



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR
IN
IRELAND.

BY
FERD^O. WARNER, L.L.D.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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T O
THE DUKE OF
NORTHUMBERLAND.

My LORD DUKE,

IN ancient times, when Emperors and Great Men were the only Patrons almost of Letters, Your Grace knows that a Dedication contained usually nothing more than a short account of the work, and a plain recommendation to the Friend or Monarch to whom it was addressed. In mo-

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dern times, My LORD, this Classical Simplicity,
 among other things, hath been corrupted: and a
 Dedication, generally speaking, serves no other
 purpose, than to make encomiums on the Patron
 in the language of Adulation, and by deviating
 from Truth to disgrace the man who writes it.
 Though I am far, My LORD, from supposing
 that I can reform this vicious taste, yet I have
 never contributed by my example to its conti-
 nuance. Your Grace hath too good an Under-
 standing to approve of such corruption: and I
 should be wanting to myself upon this occasion,
 were I only to hazard giving Offence, where my
 design is to avow the most profound Respect. But
 yet how difficult it is for a writer to withhold his
 pen from expressing the Sentiments of his Heart,
 when his Heart is warm with the contemplation
 of a Character that is distinguished by the Public
 Love, this is known to those alone who have had
 the task, of addrelling ~~Men~~ of eminent and ac-
 knowledged Merit: and to avoid a conflict ~~re-~~
 uneasy, between the desire of holding out an Ex-
 ample of Generosity, Politeness, and Public Spirit,
 to an age in which examples of such kind are rare,
and

DEDICATION.

and the fear of offending by its being misinterpreted into Flattery, I could wish that I was speaking of the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND to any other person than to Himself.

The time however of this Address, when Your Grace is not in Office, is a circumstance which will acquit me, I presume, in the eye of the World—ill-natured as it is—of all intentions of Interest; or of having any other motives to the respect I pay Your Grace than those of Gratitude and Esteem. For to observe that a regard to Letters and the Public Good, inclined Your Grace very strongly to countenance my design of completing the Irish History, when the Administration of that kingdom was delegated to Your Grace, is only to acknowledge an Honour done to myself; which I hope will not give any offence: And had the wishes of the People of Ireland been gratified in the Continuance of Your Grace's Government, Your Grace had the interest of Literature and the Glory and Welfare of their Country too much at heart to have suffered its General History to have been laid aside.

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nance: Nor had the Irish House of Commons so little regard to Your Grace's Sentiments, as to have permitted Your Patronage of a work of public utility to have been without effect. But with Your Grace's Administration fell the design which I had entertained of continuing the History of Ireland down to the Revolution. What however, My LORD, I could attempt towards it Unassisted, I have attempted in the work with which I beg leave now to present Your Grace: and it happens not unluckily, that the part which I was able to execute without a Parliamentary Aid, is of all the Irish History the most critical and important to both kingdoms; to every reader of history, and to every lover of his country and religion.

Your regard, My LORD, for the Irish nation did not cease with your relation to it. Your Grace was pleased to assure me very lately of your readiness to countenance any work that would do honour, or be of use, to Ireland: I have therefore presumed to avail myself of that inclination by soliciting Your Grace to be the Patron of ^{great} as the Advantage to it

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will be, indeed it could not with such propriety have had recourse to any other. Give me leave however, My LORD, to suppose, that to one whose public conduct hath always been avowedly on the side of Liberty, a work so favourable to that cause will not be disagreeable. But Liberty, Your Grace knows, must have its bounds; and that Popular Error and Frenzy are as sure an enemy to the welfare of a State, as illegal despotic Rule. This is evidently demonstrated, as Your Grace may find, in the following pages: and this hath added to my confidence in desiring Your Grace to accept the patronage of a Work, which is devoted to Liberty divested of Licentiousness, to Religion free from Bigotry, and to Truth void of Malice.

You have given, My Lord, every convincing proof that can be desired that You are the Friend and Lover of your Country: and it cannot admit of the least imputation of Insincerity to suggest, that the Disinterestedness and Integrity, which amidst the Discord of Parties have been on all sides allowed to characterise Your Grace, presage happily to your countrymen, that the High Honour to which
his

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his Majesty hath advanced Your Grace, will have no other effect than to give a further and a nobler opportunity to Your Grace to exert the same virtues in the public service.

Permit me then, My LORD, to hope, that the following History and the Reflections scattered thro' it, which have only the Good of your Country for their object, will merit your Approbation: and if Your Grace will be so obliging as to honour it with Your protection, the success of the work will be assured to,

My LORD DUKE,

Your Grace's

most obedient

most obliged

most devoted

humble Servant

FERDINANDO WARNER.

P R E F A C E.

IN the preface to the History of Ireland already published, an account hath been given in what manner I was induced to undertake that work. Some reasons also were then offered, why the History of a Country which did not want materials, and which furnished so good a subject, from its situation, importance, and connexion with Great Britain, had been so long neglected, to the disgrace of Letters, and the reproach of both Nations. To these the Reader must be referred; as it would be very impertinent to repeat them. But having undertaken to write a General History of Ireland, from the earliest records of time to the settlement of it by King WILLIAM, and the volume already published containing only the ancient history to the English Conquest, it is incumbent on me to justify to the Reader the Discontinuance of that work, as well as to give the reasons for the History that is before him. If in exhibiting this Justification of myself, I should chance to give offence to any of the people of Ireland, I shall be sorry for it; but the fault is not in Me; the truth ought to be known, and my Engagements to the Publick make it necessary. To give no offence however that may be avoided, the private negotiations with some of the first men of that kingdom, for their interest in procuring a Public Aid, shall be omitted.

For as willing soever as I was to undertake a task, which no one before me had undertaken, yet it was soon found that the Manuscript materials for Irish History—not to be removed from the places in which they were
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deposited—were too voluminous to be inspected at the expence of a Writer on his own account, or on what might be repaid by the publication of such a work. But I shall say no more of the encouragements that were given me to expect a Parliamentary Assistance in carrying it on—besides the known Generosity of the Irish Nation—than that from thence I was induced to begin it, and to publish the First Volume. To that volume, comprehending the whole ancient history, a large Introduction was prefixed; which contains an account of the former and present state of Ireland, in its language, learning, religion, government, laws, customs, and manners, together with its natural history.

When it was seen that so great a progress had been made, and the Writer had given a specimen of the diligence and impartiality of which some in Ireland had affected to doubt, it was presumed that a sufficient foundation was laid for a Public Application. The Duke of NORTHUMB-
BERLAND, then appointed Lord Lieutenant, was pleased, with his usual public spiritedness, to countenance the design: and as the best regulated and politest states have always afforded their patronage and assistance to undertakings of this kind, and Ireland is the only Nation in Europe without its General History, a Case was printed, and presented in the usual form to the Irish House of Commons; wherein it was set forth, that besides the Manuscripts which I had collected from the public libraries and records at Dublin, there was an astonishing number here relating to that Country, in the Council and Secretaries Offices, the Museum and the Tower, and in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries, the use of which towards compleating a General History, would be attended with an Expence, that, without their assistance, it would be neither prudent nor practicable to attempt.

Though this application had the favour and concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant, and it was referred to the consideration of a Committee, yet

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no Report was made, and it went no further. It went however as far as several other designs of National Utility referred to the same Committee: and it would be impertinent to enter into the reasons that were, or that might be, assigned for this Neglect. It shall suffice only to say, that if the General History of the laws and constitution, of the commerce and civil affairs of any Country, is not a work of a Public Nature, it will be difficult to find what is so; and all other states have been in a great error. It ought indeed to be mentioned, that his Excellency was so good as to inform me at his return, that if he went over to hold another Session of Parliament, he hoped that a way would be found—to which his Excellency's Encouragement should not be wanting—for the Irish House of Commons to grant such an Aid as would enable me to continue and complete the History. But the reader need not be told, that it was not a Misfortune peculiar only to such a work, that before another Session, the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND ceased to be Lord Lieutenant: and the Care of its history, which in ancient times was one of the first cares of the state in Ireland, and is still the concern of every other civilized Nation, was then quite abandoned. My health had been so much impaired by the application bestowed on the First Volume, that I received this account—which fully justifies my dropping such an arduous undertaking—with the utmost complacency. It remains therefore now that I inform the Reader, by what means I was induced, after so much discouragement, to concern myself any further with Irish affairs, and to undertake the following work.

Of the whole history of the kingdom of Ireland, the Rebellion and Civil War under CHARLES the First continued to the Restoration, which throws great light upon many passages of our English history, is undoubtedly the most interesting and critical part: and though the business of the Massacre hath made as much noise, and been as much the subject of dispute and crimination, as any point of history in the world, it hath never yet been
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fully nor fairly represented. Indeed to say the truth, it hath not been in the power of many Writers to do this; and of the few that could do it, not one hath been so inclined. The Original Protestant Irish Writers of this period, are SR. JOHN TEMPLE, and DR. BORLASE: the first, who was Master of the Rolls, and a Privy-Councillor, hath confined himself entirely to the Massacre and Rebellion in the early part of it: and the sense of what he suffered by the insurrection, together with his attachment to the Ministry, led him to aggravate the crimes and cruelties of the Irish: the other, was the son of SR. JOHN BORLASE one of the Lords Justices at that time, and seems to have been an Officer in the Civil War; who hath made great use of TEMPLE's history, and as far as he liked it, of Lord CLARENDON's vindication of the Marquis of ORMONDE. If both these Authors are to be red with great suspicions of Partiality—as they certainly are—except in the copies of original papers, and the facts which tally with them, SR. RICHARD COX, who hath done little more than transcribe the accounts which they have given, is entitled to less merit, and yet open to the same suspicions. When he had no longer these to be his guide, the remainder of his work is little more than an extract from the News papers and the Pamphlets of the time, and in no part deserves the name of a History.

The chief Original Popish Writers of this Rebellion, are the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, and Lord CASTLEHAVEN. The first wrote his Memoirs at the time of this calamity: but they relate only to what passed in that part of the country where he lived, and to the informations which he received: hence they serve for little more than to connect the several important letters there collected, either to, or from himself. There hath been occasion to say so much of his Lordship in the History, that it is needless to add any thing more about this work, than that it hath been but lately published, and no former Historian could have the advantage of the materials which

which it affords. The Earl of CASTLEHAVEN, as far as he goes, and his memory serves him, seems entitled also to our confidence: however, as he wrote his Memoirs a great many years after the facts, it may very well happen that some of them are forgotten, and others misrepresented. Several little pieces more there are on the Catholic side, and a few on the other: but they are so insufficient, or so partial, as to be of no repute for History; and therefore need not be particularly mentioned.

There are no Original English Historians that I know of, who write any thing fully of this event in Ireland, besides the Earl of CLARENDON, and MR. CARTE: the former, in his history of the Rebellion and Civil War in England, and in a little piece in vindication of the Marquis of ORMONDE; which, in the late editions, goes under the title—very improperly—of a History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland. The noble Historian's attachment to the cause of CHARLES the First, hath evidently given a bias to the whole of his great work: and on the most critical part of the King's conduct with regard to Ireland—his Commissions to the Earl of GLAMORGAN—his Lordship, to our astonishment, is entirely silent: neither doth he enter much into any transactions in that country, wherein the King was not personally concerned. In the little piece above mentioned, which was written at Cologne, and handed about in manuscript copies, without any name, till after his Lordship's death, his materials were taken from the Marquis of ORMONDE's papers; but it contains little more, according to its design, than a vindication of the Marquis, in the Peace which he made twice with the Confederate Catholics, and a display of their ingratitude, and infatuation. MR. CARTE treats professedly of this whole Rebellion, in his Life of the Duke of ORMONDE, and is by much the most copious and best Writer upon it: but there are so many flagrant instances of his partiality for the King, and of his prejudice against the Irish Ministers at the breaking out of the insurrection, that he is never to be read, where
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the ill conduct of the first is palliated, or the other censured, without the utmost caution. In the business of Lord GLAMORGAN particularly, he is extremely culpable; and, contrary to the evidence that was before him, throws all the blame of that transaction from the King upon his Lordship.

It may be said perhaps with some propriety, that NALSON, and RUSHWORTH, are Original English Writers of this event: but the Historical part of either, which reaches but a little way, is only to throw some light on the papers concerning Ireland, of which they give an useful, and for the most part, a just Collection: the first is as partial in his narrative on the side of the King, as the other on the side of the Parliament; and they are both to be consulted with great allowance for their Party Zeal. As to all the Writers of English History, who attempt to give any relation of this Rebellion, having compiled from some or other of the materials above mentioned, they have copied likewise their mistakes and imperfections: hence they are so inaccurate, partial, or uninformed, that whosoever contents himself with the accounts that he meets with of it, in any of our Histories of England—not one excepted—may be said to know little of it: and yet such a great part of English History, in the last seven years of CHARLES the First, is so intimately connected with Irish affairs, that a competent knowledge of them is necessary to make the other thoroughly understood.

But in this detail which hath been given of the several Writers on this Rebellion, my meaning hath not been to censure their errors and imperfections, but to shew how defective or fallacious this important point of history still remains; and consequently to prove the Utility of an impartial and authentic work. Here the Reader will see then the principal Reason which induced me, after so much Discouragement, to resume my labour upon Irish History. For this is a part of it which is so much connected with our
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own, that besides the Interest of Truth and Humanity in such a work, which is always valuable to a good mind, it seemed to me to be doing a service to Religion and Letters, here at Home, to undertake it. I do not presume to arraign the Lenity of our Governors in Church or State, for a very astonishing and unexampled Connivance at the increase of Popery: but as such swarms of Jesuits,—it is said, and I believe truly—have lately filled these kingdoms, whom other States have wisely banished, and who are the known Enemies of our Spiritual and Political Constitution, it appeared very seasonable to produce a History, fraught with the dire effects of their religion and their practices in a former age. A Liberty of Conscience to all those who have been born and educated here in that religion, is one thing; and God forbid it should be retrenched: but to permit an Army of foreign Priests to invade us, and to corrupt the minds of Protestant Subjects, is another; and our Laws prohibit it very wisely. But what signify Laws, when the Execution of them lies asleep? Let me not be misunderstood. Far be it from me to wish that the Government should go the length of all the cruel intolerant Statutes of ELIZABETH, and JAMES the First. I mean only such to be put in Force, and in the gentlest Manner, as would prevent the Increase of Popery.

