elizabeth, remained there for a while without achieving a single act worthy of record. Indeed, when the country had been trodden down into a state of servitude, the queen began to think little about him, and he immediately embarked for England, where he soon afterwards died—according to some he is said to have been poisoned. Thus, with the exception of a few branches, did the noble tree of the Geraldines wither and decay. This James enjoyed the earldom for one year only. Alas! the noble tree of the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond, had now well nigh perished. Four hundred and fifty years had its branches extended over the four provinces of Ireland; no less than fifty lords and barons paid them tribute, and were ever ready to march under their banners. Besides the palatinate of Kerry, the country, for a hundred and twenty miles in length and fifty in breadth, was theirs. The people paid submission to them houses in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. Nor does it require any power of imagination to conjure up the disgust with which the retainers of the Desmond saw Elizabeth's 'patented Earl proceeding to a Protestant place of worship, and kneeling amongst the sworn foemen of his creed and race. A Desmond, forsooth, a Protestant!—a designation at that time linked to oppression, and the Shibolet of banded hirelings who robbed and murdered in the name of God. The very monuments of his ancestral piety were enough to bring the blush of shame to the brow of him who apostatized from the religion of the Gherardini and the world. I know nothing more incongruous than Protestantism and a Fitzgerald, except it be a grenadier's uniform coat and a Prince Albert infantry cap on the recumbent effigy of a Crusader!
throughout all their holdings; they had moreover one hundred castles and strongholds—numerous seaports—lands that were charming to the eye, and rich in fruits—the mountains were theirs, together with the woods; theirs were the rocky coasts, and the sweet blue lakes, which teemed with fish. Yea, this fairest of lands did they win by the sword, and govern by their laws; loved by their own, dreaded by their enemies, they were the delight of princes and patrons of gifted youth. Oh! but they were a great and glorious race. Alas, alas! the mighty tree was doomed to perish, when scathed by the lightning of England's hate. But of the last of them, I must tell you now.

The loved youth, created count at my instance, did not tarry long in the land of Spain; the scanty pension allowed him by the king was not commensurate with the dignity and rank which belonged to the heir of Desmond. In fact, he saw that many Irish then at the king's court were preferred to him, and these were men who could not dare to compare with the Geraldine in his own country. Wherefore choosing rather to trust to fortune, he abruptly left Spain, and, taking service in his Cæsarean Majesty's army, served him well and chivalrously for three years; but at last, when he had the command of a strong town, then besieged, he was called on to surrender; this he refused, choosing rather to die of starvation than betray his trust. Thus did his career terminate.

Now, while writing this history, I have been wont to consider and meditate upon the following
subjects: In the first place, the English rarely or never attach any faith to treaty or pledge, but seek by all means to violate it. This is remarkably true in the history of the Geraldines, and Ireland has experienced it during the late wars. Secondly, the ruin of Ireland was not brought about by English arms, but rather by the dissensions of her own children, as may be clearly proved by a reference to that period of our history when the English were first brought over by Diarmid Mac Murrogh. Again is this manifest in the Geraldine wars, during which the great house of Ormond gave aid to the English, and, consulting their private interests, sought by all means to crush the Desmonds who remained true to their country and creed. But they dreaded to be called rebels.† Rebels! Oh, how did they not deceive themselves! Never did that epithet belong to those who stand up and draw the sword for their country, their God, and their rights. Does not the divine law, and the law of nations, command all men to guard, even at the sword's point, their lives, liberties, and fortunes? And never were there hearts more leal to the crown of England than those of the Geraldines, till England's king, abandoning his faith to God, resolved to crush the Irish people, by placing over them

* The Catholic League and Cromwell's usurpation. Had O'Daly lived to read Dr. French's "Unkind Deserter," or the "Violation of Limerick Treaty," what might he not have said?
† A pharasaical epithet, at all times patronized by despots, and their expectant slaves.
judges and magistrates who disregarded liberty of action as well as conscience.

Thirdly, in the time of Tyrowen’s war,* Thomond, Ormond, Clanricarde, and others, gave aid and arms to the English; so that the power of the Catholics was most materially damaged by their own countrymen: nay, more, in the last war, which commenced A.D. 1641, is it not apparent that Ireland was desolated by the dissensions of her own children? Oh, God! how many divisions and subdivisions were there not sown amongst them by the fiend? Nor can I account for it but by supposing that divine Providence thus visited them for their sins. Is it not a fact, beyond all doubt, that men who sprang from the soil of Ireland wished not to be recognised as Irish? Do not savage tribes love and almost worship the land which gave them birth? And how then are we to judge of those whose ancestors for five hundred years enjoyed large possessions in Ireland, and were of the same religion? How are we, I say, to judge of them, when we find them turning their swords against their mother’s breast? But there are exceptions to be found amongst the Butlers, Burkes, Barrys, Roches, and Plunkets; nay, there are great exceptions to be found even in the noblesse of the county Meath, who in the days of Elizabeth and the first James clung faithfully to their country and creed. But were I to dwell on the grandest of all these exceptions, I would refer you to the

* Vide Mitchel’s Hugh O’Neill.
history of the Geraldines, who perilled life, and all that makes it dear, for their country and religion. But wherefore should there be division and dissension? Are not the modern Irish intimately connected with the ancient? Is not their blood intermingled? One unanimous and soul-knit effort might have prostrated England's tyranny: nor could any impartial tribunal stigmatise as traitors the men who in the struggle for freedom struck despotism to the ground; nay, more, this united effort would have saved a monarch's life, nor would England have dared to commit the guilt of regicide. But it would appear that God thus punished a despotic king, who, had he governed England, Scotland, and Ireland more equitably, might have been spared the headsman's axe.

Nor do I know how to account for the overthrow and extermination of the Earls of Desmond, when I reflect on all that they did and endured for religion, save by attributing both to the inscrutable ways of God; perhaps some awful delinquency of theirs brought down his vengeance, for he is most just, and punishes those who transgress his laws. If you are curious enough to investigate their crime, consider how James Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Desmond, was murdered in his castle of Rathkeale, as some suspect, by his brother John. Again, recal the horrid murder of James Fitz-Maurice, perpetrated by Maurice Desmond in the days of Henry the Eighth. Should this not satisfy you, I would have you ponder on all the cruel acts of rapacity and blood committed
against the M'Carthys. Now, I have briefly narrated for you the history of the Geraldines, uninfluenced by love of party, solely motivated by love of truth. May, then, this history serve as a warning to the great ones of this world, teaching them to act justly, in fear of God and love for those who are humble in the world. On these virtues you may rear that edifice whose summit, piercing the clouds, must ultimately reach the highest heaven.
APPENDIX.

The following notices of the Gherardini have been copied from papers in possession of his Grace the Duke of Leinster, and in my judgment prove beyond all doubt that Mr. Moore (Hist. of Ireland,) is quite erroneous in stating that the Fitzgeralds are of Norman origin. As it may interest some persons to know what authorities may be more safely consulted on this subject, I here subjoin their names: Father Gammurini, Landini, Salvini, Mini, and Villani; of all these Salvini (vita del Canonico Niccolo Gherardini) is the best. See also Soliers and Rosini's Romanzo Storico, entitled "Il conte Ugolino della Gherardesca." A few words concerning the Gherardini may not be out of place.

Their origin is involved in great obscurity, and from all that we have been able to collect we incline to believe that it is either Tuscan or Roman. It was one of the families on the ruin of which the Florentine Republic was erected. The possessions of this family were situated in various quarters of the region about Florence, but particularly in the Val d' Elsa, where still are to be seen many of their strong-holds. When forced to settle in Florence, they took up their abode near the Ponte Vecchio, in the first circle of the city, where yet may be seen their tower, now joined to the Palace of the Bartolomei; 'tis the tower next that of the Girolami, and the highest of the two.

The earliest notices of the Gherardini are as far back as the year 910, as may be seen in the work of Gammurini, where he treats of the most ancient families of Tuscany and Lombardy, but particularly in the chapter where he traces their pedigree.

The family of the Gherardini was most powerful and opulent in the year 1300, and down to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and they are always mentioned by Florentine historians with the greatest praise. An-
terior to these dates they held the highest offices in the
civil and military administration of their country, and
a monument still remains in the ancient Church of St.
Stephen, at Florence, recording the patriotism and
valour of one of this illustrious house, the inscription is
the following:

HIC JACET DOMINUS LOTTERINGUS DE GHERARDINIS
QUI OBIIT IN DEFENSIONE POPULI FLORENTINI,
MCCCIII.

This great family emigrated to various countries: some
of them passed over to Ireland, and from that branch
descends the illustrious house of Fitzgerald; others got
possessions in Cracovia, and the Canary Islands, whilst
those who remained in Italy, were enrolled on the Doge's
book, in the year 1652. Confining ourselves to those
who came to Ireland, let it be known that Maurice
Gherardo, and his brother Thomas repaired to Nor-
mandy, and were invested with honors and command by
Henry the Second, when he meditated the conquest of
Ireland. In this undertaking they performed prodigies
of valour. But the most famous of the brothers was
Maurice, who, after the conquest of the island, got great
possessions and was made viceroy; from him sprung the
families of Leinster, Kildare, and Desmond. Conforming
themselves to the habits and style of the country of their
adoption, they subsequently changed the name Gherar-
dini into Fitzgerald, with the knowledge of the Floren-
tine people, in the year 1440, as may be seen in the letter
of Leonardo Aretino, Secretary of the Florentine Re-
public, which is here subjoined.

Copy of a Letter written in the name of the Florentine
Republic, by their Secretary, Leonardo Aretino.

Domino Jacobo de Gherardinis Comiti Desmoniae.
Magnifice Domine amice Karissime. Si vera est assertio,
quae de vobis circumfertur scilicet vestros Progenitores
fuisses aborigine Florentinos ex familia nobilissima ac
vetustissima Gherardinorum quae una ex praestantissi-
mis, et praecipuis nostrae civitatis existit gandemus,
nos quidem immense, ac nobis gratulamur, quod eves
nostri non Solum in Apulia, et in Græcia, et Ungheria
magnas dominationes habuerunt, verum et in Hibernia quae est ultima Insularum per vos et vestros Florentini dominantur. O Magnam gloriam nostrae Civitatis, O singularem benevolentiam Dei erga populum nostrum, ex quo tot proceres, totque dominationes fuerunt per universum orbem Terrae diffusi. Profecto gratiae Domino Deo nostro habendae, et agendae sunt pro tot, tantisque beneficiis in Civitatem nostram collatis. Nos igitur, magnifice Domine ut longis regionibus distemus, tamen benevolentia, et charitate proximi sumus, offerimus omnia vobis cum promptitudine animorum ad praesens autem profisciscitur ad vos nobilis adolescens Johannes Betti de Gherardinis lator praesentium quem pater mittit ad reconoscendam parentelam, et cognitionem vestram. De quo vobis fidem facimus per praesentes literas nostras, quod iste Johannes qui profisciscitur ad vos et pater ejus Bettius, qui illum mittit, sunt ex stirpe, a patre, et avo, et proavo ex ipsa familia descendentes, quem quidem adolescentem vobis plurimum recommendamus, et quia iter est longum, et distantia magna ne quid suspicionis, aut erroris possit contingere signa, et habitura ipsius Johannis latoris praesentium scribemus. Est enim aetatis viginti trium, annorum magnus supra mediocrem staturam, facie honesta ac boni coloris, habetque cicatricem quasi cruciatam in dextra cornu frontis, et super dorso sinistræ manus cicatricem ab igne valet. magnifice Domine et a nobis cuncta expectetis, quæ a civibus et benevolis debent expectari. Datum Florentiae die primo Junii mccccxl.

Translation.

To my Lord James De Gherardinis, Earl of Desmond.

Most magnificent Lord and dearest Friend. If it is true that your progenitors were Florentines by birth, as it has been told us, and of the most noble and ancient family of the Gherardini, which, even now, is one of the best families of this city—we have ample reason to rejoice and congratulate ourselves that our citizens have not only acquired possessions in Apulia, Greece, and Hungary, but also in Ireland, which is the most remote island of the world. O great glory of our city! O singular bene-
volence of God towards our people, from whom have sprung so many nobles and dominations, scattered over the face of the earth. Truly we are bound to give thanks to God for the many and great benefices conferred upon our city. We, therefore, most magnificent lord, though separated from you by great distance, are ever near you in charity and love: we offer you all that we can afford with willingness and promptitude. Just now there departs for your settlements a noble youth, John Bettius de Gherardinis, the bearer of these presents, whom his father sends to greet his kinsmen. We, therefore, certify by these, our letters, that the aforesaid John, who is about to pass over to you, as well as his father, are descended by the father, grandfather, and great grandfather, from the family of the Gherardini. This youth, with all our heart, do we recommend to you; and since the journey is long, and the distance great, we deem it expedient to give you the signs and tokens by which you may recognise John, the bearer of our letters, nor fall into any error, or indulge any suspicions. He is aged twenty-three years, above the middle stature, with a countenance of fair complexion and honest aspect—he has a wound, burned as it were, on the right region of the forehead, and on the back of the left hand he bears another wound received from fire. Farewell, most magnificent lord, and expect all that you may desire from our citizens and your well-wishers.

Given at Florence, June 1st, 1440.


Now, being about to write these memoirs of our ancient family, which, as I have already mentioned, I have extracted from various writers, I will begin by those of our family who are settled in the island of "Hibernia," or rather "Hirlanda," for the island may be called by either one or the other name. I have to mention, then, that I have read a memorandum written in the last page of a book of memoirs, signed "B. D. Antonio d'Ottaviano di Rossellini Gherardini," to the following effect:—
"I recollect that, in the month of October, in the year 1413, there passed through Florence an Irish bishop, a monk of the Order of St. Augustin, and with him an Irish priest, of the cathedral church of Ardsfert, called 'Maurice,' who was of the family of the Gherardini existing in that island. This priest, seeking for some one who had been in his country, made the acquaintance of Nicholas di Lucca, who had at one time been a merchant in the city of London, to whom he mentioned that his ancestors were of the same blood as the Gherardini of Florence, and that, therefore, he was most desirous of knowing some one of that house. Lucca conducted him to me, and we introduced him to Ottaviano di Cacciatino, and to Papi di Piero di Cacciatino di Gherardini. This Maurice at once acknowledged us for his relations, and gave us the following account of their existence in Ireland. THAT, a long time ago, Thomas Gherald, or 'Gherardo,' and Maurice de Gherardini, having left Florence on account of civil dissensions there, accompanied the King of England to the conquest of Ireland. Having served in this undertaking with fidelity and great valour, they were left as his governors in that island, and rewarded with the gift of many lordships. Of the possessions acquired by the Gherardini, their valour and feats of arms, he told us mention was made in a chronicle called 'La Rossa,' which is now in the city of Emerlie (Limerick); and that the three brothers afterwards multiplied into many lords and barons, who have a great many subjects. He also mentioned that, at this time, their chief representatives were of Gherardo, another Gherardo, Count of Kildare; of Thomas, another Thomas, Count of Desmond; and of Maurice, five barons. At foot of the same memorandum it is mentioned that the writer had received a similar account of the Count of Kildare, from Anthony di Giovanni Manni, one of our Florentine merchants, who had been in Ireland."

The foregoing account of Maurice agrees in every respect with the account given of the same family by Christofano Sandino, in the preface of his commentary on the commedia of our great poet Dante Alighieri, who speaks thus:
"There were in England three brothers—Thomas, Gerald, and Maurice—of the very ancient family of Gherardini, of Florence, who were exiled on account of civil dissensions. These brothers, at the conquest of Ireland (an island not much smaller than England), afforded such bold, ready, and devoted service to the King of England, that, on the conquest of that island, they were rewarded with the lordship of all the plains of that island, where there is a large population; and that, in our time, their descendants still retain their lordships, and particularly the Count of Kildare and the Count of Desmond, who have not changed the names or armorial bearings of the ancient Gherardini of Florence."

In the year 1507, a letter arrived from the Count of Kildare, of which many years ago I received a copy from Alberto di Franchesto Gherardini. I will give it here, exactly word for word, without the slightest variation; and, first of all, the superscription:—

"To be given to all the family of Gherardini, noble in fame and virtue, dwelling in Florence, our beloved brethren in Florence, Gherardo, Count of Kildare, Viceroy in the Kingdom of Ireland, sends greeting to all the family of Gherardini dwelling in Florence.

"Greatly grateful have been your letters to us, most illustrious men! From them we have learned to know the fervour of the fraternal love which you bear your own blood; but, in order to increase still more your joy, I will inform you briefly of the state of your relations in these parts. Know, then, that my predecessors and ancestors passed from France into England, and, having remained there some time, they, in the year 1140, arrived in this island of Ireland, and by their sword obtained great possessions, and accomplished great feats in arms; and, up to the present day, have increased and multiplied themselves into many branches and families, insomuch that I (by the grace of God) possess by hereditary right the county and earldom of Kildare, holding divers castles and possessions; and, by the liberality of our most serene lord, the King of England, I am the vice-regent in the whole of Ireland, during the pleasure of his Majesty, an honour frequently obtained heretofore

Henry VII, 1509
by my father and predecessors. There is, also, a relation of ours in these parts, called the Count of Desmond, under whose lordship there are one hundred miles in length of country. Our house has increased in this country beyond measure—in a multitude of barons, cavaliers, and noble persons, holding divers possessions, and having in their obedience divers persons. We are most anxious to know the deeds of our ancestors; so much so, that if you have any history in your possession, we request of you to communicate it to us. We desire to know the origin of our house, and their number, and the names of your forefathers. Whether there are any of them settled in France, and who of our family inhabit the Roman territory. We wish, also, to know the transactions of the present time; for it gives me great joy always to hear news of our house. If there is anything which you wish to have—such as hawks, falcons, horses, or dogs for the chase, I beg of you to inform me of it, as I shall in every way possible endeavour to obey your wishes. God be with you, and love us in turn. From our castle of Castledermot, the 27th day of May, 1507.

"Gerald,

"Chief in Ireland of the family of the Gherardini, Count of Kildare, Vice-Regent of the Most Serene King of England."