There have been indeed for some time, so many apparent signs of an approaching Dissolution of the religion and liberties of this Country, and we are hastening so fast to our destruction, by a general luxury and corruption, by selfishness and depravity, that it is much perhaps to be doubted, whether any thing will awaken our Superiours from their Lethargy and Inattention. But a Lover of his Country cannot see this state of things with an eye of indifference; and the greater is its danger, the more he will exert himself to preserve it. The opinion, I know, is out of fashion, and the Man who avows it in this age of selfishness, is in no little hazard of passing in the world for a Bubble. But however, in defiance of this Profligacy, and tho' the

the way to honours and preferments lies through a less painful road than that of Zeal and Application in the public service, yet I will dare to repeat what I have said in another place *, “ that the Service of our Country, is not a chimerical, but a real Duty ; and that a Benevolent Man will employ all the means that are in his power to perform it.” A Sense of this Duty therefore came in aid of other considerations, and was the principal Motive that induced me to give this history to the world.

But as another reason for undertaking it, I must inform the Reader, that the Materials for it were All, either already in my own possession, or easily within my reach without any great Trouble; and—which was not the case in continuing the General History—without any Expence. Besides the extracts that I had taken from authentic Manuscripts at Dublin, I have the original return of the Depositions signed by the Commissioners, who were appointed to examine into the Massacre at the beginning of the Rebellion: which, as it gives a Clearness and Authority that had hitherto been wanting on this contested point, it must be owned, I was unwilling should be lost entirely to the world. I had also the advantage of Lord CLANRICARDE’s Memoirs and Letters, published too late for other Histories to make use of: and it was easy to have recourse to the Harleian Manuscripts in the Museum, in which are some original Letters on this Subject from CHARLES the First. More important still perhaps than any of these, I had the perusal of the Memoirs of RINUCCINI, the Pope’s Nuncio in Ireland at the time of this Rebellion. He had preserved the copies, and the answers, of his own letters to Rome, the accounts sent him of the several events as they fell out, and the papers and memorials which passed between him and the Supreme Council of the Catholics. These were put into the hands of an Irish Priest after the Nuncio’s death, by his Brother the Chamberlain to the Great

* Dedication of the Life of SR. THO. MOORE. 1758.

Great Duke of Tuscany, in order to be reduced into the form of a narrative, or Commentary; and such it is entitled. It is a Latin Manuscript in four immense volumes in Folio; and appears to be written with candour, and a strict regard to the materials: but I have made no use of those, which relate to the times in which the Nuncio himself was not in Ireland; as being of no certain authority. The original Manuscript, I have been informed, is in the Pope's library in the Vatican: the copy above-mentioned was procured by the late Earl of LEICESTER in his travels: and through the friendship of the Earl of BESSBOROUGH, and a zealous attention to his Country, I was favoured with the Manuscript by the Countess of LEICESTER; to both whom I take the liberty of making a public acknowledgment, for the embellishment and authority which it hath given to this work. No other English Writer appears to have seen these Memoirs, except MR. CARTE, and DR. BIRCH: the former hath made a very partial use of them; and the latter confines himself to a few transactions of the King and Lord GLAMORGAN with the Nuncio and the Rebels. These Memoirs however bring to light so many secret affairs of the Catholicks in that period—to say no more—that it is impossible for any history of the Irish Rebellion to be complete, without the assistance of this Manuscript. Having thus justified myself, I hope very fully, for not continuing the General History of Ireland, as I had proposed to do, and for taking up only a Part of it in the following work, it is necessary now to give some account of it, and of the manner in which I have attempted to execute it with success.

It will be difficult perhaps to find, in any Age, and in any Nation, a History which abounds with scenes of more variety and intrigue, or with events that are more interesting, than are to be met with here. But of the Work itself I shall say no more, than that it is full of such enterprises, as will afford an instructive, and a much unheeded Lesson to Mankind. It

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will instruct PRINCES, to consult the Interest and Inclinations of their Subjects, and not to govern by illegal and despotic Power. It will instruct the MINISTERS of Princes, that their own Passions, Faction, and Ill-humour, will produce as much Mischief to the Public Peace, and the Security of their Master, as the most open Villany. It will instruct the PEOPLE, not to suffer and assist the Folly, the Frowardness, the Pride, and Ambition of particular persons, to govern the Public Understanding, and the venom of Private Interest to be mingled with the Public Good. These will appear to have been the means which Providence permitted, to infatuate a people ripe and prepared for their destruction: and by suffering the Weak to contribute to the ill designs of the Wicked, and the Wicked to be more wicked than they first intended, such a Scene of horror and desolation followed, as is scarcely to be equalled in any Country.

In order to write the history with that fulness, with which All History should be written to become Useful, the various Authorities above-mentioned, manuscript and printed, and others not mentioned, were consulted in compiling it. The Reader will find them in the margin, at the head of each respective Book to which they belong: and as the several Years are distinguished, a particular reference to the Pages was deemed unnecessary. But for the copies of Public Papers, or the proceedings in Parliament, the Names of the Writer from whom they are taken are placed against them. The principal source of the Printed Materials for this work, was found in the Life of the Duke of ORMONDE by MR. CARTE; in which he hath treated so copiously of this Rebellion, as to employ about half of two volumes in folio entirely on it. His account is chiefly written from the original Letters of the King and his Secretaries, of the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, and of Lord ORMONDE, and other principal persons—a Collection of which he hath also published in a third volume—; from the Journals of Parliament, from the Papers in the Ormonde Family, from the Manuscripts

Manuscripts collected by DR. MADAN Bishop of Clogher, and from the private Memoirs of one PLUNKET, who lived in that time, and was himself an eye-witness of many transactions which he relates. To this work of MR. CARTE's, and to the volume of original letters, I am more indebted in the following history, than to all the other Writers put together. But as his stile is generally very verbose, and the parts of his sentences not always well connected, I have not copied him servilely in the passages which I have taken from him: and where his materials are drawn from the letters, I have not written from Him, but from the Letters themselves. Upon points of little moment where he hath been very full, and very brief, or entirely silent upon important points, which hath sometimes happened, in the former case I have taken the liberty to leave him, and to add to him in the latter. The various proceedings of the English Parliament, though of such authority and importance, are scarcely ever related by him; and he hath made but a superficial use of the Nuncio's Memoirs. The Particulars of the little skirmishes and rencounters during the war, though they might be acceptable to some of the Irish, who are acquainted with the places wherein they happened, or are concerned for the honour of those who signified themselves in them, yet to Readers in general must appear insipid and insignificant; and therefore they have been omitted. Even of the principal Battles and Sieges, the Particulars of which might be entertaining, I have given only a short account; for this reason among others, that I was not able to understand the minute details that were to have been transcribed: And I have been told by Military Men of great rank, that without Plans of the Fortifications, of the Field of Battle, and of the Position of the Armies, such relations, especially when drawn by men of another profession, are neither accurate nor intelligible.

It is very remarkable, that none of the Irish Writers who relate the transactions of this period—Lord CLANRICARDE excepted—observe the

Order of Time; which occasions great perplexity: and though MR. CARTE is more accurate, yet he often runs into the same defect. A great attention hath been paid to this circumstance in the following work: and it is hoped that it will be found to be generally pretty exact. To add to the Clearness which hath been thus attempted, and that the Dates of the several letters, instruments, or events, may easily be understood, they are altered here, where it was necessary, so as to make them correspond with the Computation now in use, and that the Year should begin with the first of January. That the proceedings of the several parties in the war, might be more intelligible than they would be otherwise to an English Reader, a Map of Ireland, taken from MOLL, hath been prefixed. No pains indeed have been spared, and no endeavours wanting, to make this History as worthy of the attention of the Publick as I could make it. But after all the care that hath been taken, the Author is not so vain as to suppose it is wholly free from Error. He can only say, that none hath been committed through Carelessness or Design; but in so large a work it is extremely difficult to avoid it. He hath no apprehension however of having the Crime of Partiality laid to his charge — and a great Crime it is: for he believes he is more likely to give offence to All sides, by the Favour which hath been shewn on some occasions, and by the Severity with which on others he hath condemned them ALL. The Bigots on each side, who always have been and ever will be the Plague of the Wise and Good, have with infinite disservice to truth and charity, stuck at nothing that would enflame the passions of each other with the most infernal rage. But a good-hearted man will always be an enemy to the passion and uncharitableness which are produced by different sentiments in Religion: And if I am found in this history, to pay generally more Civility to the Persons of the Catholics, and to load their Principles with less Censure, than other Protestant Writers usually do, surely such Candour will need no Apology.

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Upon the whole, If this History should induce the IRISH PAPISTS to see their real interest, in being contented with a toleration of the exercise of their Religion, and in abstaining from the least approaches to those measures which brought their Ancestors to Ruin; If it enlarges the sentiments of the IRISH PROTESTANTS, and, by giving a benevolent cast of thought, should incline them to the Repeal of those severe and vindictive Statutes against their Fellow-Subjects in the reign of ANNE, which are as contrary to sound Policy as to true Religion: and If the Reflections intermixed, which have nothing of Party in them, should have Honesty and Good Sense enough to engage the attention of the ENGLISH, and awaken them from their Selfishness to a sense of Duty, the Author will think himself happy in thus closing his Public Labours, with a Work of such Utility to Religious and Civil Liberty, to the Peace and Prosperity of Both Kingdoms.



E X P L A N A T I O N

OF THE AUTHORITIES

Mentioned in the Margin, from which this History was principally compiled.

CLARENDON.

THE History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, written by EDW. Earl of CLARENDON. Fol. And a Vindication of JAMES Duke of ORMONDE. Octavo.

CASTLEHAVEN.

The Earl of CASTLEHAVEN's Memoirs. Octavo.

COX.

History of Ireland by SR. R. COX 2 Vol. Fol.

TEMPLE.

The Irish Rebellion: or an History, &c. by SR. JOHN TEMPLE. Octo. There is another Edition in Quarto.

BORLASE.

The History of the execrable Irish Rebellion. Fol.

NALSON.

An impartial Collection of the great affairs of State, 2 Vol. Fol. 1683. By DR. NALSON.

RUSHWORTH.

Historical Collections in Eight Vol. Folio. By J. RUSHWORTH, Esq.

HUSBAND.

A Collection of all the public Orders, Ordinances, and Declarations of both Houses of Parliament. Fol. 1646.

HARRIS.

Faction Unmasked, &c. By WALT. HARRIS, Esq. Oct. 1759.

CARTE.

- CARTE. Life of the Duke of ORMONDE, and a Collection of Letters by CHARLES I. and II. &c. in Three Vol. Folio. By THO. CARTE, M. A. 1736.
- Hist. Mem. Historical Memoirs of the Irish Rebellion, Octav. 1758.
- CLANRICARDE. The Memoirs and Letters of ULICK Marquis of CLANRICARDE. Fol. 1757.
- Inquiry, &c. An Inquiry into the share which King CHARLES I. had in the Transactions of the Earl of GLAMORGAN. By DR. BIRCH. Oct. 1747.
- Nuncio's M. De Hæresis Anglicanæ intrusione et progressu, et de Bello Catholico ad An. 1641, in Hiberniâ capto, exindeque per aliquot annos gesto, Commentarius. A Manuscript in 4 Vol. Folio.
- LUDLOW. Memoirs of EDM. LUDLOW, Esq. &c. in 3 Vol. Oct. 1698.
- MORRICE. A Collection of the State Letters, and Life, of the Earl of ORRERY. By MR. MORRICE his Chaplain. 2 Vol. Oct. 1743.
- M. S. Extracts made by the Author from the Books in the Council-Office at Dublin, from the College Manuscripts there, and from the Examinations signed by the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Murders, &c. at the beginning of the Rebellion; in the possession of the Author.
- THURLOE. A Collection of the Letters and State Papers of MR. THURLOE, Secretary to O. CROMWELL, in Seven Vol. Fol. By DR. BIRCH.

The Reader is desired to correct the following very few Errors :

- Page 43, line 5 from the bottom, for *freely*, read *treaty*.
P. 173, l. 5 from the bottom, for *she*, read *he*.
P. 216, l. 23, for *treaties*, read *entreaties*.
P. 276, l. 5, for *commends*, read *commands*.
P. 554, l. 12, for *his* time, read *the* time.
P. 559, l. 3 from the bottom, for *transplant*, read *transport*.

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H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

R E B E L L I O N and C I V I L - W A R

I N

I R E L A N D.

B O O K I.

AMIDST a general tranquillity which had been established in Ireland for many years; when all former animosities seemed to have been extinguished, and every irritating distinction to have been laid aside; that a rebellion should be concerted, and without the knowledge or suspicion of any but the contrivers, should break out on a sudden into acts of cruelty, in several parts of the kingdom on one and the same day; this is an historical event so very astonishing and improbable, as posterity can scarcely credit: but yet the fact is undeniable. For a few interruptions and murmurings in some particular places notwithstanding, almost forty years had passed away in the greatest calm and felicity that the inhabitants of Ireland had ever before enjoyed. The great encrease of commerce, the improvements of land, and the ornament and advantages of public buildings, had given a new face to

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the country. Whatsoever their skill and industry produced became their own: being not only free from fear of having it taken from them by the government upon any pretence without their own consent, but being also secured against theft and robbery by the just execution of salutary and useful laws.