I will now relate what I have learned of these lords from our Florentine merchants who have dwelt for a long time in the city of London, and are experienced in the court. Entering shortly into a history of more modern times, the merchants say that in Ireland some of the people inhabiting the higher and more wooded parts of Ireland are still very little obedient to the crown of England. They are a race of people who, because in the time of the wars they retired to the wood, are denominatet "savages." King Henry, wishing to reduce these people to obedience by force of arms, collected an army which he sent into the island for this purpose. It happened that the undertaking succeeded in every respect conformably to the wishes of the king; nevertheless, whether from reports, true or false, conveyed to him, the king was but
little satisfied with the Count of Kildare, believing that he was secretly ill-disposed to forward his wishes in respect to this war. On this account he had him imprisoned with others of his family who had fallen under a like suspicion, and Henry, being naturally hasty and violent, had him beheaded. A son of this Count of Kildare survived him, a youth called in English "My Lord Garret Jarl of Kildare," which, being translated into our language, means "Signore Gherardo Conte di Chidaria." This young man, during the reign of Henry, remained with the court, and afterwards arrived in Italy. Stopping in Padua and Venice with Monsignore Piero Camesecchi, with whom he visited the city of Florence. After the death of Edward VI. Queen Mary succeeded, by whom, on his return into court, he was received into favour. I have now only to mention of this lord, that Monsignore Girolamo Fortini, having written in the year 1566 to his brother, Pagolini, in London, that he had married a daughter of Antonio di Piero Gherardini, received an answer from him shortly afterwards, in which he mentioned that he had met there the Count of Kildare, of the same family of the Gherardini of Florence, who presented him with several kinds of dogs, which he sent to Florence to his brother. This is the account which I am able to give of our family in Ireland up to the present time, and I will close my relation with the four following Latin verses, extracted from a book of similar verses of Ugolino Devieri, composed by him on the families of Florence—

"Clara Gherardinorum domus est haec plurima quondam, Castella incoluit fecundis collibus Else, Insignis que toga sed enim præstantior armis Floruit hujus adhuc veneratur Hibernia nomen."

"Illustrious offspring of the Gherardine, Whose castles erst on Else's hills did shine, In arts and arms famed both far and near, Even now thy name Hibernia doth revere."

The following are metrical versions of O'Meara's Hexameters, and I may be permitted to remark that the
entire poem ought to be translated. "Twould be easy work for Mr. Mangan, and much light might be thus thrown on the topography, manners and customs of Ireland, during the wars of the Butlers and Desmonds.

"Now was the battle-plain,—a famous place among places,—
Near to the fishful Suir,—marked and mapped out for the fight—
Near Tipperary, too, some two or three thousand paces—
(Thence that county, men say, deriveth its name of right.)
This was the chosen spot for the scene of conflict and slaughter;
Here, on a certain day, as seemed to the combatants good,
Were they to crimson the moaning waves of the innocent water,
Each redoubtable host with the opposite army's blood.

"Woe for the national name!—the Geraldines here were defeated:
Stricken, as 'twere, with panic, they fled from the field in dismay,
Then Earl Desmond, in anguish, witnessing how they retreated,
Thus uplifted his voice, to nerve them afresh for the fray—
Thus he shouted aloud, and cried to the fugitive cravens,
Having no other resource, as he bitterly gazed around,
For in his grief he would rather their flesh had glutted the ravens,
Than be compelled to behold that they shrank from standing their ground!

"'O, companions in arms, and hitherto Europe's wonder
Both for your valour and prowess, wherefore is it ye fly?
Look! you equal in number your haughty enemies yonder;
Why are ye not, like them, willing to conquer or die?
O, disgrace of disgraces! your glory hath lost its brightness!
Never again shall its rays illumine the battle-field,
Since ye have thus preferred to rely on your feet and their lightness,
Rather than on your hands and the broad sharp swords they should wield!

"Men of degraded souls, hear me! The one and the only
Path to immortal renown lies through the ranks of your foes!
But, since upbraidings avail not, since ye have left me thus lonely,
Let me, at least, with honor bring my career to a close!"

This was the speech of the Earl, a speech indignantly spoken;
When it was finished he dashed, without an additional word,
In through the enemy's lines, and though they were scarcely broken,
Many a warrior fell that day by his terrible sword!"

"Now, after this, in Momonia, hostings and wars and troubles
Multiplied every day among the Chiefs and the Nobles.

"James, of the Desmond race, was a man of a matchless daring,
Fearlessly braved he wounds, and storms, and hunger, and cold;
Bareheaded went he in heaviest wintry rains, uncaring
Aught for the elements' wrath, like a hardy Roman of old.
Luxury, pleasure, and sleep, was he ever foremost in slighting—"
Scorning purple and plumes, he made no account of his birth,
Made no account of his rank, but after a day's fierce fighting
Lay through the hours of the night couched on the hard cold earth.
Nothing could conquer his soul; nothing dejected or bowed him,
Yet it were happier far had he been but able to bring Those inappreciable gifts wherewith his God had endowed him Into the service of Peace, his native land, and his King!"

"Who, O, illustrious Chief, art thou, and whence descended? Thou whom the Geraldines harassed, but never could force to yield!
These were but the beginnings of wars that yet are not ended—
Mars first sowed the seed, but the reapers are still in the field.
All Tipperary county is wasted by fire and sword, And its great people are slaves, because of the Geraldines' Lord!"
PERSECUTION
AFTER
THE GERALDINES.
SECOND PART OF O'DALY'S WORK.
PERSECUTION AFTER THE GERALDINES.

CHAPTER I.


Now, when that princely race had been overthrown, and ruin* lowered over the ancient palaces of the Desmonds, Palatines of Kerry, loudly did the triumph of their enemies resound. On the highways and by-ways of Munster, with distended cheeks, did their enemies proclaim their ruin, and glory in it. Then did their ingenuity conjure up a thousand plans for offering outrage and insult to the flock of Christ. Now, that their

* Ay, verily their ruin was great. 574,628 acres belonging to the Desmonds were parcelled out to planters. The aboriginal holders were to be banished till their very names ceased to be remembered. Estates, says Plowden, were offered in fee at the rent of three pence, and in some places at two pence per acre to adventurers. The rents were to become due after the expiration of the first three years of tenure; and this was done in favour of those whom the Desmond would "not have set with the dogs of his flock." We do not hesitate to denounce
dreaded foeman was no more, did these heretics rage like infuriated tigers. Those who still were faithful to the memory of the Geraldines, they smote, and would have it appear that it was a crime against heaven to be an Irishman or a Catholic. Nay, more, you were subjected to every contumely if you spoke the vernacular language; noble or plebeian, of the city or of the country, if a Catholic, you were a traitor—and for being a native, you were adjudged a rebel. Your birth made them spit upon you. Your religion made them crucify you. Divesting themselves of humanity, and disregarding God's anger, the rage of these heretics (who may be likened to famished lions,) exhausted itself on our holy edifices. The priests of the Lord were stoned in the public thoroughfares, and their tonsured heads were made targets for these wretches to aim at. Some of these priests had their brains beaten out—their bodies dashed to earth, trodden under foot, and bruised by kick and cuff. Some had the nails of their fingers torn out by the roots; whilst others actually saw their entrails protrude, and their flesh ripped and torn by combs of iron. How shall I describe such scenes? "They were the conduct exhibited in our times to bleeding Poland; and why should we shrink from execrating that of Elizabeth, who plundered and massacred the Irish to bestow their domains on the Spensers, St. Legers, Raleighs, and a brood of multiplied wickedness, who never took deep root or fast foundation in the affections of the people: how could they when they never were regarded as any thing beyond marauders and "bastard slips?" Alas! such was the destiny of the Palatines, who long had reigned like kings in their own territories.
stoned—they were cut asunder—they were
tempted—they were put to death by the sword.”
But, praised be God! they were true to their
faith. Truly these persecutors excelled in malice
—their cruelty surpassed its ordinary character,
and their ferocity shrank not from the most ap-
palling crimes. A thousand proofs of this can
be given. The minds and memories of some
who are yet living, are charged with the recol-
lection of them; but, in a word, let us turn
for a while to the records on which these events
are imperishably chronicled. Is there not, for
example, the history of the martyrdom of John
Burke,* who perished by the hands of the execu-
tioner for no other crime than having given
refuge to priests, and allowing the holy sacrifice
of the Mass to be celebrated in his castle of
Brittas? Have we not also the history of the
martyrdom of John Gravers, doctor of theology,
who being accused of having written a defence
of the pope’s supremacy, was arraigned before
an iniquitous tribunal? Will not the blood of
this man cry aloud to heaven till this world has
grown hoary? When arraigned before his
judges, and interrogated by them, here was his

* Burke of Brittas, in the county Limerick, was put to
death for the faith, according to Carve, in Annal. Hib.
about the year 1610. He consecrated his unborn child
to the religion of his country, having nothing else to
leave it. A short time after his death his widow gave
birth to a daughter, who for some years led a vestal’s
life in her own country, and then bidding an eternal
farewell to home and kindred, took the Dominican ha-
bit, and died in the Irish convent in Lisbon. The father
was buried in St. John’s church, Limerick.
answer: "See you," said he, "this thumb, fore finger, and middle finger? With them I wrote this writing. I do not repent me of having done so; nay, I glory that I am charged with it. I blush not to acknowledge the fact." He was then sentenced to die; but after they had thrust his right hand into the fire—the three fingers remaining unscathed—he was committed to the gallows tree. What words of mine will adequately describe the cruelties committed on the persons of Patrick O'Healy,* Bishop of Mayo, and Cornelius O'Ruark, a Franciscan friar, who were both charged with high treason? Their hands were tortured—their thigh bones splintered by strokes of the hammer, and they were finally gibbeted when their murderers could wring no confession from them. Eight years did they exhibit the instruments by which these holy martyrs were put to death; and they now lie buried with them in the Franciscan convent of Askeaton.

How shall I describe the agonies and sufferings of Dermod O'Hurley;† Archbishop of Cashel,

* They were both of the Franciscan order, and were martyred at Kilmallock. Their remains were subsequently translated to Askeaton.
† The O'Hurleys were chiefs of note in the county Tipperary. This martyrdom took place A.D. 1583; the scene of it, according to Routh, in "Processu Martyriali," was St. Stephen's Green (not Oxmantown Green.) His body was buried in the old church, sacred to St. Kevin, which, at that time, was half ruined. The old church-yard of St. Kevin has no remains of this once celebrated shrine. The archiepiscopal palace is converted into a police barrack, and the deanery, situated in an unwholesome locale, is not deemed salubrious enough for a dignitary.
on whom savage malice inflicted a systematized and protracted process of barbarity? He was bound to the trunk of a tree—they smeared his feet and thighs with salt, butter, oil, sulphur, pitch and ardent spirits—his boots, too, were filled with this horrid preparation—think you they needed the match and flint? Was not this fit material to kindle flame? One hour did this fire prey on his emaciated limbs—the next was employed in administering restoratives. Again and again did they smear him with the aforesaid preparation, till his muscles and arteries were melted in the flame, and the teguments of his bones were consumed. After five days devoted to this torture, they led him forth in the dawning, fearing that there would be commotion if they sacrificed him in the open day. Now, on that very morning, when others were wrapped in slumber, the Archbishop was placed on a hurdle, and, whilst on the way to the place of execution, was met by a pious friend (one, perhaps, who privately supplied him with means of subsistence) who, seizing the prelate's hand in token of love, ever after bore upon it, indelibly impressed, the figure of a scarlet cross! Here behold the evidence of sanctity, and the reward of gratitude.

This illustrious martyr—this fountain of eloquence, and learned lore, was looked upon by all as the most formidable adversary who, at any time, combated the nascent heresy—nay, so highly was his indomitable fortitude esteemed by his judge, Adam Loftus, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, that he never ceased to make him the most seductive offers of royal bounty, if he would avow
the queen to be head of the church, or, at least, head of the English church: nay, more, when he refused to subscribe this doctrine, Loftus sent to inform the archbishop that he would not interfere with him, but would leave him in peaceable possession of his see, and add to its revenues if he would consent to renounce the Pope's authority in appointing him, and accept his inauguration at the hands of Queen Elizabeth. Their bribes he spurned—their threats he despised—the very arguments employed by Loftus he convicted of folly, and then girded himself for the fight, and won the martyr's palm.

Who is not familiar with the history of Richard Creagh, * Primate of Ireland? He was offered every favour which Elizabeth and her ministers could confer, provided he renounced the supremacy of the holy see. When he refused, they charged him with having offered violence to the daughter of his gaoler. They even bribed the girl to swear this charge against him. They then appointed the day and place for hearing the accusation, and invited a great number of the Irish nobility to be present, in order to witness the infamy of a man who had held such exalted station. But, wonderful is the power of innocence. When the girl came into the court, though urged by the solicitation of the archbishop's enemies, and promised every reward, which they could so readily

* David Routh, "Process. Martyriali," states that Dr. Creagh was poisoned in the Tower, October 14, 1585. He was succeeded by Edmund Magauran, who was slain near Armagh, A.D. 1598, while hearing the confession of a Catholic soldier.
give, she was struck with horror in the contemplation of her perjury, and grew sorry for what she had already done. Think you that she grew agitated and confused? No such thing; for when interrogated as to the charge they thought she was prepared to maintain against the prelate—she replied, with an oath, that she believed that man to be not only innocent of what was alleged, but that he was a saint, and had never touched even the hem of her garment. But, though virtue triumphed, the deadly hatred of his enemies still survived, and the illustrious prelate only escaped this snare to be incarcerated to the end of his days in the Tower of London.

The ecclesiastical history of O'Sullivan gives you ample detail of the martyrdom of Cornelius O'Dubhane (Vulgo O'Duane)* and Patrick O'Luanchain, priest. But, as it is not my wish to dwell at great length on these matters, I refer you to the history of the time. The facts which I have adduced occurred about the end of Elizabeth's reign, when destruction was spreading her wings over the house of the Geraldines, and in this, our day, are not the facts themselves on the lips of every one acquainted with our country? but I have deemed it necessary to mention them here, that every one may know how furiously this reprobate woman (Elizabeth) scourged the good, the just, and the ardent lovers of their country.

* O'Duane was Bishop of Down and Connor, and suffered on the 1st of February, A.D.1600. Arthur Chichester was then Lord Deputy. Routh writes the name of the priest Logher.
But, perchance I may be charged as a partizan, or a writer of fiction, and the very opposite of trustworthy in what I have narrated; be it so—let the facts speak for themselves. "Truth," says Tertullian, in Apol. Contra Gentes, "knows herself to be a wanderer on this earth, and that her origin, home, and resting-place can only be found in Heaven;" nevertheless, truth insists on being heard—let no one condemn her before she is arraigned. Let us, therefore, hear her speaking—let us hearken to Elizabeth herself, and James of the venomous heart—let us hear the chief governors of Ireland, and their satellites, whose every act and word sprung from hearts overcharged with hatred to Ireland and her religion; and, first in order, let us produce the edict published by Elizabeth in London, of which the following is a copy:

The Queen's proclamation against Seminary Priests and Jesuits, who, are machinating treason against the kingdom and crown.

Altho' we hitherto had some reason to believe that after thirty-three years of our reign, the malice of the Spanish King would have subsided, and that he might be induced to live on terms of peace with us, as well as the other princes who are nearer to him. Nevertheless, we are now forced to conclude from all we have learned, that he meditates more deadly designs, and is equipping forces both by land and sea to disturb the peace of the world. And we verily believe, that it has seemed good to the omnipotent God of armies, to permit the ruin of such men, who cannot be induced to live peaceably and contentedly with what they already possess. This is manifest from the commencement of a most unjust war which he is now waging against the King of France; which in many respects is like unto that which he car-
ried on against us two years ago, when he meditated the
invasion of our dominions, but God resisted him, and
gave him and his entire army good reason to repent.

Wherefore we have learned that the King of Spain, in
order to colour his violent and exorbitant proceedings,
has lately caused a vassal* of his to be raised to the
papal treasury, and has procured sums of money from the
papal treasury for the levying of troops, whom the
Pope’s nephew is to lead into France. We conclude
that such hostile aggression must be exceedingly peril-
ous to us and our kingdom, and more particularly so,
as we have been informed that the preparations by sea
and land are on a more extensive scale now than at any
former period.

We have learned moreover, that the King of Spain
has been intriguing with seditious persons of mean birth
in our kingdom, who, as ungrateful subjects and traitors
to their country, at the King’s expense have gathered to-
gether bands of dissolute young men, for whom they
have provided receptacles at Rome and in Spain for the
purpose of indoctrining them in scholastic sedition, and
sending them into our dominions, with powers from the
Pope to seduce our subjects from their allegiance, in the
hope of a Spanish invasion. Now, these priests, who
are our subjects, strive by all means in their power, as
well as by bulls and indulgences from the Pope, to in-
duce the people of this kingdom to abjure their alle-
giance, and give all their support to the King of Spain,

*Nicholaus Sfrondati, a Milanese, who took the name
of Gregory XIV., reigned for a very short time. On
his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, he found Italy
suffering all the horrors of famine, and its inseparable
consequence, plague. “Such great dearths,” says Mur-
tauri, “must henceforth be of less frequent recurrence,
owning to the cultivation of Indian corn.” (Gran.
turco). Ciaconio and Cicarelli state that 60,000 persons
died in Rome of the pestilence occasioned by the famine,
notwithstanding the paternal solicitude of the Pope, who
expended 100,000 golden crowns in purchasing provision
for his people.—V. Annali d’ Italia.
denouncing maledictions against such as are not inclined to acquiesce in their designs.

Such designs of the papal power we have already to a certain extent impaired, by enacting laws against traitors, and solely against traitors; but by no means have we prosecuted them on account of any article of religion, as they and their abettors would have it believed. This is apparent, from the trials on which none of them were found guilty, or condemned to death on any other verdict than that of high treason. Since they have been proved to have admitted that if the Pope would send an army against us they would be ready to espouse his cause.

Again, were there any other argument necessary to convince those who doubt it, that no one suffers death on account of his religion in our dominions, this which we adduce would easily satisfy them. At the present moment there are in our kingdom very many wealthy men who profess a creed contrary to ours, and yet they are not harmed in person or in goods, and are only mulcted in a certain sum as long as they refuse to frequent our churches: which conduct of ours clearly refutes the libellous accusations made by outlaws in other lands. We are well aware that our rebels who frequent these receptacles which they call seminaries, have informed the King of Spain that although his former fleet had but a lamentable issue, yet that if he could be induced to attempt a similar undertaking, he would be joined by multitudes in this kingdom at the very moment of his arrival.

Such information has been given to the King of Spain, by one Parsons, who presumes to be his confessor. Similar informations has he likewise received from one Allen, whose treasons against us have induced the Pope to confer on him the Cardinal's hat. Hence it is that they have sent their emissaries (Jesuits and Seminary Priests) into this kingdom, to promote their evil designs. But as some of the Spanish King's more prudent counsellors have concluded that this armament can but

* Like many other matters in this proclamation, this is a glaring royal lie. Parsons was not Philip's confessor.
slightly prejudice us, he has come to the conclusion of attacking Belgium and France, as well as Scotland and Ireland, whither some of the emissaries of the seminarians have recently journeyed. To counteract such nefarious machinations, we therefore have enacted such laws as are required to crush the rebels and detect their treasons.

In the first place, then, we entreat of all ecclesiastics to retain the people in the profession of the Gospel and in their duty to God and us, and we would exhort them to this by the consideration of that untiring energy with which the chiefs of the seditious ever labour, by means of the seminaries, to captivate the ignorant and simple people.

And in order to adopt measures against the covert and fraudulent machinations of the seminarians, Jesuits, and other traitors (without whom the King of Spain cannot succeed), we have determined to send Commissioners to all the counties, cities, and seaports of our kingdom, who will be empowered to institute the most rigid investigation concerning all suspected persons who have persuaded others, or suffered themselves to be taught, that obedience of any kind is to be given to the Pope or the King of Spain.

And as it has been ascertained that many of the seminarians have come into this kingdom, and have got access even to the universities, and have introduced themselves into the families of noble men and women, in order thus to conceal themselves the more securely; we, therefore, strictly command that all persons, of whatsoever sex or condition, shall immediately make an exact return of all such persons who, after the lapse of fourteen months, shall have frequented their houses, dwelt in them, ate in them, or slept in them. They shall moreover be obliged to give an exact account of the name, condition, and quality of such persons, where they were born, where they were a year before their arrival in this kingdom, how and whence they derived support, what they do, what places they frequent, with whom they are intimate, and whether, according to our laws, they frequent our churches and assist at our divine offices.

All this we wish to have noted down in a book kept
by the father of a family, after the fashion of a register or calendar, so that our Commissioner, by referring to it, may get the necessary information, whenever he may deem it expedient.

But if any one should be reluctant in answering the questions put to him, or should appear dubious in his replies, we command that such person be transmitted to the nearest Commissioner. The same we also ordain concerning the heads of houses and fathers of families, who have acted negligently in instituting the necessary inquiries. And should any one be found, within the term of twenty-four days after the publication of this edict, sheltering any suspected persons, we order that they are to be treated as the accomplices and abettors of rebels and traitors.

Given at our palace of Richmond, 18 Octob., 1591, and thirty-third of our reign.

In the heading to this chapter I pledged myself to undertake two distinct works; first, to give a rude outline of the persecution inflicted on the Catholics, and secondly, to lay before the reader these iniquitous laws by which the extirpation of the Catholic Irish was to be effected. As to the first, I may be well satisfied with what I have already written; but, at the same time, I confess that the limits of this work would not permit me to adduce, as I might, many other proofs of this cruel persecution. As to the second, I had made up my mind to cite such portions of the various penal enactments as might serve to elucidate my subject, without swelling this little volume beyond the size I intended. But, to be candid, the multiform shameless and sophisticated acts passed against the Catholics, have grown to such extent, out of the many extracts I have been obliged to make,
that this little work must become more ponderous than I wished. In proportion to my book has been my bile; for what heart is there in the bosom of a rational being that will not beat indignantly at sight of these horrid and heathenish statutes? The law of the Eternal God condemns them—the laws of society execrate them—for they are enactments against truth and the Holy Catholic faith. Wherefore I have now resolved to give you the very dicta of our persecutors, that they may remain recorded against them for ever and ever. Now, with your leave (benevolent reader)—and I implore you will not regard it as tedious—the rest of this treatise shall be chiefly concerned with the statutes and acts passed by the heretics against my religion and country.

**ANIMADVERSION ON THE FOREGOING ACT.**

Plain it must be to every reader, that this edict is replete with falsehood and calumny. It probes to the very bottom, forsooth, the plans of the Roman pontiff, the designs of Spain, and the conspiracies of neighbouring countries. This provident queen commends her foresight—this ambitious woman is anxious for popularity—and would fain have herself regarded as full of wisdom and justice. Verily, for her good works we will not stone her. But, lo! she proclaims all priests and clerics traitors; exhorts her ministers to outroot them; and, nevertheless, would have the world believe that no one suffers molestation for religion's sake. But, vainly does she cast her nets in the presence of birds. She
would change, forsooth, the Ethiop's colour, as if mankind knew not that the whitened sepulchres are in the inside filled with rottenness and corruption. This far-famed English queen has grown drunk on the blood of Christ's martyrs; and like a tigress has she hunted down the Irish Catholics; exceeding in ferocity and wanton cruelty the emperors of Pagan Rome. So far was it from her intention not to persecute the Catholics for religion's sake, that she inflicted the punishment of death on all those who refused to take the oath of supremacy. Usurping, as she did, the headship of the church, in spirituals as well as temporals, she would be nothing less than the head of both; and this Lutheran pontiff* would have all those who owed her allegiance in mere temporal matters solemnly swear that she was likewise the supreme ruler of the church. No one might hope to escape her blood-stained hand who did not devoutly and piously take this oath. To those who took it she was lavish of her favours; but to those who refused, Proteus-like, she was ever varying, till, at length, she became more fatal in her glances than the fabled Medea.

"Gorgoneis alecto infecta venenis
Cui furor, et rabies suberant, et tristia bella
Irœque, insidioœque, et noxia crimina cordi."

Truly, for my own part, I recognise Elizabeth as the Queen of England, for her person I entertain respect, nor do I envy her her fair fame; but in treating such matters as are intimately in-

* O'Daly sneereth at lay pontiffs.
terwoven with her public life, religion, truthfulness, and honor counsel me to conceal nothing. When not more than six years old this woman excelled not alone all the other princesses of her time in profound knowledge of the Latin tongue, but even those of her own sex of inferior condition throughout the kingdom; nor will I gainsay her knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, or her intimate familiarity with the controversies of her day. As far as her heretical teachers were concerned, she not only rivalled, but excelled them. "Tis told of her that once, while studying a Latin author in company of her handmaids, that she used a Latin word which was not strictly grammatical, and, suddenly correcting her error, with queenly grace turned to those who heard her, and said, "I have misapplied the term; nevertheless, let no one henceforth object to it, for it has the sanction of my royal authority." It is not my desire to impugn her abilities (for they were great, but inflated), nor shall I even venture to dispute with one of her voluble sex on the right to make or unmake adjectives pertaining to woman; but the doctrine of the apostle forbids me to bow to any female usurping the primacy of the church. "But I suffer not a woman," saith he, "to teach nor to use authority over the man: but to be in silence." Surely this rule, laid down by the apostle, overturns Elizabeth's primacy. A woman cannot be the head of the church, if it be forbidden her to teach or to guide; nor, indeed, has it been at any time conceded that such offices are compatible with the state and condition of a female. The head of a woman is man, but the
head of man is Christ, the spouse of the whole church, whom God hath sent in the fulness of time. And you must know that when Christ appointed his representative in this world, he did not select one out of the number of the pious women who ministered to him in his sorrows, followed him in his passion, stood by him when crucified, and wailed around him when dying—in a word, he did not say to his Virgin Mother, "Feed my sheep—whatsoever you shall bind;" but to Peter did he intrust this great and glorious headship.

Nor was Elizabeth in the number of those who followed Christ, nor has she studied to imitate the example of the meanest of them; but we must, forsooth, bow our heads and clap our hands, since this royal theologian has ascended the throne. I entertain respect for her as a temporal sovereign, for the divine teaching ordains that I should be deferential even to a wicked one. Her right of ruling in temporalities I never questioned, but my allegiance shall never be given to her in the character of a usurper. Now let us return to our task—my thesis on the present occasion being that Elizabeth is mendacious when she asserts that no one was persecuted for religion—that the very reverse was the case—which I will abundantly prove when I shall have said a few words concerning the adjuncts to her acts of Parliament and her system of persecution. In the first place, then, you are to know that for the enforcing of the edict above cited, as well as all others regarding the queen's supremacy, ample instructions were given to all justices of the peace, and
that they were also supplied with secret powers to carry out Elizabeth's designs. These instructions may be summed up under eight distinct heads. 1. An inquisitorial power was given to certain commissioners to find out who were Catholics. 2. They were furnished with grounds of accusations against them, even in matters where their allegiance was not concerned. 3. They were vested with a power of summoning and examining all who were Catholics. 4. They had a uniform rule of examination and interrogation. 5. They were strictly enjoined to find out those who harboured or sheltered priests. 6. They were so organised as to be able to pursue a fugitive, priest or layman, from one province to another. 7 and 8. They were allowed to delegate their power the more effectively to entrap the Catholics, called recusants.* Having said this, let me now exhibit to you this act of Parliament in all its falsity and calumny, and enlighten you on the origin of the persecution.

To any one recollecting what we have already written, it must be as clear as the sun at noon that nothing could exceed the astuteness of this woman, and her persecuting ingenuity. A political plea was her best excuse for seizing with impious hands the regalia of the church; but the futility of that plea is clear to those who are at all conversant with the mad ambition of the woman who would be supreme in the church as well as state. But, oh, grief! the royal mantle which covered

*Vide Appendix to the Second Part of this work.
her shoulders—which was, indeed, her self-conferred pallium—bore upon it many a bloody stain—the martyr's gore was on its every fold. She may not have noticed it, but is it not true that every one is conscious of the drunkard's delirium save the drunkard himself? Know you not that blood will sink into the hardest iron, and be consubstantiated with the sword-blade? In vain, therefore, would any one labour to conceal facts which have been preached from the roofs; for, from the very moment that Elizabeth conceived the design of enthroning herself in the temple, she must have known that her pontificate must have commenced in blood. She then took to her confidence one of her first ministers—to wit, William Cecil—whose origin is very dubious. Need I say to you how fearfully he raged against Christ and His church. But I must speak a few words of him in passing.

This Cecil, who came of a very obscure family, in the earlier days of Henry VIII. sought pleasure in nothing save acts of cunning and duplicity. By the exercise of perverted ingenuity he ever dreamed of establishing his fortunes. He fell away from the faith by apostacy; but in the days of Queen Mary, feigning sorrow for his lapse, he began to fawn on that pious queen. Then, to the wonder of all, he might be found attending sermons on the highways, and in the churches—with rosary in hand—he cried aloud to those who witnessed his hypocrisy: "You who have followed me in my error follow me in repentance;" but when times altered, Cecil adapted himself to their requirements, and his second error was worse
than the first. He thenceforth became the principal author and scribe of all those cruel enactments, which is evident from the fact that the sense, and almost the verbiage of these very statutes are to be found in a book written by him on the subject of "British Justice." And, besides, it is notorious that in one of the first parliaments convened in the time of Elizabeth, he enunciated that famous oath of supremacy, and took care that it was received by all those whom he could intimidate. This is the tenor of that oath: "I, A.B. do utterly testify, and declare in my conscience, that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governour of this realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." After spending many years forging these statutes, and encouraging the murderers of the Catholics, he composed his famous work on British Justice, in which, even on the very title page, he takes on him to show that no one suffered death or danger in England for having remained true to the creed and ceremonial of the Catholic church. A few pages on in this book he asserts, "no violence has been offered to the conscience of the Catholics, nor has their recusancy brought them into danger of life or fortunes;" and having illustrated this by some examples, he continues, "Is not the contrary the fact, when it is well known that many have gone over to the Catholics, without incurring loss of property or life?" See you not here how closely this language resembles that of the statute? And, when replying to some who questioned the truth of his statement, here is his answer touching those who had paid the
forfeit of their lives: "It was not the Roman ceremonial, nor festivals, nor formulas of prayer which brought about their death; neither was it that they were called Seminarists, Jesuits, Priests, or Papists—neither was it their habit, —but the cause was, that they excited the people to sedition." But, without pausing to examine this crude assertion, let me ask why was there such effusion of blood where there was no sedition; and why and wherefore were so many noble families utterly destroyed?

Oh, truly all the malice of the tyrants of old was revived in this artful Cecil. This was precisely the artifice of Julian the apostate, as we may learn from Gregory Nazianzen: for it is well known that this prototype of Cecil persecuted the Christians for their faith, although he would have the world believe they suffered for crimes." He raged against them," says the historian, "and would persuade the world that innocent Christians were malefactors, and thus deny them their lawful claim to the honours of martyrdom." And again, "O singular folly of the impious, who vainly think to deprive us of that consolation which we enjoy when suffering for Christ." Now, I ask you, is there not a close resemblance between Julian's policy and that of Cecil? Does not the same astuteness characterize both?—and, to have done with the matter, I affirm that no sedition of the Catholics brought down the royal vengeance on them, and that their appreciation of conscience and stern opposition to the new-fangled supremacy was the cause of their death, robbery, and outlawry. Again, this persecution originated with
the oath of supremacy in Elizabeth's reign, when it was publicly announced that the pontifical power was centred in her, as I have already shown. And now let me ask Cecil, the defender of British Justice, to show me what shadow of right, reason, or justice, is there in this solemn oath of the queen's supremacy—in fact, the title of "defender of the faith," on which this supremacy rests, was conferred on Henry VIII. by Pope Leo X. for the king's sustainment of Catholic doctrine against Luther; but surely the pontiff never intended to transfer his power and pre-eminence to the monarch; and when he would have it believed that ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonged to him, was he not met by the laughter and jibing of more than half the world? As well might you think of making black white, or evil out of good, as to effect this. But greatly was this queen indebted to Cecil, who, hailing Henry VIII., "defender of the faith," would have his daughter inherit the same title. He got it for defending Catholicity against Luther, and the queen inherited it for her advocacy of Lutheranism against the Pope. I would that the kings of England were truly the defenders of the faith, nor basely forfeit this proud title; but, as for Elizabeth, she used it badly, and thereby loses all claim to it. And now I ask, is there not a great difference between the head of the faith and the defender thereof? I appeal to you, reader, does not God stultify the wisdom of this world?
CHAPTER II.

HOW FALSE IS THE ASSERTION OF CECIL THAT NO ONE SUFFERED FOR RELIGION'S SAKE, PROVED FROM THE HISTORY AND STATUTES OF ELIZABETH.

There is an old proverb which says, "a liar needeth good memory." Now, I would impress upon you the necessity of believing that Cecil, in his work on British Justice, and also in his statutes (for he was the author of most of them), has so far forgotten himself that it is difficult to believe anything he asserts. Over and over again does he affirm that no Catholic suffered for conscience sake in Elizabeth's time, as though we were not to accredit the experience of mankind, or the many volumes which assert the very opposite.* Surely he must know that in the very first year of Elizabeth's reign, Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, together with many bishops, archdeacons, deans, and vicars, were deprived of their sees and benefices for refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of this queen. Read the history of England during 1556-7 to the year of grace, 1580, and thence to 1591, and behold what a multitude of holy and exalted personages were mulcted by death, or forfeitures, for having denied the supremacy, or given shelter to priests, or assist-

* "From the defeat of the armada till the death of the Queen," says Lingard, vol. 8, "61 clergymen, 47 laymen, and two gentlewomen, suffered capital punishment for some of the spiritual treasons which had been lately created." This, of course, refers to England.
ed at the mass. Who can count the numbers who suffered during these years, and adequately depict the horrors they had to endure in the ruin of their fortunes and mutilation of their limbs? Besides, in 11 years of Elizabeth's reign, no less than four most atrocious proclamations were published against the Catholics. The order in which they were issued is as follows: the first, on the 15th July, 1580; the second, on the 20th of January; the third, on the 2d of April, 1581. These enactments were confirmed by the parliament on the 1st of March, 1585; and an act was also passed about this time, in the Irish parliament, in the 27th year of Elizabeth's reign, as virulent as any of those which had emanated from the parliament of England. Of this we shall speak by-and-by. The fourth is the well-known act of 1591, on which we have been commenting. But in Ireland the harvest of persecution was far more abundant than in England, and God alone can enumerate the number of martyrs whose blood was shed. We have already made you acquainted with the history of Burke of Brittas, and the tragic death of Dermod O'Hurley, archbishop of Cashel. Now, let Cecil answer me, was not all this persecution inflicted on those who denied the queen's supremacy, and consequently did not those who suffered suffer for conscience sake?

But, to have done with this controversy touching Cecil, the queen's secretary and scribe, I will beg your attention to the following comments, which, in my judgment, exhibit him in his true character, while asserting that no Catholic suf-
fered injury for simply adhering to the holy see and its doctrines.

My first proof is taken from the very words of the queen during the secretaryship of Cecil, who, in a proclamation of indulgence, issued after the session of parliament in the twenty-third year of her reign, thus speaks, "Let care be taken that this indulgence be not extended to those who at the termination of the session of parliament, held in the twenty-third year of our reign, are now detained in the public prisons, or subjected to special custody; for their pertinacity in refusing to frequent the churches or assist at the divine offices of the religion now established in this kingdom." Now, observe, kind reader, how false is that assertion of Cecil, who states, that no one suffered for religious opinions, when those who persevered in the ancient faith are rigidly excluded from this pardon and indulgence. The assassin—the robber—and other such had pardon—but for the recusant Catholic there was to be no remission.

My second proof is derived from an act passed in the Irish house of parliament, and published in the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth; and as this act, passed in the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth, was the fruitful source of all the penal enactments of James the First, and his son King Charles, I will have much to say of it in the following pages. At present I must content myself with the extract. "Every priest thus taken is to be adjudged guilty of treason—to be hanged on the gallows—cut down
when half dead—his bowels to be taken out, and burned—and his head to be impaled in some conspicuous place—his goods and lands are to be confiscated," &c. &c. The penalty incurred by those who foster and shelter priests is as follows: "All such are to have their lands confiscated, and they are to be hanged from the public gibbet." This extract I have transcribed from a narrative of the present persecution, printed in Ireland, A.D. 1653. And now let us have done with the persecution of Queen Elizabeth; but I appeal to your good discrimination, kind reader, have I not made it clear enough that Cecil's assertions are to be disregarded, as in every respect void of truth and honour? Turn we now to the persecutions of James the First, * the successor of Elizabeth, and her rival in every species of cruelty and religious hate.

The scope and animus of this king may be easily learned from the acts of parliament passed during his reign. I have collected my information from the Ecclesiastical History of Philip O'Sullivan, who may be read by all and every one with profit and edification. I am not, indeed, a writer of fiction. I am not the author of truth, but one who proclaims it. Hence I have not thought it unbecoming me to consult the works of others, or avail myself of their labours. Most painters imitate some grand original, and the Iliad and Æneid differ not so much in subject as in style; nor can I be accused of giving a false version of the documents which I

* Vide MacNevin's Confiscation of Ulster.
have to cite, for I solemnly assure you, that rather than hazard my own judgment, I have invariably consulted a third person. Come we now to the edict of James the First.

PROCLAMATION BY THE KING.

Whereas we have been informed that our subjects in the kingdom of Ireland, since the death of our beloved sister, have been deceived by a false rumour, to wit, that we would allow them liberty of conscience, contrary to the laws and statutes of that kingdom, and the religion which we profess. From this some have deemed us less zealous than we ought to be in the administration of the Irish church, as well as in that of the other churches over which it is our duty to watch; and very many of our Irish subjects seem determined in persevering in their obstinate contumacy. Jesuits, Seminarists, Priests and Bishops, who have received ordination at the hands of foreigners, thus emboldened have lain concealed in various parts of that kingdom, and now emerging from their hiding places, exercise their functions and rights, despising us and our religion.