Should it be alledged that a want of freedom in the exercise of their religion among the Catholicks, who were the Majority of the people, had occasioned their dissatisfaction, yet that dissatisfaction, on an impartial view of the evidence on both sides, I presume to say was unreasonable and unjust. For though the power and authority of the Pope is not admitted by the constitution of that kingdom, yet the whole nation, generally speaking, enjoyed an undisturbed exercise of their religion. Even in Dublin itself, which is the seat of administration, the Roman Catholicks went tho' not as publicly, yet as uninterruptedly to their devotions, as the chief governour did to his. They had their titular archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, provincial synods, deans, abbots, friars, and nuns, who all lived freely, tho' somewhat covertly amongst them, and without restraint exercised their respective jurisdictions. They had also their priests and jesuits, who were of late years multiplied exceedingly from Spain and Italy and other parts abroad; whither the children of the native Irish were usually sent for their education. These priests and jesuits, without any restraint, had settled themselves quietly in all the chief towns and villages, and in the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's houses throughout the kingdom. Thus tho' it was privately, yet the exercise of all their religious rites and ceremonies was enjoyed freely without any controul: and tho' there were some laws against them still in force, which the wisdom and necessity of former ages had caused to be enacted, and which the policy of the present times had kept unrepealed, yet the edge of those laws was so totally rebated by the lenity of the government, that not a single man could say that he had suffered any prejudice or disturbance for his religion: nor was this all their indulgence. The Roman Catholicks were allowed to enjoy the offices of sheriffs of counties without the oath of supremacy, to have seats in parliament, and to be magistrates of corporations: which is another kind of indulgence, it must be owned, than subjects who profess a different faith from that which is established by law can boast of in any other country in the

the world. I will go further than this and say, without any fear of contradiction, that it was another sort of indulgence than they should have had: there being no proposition more self evident, than that no man ought to be trusted with any share of power under a government, who, to act consistently with himself, must endeavour the destruction of that government: and to this indulgence perhaps may be attributed a great deal of the mischief which ensued.

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The ancient animosities of the native Irish against those of English descent, seemed in appearance to be extinguished by frequent inter-marriages and alliances, by mutual interests and friendships, and, which is more in their esteem, by gossipred and fostering; customs, which the reader will find explained in my other history*. Nay they had made as it were a mutual transmigration into each others manners; many English having degenerated into Irish habits and fordid ways of living; and many of the latter on the other hand, of the better sort especially, having adopted the English language, elegance, and apparel. So great an advantage did they find indeed in this intercourse, in the improvement of their lands and manufactures, beyond what they ever knew before, that many of the landlords tho Roman Catholics, of the old native stock—whom I call the IRISH, and who must be distinguished from those of English descent, whom I call the ENGLISH people of Ireland——had turned their Irish tenants, tho' Papists, out of their estates, and had taken English, tho' Protestants, in their room.

It shall not be concealed from the reader, that this representation of the tranquillity of the kingdom of Ireland is objected to by the writers on the side of the Roman Catholics. They bring particular instances of grievances and discontents on many occasions; and especially in the seven years preceding the rebellion under the government of the Earl of STRAFFORD.. But should all these be allowed, of which—to speak impartially—many must be contradicted, either in themselves, or in their extent, yet these interruptions are not sufficient to overthrow the truth of such a general representation: and that the Irish had this opinion of their own felicity, speaking of themselves as a nation, is evident from the great encomiums given of his Lord-

* Hist. of Ireland, Introduc. p. 96.

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ship's administration, but the year before the rebellion, by the Parliament; most of the members of which who were native Irish, as these writers allow, being Papists. Indeed if that Earl's administration was not without faults and errors, as it certainly was not, yet the general course of it was calculated to promote the peace and prosperity of that kingdom: nor would particular instances be wanting, were this a place to produce them, of the superior figure it made under Lord STRAFFORD's government, than it had ever made since it was a nation. Nay further than all this, the grievances they complained of under him, were in the summer before the rebellion redressed by the King: and therefore I return again to say, that in this mutual amity and comfort had the inhabitants lived together, with few and short interruptions for almost forty years; when discerning some distempers which arose in England upon the Scotch invasion, and the countenance which was given to those people here by many leading men, the same sort of jealousies and discontents were transplanted into Ireland, and entertained and cherished at Dublin. Did the English parliament accuse several Councillors and Ministers of state upon vague and general imputations, in order to remove out of their way the persons trusted by the crown, and whose wisdom might have prevented the ensuing mischief? Even so men of turbulent and seditious spirits in Ireland, impeached their Lord Chancellor and several of their Judges: and the very same Parliament which had passed an act the year before for four subsidies to the King, "as thinking nothing too much to shew their zeal and affection for his service"—in the preamble of which they found the praise of the Earl of STRAFFORD in the most fulsome strains—veering about all on a sudden with the wind from England, reduced three of the subsidies to a sum so inconsiderable as to be scarce worth collecting; drew up a remonstrance against the Earl as the author of their grievances and a destroyer of the natural freedom of their parliament; and conspired even with their enemies to bring his Lordship to the scaffold. This remonstrance, obtained in a forcible unparliamentary manner, and which was fuller of passion and party than of truth or candour, was sent over to the King, against the consent of the Lord Deputy, by a committee of four Lords and twelve of the House of Commons; almost all of them Roman Catholicks. The King, to give them contentment, and the Lord Deputy being dead, appointed Lord DILLON and Sir W. PARSONS Lords Justices of that kingdom; but finding the former not agreeable

agreeable to the committee and the English Parliament, because of his intimacy and alliance with the Earl of STRAFFORD, his Majesty imprudently cancelled the commission, and put SR. JOHN BORLASE, master of the ordnance, in the room of the Lord DILLON.

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No sooner were these Ministers possessed of their high power than they endeavoured to put the government on its former footing; in order to mollify the sharp humours which some of the rigid measures of the Earl of STRAFFORD's administration had introduced. The known laws of the land were made the standard of their government; and they gave all due encouragement to the parliament then sitting for the ease and accommodation of his Majesty's subjects in some important articles. The King having given a full satisfaction to the committee abovementioned, by ordering them copies of all records, of all orders of council, and of all entries which were necessary to manifest and prove their grievances, and by several other gracious compliances and condescensions, so, that he might further testify his resolution to make his Irish subjects easy under his government, in the beginning of May he appointed the Earl of LEICESTER,—and not the English Parliament, as LUDLOW says—Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom. Had this Lord then gone over, which he never did, or if the King had made the Earl of ORMONDE Lord deputy, as the Earl of STRAFFORD had advised, it would have been happy for the Irish nation; as the rebellion would either probably have been prevented, or smothered in its birth. The Earl of ORMONDE was on the spot, Lieutenant General of the army, a nobleman of much weight on account of his great estate, his family and alliances, as well as of his temper and abilities: and had the King consulted only his own judgment and inclination, he would have put the government of Ireland under his Lordship's care. But his Majesty suffered himself to be overruled in this particular by the committee abovementioned, and by some of his Council here; who had prejudices against the Earl. When a King thus forbears to make use of proper persons in his service, or to put those out of it, whose fidelity and abilities have been experienced, in order only to comply with a discontented party, it is a weakness for which his government will always suffer. Many proofs of this might be produced from the history of our own times; tho' they were never more
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visible than in the unhappy reign of which I write. If this is a lesson useful to Princes, it is of no less importance to their subjects; in whom it is highly criminal to weaken and disturb the government they live under, by motives merely of prejudice or ambition. With these alterations in their affairs, and the Earl of STRAFFORD being removed for ever out of their way, the committee sent by the parliament returned to Dublin. They found their two houses, it being the latter end of August, had a few days before, by consent of the majority, been adjourned for three months: and desiring the Lords Justices and Council to issue out proclamations of all his Majesty's grants and graces that they might be made known to the people, in which they were gratified, they retired with an appearance of great satisfaction to their respective houses in the country, till the parliament should meet again according to the adjournment.

In this happy situation of public affairs, when the national grievances were redressed, and a general composure and serenity was established throughout the kingdom; nothing to fear from the administration, and no animosities as to interest or religion appearing to subsist among them; without the least pretence of a quarrel, or the apprehension of any hostility by the Protestants, an information was one evening given to SR. W. PARSONS one of the Lords Justices, that a design was formed by some Irish Catholics, on the next day to surprize and seize the castle of Dublin; the chief seat of government, and in which was a large magazine of arms and ammunition: and tho' this scheme was defeated by this information, as will be seen hereafter, yet the next day, which was the TWENTY-THIRD OF OCTOBER—being the market-day at Dublin—a great number of Irish Catholics, by a previous general concert in the province of Ulster, and soon after in other places, tumultuously assembled together, put themselves in arms or took dangerous weapons, seized all the towns castles and houses there belonging to the Protestants which they had force enough to possess; and in a short time after, with the most shocking circumstances of cruelty that the imagination can represent, destroyed in many parts of the kingdom a vast number of men, women, and children, without distinction of age or sex, or any other pretence of crime than their being of English descent, and not being Papists.

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In the month of March before this, the King had ordered SR. HEN. VANE, one of the secretaries of state, to acquaint the Lords Justices, " with an advice that had been given him from abroad, and confirmed by " his Ministers in Spain and other places, that there had then lately passed " from Spain—and it was likely from other parts—an unspeakable number " of Irish Churchmen for England and Ireland, and some good old Soldiers under pretext of asking leave to raise men for the King of Spain : " whereas it is observed among the Irish Friars in Spain, that a whisper " runs as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland, and particularly in Connaught, Wherefore his Majesty thought fit to give their Lordships this " notice, that in their wisdoms they might manage the same with that " dexterity and secrecy as to discover and prevent so pernicious a design, if " any such there should be; and to have a watchful eye on the proceedings " and actions of those who come thither from abroad on what pretext soever." It was necessary to recite particularly this letter; and the reader is desired to keep it in remembrance for reasons that will appear. But whatever wisdom or dexterity those Lords Justices might be possessed of, there is no account in any of the histories of that time, that they took any steps whatever in consequence of this advice; and I believe it is very certain that none were taken.

An obscure intimation of some secret practices was also given to them, in a letter from SR. WIL. COLE, eleven days before the insurrection; informing them " that he had received intelligence from people of credit, that there had of late been a more than ordinary resort of people, and some of them from abroad, at the house of SR. PHELM O NEIL in the county of Tyrone; which had bred a suspicion in the minds of honest people, that something of evil intention was then in agitation. They were the more apprehensive, he says, of this, because Lord MAC-GUIRE had been observed to take frequent journeys lately to Dublin, into the Pale, and to SR. PHELM's house. He had likewise received advice, that his Lordship had been writing letters a whole night together lately, and had dispatched away every man he had about him with them the next morning: and on the day SR. W. COLE wrote this account to the Lords Justices, he had received an information, " that Lord MAC-GUIRE had appointed seven captains

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tains to entertain men for the service of the King of Spain; of the truth of which service, on account of the privacy which was observed, and for other reasons, he was much in doubt." To this letter the Lords Justices and Council returned an answer; desiring SR. W. COLE to be very vigilant and industrious in order to find out the occasion of those meetings he had mentioned, and to give them intelligence of that or any other particular which he might think of service to the state. More than this, it is alledged in their defence, that they could not do with any propriety: because if they had secured Lord MAC-GUIRE and SR. PHELM on this suspicion, before those Gentlemen had given proofs of their sedition, it would have furnished the Irish, who were ever ready to take fire, with a pretence for putting themselves in arms. Besides some were so unwilling to entertain any mistrust of the Irish, believing time and good usage had worn off all ill impressions, that they were solicitous to remove suspicions of them in others; "so that more than a circumspect eye was not to be advised." Whether this is a sufficient vindication of the inactivity of the Lords Justices and Council,—which is much to be doubted—it is impossible at this distance of time, without knowing all the circumstances, to determine. But yet it must be owned, that it is much easier to decide now from the accidents and occurrences that have happened what ought then to have been done, than it was at that time to have foreseen by what means this conspiracy would grow up into so much strength. It is certain however that on the twenty-first of October, two days before the breaking out of the rebellion, SR. W. COLE sent another letter to the Council to give them notice of it; and it is as certain, according to SR. JOHN TEMPLE, who was one of them, that those letters never came to their hands: tho' he does not pretend to say how, or where, they were intercepted.

Having given the reader a view of the state of public affairs in Ireland for some time previous to the insurrection, it may be necessary for the better understanding this point of history, to lay open the CAUSES and OCCASIONS of an event so little expected, and so very astonishing and important in itself, as well as dreadful in its effects. I have proposed to assign the Occasions of this rebellion, besides the Causes of it; tho' no writer that I have seen makes any distinction between them, but some of them put the latter before

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before the former; and yet I must own they appear to me to be very different things in themselves, and likewise in the order of time. But to speak of the causes of this insurrection with any precision, it is expedient to take the history a good deal higher up than I have hitherto done, even at the English conquest. From that æra there commenced two different sorts of people in the same country, totally different in nation, interest, manners, laws, language, and disposition. If the English looked upon themselves as the conquerors of the others, as the more civilized polished people, and superior to them in the arts of life; the Irish looked upon them as their mortal enemies, who had invaded their country without any just cause of hostility, who had plundered their effects, deprived them of their estates and liberties, and whom it was reasonable to oppose by skill and force whenever they had an opportunity, that they might be restored to their own possessions. Whosoever has read, or will give himself the trouble to read, the history which I have published in a former volume, will find the native Irish to be a very fierce, high spirited, and irascible, if not a vindictive people; who would doubtless therefore watch every occasion to get rid of their unjust usurpers. The distinction of NATIONS was for this reason so carefully kept up on the side of the Irish, that no laws nor allurements could for many ages persuade them to part with their language, their habit, or the most barbarous of their customs: and when they afterwards appeared to be in a manner reconciled to the English government and laws, yet, generally speaking, they still entertained inwardly an extinguishable antipathy to the English name and nation.