Wherefore it hath seemed good to us to notify to our beloved subjects of Ireland, that we shall never tolerate such a state of things: and notwithstanding the rumours so industriously circulated, we are firmly resolved never to allow any religion save that which is consonant to the word of God, established by our laws. By these presents therefore, let all men know that we strictly order and command all and every of our subjects to frequent the parochial churches, to assist at the divine offices, and attend to the exposition of the word of God, on Sundays and festival days, according to the rule and spirit of the laws. They who will act contrariwise will incur the penalties provided by the statutes which we now order to be rigorously enforced.

And as it has been notified to us that Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and many other priests, wander about the kingdom of Ireland, seducing our subjects to the observance of their superstitious ceremonies, thus bringing
our laws into contempt: We now order and command that all such Jesuits, Priests, Seminarists, &c., &c., who have been ordained in foreign parts, or derive any authority from the Roman See, do, after the expiration of the last day of November, instant, withdraw from our kingdom of Ireland; nor let any such persons after that date venture to return into the aforesaid kingdom. Should they contravene this order, we strictly ordain, that they are to be punished to the utmost rigour of the laws in this case already specified. We, moreover, strictly forbid all our subjects of Ireland to shelter or countenance any Jesuit, Seminary Priest, or other priest, who will dare to remain in Ireland, or return thither after the tenth day of December, instant.

But if any of the aforesaid Jesuits, Seminary Priests, or Priests of any order, shall dare to remain in the kingdom of Ireland, or return thither after the tenth day of December, instant; and if any of our subjects shall dare to receive or shelter them, we strictly command all our mayors, constables, sheriffs, judges, &c., &c., to act as faithful subjects, and to seize the bodies or body of each and every Jesuit, Seminary Priest, and other Priests who have received their ordination in foreign parts, and commit them to close confinement until our viceroy or his deputy shall have inflicted on them just and deserved punishment.

But if any of the aforesaid Jesuits, Seminary Priests, or others shall, before the aforesaid tenth day of December next, present himself before our viceroy, or any other of our officers of state, signifying his desire to frequent our churches, according to the spirit of our laws, we will give permission to such Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and others, to tarry in our kingdom, and return thereto as long as they shall continue faithful to the observances which we prescribe. Such persons shall have, and enjoy all the privileges belonging to our faithful and loving subjects.

Given at Westminster, July 4, 1605.*

*Dublin, printed by John Franklin, printer to his Majesty.
CHAPTER III.

APOTROPHE TO KING JAMES.

"Nail drives nail, and sledge forges sledge."* King James commemorates the death of his dear sister, and, contemplating persecution, turns his eyes to its source. Alas! this was an inauspicious omen—to begin, forsooth, with the name of Elizabeth! Pray tell us, good King James, did not this Elizabeth cause your father to be murdered in his bed, and your mother to be brought to the scaffold, after about twenty years incarceration? Is it true that she laid snares for you before you breathed the vital air? Wherefore, then, these tears and sobs for the woman you call your sister? Looks not the motive of your love for her like that of Herod for Pilate? Yea, mankind, throughout the world, acknowledges a common brotherhood, but Pilate and Herod were most implacable foes till they both conspired against Christ. From that day they became sworn friends. Was such your concord with Elizabeth, O pious prince? O, lover of peace, hater of discord! O, father of your country, and protector of your people! what do you dream of? At peace with all the world beside, will you rage against the flock of Christ, and proclaim war against the King of kings? O, defender of the faith! O, son of a most pious mother! O, hope of the Catholics, who have hoped

* "Clavus clavum trudit, et malleus malleum cudit."
against hope! say is not the name of a Catholic odious to you, and their religious habits an abomina-
mination in your sight? Yea, but pause to con-
template these Catholics, who are ready to bestow upon you their affections, to applaud your hu-
nanity, and do you humble homage. Splendid are the characteristics of this people—faithful to the ancient creed, unimpeachable in honour; see you not on what solid foundations you might build your throne? Why, therefore, do you regard them as contemptuous and sordid? Is it, forsooth, because that which has become old in the world is now rendered more venerable by antiquity? Ah, truly, the hoary monuments of time are never dishonoured by the flight of years; and that which you and your predecessors would fain destroy, Phoenix-like, rises even from its ashes. Why, then, would you make enemies of those who extend their right hands to you—whose sudden indignation might circle you as with flame? They are your subjects—is it not well for you? They are loyal—what more do you desire? You would not intrude into another's harvest, why then kindle your own? Be assured that your valour and prudence will be more profitably employed in guarding what you have than consulting the whisperings of ambition. Behold Solomon with his glorious patrimony, his far-famed wisdom. Behold him turning to ido-
latry, befooled, degraded. Beware, great prince, and smite not God, for he will avenge himself. You lash the flock of Christ with a whip of scorpions, their enemies you caress—the lambs are dispersed and hunted, and the wolves
are kennelled by you, and unslipped to devour them. According to the measure of sin shall be its punishment. Beware!—beware, proud king, lest your son may have to pay a bloody penalty for your designs—not under the eyes of Tiberius Caesar, but in the presence of Christ and his angels. Let this suffice, and come we now to the act of parliament.

Quickly did the satellites of James put it in execution, in every quarter of Ireland. Their virulence knew no bounds; the priests of the people were made to suffer, and those who stood by them became participators of their sorrows. For carrying out more effectually their wicked intent, they framed an oath of allegiance regarding spiritualities and temporalities, and insisted that it should be taken by every one. But God, pitying the afflictions of his people, raised up an illustrious Pontiff, who, if he failed to redress their grievances, bestowed upon them no passing consolation. This Pontiff was Paul V. of blessed memory, who ascended the throne of St. Peter on the 16th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1605. Of him we shall have occasion to speak when first you are acquainted with the history of this oath of allegiance.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, AND ECCLESIASTICAL PRIMACY ADMINISTERED BY JAMES THE FIRST.

That an oath of allegiance to the rightful sove-
reign is in itself rational and just, nobody will deny; for the sovereign has an indisputable right to the fidelity and support of his people in all matters which regard the stability of his crown and the public weal. But, from the earliest moment of King Henry's schism, the oath of allegiance began to have interwoven with it a strange novelty—to wit, the acknowledgment of the monarch's supremacy in religion as well as in the state. For when Henry cast off the old religion, he determined to bind all his liege subjects by a new and unheard-of obligation. But, as Sanders tells us in his first book of "The English Schism," Henry gave himself little concern about the laity in this matter; but rather sought to exact it from the clergy, that he might thus exhibit himself as the depository of that power and pre-eminence which hitherto had been acknowledged as solely belonging to the Roman pontiffs. At first some were induced to take this oath with considerable restrictions, but in progress of time it was stripped of them, and stood boldly out without qualification, condition, or restriction. During the short reign of Edward VI. it is said to have gone into disuse; but it was revived in the time of Elizabeth, who caused it to be administered to the commonalty and clerics; but, at the same time, she studiously avoided forcing it on the peers and prelacy, dreading civil war. In a parliament held by Elizabeth, in the second year of her reign, the following is the wording of the oath, as we collect it from Sanders's third book:
"I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare, in my conscience, that the Queen's Highness is the only supremem governour of this realm, and of all other her Higness' dominions and countries, as well in spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal; and that no forreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preheminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all forreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities."

"I, A. B., do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, priviledges, preheminencies, and authorities, granted and belonging to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and by the contents of this book."

Now Sanders, commenting on this, remarks that the queen did not wish to assume the designation of "head of the church," which had been usurped by Henry VIII, but rather chose that of "supream governour." If there was any difference, 'twas only in name; but that the queen wished to enjoy, even under this title, the power usurped by her father is beyond all doubt. James I. adopted the oath in this form, till, somewhere in the beginning of his reign, he caused the following words to be added:—"I will bear faith
and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown, and dignity," &c. &c. But soon afterwards, when the Gunpowder Plot* had been discovered, the king invented a new form of oath, which was sanctioned by parliament, and ordered to be taken by all his Majesty’s subjects, as well for the detection of the guilty (if such there were) as for the security of the royal person. The oath is the following:—

I, A.B. do truly and sincerely, acknowledge, profess, testify and declare in my Conscience before God and the World, That our Sovereign Lord King James is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm, and of all other his Majesties Dominions and Countries, and that the Pope, neither of himself nor by any Authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any Power or Authority to depose the King, or to dispose any of his Majesties Kingdoms or Dominions, or

* It is now notorious that the Jesuits and priests were not the originators of this terrible conspiracy, though our ears are stunned every Fifth of November by cathedral chimes pealing out the lie. (See Dr. Lingard, vol. ix.) The Jesuits had no more to do with it than Cobden and the Corn-law League with the Duke of Norfolk’s "curry-powder treason" against the stomachs of her Majesty’s lieges. "Punch" has laughed the latter out of the world; and the citizens of Dublin would feel much obliged to him if he would give the bell-ringers of their city some more useful employment than insulting common sense on each recurrence of the Cecilian epoch. The Book of Common Prayer, too, ought to be purged of the silly petition which involves all the "Popish" English, Irish, and Scotch in the guilt of some half-a-dozen hot-heads.
to Authorize any Foreign Prince to invade or annoy him, or his Countries, or to discharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majesty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear Arms, raise Tumult, or to offer any Violence or hurt to his Majesties Royal Person, State or Government, or to any of his Majesties Subjects within his Majesties Dominions.

Also I do swear from my Heart, that notwithstanding any Declaration or sentence of Excommunication or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the Pope or his Successors, or by any Authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his See, against the said King his Heirs or Successors, or any Absolution of the said Subjects from their Obedience: I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their Persons, their Crown and Dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration or otherwise, and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons and Traiterous Conspiracies which I shall know or hear of to be against him or any of them.

And I do further swear, That I do from my Heart abhor, detest and abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes, which be Excommunicated or Deprived by the Pope, may be Deposited or Murthered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever.

And I do Believe and in Conscience am Resolved, That neither the Pope nor any Person whatsoever hath Power to absolve me of this Oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full Authority to be lawfully Ministered unto me, and do renounce all Pardons and Dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any Equivocation, or mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatso-
ever. And I do make this Recognition and Acknow-
edgment, heartily, willingly and truly upon the Faith
of a Christian. * So help me God.*

Many and various were the opinions which re-
sulted from the reading of this oath, both in
England and Ireland; in fact the Catholics were
divided amongst themselves on this subject. Some
of them took the oath without any scruple, whilst
others contended that it was perfectly lawful to
do so, provided the swearer intended nothing
more than civil allegiance. Ultimately the mat-
ter was referred to Pope Paul V., and the follow-

THE EPISTLE OF POPE PAUL V. TO THE CATHOLICS
OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

"Sadly have we mourned, beloved children,
over the tribulations which your unshaken devo-
tion to the faith has brought upon you. But
when we learned that even now you are more
bitterly afflicted, the measure of our sorrow has
been increased. We have heard that you are
compelled, under grievous penalties, to approach
the temples of heretics—to assist at their solemn-
ities and sermons. But truly we do believe that
those who have already suffered so much afflic-
tion and atrocious persecution, that they might
walk immaculately in the way of the Lord, will
never disgrace themselves by commingling with
those who have deserted their God. Neverthe-
less, zeal for our pastoral office, and that paternal

* Unto which Oath so taken, the said person shall
subscribe his or her Name or Mark.
solicititude with which we labour for your salvation, compel us to admonish and conjure you, never to approach the churches of these heretics—never to be present at their rites or ceremonies, lest you incur the anger of the Lord.

"Wherefore, from the very wording of it, it must be evident that you cannot with safety to your consciences and the Catholic faith, take this oath; we, therefore, admonish you to abstain, by all means, from taking it; and we confidently rely on your ready compliance to this request, when we call to mind all you have already suffered, and the alacrity with which you are prepared to sustain torments more atrocious, nay death itself, rather than outrage the majesty of God. Yea, verily, our faith in you is strong, when we consider that the early Christians endured not more than you yourselves.

"Gird ye, then, your loins in truth—put on the breastplate of justice, and the shield of faith. Be comforted in the Lord, who, looking down from heaven on you, will finally crown you and perfect the work which he has begun. You know that he promised his disciples never to leave them orphans: and he is faithul who made that promise. Retain then the discipline of the Church; that is, be you rooted and bound together in charity. Whatever you do, or contemplate, let it be in simplicity of heart and unity of spirit; so that all men may know you are disciples of our Lord Christ, by the love ye bear to one another. We, therefore, exhort you, by the bowels of Christ, whose charity has ransomed us from the jaws of everlasting death, to cherish
love for each other. On this most important subject you have been already instructed by our predecessor, Clement VIII, in the breve directed to George, Archpriest of the kingdom of England, bearing date October 5th, 1603. The instructions conveyed to you in that as well as in this instrument, you are to follow to the very letter, simply as they sound, and without comment, gloss, or interpretation, other than they bear. Dat. Romæ, apd. S. Marc., x kal. Octob., A.D. 1606."

This breve had scarcely arrived in England, when some persons circulated a rumour that it was not authentic, but written by some designing and malicious person; and when the rumour reached Rome, the same Pontiff addressed a second breve to the English and Irish Roman Catholics, of which the following is a copy:

"Beloved children, health and Apostolic benediction. It has been announced to us that some amongst you have been led to doubt the authenticity of the letter recently addressed to you. They have thus dared to teach that you might, with safe conscience, take that oath, contrary to what we have strictly ordained. Truly this announcement has caused much pain, particularly when we reflected on the prompt obedience with which you have, at all times, bowed to this Holy See—even to sacrificing your lives, liberties, and properties. Truly, we never did suspect that any one could have doubted the genuineness of our letters, or resorted to such stratagem, to seduce you from the strict letter of our command. But here we recognise the fraud and ar-
tisice of the devil, to whom we attribute this device. Wherefore, we determined to write to you a second time, in order to repeat what we have already enjoined you to observe concerning this oath, and also to assure you that, after long and grave consideration, we have arrived at the conclusion, made known to you in our former letter, dated x. Kal. Octob. 1606. May He who has selected our humility to preside over the Christian flock, multiply Christian peace and charity among you, whom we bless with all our heart. Dat. Romæ, Kal. Octob. 1607, in the third year of our Pontificate.”

Sorely was James annoyed by these missiles from the holy see, and he sat down to write a book, the object of which was to exhibit to the world the injustice of the popes, who forbade the Catholics to pay due allegiance to their sovereigns. The subject matter of this work may be briefly described. In the first place, says the king, I will abundantly prove that this oath requires nothing of the subject, save obedience to the civil power, and that I have sought nothing else. Secondly, I can easily shew that this power, which the Roman pontiffs endeavour to exercise over princes, was usurped by them, and is repugnant to the teaching of the scripture and holy fathers. But whoever is curious enough to know all about this controversy, I refer him to Father Suarez in his third and fourth books; as for me, I only give an outline of the history of the times. Whilst James was intent on these lucubrations, four years passed by without any great noise; nor did the Catholics at any period
of his reign enjoy more quiet than at this. Now and again rumours and whisperings gave them to understand that it was not meant to last.—Finally, however, in the year 1610, the fire of persecution was lighted up in Ireland, and the herald of many woes was the atrocious edict published by Chichester, in Dublin, July 10th, 1610, a few extracts from which we here subjoin:—

"Whereas the peace of this kingdom has been imperiled by seminarists and priests, who go beyond seas for the purposes of education, and on their return inculcate doctrines calculated to imbue the minds of the people with superstition and idolatry, we strictly prohibit all, save merchants and sailors, from passing over to other countries, on pain of incurring the royal indignation and the other penalties decreed against those who transgress the laws of this realm.—Wherefore we command all noblemen, merchants, and others, whose children are abroad for educational purposes, to recal them within one year from date hereof; and, in case they refuse to return, all parents, friends, &c., sending them money, directly or indirectly, will be punished as severely as the law permits."

Having thus briefly informed you as to the nature and object of the various acts passed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, I will now reduce to five principal heads the immediate results of King James’s despotism. First, the nobility and gentry of Ireland were deprived of all military command, cast into prison, or forced to betake themselves to other lands. They had no
alternative—to profess their faith was deemed treasonable—to respect the dictates of conscience involved them in rebellion. Secondly, the Catholic nobility as well as the gentry, who were landed proprietors, were robbed of their estates—their annual revenues—and they saw Scotchmen and Englishmen put in possession of them. Here again let me inform you, that they might have preserved their properties if they abjured their religion.* Thirdly, the Catholics were deprived of arms, and absolutely prohibited to cultivate profane or sacred literature. Fourthly, they were commanded to frequent the communion of heretics, and to swear that King James was head of the church in his own realms.—Fifthly, the clergy were driven from their places in parliament—their receivers and friends denounced and exposed to penalties, for the great crime of doing acts of common humanity. Indeed it is needless to dwell at greater length on these matters, as the pith of this persecution may be collected from the statutes and other enactments already quoted; nor need I in this work recapitulate the expedients adopted by these plunderers—the finding of titles for the crown—the destruction of the old documents which were extant in the families of the Catholics—the planting, as they called it—and the multifarious frauds practised on the original proprietors in favour of those who had no claim to a single

* Lord Grenville's opinion of the oath of supremacy is, "that it was framed with a captious desire to exclude Catholics."
rood in our country. I could, if I had space, cite for you a letter written by the king at Hampton Court, A.D. 1613, in which he excludes Catholics from all places and posts, and even from the magistracy; but I have said enough to teach you the craft, the fraud, and the hypocritical pleas on which the Catholics were persecuted for their religion, and plundered of their inheritance. Atheism this king would have tolerated; in short, anything, save the Catholic religion. But let me now bring you to the history of more dolorous days, when Knox, Bishop of Raphoe, scourged the Irish Catholics.

CHAPTER V.

In the year of our Lord 1611, there arrived in Ireland a certain bishop, named Knox,* who had received crozier and mitre at the hands of King James. He was intrusted with a special commission, and ample powers to tear up popery by the roots; if he did not succeed, no one can question the malice of his intentions, or the sharpness of the instruments which he employed.

* This son of darkness out-Heroded Chichester, (afterwards Baron Belfast,) and pledged himself to the Lord Deputy to enact a code, such as had not even entered the hard hearts of his employers. What a valuable acquisition would not Knox have been in the Court of Domitian. He was translated from "Orkney" to the See, and died A.D. 1632, having done acts which would disgrace a grand Lama.
If any one should doubt either his designs or expedients, let him studiously peruse the means to which this man had recourse.

SYNOPSIS OF THIS BISHOP’S DECREES.

"I. Let all 'papists,' and 'popish priests' forthwith depart out of Ireland, or remain on peril of their lives.

II. Let none henceforth send their children or kindred beyond seas for educational purposes. Those who are abroad must return within one year, or suffer their property to be confiscated.

III. Let no 'papist' dare to exercise the function of schoolmaster in this kingdom.

IV. Whosoever shall harbour a priest in town or country, shall forfeit his possessions to the crown.

V. Let each and every one be present at our rites, ceremonies, &c. on Sundays and festivals.

VI. The churches which have sustained any injury during the late wars are to be repaired at the expense of the papists, for the benefit of the Protestants."

Such were the grand rules laid down by Knox for the benefit of the Irish Catholics. Every town, city, hamlet, and homestead in the island was visited by trained bands of perjurers, informers, and assassins, to carry out the designs of the bishop. And that they might not run counter to each other, they were furnished with a uniform rule, of which I here give you a few significant extracts:

"I. All bishops and clergymen are to administer
the oath of supremacy to their parishioners and subjects.

II. Let a list be kept of those who refuse to take this oath, as also of those who refuse to be present at our ceremonies, suffer their children to be baptized by papists, or their dead to be buried according to their rites. Moreover, let care be taken to collect the names of those who marry according to the ceremonial of the Romish church, and let the list be forwarded every third month to the Lord Deputy.

Lastly. Let schools be erected in the various dioceses, and let Protestant schoolmasters indoctrinate the people in the bible, translated into English; and thus let us erect the holy Protestant church in this country."

'Twere idle to make any comment on these enactments, they speak abundantly for themselves: nor am I quite certain that this Knox was not the man who preached* at the coronation of James, who was crowned at Stirling, being then only one month and thirteen days old. I am rather inclined to think, however, that he was the son or nephew of that man. Whoever he was, they could not have selected any minister of the Devil more fitted for the work of persecution in Ireland. Supported by the king and viceroy—applauded by fanatics, and protected by the strong arm of sword-law—what had he to

† O'Daly's doubts are not well founded. The Knox who preached, when the royal child was crowned James the Sixth of Scotland, was the well known reformer who was implicated in the murder of Riccio. Vide Tytler's Scotland, Vol. 7.
fear? Girt by assassins, perjurers, and informers, the Catholics who fell into his hands on the highway, by-way, or hostelry, had no hope of escape from death and torments; but God in good time put an end to this state of things.

CHAPTER VI.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT AGAINST THE CATHOLICS.

A PARLIAMENT was convened in Dublin, the first session of which was held on the 18th of May, 1613. I will not pause to inform you here of the many truculent acts which were passed against the Irish chieftains and princes; but it is my duty to narrate to you briefly some of the proceedings against the Catholic religion. One of the first of its enactments was the following:—

"All archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, priests, friars, jesuits, and seminarists, who have been inaugurated or ordained since the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth, are commanded to withdraw from this kingdom, and all other dominions of our sovereign lord, provided wind and weather permit them to retire beyond seas. Forty days after the promulgation of this decree, if any of the aforesaid (who derive their authority, or have received their inauguration from the See of Rome) be detected in any part of the kingdom, let such be adjudged guilty of high treason, and their property confiscated. And if any be found harbouring, or in any way contributing to the
support of the aforesaid archbishops, bishops, &c. &c. &c., let him be first fined in the amount of £40 for the first offence; for the second he is to incur all the penalties of the statute 'prœmu-nire;' and if offending the third time, he is to be adjudged guilty of high treason."

To these they added some secret instructions, which may be briefly enumerated:—"1. Let all priests be sent into exile. 2. Let places be prepared for such of the nobility as are committed to prison, in the castle and seaport towns. 3. Let gentlemen (Catholics) be deprived of sword, muskets, &c. 4. Let every precaution be taken to prevent marriages between the Scotch and Irish."

Now, when the knowledge of these matters reached the Catholic nobility and gentry, they presented a remonstrance to Lord Deputy Chichester, in which they boldly declared that, in spite of the past and future persecutions, they would still adhere to the ancient faith, whose brilliant ray pierced the gloom of error in which their forefathers were shrouded before the day-star of Catholicity had risen in this land. They therefore resolved to wait on the king in person; and the Catholics of every degree contributed a considerable sum of money* for that purpose, notwithstanding the threats and imprecations of the deputy. They adopted this course in the month of July, 1613.

* The first Catholic rent on record. The deputation comprised Roche, Lord of Fermoy; the Earl of Fingal; Richard Nugent, afterwards Earl of Westmeath; and Patrick Barnwell Knight.—Vide Hib. Dom. 624. 
CHAPTER VII.

THE INTERVIEW WITH KING JAMES, AND HIS FINAL PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE CATHOLICS.

"Verily, I know not," said the king to the deputation, "with what face you come into my presence, ye faithless men of Ireland. Vainly do you make protestations of loyalty, when you know in your hearts that you are traitors. What! doth not the whole world know you to be Papists, and most obstinate Papists? Are you not of those whom I hate with all my soul? You call yourselves my subjects! I deny it, and will prove the contrary to be the fact. Man consists of body and soul. Now, do you not give the soul to the Pope of Rome? And as for the body—the ignobler part—do you not divide it between me and the King of Spain? Ay, verily, you give to him the armed portion of it, and to me the unarmed and the useless."

Here Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, interrupted the king. "Far be it from me, most potent monarch, to deserve such character. I never have been, nor shall be, a traitor to your Majesty; and if I cannot be esteemed a loyal subject as long as I adhere to the religion of my fathers, permit me, I pray you, to depart with my family to some other land. My possessions are at your disposal. I prefer you to all earthly things; but surely, you will allow me to prefer God to you." "Rise, my lord," said the king;
"I blame you not so much as I do others, though God wot the prelates have been telling me much to your prejudice." And then he prosecuted his invective thus:—"But that I may pass over your treasons—are you not an intolerable race, who foolishly believe that the Pope is the vicar of Christ? I take God to witness, that if, after diligent study and conversations with learned men, I came to the conclusion that this Pope and his predecessors had been delegated by our Lord, I would stab any king (were I a subject) who would impugn their authority. But this I have not discovered—nor will you renounce your errors. You will not frequent our churches—you will not hear our sermons—but you will pin your faith to the Council of Trent! You never cease to conspire against my crown and my life. At home and abroad you are ever hatching sedition. At Rome you have Peter Lombard,* whom you call a doctor; and in Ireland, Christopher Hollywood,† who inculcate the necessity of sending your children to foreign seminaries, teaching them rebellion, and confirming their hatred of me. Now, once for all, I would have you know that you are strictly bound to observe all the laws passed in the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1559), and all such as shall be passed against the Popish religion. My good

* Archbishop of Armagh, formerly a professor in Louvain, highly esteemed by Clement VIII. He died at Rome about 1625.
† A Jesuit, who wrote two books on polemics. He died in Ireland, A.D. 1626.
Lord-Deputy, who is here present, will see them put in active operation."

Then did Christopher Nugent, knight, appeal to his Majesty, saying that the Irish would not submit to such enactments, and that if he would graciously cancel them all, all Ireland would be tranquil.

Hereon Lord Chief Justice Coke interposed. "I would pray your Majesty to dismiss these traitors and their remonstrance. If you entertain one or the other you are likely to lose your kingdom. May God destroy this Irish people, who cause your crown to tremble on your head."

The Lord Chancellor, following the same opinion, urged the king to commit Nugent to the Tower; and in this he was joined by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who delivered a long tirade of abuse against foreign seminaries, priests, seminarists, jesuits, nuns, and friars. He then declaimed against the treasons of the Irish Catholics, and the hatred they bore his Majesty; the source and origin of which, he said, might be found in their superstitions and abominable religion. To all these invectives the deputation replied that they came commissioned by the whole nation to state that, in spite of the worst description of persecution, they would never abandon their ancient faith, or yield a single tittle of it by way of compromise. Nay, more—that they were prepared to sacrifice their lives sooner than renounce it. "These," said they, "are our instructions—which we have conscientiously followed." But, notwithstanding argument and
remonstrance, James soon after thus thundered against the Catholics:—

"Whereas, we have recently discovered that, in our kingdom of Ireland, many of our subjects are in the habit of receiving priests, Jesuits, seminarists, and others, entitled archbishops and bishops, who derive their authority from the Pope of Rome; and whereas such persons encourage the Irish people to send their children beyond seas to the foreign seminaries, thus confirming them in their obstinacy; we now declare and pronounce that we will never give any countenance or toleration to any religion save that which is conformable to the word of God, and now sanctioned by the state in Ireland. We moreover strictly order that all archbishops, bishops, Jesuits, and seminarists, who have derived authority from the See of Rome, withdraw themselves from the kingdom of Ireland before the last day of September instant; and that such as have received orders in foreign lands, whether they be archbishops, bishops, Jesuits, friars, or seminary priests, presume not to return to that our kingdom, or dare to appear in it; but if any such be found transgressing our commandments, we empower all our constables, and other officers of justice in that part of our kingdom, to seize and secure such offenders in close confinement till our viceroy for the time being consult the council as to the punishment to be inflicted. But be it understood that our royal clemency is extended to all those who present themselves before our viceroy, or any of the other officers of jus-
tice, within nine days after the aforesaid last day of September, and conform themselves to our church, and acknowledge themselves subject to its rites and discipline. All such shall enjoy our royal bounty, as do the rest of our faithful subjects. Given at Westminster, the last day of May, and twelfth year of our reign.*

Now, good reader, let there be a truce to words, and listen to the whistling of the lash.—This edict came upon the Irish people, the nobility, clergy, and middle orders, as though a thunderbolt had been hurled from heaven; dreadful was the crash—and the most faithful servants of the crown seemed horror-stricken. A few simple facts will best describe the state of popular feeling at this moment. There was then in Ireland Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, who changed his religion in the court of Elizabeth. Brooding over the scandal he had given by his apostacy, he resolved to be reconciled to the church in his last days. He therefore made his peace with God—edified all by his piety—and soon after losing the ineffable blessing of sight, was gathered to his fathers. Now, ere he died, he was heard to lament two actions of his life: first, that he had ever renounced that holy religion in his youth, which in his old age he was not able to succour; and secondly, that he had taken up arms against the Geraldines of Desmond, who ever were the strenuous champions of the faith,

* Printed by Robert Baker, the king's printer. Lond. 1614.
and the bulwarks of their country's liberty. Oh, good God! why did Ormond conspire to ruin them?

Nor less singular is the history of Gerald Geraldine, Earl of Kildare, who was then commonly reputed a Protestant. Pained by the stings of conscience, and mourning over his country's afflictions, he resolved to wait in person on the viceroy,* and protest against the extortions, murders, and rapines which were perpetrated in the name of justice. Fatal to thee, generous youth, was that manly invective. Thy importunity and solicitude for the lives and liberties of thy countrymen brought ruin and death upon thee! The crafty viceroy commended his zeal—bade him to his table as a guest—but, ere he pledged him in the second cup, Fitzgerald discovered that the wine was poisoned. Forth sped he then to his castle of Maynooth†—called

* Oliver St. John, who received his commission on the 30th August, 1616. Before leaving London the king preached a long sermon to him in the Star Chamber, on the necessity of exterminating papists. The text was, "Deus judicium tuum regi da et justitiam tuam filio regis." Heaven knows, the royal preacher lacked both judgment and justice more than his meanest subject.

† Within the walls of this once splendid stronghold of the Fitzgeralds, Hugh O'Neill, on his way to Dublin, got intimation of the plot in which the Lord of Howth and artful Cecil were the principal actors. The fact led to the flight of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. In the Archives of St. Isidore's, at Rome, there is a manuscript in Irish, descriptive of O'Neill's journey to the asylum of princes; and I know not how it happens that no one has taken the trouble of translating it; perhaps some of the fa-
to his bed-side a priest—confessed his sins—received the body of the Lord—and the morning sun shone upon his corse!

Here let us draw the veil over the persecutions of King James the First.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING THE PRESENT PERSECUTION.

Now when James the First departed this life, he was succeeded by his son, Charles the First. Hope dawned upon the Catholics, for they had been taught to admire the noble bearing, and marked clemency of the new king. They were more inclined to cherish these hopes when they reflected that Charles had at one time contemplated a marriage alliance with the daughter of the King of Spain; nor did their hopes fall when he selected* instead of the infanta, Henrietta Maria, Princess of France. From this circumstance the Catholics concluded that they would be allowed to profess their religion openly, or at least that they would have been tolerated. Indeed, as far as the queen could, she assisted them. Her own chapel was ever open to them, and although she could not abolish the penal statutes, she was always importuning her lord against theirs of St. Dominick's order, who "raised the green" when Pius IX. was going to take possession of St. John of Lateran, might be induced to undertake such a labour of love. 

*The marriage took place in England, June 1625.
those scandalous enactments. But, in spite of all her efforts, and the naturally benevolent disposition of the king, the Presbyterian party, then dominant in the parliament, caused a new oath to be framed, and by act of the same parliament, ordained that it should be taken by all his Majesty's subjects. A few extracts will be sufficient to acquaint you with the nature of the oath and the statute:—"Forasmuch," says the latter, "as divers ill affected persons to the true religion established, have sent their children into foreign parts, to be bred up in popery, notwithstanding the statute made in the first year of the reign of our late sovereign, King James, be it enacted, that the said statute shall be put in due execution: and be it enacted, that any person who shall convey or send any child or person to be trained up in any nunnery, popish university, college, or school, or in any private popish family, to be strengthened in the popish religion, or in any sort to profess the same, every person so conveying, or causing to be conveyed such child or person, being thereof convicted, shall be disabled to sue or use any action in any court of equity, and shall forfeit all his lands, chattels, rents and tenements, for and during his natural life, provided that no person so sent or conveyed, who will six months after his return conform himself to the established religion, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, shall incur any of the penalties aforesaid."

And it was also enacted that any person refusing to take the following oath, should lose
two-thirds of all his property, moveable or immoveable, real or personal; and that the persons empowered to administer the oath should be justices of the peace, and the other constituted authorities in every town and village in Ireland. But let us copy the oath.

"I, A.B. do reject, and abjure the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, and assert that he has no jurisdiction over the Catholic church in general, or myself in particular. I abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation, purgatory and the worship of the crucifix, or other images. I abjure moreover the doctrine which teaches that salvation is to be procured by good works. This I swear without any gloss, equivocation, or mental reservation. So help me God.

This statute and the oath I have copied out of a book, published in England, A.D. 1653. The author of this work was one William Berkley; and without examining the statute or oath, replete as both are with folly and bigotry, I will only observe that Berkley did not dare to inveigh against the ordinances, as he might, had he been less influenced by the spirit of the times. To do him justice, he clearly proves that this oath is totally at variance with the liberties of the English nation as well as laws; nothing in fact could be more true, for in the year 1640, on the motion of both houses of parliament, nine commissioners from the upper house presented a memorial to the king, in which they set forth that the liberty of the subject was likely to be destroyed by the frequency of oaths and abjurations. The result was that another act was speedily
passed, of which you may collect an idea from the following extract:

"It is hereby ordered that no one shall henceforth, on any pretext whatsoever, administer any oath or test, whereby the person who takes such oath or test may be obliged to confess any thing prejudicing himself, or thereby subjecting him to incur danger, penalty, and so forth."

Notwithstanding all this, three years had scarcely elapsed before another perjurious form was fabricated, as you may read in the history of the parliament of 1643. Need I inform you that this new oath was opposed to the immemorial rights of the subject, as they are laid down in that "mare magnum" of English freedom, called "Magna Charta." "Let no one," says that great charter, at the drawing up of which Catholic prelates assisted, "be seized, imprisoned, outlawed, or driven from his liberty, save by the legal judgment of his peers, and the laws of the land." And Chief Justice Coke, 2nd part Institut. f. 45, interprets this as having reference to capital offences; and yet, by this oath, all who would not do violence to their conscience are to be stripped of two-thirds of their property. The same "Magna Charta" ordains that no justice shall exact an oath concerning any simple avowal, unless the person to be sworn is brought to trial, charged, by faithful witnesses, with having enunciated it. Nevertheless, this oath (of abjuration, &c.) contemplates the interior act, and the thoughts of the heart!

Conformable to this is the statute passed in the reign of Edward III., which ordains that no
one is to be ordered to answer unless first arraigned before a judge, and the charges against him duly registered. Hence it is, that according to that statute, no one is bound to criminate himself. Yet would this oath and statute make a man betray his own conscience. The ordinance of Henry VIII. sets forth that no one is to be convicted or brought to trial, so as to peril honor, life, or fortune, till arraigned on charges sworn by trustworthy witnesses. And on this foundation rests the statute enacted in the ninth year of Elizabeth's reign, which expressly certifies "that no one in such cases (in matters regarding ecclesiastical supremacy), is to be declared guilty, till the accused is confronted with two or more witnesses—particularly if the accused demand their appearance." To this let me add the authority of Chief Justice Coke, who expressly states, "that no person, whether cleric or layman, is to be examined in the ecclesiastical or lay courts, on the actions of his mind and heart." But as to the oath we have been speaking of, it is levelled at the very inmost workings of the soul, nor would I venture to account for the repetition of these oaths, and never-ceasing innovations of the times in which they were framed, save by bringing to your remembrance the ever-varying characteristics of the modern religion. Of these tyrants we may say what a prophet of the olden time remarked of their prototypes:—

"The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies." Ad Tit. i. 12. But, before I resume my narrative of the persecution endured by my countrymen, I deem it expedient to detain you a
while, that you may consider the past and present condition of Ireland. My words shall be simple, nor shall I avail myself of flimsy ornament. The moral which I would have you collect from the past and present is, that persecutors in every age of the Church have been led by the same spirit of iniquity, and that God is ever faithful to the decrees of his providence. No matter how he dissembles the sins of parents, he visits them sooner or later on their children. Oh! look upon us today, ye nations. Are we not a spectacle to men and angels? Learn of us, what a terrible calamity it is to fall into the hands of the living God, and let him who stands, take heed lest he fall. Yet if we glory, 'twill be in our infirmities; for in the days of old we were Trojans, and as glorious as the race of Teucer.*

Would you have evidence of our former greatness? Then hearken to me while I tell you of the days gone by. We were once a glorious people—ruled by our own kings and princes—proud of the valour of our chieftains; gold, and gems, and purple were ours, and victory followed our arms both by sea and land; neighbouring nations owned us for their rulers—the English of the west quailed before our swords—the Scotch did us homage; from the sweet Orkneys to the Hebrides, and thence to the remote Thule, honored and glorified was the Irish name; the sea-kings of the north found us ever implacable foes, and the Norwegian race grew pale be-

* "Fuimus Trojes, sicut illium, et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum"
fore our standards; armoric Gaul reverenced us, ay, dreaded us more than foemen.

Our strongholds* were numerous in the cities and the towns; the deep lagoon, the lofty tower and subterraneous vault sentinelled our island; a hardy race, inured to the rigours of winter, to whose ears the loud roaring of the north-wind was familiar as a mother's voice, furnished us with gallant warriors; yea, from the mother's breast did they imbibe indomitable bravery, even as the lion's cubs who are fed on blood.