To a difference of NATION, must be added as another cause of this rebellion, a difference of INTEREST, which had occasioned animosities from the very first settlement of the English in that island. Having a jealousy that they were looked upon by all their Monarchs and their Governors in general as a conquered people, this jealousy made them imagine that they were seldom or never treated like freeborn or natural subjects; and perhaps it was not always a matter of imagination only. My present design however does not lead me to enter into particulars. Let it suffice only to say, that in the rebellion of TYRONE under JAMES the First, a great part of six counties, in the province of Ulster, were forfeited to the Crown, and

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new planted; as many of their lands had been before: But yet these forfeitures were never acknowledged by the Irish to be just; and as many of the new settlers were brought from Scotland, which they disliked more than England, it aggravated their imagined injury: And therefore they thought, that in the same way by which they lost their liberties and estates—by superior force—they were entitled to recover them whenever they should be able. But to put it out of doubt that this was one of the causes of this rebellion, I will give the reader Lord CASTLEHAVEN's opinion in his own words; a man of sense and candour, a Roman Catholick, and a General in this rebellion on the side of the Irish. “I must confess, I myself am now, as I have been long since, upon serious reflexions abundantly convinced, that however the circumstances of this time [meaning the troubles in Scotland] gave life and birth to that rebellion of Ireland, yet the design of it had been laid partly at home, but chiefly abroad in foreign parts, even several years before the troubles either of England or Scotland began; and that the original, true, and great motive indeed thereof, was no other than that fatal one, which for so many hundred years, from HENRY II. to the beginning of King JAMES's reign, had been not only the very source of all the dangerous rebellions of that country, but the very bane and ruin of its people on all sides for so many ages; the national feud, I mean, between the MERE Irish—as the ancient Milesians are called—and the LATER Irish, or colonies of English extraction among them; and the unalterable persuasion of the former that the English conquest of that country was but mere usurpation without any just title; and that the right both to the supreme sovereignty and proprietorship too of all the lands of Ireland, still remained according to the ancient Brehon laws of that country—which, say they, had never been repealed or antiquated, and consequently also according to the laws of GOD—in the surviving heirs of the more ancient natives, the Milesians †. It is true that forty years continual and flourishing peace in all obedience to the English laws there, from the last of Queen ELIZABETH to sixteen hundred forty-one, seemed to carry a fair outside, as if all those national animosities and pretences had been utterly extinguished. But alas! the old leaven still fermented inwardly of

† The Milesians, and the Brehon laws, are explained in the former volume.

one side, and among that side the fire was but covered under hot embers. The Earls of TYRONE and TIRCONNEL, and the councils of Spain and Rome, and the Irish monasteries and seminaries in so many countries of Europe and very many of the Churchmen returning home out of them, and chiefly the titular Bishops together with the Superiors of regular orders, took an effectual course under the specious colour of religion, to add continually new fuel to the burning coals and prepare them for a flame on the first opportunity; which, whoever did not see in the beginning of this rebellion—as many did not—by observing what extraction, or what names all the first appearers in it were of; and how particularly of the whole hundred that were designed for seizing the castle of Dublin there was not so much as one person of British blood, extraction or name, among them, might nevertheless, and without the help of a multiplying glass, most clearly see it in the procedure of the war.”

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But another, and perhaps the most prevalent cause of all which generated this rebellion, was the difference of RELIGION; and this is the cause avowed by the Catholicks themselves who took up arms, as the reader will presently see. I shall now however recall to his remembrance, as a proof of it, what SR. HEN. VANE writes to the Lords Justices; “that his Majesty had received advice that there had lately passed from Spain—and it was likely from other parts—an unspeakable number of CHURCHMEN into England and Ireland, and that a whisper run among the Irish Friars in Spain, as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland.” This of itself is a proof sufficient to convince us, that an intention to restore the free and unlimited exercise of their religion was one great cause of this rebellion: and to say the truth, they had never ceased from the time of the reformation to encroach on the toleration that was allowed them; but by plots, conspiracies, and insurrections, had been struggling against the Protestant religion, and labouring to overthrow it. Nor can we wonder; when they were taught †, “that the Pope was by divine right universal Monarch and Governor of the world, and had independent Sovereign authority over Kings and subjects in temporal as well as spiritual concerns; that he might deprive and dethrone Kings, and had power of both swords, to which every soul upon

† Walsh's Remonstr. pref. p. 6, 7.

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pain of damnation was bound to give obedience; that he had power to absolve from all oaths, and that those who are slain in the quarrel of the Church against an excommunicated prince die true martyrs to CHRIST, and their souls flie to heaven immediately." Thus the titular Bishop of FERNES of that time, speaking of this rebellion, calls it "a just and most holy war." But to say nothing of the peculiar spirit of Popery, which from the history of all nations we know to have been always zealous and sometimes fiery and vindictive, it is no wonder that the Irish priests, who have an absolute power over the ignorant superstitious multitude, and no little influence over the gentry of their communion, should be continually struggling for the establishment of their religion. They were always educated abroad, but principally in France and Spain; from whence they returned with principles of unlimited obedience towards the Pope, and with too little sense of that allegiance which was due to their rightful Sovereign, though of a communion different from themselves. Thus they had set up an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which they exercised under the papal authority, though in express contradiction to the law of the land: and though the state connived at this offence, and at their celebrating religious rites according to their conscience in a modest private manner,—as it is to be hoped it ever will do—yet to those who had seen the pomp and splendour with which their religion was exercised in foreign parts, and which they longed to see restored at home, this was a toleration by no means satisfactory and agreeable. The figure and grandeur in which foreign prelates appeared, the great respect paid to the inferior clergy, and the certain revenues appropriated to them abroad, these were circumstances which made them uneasy with their own condition in Ireland; where they could not with prudence appear openly, and their character was consequently without public respect; and where even their subsistence, scanty as it was, was absolutely dependent. But yet the desire of an alteration, natural enough to a clergy thus educated, zealous for their religion, and mortified with their distresses, was however of such a nature, that they could not hope to see it gratified in a parliamentary way, which had been tried with success in other cases. In order to obtain such an alteration as would make them happy, so great a sacrifice must be made of the King's prerogative and the established church, as would alienate the minds of all his Protestant subjects,

and

and involve his dominions in anarchy and confusion. No hope therefore remained of procuring any redress by the Parliament or the Crown; and if they expected any relief it must be in the way of arms. The conversation of the Irish priests abroad, where the character of being sufferers for their religion made their access to great men very practicable, and where several of them had been enabled to cultivate an interest with the Ministers of State in those countries, gave them opportunities of soliciting supplies of men and money to re-establish their religion in Ireland: and in taking these opportunities, it is plain, from the history of those times, that they had not been idle. Nor is the zeal for this work of maintaining the Popish religion in Ireland to be ascribed only to their Clergy. For as another proof that this was one of the Causes of the rebellion, I shall give the reader a letter, which I copied from the Manuscripts belonging to the Dublin Society, with which they favour'd me, taken from the "Black Book of Christchurch." The letter was written at Rome by the then Bishop of MEATH to the great O NEIL of that time, by order of the college of Cardinals, and is in these words.

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My Son O NEIL,

Thou and thy fathers were all along faithful to the mother church of Rome. His holiness PAUL, now Pope, and the council of the holy Fathers, have lately found out a prophecy there remaining of one St. LATESIANUS an Irish bishop of Cashel; wherein he saith, "that the mother church of Rome falleth when in Ireland the catholic faith is overcome." Therefore for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. PETER, and your own security, suppress heresy in his holiness's enemies; for when the Roman faith there perisheth, the See of Rome falleth also. Therefore the council of Cardinals have thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland as a sacred Island; being certified whilst the mother church hath a son of worth as yourself, and of those that shall succour you and join therein, she will never fall, but have more or less a holding in Britain in spite of fate. Thus having obeyed the order of the most sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the holy Trinity, to the blessed Virgin, St. PETER, and St. PAUL, and all the heavenly host, Amen.

Romæ 4 Kalen.

Maii 1538.

Episcopus Metensis.

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When it is considered that the church of Rome is possessed of such a prophecy, and that they place so great a confidence in it, we may be sure that to whatever other causes an insurrection in Ireland may be ascribed, the restoring the Popish religion to its ancient splendor, will be always one of the chief. Tho' the historians therefore are uncertain, where, and in what manner, the first plotting of the rebellion in sixteen hundred forty one was fabricated, neither hath time the great discoverer of truth brought it to light, yet that it was a machination of Popery, either in Ireland or Rome, and brought to maturity by those vigilant and industrious emissaries who are continually sent about by the holy See, the reader, in my opinion, hath had sufficient proof.

Having thus traced the CAUSES which gave birth to the design of a general insurrection, that was intended to extirpate the Protestants and their religion out of Ireland, I shall now set down the OCCASIONS which brought this design into action; into arming the Roman Catholicks against the State, and to the exercise of such cruelties as are abhorrent to human nature. The first and principal Occasion, and which gradually brought on all the rest, was the success which the Scots met with in their first invasion of England, and the favourable terms that they got from the King. The Irish saw that the Scots, by pretending grievances and taking up arms to get them redressed, had procured whatever establishments they proposed in their own kingdom; and, "to the eternal disgrace of the courage, conscience, and the old honour of the English nation"—says Lord CLARENDON—that a donative of three hundred thousand pounds, besides five and twenty thousand pounds a month during their stay, had been voted them by parliament as a recompence for their hostile insolent undertaking. No wonder that a success like this, so wholly unbecoming the spirit of the King and kingdom of England, should animate the seditious discontented Irish to execute a design for which they wanted only a convenient opportunity. That in fact however this rebellious insult of the Scots, and the advantages they derived from it, had such an effect with the native Irish, is evident from the examination of O CONOLLY, who gave the first information of their design; and who says that they engaged in it, "to be rid of the tyrannical government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland who by that course had enlarged their privileges."

The example of Scotland, in truth, wrought very powerfully on the imaginations of the Irish, and filled them with thoughts of emulation; "as deserving full as good, if not better usage, inasmuch as their country was more beneficial and important to the English nation." They knew the weakness of the government and the distress which the King was in, and they thought themselves as able to overturn a constitution as the Scots; as strong in their own country, and as likely to obtain foreign succours. Nor was this the only effect of the Scotch invasion upon the Irish: for the commissioners and officers of that army had so far inveigled themselves with men of ill dispositions towards the King in both houses of this Parliament, that each other's cause was made their own; and a rupture between his Majesty and the Parliament here, as well as that in Scotland, seeming unavoidable, the Irish concluded that they could never have a fairer opportunity to execute their scheme with a prospect of success; as the King would be too much engaged with these two disobedient people, to give his enemies in Ireland any disturbance. To this must be added that the committee of Parliament from Dublin, which had this summer attended with their complaints against Lord STRAFFORD, most of them Papists who had a great share in the rebellion which ensued, had seen a vast deal of the spirit which was then gone forth against the government. They had been engaged, in concert with the leading men of the House of Commons, in the prosecution of that Minister; and tho' enemies as to religion, might be let into the secret of their operations against the state: at least, Lord CLARENDON seems to have thought so; and the measures afterwards in Ireland till the rebellion, were so exact a transcript of the methods which the others had pursued in England, that if they were not suggested, they were at least encouraged here. A spirit of turbulence and sedition appears to have been the distemper of those times; as it prevailed in France and other places as well as in the dominions of the English Monarch. But it seems clear to me, I confess, that if the Scotch army had been quelled on its first invasion, as it easily might, and as it certainly should have been, and if the officers and commissioners belonging to it had not been suffered to come to London or to remain in England, the troubles which ensued here had never happened, or at least would not have been carried to the height they were. Nor does it seem less clear, that if the committee from the Irish Parliament had not been countenanced, nor permitted

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mitted to remain here, and to apply as they did to this House of Commons, that the rebellion in Ireland would not have been undertaken at that time, or would easily have been defeated. But to return.

Another Occasion of the insurrection of the Irish at that juncture, was the disbanding of an army of eight thousand men which had been raised by Lord STRAFFORD, in order to assist the King against the Scots: and the old standing army, consisting only of about two thousand foot and nine hundred horse, was so strangely dispersed into remote parts of the kingdom for the guard of forts, as to make it almost impossible to draw together in any time a sufficient number for the defence of Dublin, or to make head against the rebels in the northern parts of the island. But the disbanding of the army raised against the Scots gave a fatal occasion to this dire attempt. The King perceiving there was no likelihood of making use of this army, not that use at least for which it had been raised, and hearing that mention was often made of it very maliciously against him in this House of Commons, which in concert with the Irish committee had addressed him for that purpose, determined to disband it; and tho' he had no money to pay them, to free himself from a pretence of slander on that account. RAPIN indeed says, "that the Commons had provided for their payment;" but he says it without authority, and it is contrary to truth*. At the same time that the King's orders were sent to the Lords Justices, and the Earl of ORMONDE his Lieutenant General, to disband that army, he directed that any of the officers should have free leave to transport what number of men they could prevail upon to enter into the service of any Prince in amity with this State. In a short time after, upon the earnest entreaty of the Spanish ambassadour, his Majesty consented that four thousand soldiers of that army might be sent into Flanders for the service of the King of Spain; and if any of them desired it, that they might be allowed to transport themselves into France. This was no sooner known, than the English House of Commons, who had nothing at all to do with it, "interposed with their accustomed confidence and distemper"—says Lord CLARENDON—to beseech his Majesty to revoke his licence; and by slight and impertinent reasons boldly urged and

* Carte's Life of ORMOND. Vol. I. p. 134.

insisted on, as they did in every thing else, prevailed with the King to inhibit the transporting any of these soldiers out of that kingdom for the service of any Prince whatever. Many were of opinion at that time, that this activity in a business of which they had not the least cognizance, proceeded from the instigation of the French Minister, who certainly fomented those humours out of which the public calamities were engendered; and several affirmed on their own knowledge, that the honest upright patriot Mr. PYM had five thousand pounds for preventing that supply for the King of Spain. Others believed that this interposition proceeded only from the proud and petulant spirit which then governed, in order to lessen the King's reputation, and to cross him in the exercise of the regal power. There was probably a foundation for all these opinions, and there might be some truth in all of them: but the principal motive to this interposition, according to the noble historian abovementioned, was the advice and request of the committee of Parliament from Ireland, whose counsel, he says, was always followed in what concerned that kingdom. Be this as it might; it is certain that the public reasons alledged for this conduct of the English Parliament relating to that army, and drawn from mere possibilities only, were trifling and impertinent: and if these men had not been kept at home at a time when this turbulent spirit was infused into the people of Ireland, there would either have been no rebellion then in that kingdom, or the rebels would not have been able to form an army, and must easily have been suppressed by the first regular troops that should be sent against them.

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Next to the breaking up of this army and detaining them in the country, it was an Occasion of the rebellion of no small consideration, that the Earl of STRAFFORD himself was taken out of the world. Had that Lord been living in his post of Lord Lieutenant, the Irish durst not have put their design in execution. Neither the King nor the kingdom would have sustained any material damage if they had been so hardy as to have attempted it; "but the monument of their presumption and their shame would have been raised together." For the Earl of STRAFFORD was too brave, too vigilant, and too high spirited a ruler not to have crushed such an insurrection in its birth; and their knowledge of this was no doubt one of the reasons, why the committee of Parliament—most of whom it appears from evidence

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had been privy to the design—stole out of the kingdom, contrary to the order of the Lord Deputy, to come hither to assist in his prosecution. But besides getting rid of such an insuperable obstacle in their way, they drew another encouragement to their cause from the execution of that faithful friend and servant of the King. For it led them naturally to conclude, that if his Majesty could be driven “against his conscience and his honour” to give up such an able steady councillor to his enemies, whose zeal for his master’s service was his only crime, and whose condemnation was illegal, they might drive the King to any thing which they desired. Indeed it was not owing to their want of craft and management, that they did not derive a further advantage from his Lordship’s execution. For some of the leaders in this design, under a pretence that the Earl’s servants in revenge of his fate, intended a mischief to the Parliament which then sat in the Castle, moved the house, and got it agreed to, that the Lords Justices should be desired to permit his Majesty’s stores of arms and ammunition there to be searched; and a committee, of which Lord MAC GUIRE was at the head, were very curious and vigilant in their commission, turning over several old unserviceable chests in order to find out the materials which were to blow them up. They saw that there were none, as the officers of the ordnance had assured them; but pretending not to be satisfied, they procured another order of the house to the Lords Justices, that they might be admitted to see the stores of arms and powder placed in other parts about the Castle. The Lord Justice BORLASE, who was master of the ordnance, and principally concerned therefore in securing the King’s stores, being nettled at their importunity, tho’ an easy man and not discerning their motive to it, gave a flat denial; informing them that the stores were his Majesty’s jewels which were not to be shewn without urgent occasion; but that they need not be afraid, as he could assure them upon his honour that there was no powder under either house of Parliament. There can be no doubt but that their aim in this search was to know in what state the stores of ammunition then were; and that, if the arms of the army which had been disbanded were deposited in the Castle, they might know where to find them when they executed the scheme which was to surprise it. For it appears from the narrative of the rebel Lord MAC GUIRE, written with his own hand in the Tower, and which was published by authority, that

that the design of an insurrection was contriving in the beginning of the year, tho' not brought to any form till near the time of its breaking out.

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I have already taken notice, that the Catholic Irish writers have objected to the representation made by others of the Felicity that was enjoyed in Ireland for almost forty years preceding the insurrection; and I have allowed that tho' they might not be so quiet and happy as they might wish, and that there were some civil and religious grievances which now and then interrupted this felicity, yet they were either not confined to the Papists, or they were not considerable enough to impeach the truth of such a general representation. In order to acquit myself of that impartiality, which is the principal duty of an Historian, I must now observe further, that the same Irish writers assign other Causes and Occasions of this rebellion than those which I have given above. They assign "the manifold inconveniences which had befallen that kingdom on account of the enquiry into defective titles; by means of which not only their titles to many good estates were rendered precarious, but the possession also was forcibly taken from them, to the utter overthrow of many able and deserving persons; who for valuable considerations of service, or money, or both, honourably and fairly acquired those estates." Now supposing this to stand in its full force, the Catholics were not the only persons who suffered from such enquiry: the Protestants, tho' not in such great numbers, were equal sufferers with them; nor was this a general grievance throughout the kingdom. But if it was so great and oppressive as these writers represent it, why did the Parliament, in which there were many Papists, vote in the year before such great subsidies to the King, and with such high strained encomiums on his Lord Lieutenant, in the last act of the Earl of STRAFFORD's administration? They declared "that their hearts contained mines of subsidies for his Majesty;" and that if their abilities were equal to their desires, "twenty subsidies were too little to be given to so sacred a Majesty, from whose princely clemency so many and so gracious favours are continually derived unto them." As to the Lord Lieutenant, they unnecessarily inserted in the preamble of this act, how much the people of Ireland were obliged particularly to the King, "in providing and placing over them so just, wise, vigilant, and profitable a governor as the Earl of STRAFFORD; who by his great care and travel of body and mind,

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sincere and upright administration of justice without partiality, increase of your Majesty's revenue without the least hurt or grievance to any of your well disposed subjects, and to our great comfort and security by the large and ample benefits which we have received, and hope to receive, by your Majesty's commission of grace for remedy of defective titles procured hither by his Lordship—with more of the same kind—for this your tender care over us shewed by your deputing and supporting so good a governour, we your faithful subjects acknowledge ourselves more bound than we can with tongue or words express." The reader must take notice that here was no trick of state to carry such a vote by a majority, and then to represent it as the sense of the whole Parliament; but it was UNANIMOUS: and can any one believe after this, that they had any grievances which could be a sufficient foundation for this insurrection, when not ONE voice opposed this high flown compliment? Nay they were not only unanimous in their professions of his Majesty's clemency and their own felicity, but some of the NATIVES—most of whom are allowed by these writers to have been Papists—were not satisfied with barely consenting to the vote, but said, "that the King should have a fee simple of subsidies in their estates on like occasions; that it was fit to be done tho' it were leaving themselves nothing besides hose and doublet;" and with much earnestness concluded, "that as his Majesty was the best of Kings, so this people should strive to be ranked among the best of Subjects." But as a further answer to this pretended sufficiency of a foundation for resistance, and which is brought as an instance of as high a provocation as ever was offered to a free people, it may be proper to observe, that the enquiry into defective titles was actually stopped by the King, and an act ordered to be got ready to limit the claims whilst the Committee of Parliament were in England; and therefore could not be either the Cause or the Occasion of this rebellion which broke out three months after.

To as little purpose, in my opinion, do the same writers urge as another cause of it, "a continuation of the grievances already mentioned, and the just apprehension of others still greater with which they were threatened." The first of these reasons has been already obviated; but as they have brought as a proof of the truth of it, an extract of a letter from the Marquis of CLANRICARDE to the King, it shall not be concealed from the reader.

reader. The letter was written in Ireland on the twenty-sixth day of CHARLES I.
October sixteen hundred forty-two; and his Lordship's words are these. A. 1641.

“As the state of this kingdom stands, such is the sense of the opposition given to your Majesty by some faction in your Parliament, of the injustice done them by those that govern here, and the general destruction conceived to be designed against the natives, that almost the whole kingdom are united into one resolute body, to gain their preservation, or to sell their lives at the dearest rates.” Had such a representation been made just before the insurrection, it must be owned it would have been much to the purpose for which these writers bring it. But whether this, which was the state of the kingdom a full year after the rebellion had taken place, and by which the Protestants were much exasperated, is any proof that the continuation of their grievances was a provocation to the Natives to raise this rebellion so long before, shall be left to the reader to determine. Nor are the Catholic historians more just and accurate in assigning as another motive to this insurrection, “the apprehensions of still greater grievances that they were threatened with; not the least alarming of which were their well-grounded fears of an invasion of their country by the Scottish rebels, who they knew would give the native Irish no quarter, and whose proceedings the Lords Justices did secretly abet.” The taking up arms against the King and his peaceable subjects because they were afraid of some of his Majesty's enemies, is a reason which in my opinion carries its own refutation; neither could the fears of such an invasion be well grounded in October, because in the March was twelvemonth before that, the Lord Lieutenant had declared and signified to both Houses of Parliament, the near and approaching danger that this realm was suddenly to be invaded by the Scots. The Scots had then just before been in arms against the King; and though at that time they were under articles of pacification, yet it was visible to every one that they would soon be broken and the war renewed; as in fact they were. But when the insurrection broke out in Ireland, to which the fear of an invasion by the Scots is pretended to have been a motive, the King had granted every thing to the Scots, the negotiation of peace had been concluded, his Majesty was himself actually at Edinburgh with them, and the Parliament of Scotland was at that time sitting in great tranquillity. What proceedings then were there, or could there be, of the Scotch rebels, that the
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Lords Justices are said secretly to abet and promote, when the rebellion in Scotland was quite at an end; and by what kind of construction can it be deemed a proof of the Lords Justices secretly abetting the Scotch rebels, that in two months after the insurrection they pressed the King and Parliament of England to send over ten thousand Scots—not of THEM, meaning the rebels as these writers say—under pretext of fighting against the Irish? But the state of that fact, according to the authority which is cited*; is truly this. The Council of Ireland having represented at this time to the King and Parliament of England, “the very ill and even desperate condition they were in, and therefore desiring supplies of men, money and all kind of warlike provisions might be sent away with all speed, declared that unless they received them presently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to subsist, but had just reason to apprehend their own present ruin, and the inevitable loss of the whole kingdom: And because they conceived the levies in England could not be so suddenly made, nor the men so easily transported from thence into the North of Ireland, (where the rebels appeared in greatest numbers, and had by their unparalleled cruelty towards the English done most mischief) as out of Scotland, they made a proposition to the Lord Lieutenant to move his Majesty and the Parliament, that ten thousand Scots might be presently RAISED and sent over into those parts. This they pressed with much earnestness, representing the very great terror the mere Irish had of that nation; that their bodies would better sort with that climate, endure more hardship, and with less distemper undergo the toil and miseries of an Irish war; and that the transportation would be made with much more facility and less charge, it being not above three or four hours sail from some parts of Scotland into the North of Ireland.” Let the impartial reader now determine how far the sending for this succour from Scotland can be urged as a proof of the Lords Justices secretly abetting and promoting the proceedings of the Scotch rebels before the insurrection broke out in Ireland. But after all, the pretence of grievances is a mere fallacy intended to cover over or to justify the real end and design of this insurrection; which a man must be blind if he does not see, and extremely partial not to acknowledge. For whatever

* Temple's Ir. Rebel. p. 263, 4. Octo. Edit.

interruptions had been given to their tranquillity, they were given by the government; and supposing the Irish to have been oppressed with grievances, the legal and constitutional means of redress was by Parliament; a method which they had tried, and tried with some success; and their grievances were almost all redressed, or in a way of being so in a few weeks. But let their objections to the government be what they might, there were no animosities among the people towards each other, that could occasion a resolution of extirpating the Protestants in the hellish manner in which they attempted it. Why were the innocent people, who had entertained them with great demonstrations of love and friendship, to suffer all the cruelties which the most fertile imagination can conceive, if nothing more was intended than to redress their grievances from the government? Their design was evidently, as it will appear in the progress of this work, to root out and destroy all the British and Protestants that were settled in Ireland, to restore their religion to its ancient splendour, and to deliver themselves from the subjection under which they had been held for so many ages by the English nation. Though it must be allowed that it is not the business of this history to answer all that is advanced contrary to it by the Catholic Irish writers, but to relate the facts and transactions as they appear on a comparison of the authors on both sides, yet it is the duty of an Historian to appear impartial as well as to be so: And as an account of the motives to this rebellion which is given by those writers, and given within a few years †, is so different from the causes and occasions of it that I have assigned, it seemed necessary that I should be thus particular in the refutation of it; not only to support the truth of the history which has been related, but also, as these are writers of moderation and ability, to avoid the imputation of partiality and my want of candour. In other particulars which may follow, I shall not hold myself obliged to interrupt the thread of the story, and to trespass on the reader's patience, by so minute a discussion; but shall esteem it sufficient in the general to weigh their evidence impartially, and to admit or reject it as it appears to be true or false.

The reader has now before him the best and fairest account that can be collected of the Causes and Occasions, the Motives or Provocations, which

† A dialogue on the Rebellion pr. 1747 and Histor. Memoirs of the rebellion pr. 1757.

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led to this extraordinary and surprising insurrection: and it may be proper and useful to enlarge the digression yet further, before I proceed with the history, in giving a description of the first contrivers and the principal actors of the tragic scene which is to follow. These characters, which are chiefly taken from the life of the Duke of ORMONDE, MR. CARTE says he borrowed from a manuscript collection of one PLUNKET's, who lived at that time, and "which is compiled with great temper, modesty, candour, and regard to truth." It is the opinion of some historians, taken up from the confession of two or three of the rebels, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale,—which comprehends the county of Louth in the province of Ulster, and the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare in the province of Leinster †—though they did not appear publickly in it, were the first that were engaged in this conspiracy. But notwithstanding the testimony of some of the rebels seems to lean that way, yet it is very far from being clear that any other certainty can be drawn from it, than that they were privy to it, and gave it encouragement before it broke out into action. It is questioned indeed by some, whether the design was ever proposed directly to any of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, because they had always been enemies to the native Irish, and were therefore not likely to join with them in an enterprize for the ruin of the English interest. They were also, it is said, under the influence of some principal Lawyers, who though an active set of men for the redress of grievances in a parliamentary way, are yet averse to war in which their profession is of no use: and whatever esteem their persons might be held in on account of their gravity, and the opinion which was entertained of their knowledge and wisdom, yet they could not propose any advantage to their fortunes in the subversion of the laws and government. But all this fine speculation is destroyed by the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale going as great lengths as any of the ancient Irish in this rebellion in a short time after; which, if this reasoning had held good, they would not have done. There is no doubt therefore, as I have said, that they were privy to this design, and gave encouragement to it, though for reasons of prudence they concealed their inclinations, till they saw a little of the success of the first projectors; and these are to

† For a further account of it, see the Hist. of Ireland, Introduc. p. 11.

be looked for in the province of Ulster, which takes in all the North of Ireland.