We were opulent in the produce of our own land, and teeming with the productions of other climes. This sweet isle of ours yielded us in abundance the purest gold and silver, lead, tin, iron, saffron and purple—fruits delicious to the taste—linen and woollen cloths—milk, wax, honey, the antlered deer, warbling birds, countless fishes, and shells replete with gems. Barbary sent us gold and ivory;† Italy the richest produce of her looms. What if our climate did not ripen the vine? a gallant race grew strong on beer which did not intoxicate.‡

* In a small book like this I cannot adduce the many proofs so easily found to corroborate O'Daly's assertion. Had I room I need only recur to the works of the learned Petrie, who has done so much for the antiquities of the country to which he is an honour and an ornament.

† See Uberti's lines, quoted in MacNevin's Confiscation of Ulster.

‡ Father O'Daly vindicates the temperance of his countrymen—what will the future historian say of Father Mathew? Verily the greatest benefactor this country has seen.
We were distinguished above all other nations for the cultivation of literature. We were the fountain source whence the tide of arts and science sprung, and inundated Europe. The great university of Paris, and that of Pavia, were created by Irishmen. Charlemagne employed Clement, Albinus, and Alcuin, to relume the quenched lamp of science in his dominions, and these were men of the Irish nation. Oxford, Lindisfarne, and Malmsbury, in England, originated with the same people. Germany, too, stands indebted to our saints and sages for similar institutions. At home we had universities illustrious in great names—Cashel, where Petrus Hibernicus studied, who

* In a general chapter of the Dominicans, held at London A.D. 1314, it was decreed that the Irish Dominicans should have the privilege of sending two students to Oxford, two to Cambridge, and two to the Dominican schools of London. For Malmsbury, founded by Meildulf, an Irishman, and Lindisfarne, which another Irishman was mainly instrumental in erecting, see MacCabe’s Catholic History of England—a work replete with the profoundest learning and research, reflecting the highest honour on the distinguished scholar who has produced it.

† Petrus Hibernicus flourished A.D. 1240. He taught at Naples, and amongst his scholars was St. Thomas Aquinas. He wrote a work entitled “Quodlibeta Theologica.” It is commonly thought that he died at Naples, whither he had been invited by Frederick II., as appears from the letter of Peter de Vineis, quoted by the celebrated Luke Wadding. Another illustrious Irishman, named Thomas Hibernicus, or Thomas of Palmers-town, distinguished himself in France and Italy A.D. 1269. He died in a monastery on the confines of the kingdom of Naples. The following works are attributed to him:—“Flores Doctorum,” “De Christiana Religione,” “De Tentatione Diaboli,” “De Illusionibus De
afterwards was tutor to the angelic doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas. Need I speak of the great school of Emly, of Armagh, or Down, from which went forth the "subtle Doctor" Scotus de Duns? To these spring heads of knowledge, the youth of Europe, thirsting for literary fame, were long known to resort; and the poet Sulgenus has recorded the fact:

"Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi; Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabili claros."

Would you know what bands of philosophers, schoolmen, and teachers of surpassing merit our country has scattered over all the nations of Europe, read, I pray you, the dedicatory epistle to Carolus Magnus, prefixed to the life of St. Germanus, written by Ericus Antisiodorensis. Speaking of the emperor's zeal for literature, hear ye what he says of the Irish: "What shall I say of them who, little heeding the dangers of the deep and stormy seas, have migrated to our shores with their bands of sages? Strange fact!—the greater the learning of each of them, the more ardent their desire to expatriate themselves, and sit down in the halls of the modern Solomon."

We were remarkable for the pomp and splendour which characterised our ceremonial; and in this respect were not surpassed by any other Catholic nation under the cope of heaven. Truly has Theodoricus, in his life of St. Romoldus, affirmed that this island of ours, excelling all


* Baronius ad finem, anni 876.
others in the fecundity of its soil, excelled them likewise in the glorious simplicity of its saints. They, according to St. Bernard, in his life of Malachy, spread themselves over the earth like unto an inundation. Ay, truly, such men as Columbanus, who exceeded in number the holy contemplatives of Thebes and Egypt. Oh! how the Lord God visited our land—plentifully watered it, and many ways enriched it!

Well might we boast of our ancient nobility, upon whom time and nature itself had set their impress. Even to this very day (a circumstance which attaches to no other nation) we can point you out the illustrious descendants of families, which, for more than two thousand years gave kings, princes, and chieftains to our country. Some of these are still possessed of portions of their hereditary domains; and although they have declined from their pristine glory, they have only degenerated to marquises and earls. This I deem more worthy of remark, because, ever since the English invasion, both males and females were allowed to inherit. In one word, "Our empire was bounded by ocean—our fame by the stars."*

Now that you have heard me describe who and what we have been, hear me while I tell you to what we have come. In these latter days of revolution and anarchy, whilst the king and parliament were at issue, our people and our nobles girded on the sword to defend their religion. Our leal hearts connected his defence with that of our church; but, alas! our blood was spilled in vain,

* "Imperium oceano famam finivimus abris."
for he arrayed his battalions against us and our altars. But schism first sprung from the heart of an English king; and is it not likely that schism and infidelity brought ruin on the monarchy? Sextus Tarquinius ravished Lucretia, a splendid model of chastity; but the impious act tore the crown from his brow, and for ever banned the race of Roman kings. May not England, without knowing what she did, have thus avenged the outraged honor of the pure spouse of Christ, corrupted by kingly lust, in that dread hour when the headsman struck the monarch's neck? Heresy is like unto a false woman—kings embraced her—were clasped by her in return—and finally perished. From these causes evils without number have come upon us. The people coiled round the monarchy—crushed it in their fury—and democracy stalked triumphantly over the ruins of the throne. That raging mass, besprinkled with the monarch's blood, burst upon the land of my love. The butcher, the buffoon, and the hired cut-throat, each led his band; and the very dregs of English cities and towns were invested with centurion authority. Then came hideous woes, as though God would lash us with a triple scourge—discord, famine, and pestilence. Well was it for those who died by the plague, for they passed away without dishonour; and happier were they who perished by the edge of the sword, for they thus escaped the lingering pangs of hunger. Cities and towns were seized by those ruthless slayers—the nobility was ruined—the temples of God razed—altars polluted—every thing sacred profaned—whole families erased—
smiling plains reduced to desert barrenness—and the lowing herds slaughtered to feed an unbridled soldiery. Blessed, then, were they who possessed nothing. But how shall I describe the horrors which those fiends heaped on the heads of the Catholic clergy? In their private homes—in the caverns of the earth—in the recesses of the mountains and woods—naked and unarmed—were they not maimed, stabbed, struck with stones in their very transit to the gibbet? Oh! how many of them breathed out their souls exhorting their countrymen to deeds of valour, and undying attachment to the religion of Christ!

It is not my intention to write the history of each of these martyrs for their religion and country, nor have I as yet the necessary documents at hand; nevertheless, I would fain depict the fortitude of those belonging to mine own order, whose heroic devotion entitles them to an honourable place in the esteem of all good men. And truly, in this instance, the voice of the people is the voice of God. Let me then narrate for you the trials of some of them in their proper order, and the first who descends into the amphitheatre of the faith shall be the Rev. Father O'Higgins, prior of the convent of Naas.*

* In Naas (i.e. Hibernice, the cataract,) was a convent founded by the Fitz-Eustaces A.D. 1356, and the martyrdom so circumstantially narrated by O'Daly took place 1641. Sir Charles Coote was the prime actor, and only did as he was desired by the Morisco persecutors of his time, Parsons and Borlase. Carte makes mention of the circumstance; but Ormond's sycophant is bad authority in any matter regarding the Catholic
pious and eloquent man was arrested and brought before the Lords Justices of Ireland, charged with dogmatizing—or, in other words, endeavouring to seduce the Protestants from their religion. Now when they failed to sustain any capital charge against him, the men in power sent to inform him, that if he abandoned his faith he might expect many and great privileges, but all depended on his embracing the English faith. That they were resolved to sacrifice him he right well knew; so that on the very morning of the day on which his execution was to take place, the messenger came to his prison with the terms proposed by the justices. O'Higgins in reply said, "Alas! I am not so weary of life as to wish speedy dissolution; but if your masters are so anxious to preserve me, return and ask them to forward, in their own handwriting, an instrument leaving life and death to my own option; so that if I shall have renounced the Roman Catholic religion in presence of the gibbet, the terrible circumstances in which I have been placed may extenuate the guilt attaching to what is deemed apostacy."

The lords justices, when they heard this, gave orders for the execution, and at the same time sent him the necessary document on the aforesaid condition. Now, when the intrepid martyr had ascended the first step of the ladder leading to the gibbet, the executioner placed the autograph in his hand. He bowed courteously on Church. The execution took place in the court-yard of the Castle of Dublin, which in the Repeal Dictionary has been called a focus of corruption, &c.
receiving it; and loud was the exultation of the heretic mob, who thought they were about to catch a "convert." Now, when he stood exposed to the view of God and man, he exhibited to all about him the instrument which he held, and commenting with warmth on it, convicted his impious judges of their own avowed iniquity. Knowing well that there were Catholics in the crowd, he addressed them in such words as these:

"My brethren, God hath so willed it that I should fall into the hands of our relentless persecutors. They have not been able, however, to convict me of any crime against the laws of the realm; but my religion is an abomination in their sight, and I am here to-day to protest in the sight of God and man, that I am condemned for my faith. For some time I have been in doubt as to the charge on which they would ground my condemnation; but, thanks to Heaven! it is no longer so, and I am about to suffer for my attachment to the Catholic faith. It is the cause which makes the martyr—not the sentence."—
Now, see you here the condition on which I might save my life. Apostacy is all they require; but, before high Heaven I spurn their offers, and, with my last breath, will glorify God for the honour he has done me, allowing me thus to suffer for his name." Then turning to the executioner, after having cast the lords justices'

"Cord, or axe, or guillotin,
Make the sentence—not the sin."

DR. DRENNAN.
autograph to the crowd, he told him to perform his office, and the by-standers heard him returning thanks to God, even with his latest breath. Thus did iniquity lie unto itself!—thus did the martyr’s constancy triumph!

The second was the Rev. Richard Barry, prior of the Dominican convent of Cashel, the metropolitan city of Munster. When Murrogh O’Brien, Earl of Inchiquin, (a man whose name must be execrable to the latest posterity—cursed by the widow and the orphan,) sat down before its walls, a band of Catholics took refuge on the rock, resolved to sell their lives with bitter cost to the assailants. Now, though it may appear to be a digression, let me inform you that the rock on which the cathedral stands, towers high above the surrounding country, and looks over against the Dominican convent. The ascent to this elevated place was then very difficult, and on its summit was a small green plot, hard by the ruin of what was once the treasury while yet the Milesian kings ruled in the land. On the eminence stood a gorgeous shrine, erected by Cormack O’Cuilellan, and next to it the cathedral church sacred to St. Patrick. To this church did Father Barry betake himself; and when the assault was made by Inchiquin bravely did those who held possession of the temple repel it. About eighty men fell on both sides; and when the priests had been cut to pieces, Richard Barry alone survived. Him did God reserve for greater trials. The captain who commanded the assault had scarcely entered the precincts, when, seeing the vener-
able friar in his habit, and holding a glittering sword, struck by his noble and sanctified appearance, he thus addressed him:

"Accept, brave and venerable man, the profession of my esteem; nor do I see in you aught that is not worthy my commendation. Your life is your own, provided you fling off that habit (for the father was clothed in the habit of his order), and if you still cling to such a banner (meaning thereby the habit), verily you peril life itself." "You are to know," replied Richard Barry, "that this habit represents the passion of Christ our Lord—this is the emblem of my warfare; would you save me, "tis only on condition you respect it that I can be induced to accede to your terms." "Think more wisely," rejoined the captain; "indulge not this blind passion for martyrdom, for, if you comply not with our orders, death awaits you." "Be it so," said the father, "your cruelties will be to me a blessing, and death itself great gain." Infuriated by this answer, they bound the venerable man to a stone chair,* kindled a slow fire under his feet and

* There is nothing at all improbable in the circumstance narrated here. Worse, and more disgusting, may be read in "Carte's Ormond," vol. 1, touching the history of the extinct family of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow. The tortures to which Parsons subjected reluctant witnesses, to extort "evidence" in a matter of plunder, are detailed at full length in Carte. And to what would not fanaticism drive the followers of Inchiquin? The plan and system of torturing practised by Coote, Parsons, Inchiquin, and Cromwell's missionaries, must have been taken from the Moors in Spain. Aben Humeya did not inflict greater cruelties on the Spanish, than did
legs, and, after two hours of torture, his eyes flashed their last upon that heaven which he was about to enter. Then did his persecutors transfixed the lifeless body with their spears, while yet the bubbling blood trickled from the parched arteries. Three days after the sack of the town, the soldiers of Inchiquin retired, loaded with booty; on the fourth day, a pious woman found the friar's body mid heaps of slain. She reported the fact to the vicar-general, who, accompanied by Henry O'Cuillenan, notary apostolic (who is still living), caused the mutilated remains to be borne in funeral procession to the Convent of the Dominicans, where, after chanting the "Te Deum," they inhumed them as those of a man who died for his God. His death took place Sept. 16, 1647.

The third in order, although almost the last, if you regard the time of his death, is Terence, alias Albert O'Brien. None of our many martyrs acquired more fame in their lifetime, or reaped more glorious rewards, when this fleeting scene passed away, than did the illustrious subject of this brief biography. He was of the order of St. Dominicus, and Provincial of Ireland. He had attended the General Chapter at Rome, and, returning through Portugal, sojourned for a while at Lisbon, to visit the convents of his order, that is to say, of the Dominican nuns and friars. 'Twas here he received intelligence of his ele-

vation to the See* of Emly, in the year of our Lord 1644. He then set off at once for Ireland, in order to convene the Chapter for the election of a successor in the Provincialate. There is an old saying,† which tells us that no one ought to be called blessed before the mortal eye is closed and the funeral torch extinguished; but the Holy Spirit has expressly commanded us to honour the memory of those who have been distinguished in their generation; and, in obedience to that high behest, I will not fail to narrate some of the merits of this illustrious prelate, now that he has passed from earth. He was of a noble race, sprung from the old Milesian family which for more than two thousand years had ruled as princes in the land. Glorious as this pedigree is, more glorious and brilliant was the record of his virtues. Scarcely had the mitre been placed upon his head, when his pastoral zeal became the praise-word of every one, save the heretics, whose bitter wrath he soon incurred.

But let us speak of his acts. When Limerick was besieged, the general‡ who commanded the

* He did good service to the Catholic League long before he proceeded to Rome. It is to be hoped that, for the future, when students would learn the real character of Ormond, the great cause of the failure of the Catholics in the days of the Confederacy, they will attentively peruse the "Bleeding Iphigenia" and "Unkind Deserter."

† "Dicique beatum ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet." O'Brien succeeded James O'Hurly, who, according to de Burgo, was reared in the Dominican convent at Kilmallock.

‡ Ireton, who besieged the city in 1651. V. Ferrar's Limerick.
English sent him word that he would give him forty thousand pounds sterling, and permission to retire wheresoever he would out of the kingdom, provided he ceased to exhort the people against surrender; but the heroic soul of O'Brien spurned the offer, as he had resolved to fight the good fight, and win that crown which is the guerdon of the just. When the English commander heard this, he determined to except the bishop from amnesty, and every other condition which he meditated proposing to the besieged. He swore, moreover, that he would visit the citizens with most rueful retaliation if they did not bring to his quarters the head of the bishop, together with those of twenty men who voted against giving the city into his hands. The citizens thereon began to debate whether they ought to hand over O'Brien to Ireton, and thus save the rest. Two hundred ecclesiastics assembled in council, and after mature reflection they resolved to interpose between Ireton and the twenty whom he had doomed to die; but in vain, for all ecclesiastics were excepted. I pass over many matters which reflect no honour on the parties employed in this transaction.* Those who were witnesses to them are here in Lisbon, as well as elsewhere. The bishop consented, nay, offered to give himself up, provided the lives of the rest were spared, and all the ecclesiastics re-

* I have sought in vain for an explanation of the dark hints thrown out by O'Daly in this passage. It is likely, however, that there was treason at work before the surrender to Ireton. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, escaped, and died in Belgium.
jected his proposal. He well knew that death was at hand, though they imagined he would be spared. At length the city was surrendered, and the major part of the citizens began to look to themselves. O'Brien, however, was taken, and condemned to be hanged without the formality of trial. But there are two matters of moment to be observed concerning the bishop's death.

First, when brought before Ireton and charged with exciting the people to resistance against the English and their religion, he replied, as it were, prophetically, and told the tyrant to his face that he would soon have to answer before the tribunal of God; and it eventually came to pass, for God so disposed it, that, eight days after the bishop's death, Ireton was stricken with the plague and died, exclaiming that the prelate's blood hastened his death.

The second is, that the bishop's head may yet be seen, covered with flesh and hair, on the tower which is on the middle of the great bridge, and, sooth to say, drops of blood issuing from it.*

I know full well that there are those† who

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* This, of course, refers to the time when O'Daly was writing his book.

† De Marinis, a Dominican, and contemporary of Terence O'Brien, wrote a small tract in Latin, the title of which is, the "Brethren and Sisterhood of St. Dominick, who died a precious death in the province of Ireland." According to him, Dr. O'Brien thus addressed the people prior to his execution: "Hold firmly by your faith—murmur not against God's providence—and pray that I may bear myself as I ought in this last trial." Ireton, he says, bitterly bewailed having had anything to do with the bishop's death, exclaiming fu-
will deem it a duty to write the tragic history of
the others who suffered, and thus exonerate me
from giving a minute account of some portentous
signs which were manifested about this time, in
which the good God appears to have shadowed
forth the evils of the present as well as future.
These events were three, and are as follow:—

The first* is, a most extraordinary pheno-
non, witnessed on the 17th of July, 1651, a little
before midnight of the day sacred to St. Alexius.
Six weeks had our soldiers been employed fortif-
ying the walls and repairing the circumvalla-
tions. All was just completed, when lo! from
the eastern side of the mountain, which is north
of Limerick, there arose a lucid globe, brighter
than the moon, and little inferior to the sun,

rious, "I wish I had never seen this papistic bishop!"
"Soon after," continues De Marinis, "Ireton spat his
unhappy soul into orcus." De Marinis mentions that
he was writing the Life of Terence Albert O'Brien. It
was not published during the life-time of the greatest of
all our ecclesiologists, De Burgo, author of the Hib.
Dominicana.