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The chief of these first conspirators in point of quality was CONNOR MACGUIRE, Baron of Iniskilling. He was the head of the clan of that name in the county of Fermanagh; and was descended of ancestors who had continued loyal to the crown, till one of them revolted in TYRONE's rebellion and forfeited his estate. But the grandfather of the Lord we now write of, in consideration of his services to the King in another rebellion, had the grant of almost a whole barony in the same county, containing six thousand four hundred and eighty acres, and a pension for life of two hundred pounds a year. These lands, with a considerable privilege annexed, and a pension for life of an hundred pounds a year, were by CHARLES the first confirmed to his son, who was at the same time also made a Peer of Ireland. To this estate, and honour, CONNOR Lord MACGUIRE succeeded. But by a very profligate and luxurious way of living he became overwhelmed with debt: and being thus distressed in his circumstances, he was ready for any enterprise that would probably better his fortune; and so of course was open to the temptation of engaging in this rebellion.—If history is philosophy teaching us by example, as no doubt it is, here is an useful lesson then, it must be owned, to the present age; in which luxury and dissipation are at a greater height in these kingdoms than they were ever known in any age before it. Here is the instance of a man led by these means to embark in the most pernicious measures to his country and himself. When once we permit the cravings of vice and luxury to be so importunate, as to make the gratifications of them necessary to our happiness, there is no knowing where we shall be willing to stop: and it is therefore a point of wisdom moral and political, to want nothing, or rather to speak more accurately, to crave after nothing however fashionable, which without injury to our circumstances we cannot possess.

The next, and principal agent and contriver in this rebellion, tho' not in rank, was ROGER MOORE Esq; of the county of Kildare; a Gentleman of ancient and honourable extraction, whose ancestors had made a considerable figure in that island before the English conquest. He was de-

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scended from the principal branch of the O MOORES in the county of Leix; and by intermarriages was allied to very considerable families of the English race. The possessions of his ancestors were now almost all in the hands of the English: and being incited by a desire of recovering them, and of making his fortune, which was indigent enough, in some measure answerable to his descents, he first formed this design of an insurrection, in concert abroad with the Earl of TYRONE; a son of the famous old rebel of that name, and at that time a Colonel in the Spanish service. The outlines of the plot being drawn between them, tho' perhaps the first hint was given by others, it was the business of MOORE, when he returned to Ireland, to use all the art and pains that were in his power, in order to draw in all the considerable people, both English and Irish, that he thought likely to be won upon, and who could be serviceable in the execution of his design. The first he tried to inflame with the hopes of recovering their ancient grandeur and estates; the last with the danger under which their religion stood with the English Parliament and the Scots; and both with the glory of being the instruments to restore the liberties of their country. Of all the men then in Ireland perhaps MOORE was the best qualified for such a purpose: He was very handsome in his person and exterior figure, had excellent natural parts, good judgment, and the talents adapted to persuasion; affable and courteous in his manner, and extremely agreeable in conversation: He understood human nature, and had a thorough acquaintance with the world; and when he wanted to inspire any one with his sentiments, or to embark them in his measures, he was never at a loss for the proper topicks of discourse to lead them into his power. In short he was a man of fair character, highly esteemed by all who knew him, and in so great repute among the Irish in general for his superior knowledge and abilities, that he was celebrated in their songs; and it was a common expression among them, "God and our Lady be our help, and ROGER MOORE." As full as he was of his project and zealous to promote it all in his power, he was too subtle to impart it to those whom he thought unlikely to join in it; and for this reason he never opened himself about it to his own brother-in-law MR. FLEMING, an English Gentleman of the Pale, and of considerable interest in it: but discoursing of the rebellion after it broke out, the latter being greatly shocked at the barbarities that were committed and

and the desolation that was threatened to the whole kingdom, and asking whence the rebellion sprung and who could be the author of it, MOORE ingenuously confessed that he was the man who contrived and first began it; to which the other replied with an oath, that then he found himself mistaken, “for he thought it was the Devil that had begun it.” Whether or not MOORE was struck with remorse at this rebuke, or whether his heart relented at the cruelties which he saw were exercised on the English in the province of Ulster, it may be difficult to determine; but it is certain that he used all his influence to put a stop to them, and to establish a regular discipline among the rabble which he commanded. In attempting this at the siege of Drogheda, where he acted as Lieutenant General, he run the hazard of his life; and had it not been for SR. PHELM O NEIL’s interposition, would absolutely have lost it. This rude ungovernable licentiousness in a multitude, which he himself had been the means of spiring up to this rebellion, disgusted him so much as soon made him weary of the undertaking and drove him away to Flanders: And though after the supreme Council was established at Kilkenny—as will be shewn in the following sheets—MOORE returned again to Ireland, yet he was so averse to the bloody measures which were pursued so much beyond his intention, that he never chose to draw his sword any more in that insurrection, and not long after died in that city; in all probability of a broken heart for the miseries which he had introduced into his native cuntry.—This is another instructive lesson to the men of ambition and party violence; which shews how dangerous a thing it is to let loose and countenance a mob, who are never to be restrained within the bounds prescribed, but instead of being led, will controul their leaders. Therefore whatever crimes and cruelties are committed in such tumultuary insurrections must lie at the door of those who first incited them; a sense of which guilt ought to persuade us,—not to passive obedience under tyranny, let me not be mistaken—but so to govern and restrain our passions, as that our own private pique and disappointments may not urge us to disobedience against legal government, and to involve our country in confusion in order to gratify our revenge.

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Colonel PLUNKET, a younger son of Sir CHRISTOPHER PLUNKET near Dublin, and a great acquaintance of MOORE's, was early engaged by him as another conspirator and a principal instrument in this plot. Sir CHRISTOPHER, by his own descent and by his marriage, was related to the best and most considerable families of the Pale; by which means his son had a numerous kindred and acquaintance in the province of Leinster, upon whom he was very well qualified to make an impression. The Colonel was brought over to London by his father when he was very young; and having had all the breeding bestowed upon him which the Court of England could afford, a command was procured for him by his father in the army in Flanders, in which he soon distinguished himself, and was preferred. He was a man of good natural parts, and of a pleasant lively turn of wit; accompanied with a politeness and a natural complacency of behaviour, which made his conversation very agreeable to all who knew him. Mr. MOORE's wife was PLUNKET's cousin german; and that affinity which produced an acquaintance was easily improved by the former into an intimacy and friendship with the latter. MOORE, who was a man of depth and design, finding the Colonel to be very vain and an extraordinary bigot, applied so artfully to these defects and failings in his friend, as to bring him entirely into his sentiments and to manage him at his pleasure. To adopt indeed these sentiments, besides his civility to Mr. MOORE, we find that PLUNKET had another motive; the disagreeable circumstances of his family: for his eldest brother had not only ruined the estate by suing for a share of the inheritance to which he thought his wife intitled, but he was also confined in prison for debt when the Colonel returned home from Flanders. As he was himself a younger brother who had his fortune to make, it was no difficult matter for a man of MOORE's address to persuade him, that this could not be done so readily, so suitably to his merit, and on all accounts so advantageously, as by means of an insurrection; in which his military experience would entitle him to a command of considerable rank, and where his services would deserve a very ample recompence.

The other chief conspirator, and indeed the chief agent in this horrid enterprise, was Sir PHELM O NEIL of the county of Tyrone, who had also a good estate in the adjoining county of Ardmagh, both in the province of Ulster;

Ulster; and who was the most considerable person of his name in that kingdom. His grandfather SR. HENRY had deserved well of the Crown, and had a grant of the whole territory called "Gage's Country:" but being slain in the King's service about three years after, it was found by an inquisition taken of it, that Sir PHELM, then a minor and very young, was the next heir. Soon after he came of age, he applied to the Crown for a new grant, in which he desired that all the lands mentioned in general terms in his grandfather's patent might be specially named; and on report of the King's counsel, a new patent was granted by CHARLES the First, vesting all those estates in Sir PHELM, in the same ample manner and form which he had desired. Thus far then he had no complaints to make against the government; but had obligations to it on his grandfather's and his own account. He had for sometime resided here as a student in Lincoln's Inn, where he professed himself a Protestant; but being a man of no parts, and consequently little improved by his English education, at his return into Ireland, if not before, he again changed his religion and once more became a zealous Catholick. With these mean abilities, and without conduct or discretion, he entered upon the management of his estate; and running soon into all the follies and extravagances of a man of fashion, a heavy debt was contracted on it, which laid him open to any ill impressions which the other conspirators attempted to make upon him. To this may be added, that the Earl of TYRONE had no children: and as Sir PHELM was the nearest in blood, and the greatest in interest among his clan, he was not only in a fair way of being at the head of his family, but of succeeding to the title of those vast possessions, and that absolute power which the O NEILS had anciently been invested with in the province of Ulster. Flattered with these hopes, and with the zealous affections of his countrymen, he embarked warmly in the design as soon as it was proposed to him; and became the most active, vindictive, and cruel rebel in the kingdom.—These were the principal conspirators; and it is observable that there is one particular, how different soever they were in other respects, in which there is a similarity thro' all their characters;—the distress of their circumstances occasioned by vice and folly.

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The steps which were taken by these conspirators in order to execute their designs, are set forth with great exactness by Lord MACGUIRE, in a narrative which he wrote with his own hand in the Tower, and which he delivered to the Lieutenant that it might be presented to the Lords of Parliament in England. There is so minute a relation in it of the beginning and progress of the conspiracy, of the time, the place, and other circumstances relating to the several meetings and consultations of the rebels, the subject of their debates, the resolutions wherein they agreed, and the motives upon which they proceeded, that—long as it is—the reader no doubt will be pleased to see it at full length, before he enters upon the execution of the design; and it being published by authority, as well as bearing the marks of truth, it hath been submitted to on every side as a fair and just account.

NALSON.

“ Being in Dublin Candlemas-term last was twelvemonth — meaning February sixteen hundred forty one—the Parliament then sitting, Mr. ROGER MOORE did write to me, desiring me if I could in that spare time I would come to his house (for then the Parliament did nothing but sit and adjourn, expecting a commission for the continuance thereof, their former commission being expired) and that some things he had to say unto me that did nearly concern me: and on receipt of his letter, the new commission for continuing the Parliament being landed, I did return him an answer that I could not fulfil his request for that present; and thereupon he himself came to town presently after, and sending to me I went to see him at his lodging: and after some little time spent in salutations, he began to discourse of the many afflictions and sufferings of the Natives of that kingdom, and particularly in those late times of my Lord STRAFFORD’s government, which gave distaste to the whole kingdom: and then he began to particularize the suffering of them that were the more ancient Natives, as were the Irish; how that on several plantations they were all put out of their ancestors estates; all which sufferings, he said, did beget a general discontent thro’ all the kingdom in both the Natives, to wit, the old and new Irish: and that if the gentry of the kingdom were disposed to free themselves furtherly from the like inconveniences, and get good conditions for themselves for regaining their ancestors estates, (or at least a good part thereof) they could never desire a more convenient time than that time, the distempers of
Scotland

Scotland being then on foot, and did ask me what I thought of it. I made him answer that I could not tell what to think of it, such matters being altogether out of my element. Then he would needs have an oath of me of secrecy, which I gave him; and thereupon he told me, that he had spoke to the best gentry of quality in Leinster, and a great part of Conaught, touching that matter; and he found all of them willing thereunto, if so be they could draw to them the gentry of Ulster, for which cause, said he, I came to speak to you. Then he began to lay down to me the case that I was in there, overwhelmed in debt, the smallness of my estate, and the greatness of the estate my ancestors had, and how I should be sure to get it again, or at least a good part thereof; and moreover how the welfare and maintaining of the Catholic religion, which, he said, undoubtedly the Parliament now in England will suppress, doth depend on it. For said he, it is to be feared, and so much I hear from every understanding man, the Parliament intends the utter subversion of our religion; by which persuasions he obtained my consent; and so he demanded if any more of Ulster gentry were in town. I told him that PHILIP REILY, Mr. TIRLOUGH O NEIL, brother to Sir PHELM, and Mr. MACMAHON were in town; so for that time we parted."

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"The next day he invited Mr. REILY and I to dine with him, and after dinner he sent for those other gentlemen Mr. O NEIL and MACMAHON; and when they were come he began the discourse, formerly used to me, to them; and with the same persuasion, formerly used to me, he gained their consent: and then he began to discourse of the manner how it ought to be done, of the feasibility and easiness of the attempt, considering matters as they then stood in England, the troubles of Scotland, the great numbers of able men in the kingdom—meaning Ireland—what succours they were then more to hope for from abroad, and the army then raised, all Irishmen, and well armed; meaning the army raised by my Lord STRAFFORD against Scotland. First that every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, and at least those that did live in one county with them; and when they had so done they should send to the Irish in the Low-Countries and Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution, so that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after, with supply of arms or ammunition

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as they could: that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters should rise out that day and seize on all arms he could get in his county, and this day to be near winter, so that England could not be able to send forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was no doubt to be made but that they themselves should be supplied by the Irish beyond the seas, who could not miss of help, he said, from either Spain or the Pope; but that his resolutions were not in all things allowed. For first it was resolved nothing should be done, until they had sent over to the Irish over-seas to know their advice, and what hope of success they could give; for in them, as they said, all their hope of relief was, and they would have both their advice and resolution before any further proceedings, more than to speak to and try the gentlemen of the kingdom, every one as they could conveniently, to see (in case they would at any time grow to a resolution) what to be, and strength they must trust to. Then Mr. MOORE told them that it was to no purpose to spend much time in speaking to the gentry; for there was no doubt to be made of the Irish that they would be ready at any time; and that all the doubt was in the gentry of the Pale, but he said that for his own part, he was really assured when they had risen out, the Pale gentry would not stay long after, at least that they would not oppose them in any thing but be neuters; and if in case they did, that they had men enough in the kingdom without them. Moreover he said he had spoke to a great man, who then should be nameless, that would not fail at the appointed day of rising out to appear and to be seen in the act, but that until then he was sworn not to reveal him; and that was all that was done at that meeting, only that Mr. MOORE should the next lent following make a journey down into the North to know what was done there, and that he also might inform them what he had done: and so on parting, Mr. PHILIP REILY and I did importune Mr. MOORE for the knowledge of that great man that he spoke of; and on long entreaty, after binding us to new secrecy not to discover him till the day should be appointed, he told that it was the Lord of MAYO, who was very powerful in command of men in those parts of Conaught where he lived, and that there was no doubt to be made of him no more than was of himself; and so we parted."