* Any one who takes the trouble of reading Rinuc-
cini's correspondence, will perceive how much given the
Irish were, in his time, to vaticination; nay, his remarks
on this subject are connected with no less a personage
than Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, who was
slain at Sligo. Nor is it to be wondered at, that, in
such disastrous moments, a people who suffered every
thing for religion would conjure up visions, and take
omens from a flash of lightning or some unusual me-
teoric appearance. Such has been the case with every
people under heaven, particularly in time of war. The
puritanism of Parsons and Borlase was not proof against
the cawing of crows on the top of Dublin Castle in the
year 1642.—V. Thorpe Papers, R. D. S.
which, for two leagues and a-half, shed a vertical light upon the city and then died into darkness over the camp of the enemy.

The second is the apparition of the blessed mother of God, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, on the summit of the great church dedicated to her. She was seen by some simple people who were at work in the fields, accompanied by St. Francis and St. Dominick, and five other heavenly beings, who seemed to follow her to the convent of the Dominicans, and thence to the Franciscan church without the walls. From those who were spectators, Father James Dooley received information of the circumstances as I have narrated them, and he himself is yet living.

The third* was the birth of a monster, a few days before the surrender of Limerick. This strange object—the mother of which was far from being correct—may be thus described. Out of one trunk grew two bodies, having all their members complete; but what astonished everyone was, that whenever the two faces indicated friendship or hostility, the shoulders of the twain might be observed to retreat—so that they never

*I hope I will not be charged with unfaithfulness in suppressing some lines of the original. Any sensitive mind could not bear the anatomical particulars recorded of the Limerick twins, which did not create more morbid curiosity in the days of O’Daly than the Siamese in ours. As to the inference drawn from the monstrosity, ’tis just of a piece with the conclusion at which the Kildaeres arrived, when they found themselves sailing to England in the good ship “Cow.”
could join in cordial embrace. Now portents have at all times exercised human ingenuity; but we prefer to comment on the by the light of experience. The lucid body which we have spoken of as irradiating the city, and then fading into darkness, typified the extinction of Catholic light. The transit of our lady from St. Mary's church, accompanied by the patrons, Saints Dominick and Francis, clearly portended the utter dereliction of the Catholics in the last war. That monstrous birth was the symbol of the union contracted between the Protestant and Anabaptist churches, whose mutual aversion, notwithstanding the identity of their origin, clearly indicated that both should struggle for ascendancy, and that the question of superiority should never be amicably arranged. We now dismiss the subject, and return to our friars of St. Dominick's order.

The fourth was the Rev. Father James Woolf,* a native of the city of Limerick. He was far-famed for his prudence and sanctity of life. He was absent when the city was taken, but returned when the news of the event reached him. On learning that all the ecclesiastics had been either expelled or butchered, he contrived to get into the city for the purpose of administering the Sacraments to the sick and dying. He had not been eight days thus employed when he was taken and

* Woolf, according to the Capitulum Generalissimum of Rome, A.D. 1656, addressed the people from the ladder of the scaffold in these words:—"We are made a spectacle to God, man, and angels; but angels rejoice whilst men scorn us."—Hib. Dom. p. 568.
consigned to the gibbet. The place of execution he converted into the preacher’s chair, and pronounced from a strong appeal to his countrymen, exhorting them to remain steadfast in their faith. Thus died this strenuous soldier of Christ, A.D. 1651.

The fifth was the Rev. Father Milerus Magrath, alias Michael de Rosario, who had studied in the convent of St. Dominick’s Order, called “Bensiqua,”* in Portugal. For some years this zealous missionary filled the offices of procurator and vicar on his return to his own country; and when called to visit a sick man in the city of Clonmel, was arrested by the heretic soldiers

* The Irish convent De Bensiqua, according to De Burgo (Hib. Dom. 105), was about two leagues from Lisbon. The history of its foundation is thus given from the same authority:—A certain nobleman, named Garcia Horunca, bequeathed a farm to Father John de Portugallo, on condition that a convent of regulars should be erected on it. The brother of the donor, who was named executor, piously bestowed it on the friars of St. Dominick’s Order of the Irish province. Having received some other grants, the Irish immediately set to work, and constructed the convent for the education of their fellow-labourers, A.D. 1615. At Belem, in the suburbs of Lisbon, there was a convent for Irish nuns, founded in the year 1639, by Donna Irena de Brito, Countess of Atalaya. O’Daly was chiefly instrumental in the erection of this pious foundation, which sheltered forty Irish ladies, without distinction of rich or poor. He did not, however, rest content with this, but persevered till he saw another convent, called “Del Buon Successo,” opening its doors to receive the faithful exiles whose religion was banned in their own country. God knows with what reason the Irish people will ever regard the kindness they received from every country save that of their oppressors.
whilst in the act of administering the holy viaticum. He was immediately afterwards hurried to the scaffold, and, having addressed the spectators in a stirring appeal, exhorting them to continue true to their faith, merited a martyr's crown.

The sixth was the Rev. Laurence O’Ferrall,* a descendant of the illustrious house of that name. He studied in the aforesaid college, near Lisbon, and for some time was guardian of it. He was arrested, and, on examining his person, his captors discovered some letters from the Nuncio Apostolic sewed up in his inner garments. None could have been more active than this zealous man in promoting the Catholic cause during his career. His death was painful. As fiendish ingenuity could make it. Beaten with sticks, burned with gunpowder, and finally pierced by the sword, this holy champion committed his soul to God, A.D. 1651.

The seventh was the Rev. Father Thadeus Moriarty,† who had also completed his studies in

* Concerning Father O’Ferrall, De Burgo, p. 569, gives the following particulars:—He was arrested by order of the Government, in his convent of Longford, and carried before the authorities bleeding at every pore. He had three days given him to meditate on the expediency of renouncing his religion. At the end of the third day he gave his murderers the fitting answer, and failing to save his soul, they determined to destroy his body. He exhorted the people, and patiently submitted himself to execution, and, in the agonies of death, elevated before the gaze of the spectators a crucifix, which he wore under his dress. The governor, says de Burgo, gave a safe conduct to the clergy, and summoned them to attend the obsequies.

† In a general chapter of the Dominicans, held at
Lisbon. He was Doctor of Theology, and the last prior of the Dominican Convent of Tralee. Well skilled in Moral and Dogmatic Theology; the splendour of his birth was surpassed by the brilliant effulgence of his virtues. The learning and piety of this holy martyr, soon came to be known by the relentless persecutors of his creed, and they left nothing undone in order to seize him. But never did the bride more cheerfully array herself for the marriage altar than did this holy man for the embrace of death. The starvedling never desired food with more poignant yearnings than did this glorious champion the scaffold of martyrdom. When the death-warrant was read for him, he clasped the messenger, and distributed money, to be given to those who were instrumental in destroying his body; and from the place of execution, he exhorted the spectators not to be dismayed, but to cling with tenacity to their hallowed creed, and to be ever mindful of the vicissitudes and transitoriness of this life, whose form and shadow pass rapidly away. What I deem worthy of note in this is, that the body of the martyr which the gloom of the prison had emaciated and discoloured, seemed as it were transfigured after death. Even from the eyes there appeared to radiate a

Rome, 1644, Terence Albert O'Brien, and Thaddeus Moriarty, were appointed judges to decide on the boundaries of the Dominican order in the province of Munster. Moriarty studied at Toledo, and acquired great celebrity for learning and piety. He was arrested at Tralee, and executed at Killarney, A.D. 1653. Vide. Hib Dom.
beauteous light, and the executioner was heard to say, that he wore an angelic appearance. Throughout life he was a model of sanctity, mild, affable, and never known to have lost his temper, even in the most arduous trials. When lashed with whips, he appeared insensible to all these stripes, for he came like the sheep to the slaughter, opening not his mouth. Interrogated by his judge why he did not obey the laws of the kingdom, he mildly answered, that he had to obey God, and would not be deterred from the exercise of his functions. In vain did the wife of the judge exhort her husband to have nothing to do with the blood of this just man. Truly was this venerable martyr a disciple of his Lord, according to the sublime saying of St. Augustine, in his tenth sermon to the brethren in the wilderness. On the night of his sepulture they set a guard to watch lest the people should take away his honoured remains.

The eighth was the Reverend Father James O'Reilly,* of the order of preachers, who was seized on the declivity of a mountain, near Clonmel, whilst reciting the divine office. He was slain with the edge of the sword the moment he

*De Burgo, p. 566, states that O'Reilly was a learned man, and an accomplished poet. He was proceeding from Waterford to Clonmel, when he fell into the hands of the Cromwellians, and being asked by them who he was, replied—"I am a priest, a friar of the Dominican order, a Roman Catholic, and with the blessing of Heaven will die as I have lived." A whole hour did they torture him, and invoking the divine name he gave up his spirit. This occurred, A.D. 1649.
fell into the hands of those who thirsted for his blood.

The ninth was the Rev. Thomas O'Higgins, priest of the same order, who was arrested by the heretics of the garrison of Clonmel, who cast him into prison, and soon afterwards hanged him.

The tenth was the Rev. Ambrose Cahill, who had been brought up in the Dominican College of Lisbon. He was taken near the city of Cork, and truly may I say of him that he was a valiant soldier of Christ. Powerful was his eloquence in combating false doctrine, and dauntless was his heart, when his country's cause called him to unsheath the sword in her defence. Furious was the hatred of his enemies, and bitter was the agony to which he was consigned. His body was cut into minute particles and cast for food to ravens, A.D. 1651.

The eleventh was the Rev. Dominicus Dillon,†

* Thomas O'Higgins was put to death in the year 1651. In the Hib. Dom. p. 561, there is mention made of Peter O'Higgins, who was slain for no other crime than that of being a Dominican Friar. His death took place in the year 1641, immediately after the rising of the Catholics. The mortal remains of this victim were denied sepulture in the city of Dublin; and as the friends of the murdered priest were carrying him to a burial place outside the walls, the partisans of the Lords Justices shattered the lifeless head with their muskets. Acta Capituli Generalissimi, Romæ 1644. p. 119.

† O'Heyne, p. 39, states that he was superior of the convent of Achonry. The same author relates that Dillon and Richard Oveton, prior of the convent of Athy, were taken to Cromwell's camp, and beheaded in odium fidei. Hib. Dom. p. 566. This tragedy was enacted A.D. 1649.
a man of illustrious descent, who had been appointed by the nuncio, John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, to the office of preacher to the army of the confederation. He proceeded to Drogheda at the time it was held for the king against the parliamentarians; but when Cromwell sacked the town, Dillon was slain.

The twelfth was the Rev. Vincent, alias Gerald Dillon, of the Irish college at Lisbon. This devout priest was of a noble family, and much respected for his learning and piety. He resided for a long time in London, and joined the royal army in the capacity of confessor to the Catholics, who marched under the king's standard.—He was taken at York—cast into prison—and finally perished of hardship and hunger.*

The thirteenth was the Rev. Stephen Petit, superior of the convent of Mullingar,† who was taken in the act of hearing an Irish Catholic soldier's confession, in the hamlet of Ballinacurra. He was struck by a shot from the enemy's camp,

* His death is recorded A.D. 1651. This Dominican, according to O'Heyne, had been superior of the convent of Athenry. In this ancient residence of the Connaught kings there was a grand convent of the Dominican order, founded by Milo de Bermingham, (Hibernice Mac Horais) A.D. 1241. The church was dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul. Hib. Dom. p. 221.

† Here there was a convent, founded by the Nugents shortly after the English invasion. De Burgo states that he visited it A.D. 1755, and found nothing remaining, save a fragment of the bell tower. The Tuatha got possession of its ancient domain at the time of the wholesale plunder called "the dissolution;" and Charles the Second bestowed it, a short time before the restoration, on Arthur Forbes, Earl of Granard, A.D. 1661.
and died next day, after having received the sacraments, A.D. 1651.

The fourteenth was the Rev. John Collins, of the convent of Limerick. He was a man below the middle stature, and somewhat deformed in person; but he was, nevertheless, gifted with an indomitable spirit, which prompted him to perform deeds that surpassed the expectation of those who witnessed them. He was a valiant captain as well as an excellent clerk, and ever foremost in the gap of danger. What time the Catholic army sat down before Bunratty, he signally distinguished himself. Seizing a crucifix, he led the assault, under the eyes of the Archbishop of Fermo, John Baptist Rinuccini. The chieftains who commanded, as well as the bishops who were spectators, marvelled much at his valour; for he did not fail to animate the storming parties both by word and example. The enemy he taunted with cowardice, and the soldiers of the confederation dared not to falter while he was in the van. The bullets of a thousand muskets fell harmlessly about him; and when Irish bravery triumphed, the surrender of the stronghold was attributed to him.* Some years after-

* The siege of Bunratty has been alluded to elsewhere; and Belling, in his Narrative of the War, states that it was a strong place, with parks abounding in venison. Rinuccini dates many of his despatches to Rome from the camp before Bunratty. Nor are we to be scandalized on learning that an archbishop from the Vatican encouraged an Irish priest to lead an assault. Thierry, in the Norman Conquest, describes Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, putting a hauberk over the pontifical vestments on the day of Hastings. Heber Mac Mahon was
wards, when Limerick was begirt by Ireton's forces, he remained outside the walls, a vigilant watcher of the enemy's movements, ever and anon sending word to the besieged Catholics of the Cromwellian schemes and plans. His devoted patriotism cost him his life; for he was arrested and put to death. So anxious were his blood-thirsty foes to get possession of him, that they caused pictures of him to be circulated, and offered a large reward to whosoever would lay hands upon him. Glorious was his end!—for he knew that it was a beauteous thing to die for his God and his country.

The fifteenth and sixteenth were Gerald Geraldine and David Fox. On a stormy night there came a strong body of the enemy to our monastery of Kilmallock, for the purpose of destroying at Beinburb, and Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, commanded against Coote in Sligo. Innumerable instances might be cited to prove, that from the time of the crusades down to our day, the church has never anathematized the sword, save when unsheathed to slay good men struggling for religion and liberty. On the contrary, the Roman Pontifical blesses it in the following beautiful prayer: "Deign, O Lord! to bless this sword, and this thy servant, who of thy inspiration desires to receive it. Protect him with the safeguard of thy mercy, and preserve him unharmed, through Christ our Lord: Amen." Again, "Receive this sword, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, use it for thy own defence as well as for that of the holy church of God, to the confusion of the enemies of the cross of Christ and the Christian faith; and, as far as human frailty will permit, injure no one unjustly with it; which may he grant unto you, who livesth and reigneth," &c. Vid. Pontificale Romanum.
the brotherhood. Some of them contrived to escape; but Fox and Geraldine were slain between the porch and the altar.*

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING SOME OTHER MARTYRS.

Had I not resolved to treat only of the Irish martyrs of our own time, I would have given the most distinguished place to Father Donatus Olvin,† William, his brother, and Arthur MacGeoghegan, all of the convent of Derry, in Ulster, who were sacrificed for their faith. Peter Malphæus, Prior of Brussels, has written a work entitled “The Palm of the Faith of the Order of Preachers,” in which he does ample justice to their merits; nor has he forgotten the many priests who, in the market-place of the aforesaid city of Derry, suffered for their religion and country. Here I deem it necessary to give you a brief outline of the martyrdom of Arthur MacGeoghegan. ‡ He was seized in London, on his way to Ireland, and committed to prison, charged with having said in Spain that it would not be a crime to

* This took place about 1648, and it is likely that In-chiquin’s soldiers did this deed of blood.
† Porter, p. 363, states that Olvin was ninety years of age, when put to death.
kill the King of England. He was executed, and his bowels were cast into the fire.—Now, when the charge had been well sifted, the Queen (Henrietta Maria) caused proclamation to be made that this man was innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but all too late. It was ascertained, on the investigation, that MacGeoghegan had merely said, while disputing concerning “free will,” that if this doctrine were overthrown, fanaticism would find its excuse, even if a man were to assassinate the monarch. Queen Henrietta Maria still lives, and is witness to the truth of what I have stated concerning his martyrdom. There are some facts, related by Malphæus, which I will not pass over in silence. The first is, that when this injured man was taken down, barely half alive, the executioner cut out his heart, and, holding it up to the people, exclaimed, “lo! the heart of a traitor!” in the very act of pronouncing these words, the eyes of MacGeoghegan turned wildly on the executioner, in whose face he spat. The second is, that a youth, who stood by while the executioner was burning MacGeoghegan’s intestines, drew the liver from the fire on the point of his staff, execrating the man who suffered for religion; but he did not escape the avenging hand of God, for he was taken suddenly ill, and fell into a neighbouring fosse.

The third is, that some women who were hastening to the place of execution, declared that they had never before inhaled such fragrant odour as then filled the air in the vicinity of the scaffold. A German perfumer made a declara-
tion to the same purport, and Carey, Lord Falkland, having broken his leg, attributed the occurrence to this man’s immolation.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE PRIESTS WHO FELL VICTIMS TO THE PLAGUE, CONTRACTED IN THE DISCHARGE OF THEIR DUTIES.

It would be unjust to consign to oblivion the memory of those pious men who, of their Christian charity, preferred to perish by the plague, rather than abandon those who were smitten by it; in my own opinion, whoever fell victims to this visitation of God, while administering comfort and consolation in the pest-house, should be called, in the strict acceptation of the term, “martyrs.” Nor is this my opinion alone; 'tis

* Henry Carey, Lord Falkland, was Viceroy in Ireland from 1625 to 1629. Of course, we are not bound to believe these circumstances, narrated on the authority of Malphæus; as far as the butchering of MacGeoghegan is concerned, 'tis historically true. Nay, much worse has been perpetrated in Ireland by the minions of English kings, from the days of Henry II. to the reign of Queen Anne. Nor are we to wonder that the Catholics of the time invested all the circumstances of a martyr's death with something bordering on the marvellous. They fancied that God would make some signal manifestation of his power in behalf of all those who suffered for his name, as he had frequently done in the early ages of the Church.
sustained by a host of pious and learned doctors, such as Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Cyprian, St. Gregory the Great and others. Much will you profit by consulting on this subject Theophilus Raynaldus, S.J., who learnedly proves, in a work published at Lyons, A.D. 1630, that two priests who died of the plague, caught in discharge of their functions, merited the palm of martyrs; nay, this opinion is held in the Martyrology of the Church, as you may read, where it commemorates the holy priests and deacons who, in the time of the Emperor Valerian, laid down their lives to bring blessings to the poor who had contracted the contagion. Another proof of my assertion is, that the faithful have ever honored the memories of these men, not to speak of the passages read in Choir in our own Martyrology, on the day before the Calends of March. Enough for our purpose is it, that this doctrine rests upon probability; nor will I entertain, in this place, the speculative question whether a deadly wound, cum effectu consecuto, be necessary to constitute a martyr; always taking it for granted, that the injury has been inflicted in odium fidei. No matter how logicians may cavil, the Church of Christ has, at all times, esteemed their death as precious in the sight of Heaven, who have forfeited it in charity to their fellow-men.