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“ The next lent following, MR. MOORE according to his promise came into Ulster, by reason it was the time of assizes in several counties. There he met only with MR. REILY and nothing was then done, but all matters put off till May following, where we or most of us should meet at Dublin, it being both Parliament and Term time. In the mean time there landed one NEIL O NEIL, sent by the Earl of TYRONE out of Spain to speak with the gentry of his name and kindred; to let them know that he had treated with Cardinal RICHLIEU for obtaining succour to come for Ireland, and that he prevailed with the Cardinal so, that he was to have arms, ammunition, and money, from him on demand to come for Ireland, and that he only expected a convenient time to come away; and to desire them to be in a readiness and to procure all others whom they could to be so likewise; which message did set on the proceedings very much, so that MR. MOORE, MR. REILY, my Brother, and I, meeting the next May at Dublin, and the same messenger there too, it was resolved that he should return to the Earl into Spain with their resolution; which was that they would rise out twelve or fourteen days before or after Allhallontide as they should see cause, and that he should not fail to be with them by that time. There was a report at that time, and before, that the Earl of TYRONE was killed, which was not believed by reason of many such reports formerly which we found to be false; and so the messenger departed with directions, that if the Earl's death were true he should repair into the Low-Countries to Colonel OWEN O NEIL and acquaint him with his commission from the Earl, whereof it was thought he was not ignorant, and to return an answer sent by him, and to see what he would advise or would do himself therein. But presently after his departure, the certainty of the Earl's death was known; and on further resolution it was agreed, that an express messenger should be sent to the Colonel, to make all the resolutions known to him, and to return speedily with his answer; and so one TOOLE O CONOLLY, a priest, (as I think parish priest to MR. MOORE) was sent away to Colonel O NEIL. In the interim there came several letters, and news, out of England to Dublin, of proclamations against the Catholics in England, and also that the army raised in Ireland should be disbanded and conveyed into Scotland: and presently after, several Colonels and Captains landed with directions to carry away those men; amongst whom Colonel PLUN-

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KET, Colonel BIRNE, and Captain BRIAN O NEIL came, but did not come altogether; for PLUNKET landed before my coming out of town, and the other two after: wherein a great fear of suppressing of religion was conceived, and especially by the gentry of the Pale; and it was very common amongst them that it would be very inconvenient to suffer so many men to be conveyed out of the kingdom: it being, as was said, very confidently reported that the Scottish army did threaten never to lay down arms until an uniformity of religion were in the three kingdoms, and the catholic religion suppressed: And thereupon both Houses of Parliament began to oppose their going, and the Houses were divided in their opinions, some would have them go, others not; but what the definitive conclusion of the Houses was touching the point I cannot tell: for by leave from the House of Lords I departed into the country before the prorogation. But before my departure, I was informed by JOHN BARNWELL a friar, that those gentlemen of the Pale and some other members of the House of Commons had several meetings and consultations how they might make stay of the soldiers in the kingdom, and likewise to arm them in defence of the King; being much injured both by England and Scotland then, as they were informed, and to prevent any attempts against religion: And presently after I departed into the country, and MR. REILY being a member of the House of Commons stayed the prorogation, and on his coming into the country sent to me to meet him, and I came to his house; where he told me that he heard for certain that the former narration of BARNWELL to me—for I did acquaint him with it—was true, and that he heard it from several there, and also that EVER MACMAHON, made firmly privy to all our proceedings at MR. REILY's, was lately come out of the Pale, where he met with the aforementioned JOHN BARNWELL who told him as much; and he formerly told me moreover that those Colonels that lately came over did proffer their service and industry in that act, and so would raise their men under colour to convey them into Spain and then seize on the castle of Dublin, and with the arms there to arm their soldiers and have them ready for any occasion that should be commanded them; but that they had not concluded any thing because they were not assured how the gentlemen of the remote parts of the kingdom, and especially of Ulster, would stand affected to that act, and assurance of that doubt was all their impediment.

impediment. Then we three began to think how we might assure them help and of the assistance of Ulster gentlemen. It was thought one should be sent to them to acquaint them therewith, and they made choice of me to come; by reason, as they said, that my wife was allied to them and their countrywoman, and would believe me and trust me sooner than other of their parts; they, or most of them, being of the Pale: And so, without as much as to return home to furnish myself for such a journey, "volens nolens," they prevailed, or rather forced me to come to Dublin to confer with those Colonels, and that was the last August was twelvemonth." —Meaning that immediately preceding the insurrection.

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"Coming to town I met SR. JAMES DILLON accidentally, before I came to my lodging, who was one of those Colonel's; and after salutations he demanded of me where my lodging was, which when I told him we parted. The next day being abroad about some other occasions in town, I met him, as he said, coming to wait on me in my chamber; but being a good way from it he desired me to go into his own chamber being near at hand; and then began to discourse of the present sufferings and afflictions of that kingdom, and particularly of religion, and how they were to expect no redress; the parliament in England intending, and the Scots resolving never to lay down arms until the Catholic religion were suppressed. Then he likewise began to lay down what danger it would be to suffer so many able men as was to go with them to depart the kingdom at such a time: Neither, said he, do their other gentlemen that are Colonels and myself affect our own private profit so as to prefer it before the general good of the kingdom: And knowing you are well affected thereunto, and I hope, said he, ready to put your helping hand to it upon occasion, I will let you know the resolution of those other gentlemen and mine, which is, if we are ready [meaning the conspirators] to raise our men and after to seize on the castle, where there is great store of arms, and arm ourselves. This was the first motion that ever I heard of taking the castle; for it never came into our thoughts formerly, nor, I am persuaded, ever would, if it had not proceeded from those Colonels who were the first motioners and contrivers thereof, for ought known to me; and then to be ready to prevent and resist any danger that the gentlemen of the kingdom like thereof, and help us;

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for we of ourselves neither are able, nor will do any thing therein without their assistance. I began, according to the directions that were sent with me, to approve of their resolution, and also to let him know how sure he might be of the assistance of those of Ulster. Then he told me, that for my more satisfaction I should confer with the rest of the Colonels themselves, as many as are privy to the action; and accordingly a place of meeting was appointed for that afternoon."

"At the time and place appointed, there met SR. JAMES himself, Colonel BIRNE, and Colonel PLUNKET: and that former discourse being renewed, they began to lay down the obstacles to that enterprise, and how they should be redressed. First, if there should war ensue, how there should be money had to pay to the soldiers. Secondly, how and where they should procure succours from foreign parts. Thirdly, how to draw in the Pale gentlemen. Fourthly, who should undertake to surprise the castle, and how it should be done. To the first it was answered, that the rents in the kingdom every where, not having respect whose they should be, due to the Lords and gentlemen thereof, should be collected to pay the soldiers: and moreover they might be sure, nay that there was no doubt thereof, to procure money from the Pope, who gave several promises formerly to my Lord of TYRONE—in case he could make way to come into Ireland—to maintain six thousand men yearly at his own charge; and notwithstanding my Lord of TYRONE was dead, yet that he would continue the same forwardness now. To the second it was answered by Colonel BIRNE, that help from abroad could not fail them: for said he, Colonel O NEIL told me that he had, or would procure in readiness—I do not remember which of those the Colonel spake, or whether he spoke positive that Colonel O NEIL had arms, or would procure them—arms for ten thousand men: And moreover said he, I make no great question that if we send into Spain we shall not miss of aid; for I being in London the last year in the Scots troubles, I was in conference with one of the Spanish ambassadors then there, and talking of their troubles then a-foot, he said, that if the Irish did then rise too and send to Spain, their messengers would be received under canopies of gold. These last words he told me, and some one man of those that were present privately, whose name I cannot call to mind; neither

neither remember I whether he spoke to them all or no: Then it was thought that when they were both in arms for the defence of the Catholic cause, they would be succoured by the Catholic Princes of Christendom. [Here is an evident mistake in the copy, and the word "both" should be omitted, it being well known that the Scots were not in arms in defence of the catholic cause.] To the third it was answered by Colonel PLUNKET, that he was as morally certain—for those were his words—as he could be of any thing, that the Pale gentlemen would join with them and assist them. For he said, I have spoke to several of them since my landing in the kingdom, and I find them very ready and willing: and withal I have at London spoke to some of the committee, and particularly to my Lord of GORMANSTON, to let them know his resolution, and they approved it very well."

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"All this was not done at the first meeting, but at three or four meetings; and so on the last meeting, it was resolved to the last doubt touching seizing the castle, that Colonel PLUNKET and Colonel BIRNE should undertake that task, because they were nearer to it than any other; and also seize on the forts, garrisons, and other places where they think any arms should be, and in particular Londonderry, which should be undertaken by those of Ulster; and then there was a set day appointed for execution thereof, that was the fifth of the ensuing October—this being the latter end of August, or the beginning of September sixteen hundred forty-one, I do not know whether—and every one should make provision to rise out that day. They were named that should first succour them that would take the castle with men presently, namely SR. JAMES DILLON who did undertake to be with them within three, or at most, four days with a thousand men, and so much more should come to them out of the North. For these two Colonels did not intend to use above an hundred men in the surprisal, whereof they were to have twenty good able gentlemen: for they made account that having the castle, they with the artillery would master all the town until they were relieved by men from the country: And because there was a doubt how all this should be done in so short a time, they did appoint that all that were there present should not fail to meet there again the twentieth of September to give an account of all things, as well hopes as impediments; and if on that interview all things should happen

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happen to be well they should go forward, or if otherwise to prolong the execution of it to a more convenient time; and so we parted, every man into the country about his own task."

"In my way home I came to MR. REILY's house, and there I received a letter from SR. PHELM O NEIL, that his Lady was dead and to be buried on the Sunday following—this being on the Saturday—and desiring me in all kindness to come to the burial: and MR. REILY, having received another letter to the same effect, would needs have me go thither—whereunto I was very unwilling, being weary, and withal not provided to go to such a meeting—as well, he said, to prevent any jealousy from the lady's friends, as also to confer with SR. PHELM touching all those proceedings. For neither he nor I spoke to SR. PHELM concerning the matter before, but to his brother TIRLOCH O NEIL: and coming thither we found Captain BRIAN O NEIL lately come out of the Low-Countries, sent over by Colonel O NEIL to speak to, and to provoke those of Ulster to rise out in arms, and that he would be with them on notice of their day, the same day or soon after it; and it was asked of the said Captain what aid he could send or procure, being but a private Colonel, or where he could get any. He replied that the said Colonel told him, that he had sent to several places that summer to demand aid, and in particular to Cardinal RICHLIEU into France, to whom he had sent twice that year, and had comfortable and very hopeful promises from them, and especially from that Cardinal, on whom he thought the Colonel did most depend; so that there was no doubt to be made of succour from him; and especially when they had risen out, that would be a means to the Cardinal to give aid. We did the more credit him, in regard of the former treaty between the Cardinal and the Earl of TYRONE, as formerly is said. For my own part I did, and do believe, that the Colonel doth depend on France for aid more than any other place, as well for those reasons, as also that EVER MACMAHON, formerly mentioned, told me, that presently after the isle of Rhee's enterprize—he being then in the Low-Countries—did hear for certain, that the Earl of TYRONE, together with the Colonel, did send into France to the Marshall of France that was General of the French forces at the isle of Rhee, to deal with him for procuring of aid to come then for Ireland;

Ireland; and that he received an answer from the said Marshall, that he was most willing and ready to contribute his endeavours for his furtherance therein; but that he could not for the present answer my Lord's expectations, by reason that the King had wars in Italy, which he thought would be at an end in half a year or little more, and then my Lord should not doubt of any thing he could do for his assistance: but these continued a great deal longer; so for that time that enterprise failed. After the burial was done, I gave those gentlemen knowledge of what I had done at Dublin, and how I was to retire thither; and then they began to think how they should surprise Londonderry, they being near it, but could not then agree in the manner; and so SR. PHELM desired me to take his house in my way going to Dublin, and that I should have a resolution to carry with me touching Londonderry; and thereupon I parted home."

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"Soon after I came to Dublin to the fore-appointed meeting of those Colonels; but first I took in my way SR. PHELM O NEIL's house, to be certain what he had done; and his answer was, that he knew that matter could not be put in execution by the fifth of October as was appointed, and that they would make another longer day for it, and he would provide for the taking of Londonderry by that day; and so I came to Dublin to give an account of that was done, and also know what further should be done. I was not two hours in my lodging when MR. MOORE came to me, who knew what was done by those Colonels formerly from Colonel BIRNE; and told me, that the messenger sent to Colonel O NEIL was come with an answer, desiring us not to delay any time in rising out, and to let him know of that day before hand, and that he would not fail to be with us within fourteen days of that day with good aid; also desiring us by any means to seize the castle of Dublin if we could, for he heard that there was great provision in it for war: and MR. MOORE moreover said, that that time was not to be over-slipped, and desired me to be very pressing with the Colonels to go on in their resolution. But on meeting with the Colonels, they were fallen from their resolution, because those of the Pale would do nothing therein first; but when it was done, they would not fail to assist us, as Colonel PLUNKET did affirm: and so by several meetings, it was resolved on by them to desist from that enterprise for that time, and

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to expect a more convenient time. But before that their resolution, SR. PHELM O NEIL, and the aforesaid Captain BRIAN O NEIL followed me to Dublin to assist, as they said, and advise me how to proceed with that Colonel; but neither they nor MR. MOORE would be seen therein themselves to those gentlemen, but would meet me privately and know what was done at every meeting; alledging for excuse, that I being first employed in that matter, it would not be expedient that they should be seen in it. Moreover they would not be known to be in town but by a few of their friends, until they were in a manner ready to depart the town; at least as long as I was in town, for I left them there. But when I made them acquainted with their determination of desisting from that enterprise, they thought it convenient we should meet with MR. MOORE and Colonel BIRN to see what was further to be done concerning the further intention of their own, and according we did send to them that they should meet us; and on that meeting it was, where was only SR. PHELM, MR. MOORE, Colonel BIRN, Captain NEIL, and myself. After long debate it was resolved, that we with all those that were of our faction should go on with that determination that was formerly made, and concluded to rise out: moreover to seize on the castle as the Colonels were purposed; for if it were not for their project and the advice sent by Colonel NEIL we would never venture to surprise it: neither was it ever thought on in all the meetings and resolutions between us before those Colonels did resolve on it; but by reason that the other gentlemen that were privy to those proceedings were not present, the certainty of the time and the manner how to execute it, was put off to a further meeting in the country; and this was resolved in Dublin upon the Sunday at night, being the twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh of September, and the meeting was appointed on the Saturday following at Maccalloe, MACMAHON'S house in Farney in the county of Monaghan: and thereupon we all left the town; only SR. PHELM staid about some other his private occasions but did assure his being there at that day: and by reason that at that meeting the gentry of Leinster could not be, considering the remoteness of the place from them, it was thought fit that Mr. MOORE should there meet to receive the final resolution and should acquaint them therewith; and in the mean time Colonel BIRN, who had undertaken for
Colonel

Colonel PLUNKET, should inform them of all the intention conceived, and dispose them in readiness against that day that should be appointed."