The first of those who thus received the martyr's palm was the Rev. Father Michael O'Cleary, (A.D. 1651) the Prior of our Convent in Waterford; * for,

* The Dominican Convent of Waterford was founded
when the plague was raging there, the Bishop of the place called the priests together, and exhorted them to strain every nerve in order to console the afflicted. This they did with zealous assiduity, administering the holy sacraments of Eucharist and penance. O' Cleary was ably assisted by a secular priest, named White, a member of one of the principal families of the city, and brother of the Rev. Francis White, of the Society of Jesus, who is now the Superior of the Irish College of Lisbon. Three days did they pass in solitude and prayer, before entering on that harvest of death; and, after having heard the sacramental confessions of thousands, they died of the infection.

The second was the Rev. Gerald Baggot, who was reared in our convent of Lisbon. He was a man of cultivated talent and honorable lineage. While journeying from the country to Limerick, he was importuned to turn out of his way and minister to a man on whom the hand of death was heavy. The pious father complied, and by his death purchased life; for scarcely had he left the bed-side of the sufferer when he knew that the seeds of the pestilence were rapidly ripening in himself. Three days and he was a corpse. He died outside the walls of Limerick, for the sanitary laws prohibited ingress at the time. About the same time perished Father Donald O'Brien—cut off like Gerald Baggot.

A.D. 1226. The ruins of it are still visible, says De Burgo, near the cemetery. The property of the convent passed from James White to Warham St Leger.
The fourth was the Rev. Thadeus O'Cahasy, who, during the siege of Limerick, ministered in the hospital of the soldiers (into which the plague-stricken were not admitted). This hospital was situated near the Dominican Convent;* thus at all times was this zealous priest near the dying. But all precautions proving vain, he was infected with the pestilence, and died after five days of suffering. Truly these were disastrous times, for the sword was never sheathed outside the walls, while death was mowing down his victims within. The Rev. John William Geraldine likewise perished, a martyr in the cause of charity. Many were there like to those, whose names I must pass over in silence. I will, however, solemnly commemorate such men as Donatus Black, a lay brother of the

* The Dominicans had a magnificent convent in Limerick, near the wall of the city. The convent and church were built by Donatus Carbreach O'Brien, King of Thomond, A.D. 1227. The father of Carbreach was Donald, who reigned at the time of Henry's landing. Donatus, the founder, was buried in this church, dedicated to St. Saviour, in the year 1241. The statue placed over his tomb was broken by the Williamite soldiers, 1691. The plague, which did more to dishearten the garrison of Limerick than the cannon of Ireton, was not confined in its ravages to Waterford and Limerick; for Borlase asserts that 15,000 perished of it in Dublin. No country ever presented a more pitiable spectacle than Ireland after the surrender of Limerick. The sword, famine, and pestilence did fearfully execute God's secret designs; and Cromwell's transportation of no less than 40,000 of the inhabitants has no parallel save what we find in Holy Writ, when the Israelites saw their temple razed, and their fields wasted by some prototype of the "Protector."
province of Connaught, who, being taken by the English, was immediately put to death. Why should I not make special mention of David Roche, who, with many others, was sent off to dwell for the rest of his days in the West India Islands? But, alas! I am not able to tell you in detail how many of my fellow-countrymen were made to drain the cup of persecution even to the very dregs. I know that other men will yet arise to do justice to those of their respective orders who have suffered for their faith. I am inadequate to such an undertaking. I meant only to narrate something concerning my own order, and I must rest satisfied even with the bare outline.
CHAPTER XI.


But it was not enough for them to torment, stone, and slay all of the Irish who fell into their hands; on the contrary, they resolved to proscribe all those who had not been taken in their impious toils. They contemplated the extirpation of the Irish people, in order to secure their triumph and new-sanged religion. With this intent the commissioners of England and Ireland assembled in Dublin, and issued a decree of banishment, and a long catalogue of penalties against all “Popish bishops, and priests, and their friends and encouragers.” Let me place it before you, that you may know in what spirit it was couched:

“As it is now manifest, from many years' experience, that Jesuits, seminary priests, and persons initiated in Popish orders in Ireland hold it to be their duty to estrange the minds and affections of the people from due obedience to the authority and government of the English Commonwealth, and on the pretence of instructing and teaching the people the doctrines of the Popish religion, excite them to sedition and rebellion, in order to bring some foreign power into this country, which gave origin to the bar-
barous murders of 1641, and the destructive war which followed; and whereas many persons obtained at their own request permission to transport themselves beyond seas, and nevertheless defer their departure in order to seduce the people to their pernicious principles and ways. Wherefore, that such persons may have no further opportunity of leading the people astray, and prosecuting these rebellious schemes, from which no ordinary admonition can withhold them, although they thus expose their lives to danger, and threaten to ruin this miserable nation. Now the commissioners ordain that all and every Jesuit, seminary priest, and all, whosoever they be, deriving any authority or jurisdiction from the Roman See, withdraw from the Irish nation within twenty days after the publication of this order; and that none of the aforesaid Jesuits, seminary priests, remain in this kingdom after the termination of the aforesaid twenty days. And in case they should venture to return, they will be subjected to the penalties and confiscations declared and specified in the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth against all seminary priests, Jesuits, &c., who remain in or return to England. And it is moreover commanded that all persons who, after the twenty days specified, shall receive, lodge, or shelter any Jesuit, seminary priest, deacon, or any other ecclesiastic, shall be liable to the penalties in such cases specified. And it is ordered that the statute passed in the twenty-seventh year of Queen Elizabeth be immediately put into execution. Moreover, all justices of the peace, judges, &c. &c., are hereby
commanded to publish this order in their respective limits, and to search out, seize, and cast into prison all jesuits, seminary priests, &c. &c., who may be found, nor let them be removed from prison till the law has taken its course.*

"Given at Dublin, 6th Jan. 1652."

"Charles Fleetwood,
  Edmund Ludlow,
  Miles Corbet,
  John Jones."

Historians relate, that according to an ancient law of Bretagne, there was a peculiar description of punishment for any one who became a traitor to the crown, or conspired to injure its prerogatives. Such a one had his extremities, hands, and feet broken by the sword, not however by one blow, but rather by a succession of strokes, in order to increase the agonies of the culprit: when human vengeance was thus satisfied, the traitor was brought to the place of execution, and received the last blow on the region of the heart, (which philosophers have called the "ultimum moriens")—and this in consideration of the benefit conferred upon the sufferer, was ever after termed the "coup de grace." Truly was this proclamation the coup de grace to the body of pained and languishing Ireland; she had no direr

* This persecution lasted two years, and De Burgo, summing up its horrors, quotes the following passage from the "Lamentations":—"The child and the old man lie without on the ground: my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword: thou hast slain them in the day of thy wrath: thou hast killed and shewn them no pity."
ills to fear, and merciless England had no longer an object on which she could wreak her cruelty. The members of Hibernia's body, to wit, her nobles and chieftains, were crushed to atoms; and the heart of the people, the Catholic priesthood, ceased to pulsate when this edict was promulgated. In the days when Demosthenes lived, bitter were his invectives against Philip, Alexander, and Antipater, the most ruthless enemies of the liberties of Greece. Writhing under the lash of the prince of orators, Alexander vowed to give freedom to the Athenians, provided they expatriated Demosthenes; but when the latter heard this, he called the people together in the forum, and eloquently discoursed on the parable of the wolves and the shepherds. "Know you not," said he, "that ancient legend, so descriptive of the astuteness of the wolf, and the confiding simplicity of the shepherds? 'I will enter into terms with you', said the former, 'nor will I disturb your quiet, provided you dismiss your dogs.' The shepherds complied, and in one night the flock was devoured." Nevertheless, Desmosthenes was exiled, nor did Antipater think himself safe till the great orator was no more. Such, too, was the policy of England: right well did she know that her triumph would never be secure as long as the preachers of the Catholic religion, who kept watch over the flock, were suffered to live in the land. So true is this, that whilst I am writing, the nobility and gentry who survived their country's ruin, are driven into one province,* deprived of

* Connaught.
their possessions, and reduced to the condition of 
tillers of the soil.

But my task is nearly ended. In one small 
volume have I laboured to describe to you two 
mangled bodies, and one grave common to both; 
for I could not separate my country's ruin 
from that of the Geraldines. It was my inten-
tion to have written chiefly of the persecution 
which my religion has sustained under English 
tyranny, but where could I find more tragic 
illustrations of it than in the family of the Ge-
raldines? Induced partly by this motive, and 
my love for that family, I have narrated for you 
the agonies of both; and I now pray you, gentle 
reader, Irene, or Philopater, or by whatever 
name you would be designated, not to say 
that I have wasted time or labour in composing 
this volume. Should you say that I have done 
so in thus evoking the shades of the Geraldines, 
I will answer: my own time and oil may have 
been consumed, but most certainly not yours. May 
I not indulge the recollections of old, even in the 
solitude and darkness of the night-time, while 
you are wrapped in slumber? I admit that the 
Geraldines are dead and gone; I call them not 
up from their graves. Oh! would to God I could! 
But, neither shall you say to me, that others still 
live whom I know to be dead. Tell me, I be-
seech you, who live to-day in Ireland? Truly, 
no one. Dead are the O'Briens, the Burkes, 
and Butlers. What fatality doomed them all? 
That, forsooth, which effected the ruin of the 
Geraldines? There is, however, this much dif-
ference: the Geraldines fell first, while those
who followed them in their ruin were not admonished by their fate. Moreover, 'twas not English might which destroyed the race of Desmond. Alas! it was overthrown by malignant hate and ungenerous rivalry. As for the Butlers, O'Briens, and Burkes, they fell victims to their own artifices—their own weapons were turned against themselves, and they have all perished. I flatter no one. I will asperse the memories of none; but there are those who understand me, and others who affect to think I am not explicit.

Of one thing I am certain: had the Geraldines lived, the Butlers and the O'Briens would not now be in their graves, or reduced to misery; nor would the English have attempted to deal, as I have described, with the Irish, as long as there was one of the race of Desmond to wield a sword. Experience proves the truth of this,—while the Desmonds were in the land, the English dared not to persecute; when they were extinct, did not persecution date its birth?

In the year of our Lord 1578, James FitzMaurice accompanied by Stukely, sailed from Ireland, and two years afterwards he received letters from the Pope, when about to return homewards, that is to say, in the year 1580, the twenty-second of Elizabeth's reign. James passed through France, and in less than one year was slain in his native land, in or about the twenty-third year of Elizabeth. From that moment the Geraldines maintained a struggle against the Queen's power, which, lasting fully three years, terminated in the twenty-sixth of her sovereignty. Now, although persecution
was rife in England from the second year of Elizabeth, and continued unabated five and twenty years, no savage edict of hers was promulged in Ireland till she had been twenty-seven years on the throne. Whence I conclude that the fury of persecution came not into Ireland till the Geraldines were beaten to the dust—a persecution which has since brought ineffable sorrows on the Irish Catholics and Irish Nation. Whatever I have written may it tend to the greater glory of God.

Note.—I hope that those conversant with the important facts given in the Hibernia Dominicana and the Analecta of Bishop Routh, will not accuse me of having left out many of the events which might serve to illustrate O'Daly's history of the persecutions. I could have added much more to the notes, were I not reluctant to interfere with the labours of one who has that work in hands. The history of the sufferings of the Irish Catholics could not be well treated in a small volume like this, and I gladly leave the task to R. R. Madden, Esq. Ireland may well be proud of him, who has distinguished himself so highly. His writings so various and entertaining, are well known to his countrymen, and they will gladly hail his forthcoming History of the Reformation. He who has so piously vindicated "the memory of the dead," will be still more pleasing when he places before us those holy martyrs, who died for their faith, and whose names shall live for ever in the veneration of their successors.

FINIS.
Since writing the foregoing, I have been informed by men who are worthy of all credit, that three other members of our order of Friars Preachers have suffered death for the faith, to wit, Fathers W. Lynch, William O'Connor, and Peter Costelloe. I passed them over in silence, for I had not at hand authentic documents concerning their martyrdom.

FRIARS OF THE ORDER OF ST. DOMINICUS SLAIN BY THE HERETICS.

Peter O'Higgins,            William Lynch,
Richard Barry,             Stephen Petit,
Terence O'Brien,            John Collins,
James Woulf,               William O. Costello,
Myles Magrath,             William O'Connor,
Laurence O'Farrell,         Gerald Geraldine,
Thadeus Moriarty,          William Olvin,
James O'Reilly,             Don. Olvin,
Thomas O'Higgins,           Arthur MacGeoghegan,
Ambrose O'Cahil,            David Fox,
Dom. Dillon,               Donatus Black,
Gerald Dillon.

THEY WHO DIED OF THE PLAGUE, CONTRACTED IN DISCHARGE OF THEIR DUTIES WERE THE FOLLOWING:

Michael Cleary,
John Gerald,
Donald O'Brien,

Gerald Baggott,
Gerald Geraldine,
Thadeus O'Cahasy.

Note.—O'Daly has altogether omitted to glance at the cruelties practised by the Cromwellians on the defenceless nuns. De Burgo, however, has not passed
them over in silence; and the narrative which he has given of the sufferings of Honoria De Burgo, and Honoria Magaen, in many points resemble those of the nuns of Minsk. The former was obliged to fly from her convent, at Burishool, and seek refuge in Loughrea, where she was taken and put to death. The latter, seeking shelter in a wood, was found frozen to death a short time afterwards. Both died, A.D. 1653. This part of the persecution must be looked for in Dr. Madden's forthcoming work. For ampler details than these given here, vide Hib. Dom. p. 572.
APPENDIX.

All the princes of the kingdom, the magistrates, and governors, have consulted together, that an imperial decree and an edict be published, that "whosoever shall ask any petition of any God or man, but of thee, O King, shall be cast into the den of lions." Daniel.

A slight alteration in the text will make itas applicable to Queen Elizabeth as it was to the Medes and Persians, "who could not find any occasion against Daniel, unless, perhaps, concerning the law of his God." Mede or Persian never devised more hideous plans for the extirpation of the Israelites, than did Elizabeth, and her ministers, for the ruin of the Irish. The modus operandi alluded to at page 153, is here more accurately developed:

CERTAIN SECRET INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE INQUISITORS WHO ARE TO PROCEED AGAINST THE CATHOLICS.

"Primo.—The commissioners are to assemble at stated times, and, in order to proceed more systematically, they are to divide their labours, and to determine what province shall belong to each. And, in order to act more effectually, they are to employ coadjutors, who shall be empowered to act in the absence of the commissioners. The commissioners are to meet every fortieth day, and to transmit to the queen and parliament a report of their acts.

2do.—The commissioners are to require information from the bishop of each diocess, as well as the curates and government officials, as to the number, names, and habitations of those who are suspected, or do not frequent our churches, and assist at our ceremonies; they are also to take note of those who harbour priests, jesuits, seminarists, or other such persons, who have come over the seas into our dominions. When the commis-
sioners shall have had exact notice of these matters, they are to keep them strictly secret till the jesuits, seminarists, and priests are committed to their custody, and examined after the following manner.

3 to. In examining the aforesaid delinquents, the commissioners are diligently to observe that each of them shall be interrogated touching matters pertaining to religion and conscience; whether they frequent our churches, or why they refuse to do so; and if they be found to persevere in their obstinacy, they are to be questioned on matters concerning their civil allegiance; to wit, how they feel disposed towards the Pope, the King of Spain, &c., &c. and particularly whether they have lodged, countenanced, or any other way served jesuits, priests, seminarists, or such like, who, coming from foreign parts, labour to seduce the people from the obedience due to our sovereign lady the queen. This you will more effectually accomplish by paying attention to the formula of interrogation.

4 to. Has any one advised you to adhere to the Pope or to the King of Spain, counselling you to assist either of them, should they at any time invade these dominions? Who advised you thus? Were they at Rome or in Spain within the last six years? Where have they lodged since their return to this country? Is the person under examination a priest or jesuit? Where and by whom was he ordained? Has he lived in any seminary of the Irish at Rome, or in Spain, or elsewhere? How long? Why has he returned to Ireland?

5 to. The commissioners for carrying out the Queen's orders, are rigidly bound to examine who have received such persons in their houses, and given them food or board. Should any such be found, thus encouraging, sheltering, or in any way countenancing jesuits, seminarists, priests, &c., they are to be arrested, committed to prison, and punished, as to the commissioners shall seem good.

6 to. Should any suspected person betake himself to another province, notice is immediately to be given, so that such person may be arrested, examined, and committed to prison, according to the provisions already set forth by the Queen's Majesty.
Lastly.—The inquisitors shall be empowered to solicit the co-operation of men, such as the parsons, rectors of parishes, &c., whose zeal for her Majesty is well known; and the commissioners shall charge them to make an exact return of those who refuse to frequent our churches. Such recusants are by them to be transmitted to you, and, not taking heed of their recusancy (which is already provided for), you will interrogate them, according to your prudence, touching political matters, and you will compel them to answer you such questions as the quality and condition of the accused shall suggest. And you are to suspect all persons who are not of the Queen's mind in matters of religion, and to look on them as traitors to the country, and as abetting our common enemies, the Pope and the King of Spain."

* These were the instructions given by Elizabeth to her ministers, in order the more effectually to root out "Papery," or, more properly speaking, "Papists." This scheme signally failed, and we must now patiently await the result of a new stratagem; for the Duke of Manchester has become an Apostle, and is about to remove all our sufferings—famine, agony, and death—provided we renounce the jurisdiction of Pius IX. Alas! of how much folly has not the first month of the year 1847 been witness! And now, to cap the climax of absurdity, we are threatened with the visitation of a prophet (whose name rhymes to grimace), and who, less generous than Eliseus, will multiply our resources, provided only that we pay his expenses. It is such a glaring instance of fanaticism, that we cannot help recording it here:—

"STRANGE PROPHECIES ABOUT IRELAND.—A person who describes himself as "T. Tully Crybbace, A.M., by the grace of God Minister of the Gospel," has addressed a letter to the people of Ireland, on the present unfortunate state of that country. He states that in the year 1829, and again in the year 1837, he was sent of God to seek the deliverance of Ireland, but that the people would not receive the deliverance. Their trou-
bles, he says, have now only begun, for the present scarcity will be followed up by famine more wasting; and that again with raging pestilence; and that further with the avenging sword of war. The writer adds, that he is once more sent to ask the people of Ireland whether they will accept deliverance; and that the terms which he has been directed to propose to the people, the clergy, the aristocracy, and the government, are, that all shall return to the divine simplicity of the apostolic gospel, and that an organization for that purpose shall forthwith be formed. Mr. Crybbae concludes by saying, that if the people are ready to comply with the proposed terms, and will defray the necessary expenses, he will proceed through Ireland, in order to expound his views."—Morning Post.

FINIS.