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"On Saturday I came to MR. MACMAHON's house; there met only MR. MACMAHON himself, Captain NEIL, EVER MACMAHON, and myself: and thither that same day came the messenger that was sent to Colonel NEIL, and did report the Colonel's answer and advice "verbatim," as I have formerly repeated from MR. MOORE: And by reason that SR. PHELM, his brother, or MR. PHILIP REILY that were desired to meet, did not meet, we staid that night to expect them; and that night I received a letter from SR. PHELM, intreating us by any means not to expect him till the Monday following, for he had not, nor could dispatch some occasions nearly concerning him, but whatever became of them he would not fail on the Monday: On the next day after receipt of the letter, being Sunday, by MR. MOORE's advice we departed from Colonel MACMAHON's house, to prevent, as he said, the suspicion of the English there,—many living near—to Loghrosse in the county of Ardmagh to MR. TIRLOCH O NEIL's house—not SR. PHELM's brother but son to MR. HENRY O NEIL of the Fewes, son-in law to MR. MOORE—and left word, that if SR. PHELM, or any of those gentlemen did come in the mean time, they should follow us thither; whither only went MR. MOORE, Captain O NEIL, and myself, and there we expected them until the Tuesday subsequent before any of those did come. On the Tuesday came SR. PHELM, and EVER MACMAHON; all the rest failing to come. MR. MACMAHON's wife was dead the night before, which was the cause he was not there; but I gave his assent to what should be concluded to therein and to execute what should be appointed him: And then we five, *viz.* SR. PHELM, MR. MOORE, Captain O NEIL, EVER MACMAHON, and myself, assuring ourselves that those gentlemen absent should both allow and join to what we should determine, did grow into a final resolution, grounding all or most part of our hope and confidence on the succours from Colonel O NEIL, to seize on the castle, and rise out all in one day; and the day was appointed on the twenty third of that month, this being the fifth day of October: Having regard therein to the day of the week whereon that day did fall, which was the Saturday being the market-day; on which day there would be less notice of people

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up and down the streets. Then began a question who should be deputed for the surprisal of the castle; and then MR. MOORE said he would be one of them himself, and that Colonel BIRN should be another, and what other gentlemen of Leinster they could procure to join with them: And seeing the castle had two gates, the one the great, the other the little gate going down to my Lord Lieutenant's stables—hard by which stables without the castle was the store-house for arms—they of Leinster would undertake one gate, and that should be the little gate; and the great gate should be undertaken by those of Ulster, and said he, of necessity one of you both—meaning SR. PHELM and me—must be there for the mere countenance of the matter, it being the glory of all our proceedings; and all that his speech was well liked of all present. But SR. PHELM would be exempted from that employment, and so would I; but then all of them set on me desiring me to be one, alledging for reason that their proceedings and resolutions were very honourable and glorious, it being for religion, and for to procure more liberty for their country, as did, said they, of late Scotland; and that in taking the castle consisted all the glory and honour of the said act: all which should be attributed to them which should be employed therein; and so by consequence all, or most part to be there, being, as they said, the chief in that enterprise: and more SR. PHELM said, that he would endeavour to take, or procure others to take Londonderry the same day, and if he should be away that place would not be taken. With these, and many other persuasions, they obtained my consent, and then the Captain offered himself. They began to think what number should be employed in that act, and they concluded on two hundred men, one hundred from each province, for those gates which they were to seize on; of which number SR. PHELM O NEIL should send forty, with an able sufficient gentleman to conduct them, and likewise Captain NEIL twenty, MR. MACMAHON, MR. REILY, ten more, and I should bring twenty two. Then began a doubt how they should raise those men and convey them to Dublin without suspicion: and it was answered, that under pretence of carrying them to those Colonels that were conveying soldiers out of the kingdom, [the copy says, “into,” but it is evidently a mistake] it might safely be done: And to that purpose SR. PHELM O NEIL, MR. MOORE, and the Captain, had several blank patents with deputations to make Cap-

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tains to those Colonels, which they sent to those that should send men to Dublin. For the more colour, they bethought of what was to be done in the country that day; and it was resolved that every one privy to that matter in every part of the kingdom, should rise up that day and seize on all the forts and arms in the several counties, to make all the gentry prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse fortune, and not to kill any but where of necessity they must be forced thereunto by opposition—and that those that were appointed for taking of the castle should observe—and in particular the gentry. All their army in Ulster were to take that day Londonderry, which SR. PHELM did undertake, and Knockfergus, which they thought SR. HENRY MAC O NEIL would do; and to that end SR. PHELM's brother TIRLOGH O NEIL should be sent to them; and the Newry which should be undertaken by SR. CONN MACGENNIS and his brothers, for whom SR. PHELM, in regard they were his brothers-in-law—his deceased lady being their sister—did undertake. Moreover it was agreed, that SR. PHELM, MR. REILY, MR. MACMAHON, and my brother, should with all the speed they could after that day raise all the forces they could and follow us to Dublin; but to arm the men, and succour, and attend, and garrison the town and castle: And likewise MR. MOORE should appoint Leinster gentlemen to send like supply of men; then there was fear of the Scots conceived, that they should personally oppose themselves, and that would make the matter more difficult; and to avoid which danger it was resolved on not to meddle with them or any thing belonging to them, and to demean themselves towards them as if they were of themselves, which they thought would pacify them from any opposition: And if the Scots would not accept of that offer of amity but would oppose them, they were in good hope to cause a stir in Scotland that might divert them from them; and I believe the ground for that hope was, that two years before, in or about the beginning of the Scots troubles, my Lord of TYRONE sent one TIRLOGH O NEIL, a priest, out of Spain (and that this I take it was the time that he was in freely with Cardinal RICHELIEU) to my Lord of ARGYLE, to treat with him for help from my Lord for him to come into Ireland, as was said, for marriage between the said Earl and my Lord of ARGYLE's daughter, or sister—I know not which;—and this messenger was in Ireland, with whom MR. TIRLOGH O NIEL,

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SR. PHELM's brother, had conference; from whom this relation was had. That said messenger went into Scotland, as I did hear from the said MR. NEIL, or from EVER MACMAHON aforementioned, I know not from which of them; but what he did there I could never hear, by reason that my Lord of TYRONE was presently after killed. They were the more confirmed therein, hearing that my Lord of ARGYLE did say—near to the same time as I guess, and when the army was raised in Ireland, as I think—to a great Lady in Scotland—I know not her name, but did hear that she was much embarked in the troubles of that kingdom, and she questioning how they could subsist against the two kingdoms of England and Ireland—that if the King did endeavour to stir Ireland against them, he would kindle such a fire in Ireland as would hardly or never be quenched: And moreover they knew my Lord to be powerful with the Highlanders, Redshanks in Scotland, whom they thought would be prone and ready to such actions; they for the most part descending out of Ireland, holding the Irish language and manners still; and so we parted.”

“ The next day being Wednesday, from Loghrosse every man went about his own task; and so when I came home I acquainted my brother with all that was done, and what they had appointed him to do; and did like according as they had appointed me send to MR. REILY to let him know as much, and the eighteenth of the same month I began my journey to Dublin: And when I came to Dublin—being the day before the appointed day for putting that resolution in execution there—I met with Captain CON O NEIL, sent out of the Low-Countries by Colonel O NEIL, who was sent, after the messenger sent by us formerly to the said Colonel was by him disappointed of his answer, to encourage us in our resolution and to speedy performance, with assurance of succour; which he said would not fail of the Colonel's behalf: and for the more certainty of help from him, and to assure us that the Colonel had good hopes to procure aid from others, he said that it was he himself that was employed from him to Cardinal RICHLIEU twice; that some men gave fair promises to assure the Colonel's expectations, with which he said that the said Colonel was really assured with himself of the Cardinal's aid; and that he was likewise commanded by the Colonel, upon our resolution of the day, to give notice thereof

thereof to him, and that he would be within fourteen days over with them with aid: but he landed nine or ten days before, and meeting with Captain BRIAN O NEIL, who made him acquainted with what was resolved, he did write all the matter to Colonel O NEIL, so as he was sure of his speedy coming; and so he and I came to meet the other gentlemen: And there were met MR. MOORE, Colonel BIRN, Colonel PLUNKET, Captain FOX, and other Leinster gentlemen, a Captain I think of the BIRN's—but I am not sure whether a BIRN, or a TOOLE—and Captain BRIAN O NEIL; and taking an account of those that should have been there, it was found that SR. PHELM O NEIL, and MR. COL. MACMAHON did fail of sending their men; and Colonel BIRN did miss SR. MORGAN CAVENAGH that had promised him to be there, but he said he was sure he would not fail to be that night or the next morning in town: And of the two hundred men there were only eighty present; yet notwithstanding they were resolved to go on in their resolution, and all the difference was, at that time of the day they would set on the castle; and after some debate it was resolved in the afternoon; for they said, if they should take the castle, and be enforced by any extremity for not receiving timely succour out of the country, having them they could not want; and so parted that night, but to meet in the morning to see what was further to be done: And immediately thereupon I came to my chamber, and about nine o'clock MR. MOORE and Captain FOX came to me, and told me all was discovered, and that the city were in arms and the gates were shut up; and so departed from me: And what became of them and of the rest I know not, nor think but they escaped; but how, and what time, I do not know, because I myself was taken that morning."

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Thus ends the narrative of Lord MACGUIRE: and tho' I have taken the liberty now and then to alter or transpose a word in order to make it more intelligible, yet it is all in his own sense and language; which, as the reader must have observed, is not very grammatically expressed, nor accurately connected. But long and tedious as it is, being drawn by one of the principal conspirators, whose authority cannot be suspected, and the facts being stated with as little artifice as there is skill in the composition, I thought it better to give it thus at length in its original dress, than to abridge it, or to change the stile. There is a great appearance of a strict regard to truth throughout

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throughout the whole; and where his memory does not serve him to speak positively, he acknowledges the uncertainty that he is in. But this is in matters of no moment. It may be proper now, before we go any further, to make a few observations on some particular passages which the narrative contains; and which will help to illustrate or ascertain some parts of the following history.

Notwithstanding there is a great appearance of a regard to truth, as I said, in this account, yet it respects only the facts which came within Lord MACGUIRE's knowledge; and not the informations which he received from others, in order to encourage one another in the conspiracy. For it is well known to those who are versed in the history of undertakings of this nature, that men have a wonderful facility in imposing upon themselves as well as others; and that the intelligence which they communicate contains often such things as they rather wish might be true than such as they know to be so. The hopes which are even grounded on mere suppositions, in the warmth of their imagination grow up into certainties; and from the effusions of their own zeal, they conclude the part which others, who are embarked in the same measures, will take. The vanity of some, and the credulity of others, nay the design of many to keep up the spirit of the party by it, all contribute to work one another up to look on the success of the enterprise as infallible. In the present case, this representation was literally fulfilled, and truth was sacrificed to their passions. In the first conversation which MOORE had with Lord MACGUIRE, he pretended to have spoken to the best gentry and quality of Leinster, and some of Conaught: but this seems to have been an artifice to draw in his Lordship and the gentry of the province of Ulster; because in the progress of the conspiracy nothing appears to have been then settled or consulted with them. Of the same nature was his intelligence that the Parliament of England intended to suppress the Catholic religion in the three kingdoms; there being nothing done by them at that time—in February sixteen hundred forty one—which could authorise such an assertion. But it is evident from this narrative, of how great prejudice it was to the Protestant interest then in Ireland, that the army which was disbanded had not been permitted to be sent abroad according to the King's intention, and his engagement to the Spanish

Spanish Minister. That the majority of the Irish committee then in England who were Papists, and who, if the evidence of Colonel PLUNKET in this narrative is to be credited, knew at that time of this conspiracy, should make a point of detaining so many men trained to arms, whose services they confided in for their grand designs, is no wonder. But that the English Parliament should fall into this snare, and interfere in a matter wherein they had no concern, nor any right to interfere, nay should carry their opposition so far as to declare, "that whosoever should assist in transporting these Irish troops should be deemed an enemy to the state," this can be resolved into nothing but a determined resolution to thwart the King in every thing; and at all events to deprive him of the exercise of his power, where they were not consulted and had not given their consent. For, great reason as they certainly had not to trust him, yet their jealousy on this occasion was manifestly groundless; and it is very certain that most of these soldiers were on the side of the rebels.

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It appears also from this narrative, contrary to the opinion delivered by TEMPLE in his history, that this project was not formed by any of the Lords or Gentlemen of the English PALE; though, contrary also to the judgment of MR. CARTE, they had been consulted with, and consented to it. But it was merely a plot of the native Irish, to restore their religion to its former splendour, and to recover the estates and power of their ancestors that were forcibly usurped, and in their opinion unjustly occupied, by the English. Whatever cruelties are to be charged upon them in the prosecution of their undertaking—and they are numerous and horrid—yet their first intention we see went no further than to strip the English and the Protestants of their power and possessions, and unless forced to it by opposition, not to shed any blood. But how it could be supposed that so many thousand people were to be deprived of their habitations and estates by force of arms, against the laws, without making any resistance, and without a general carnage, is very difficult to be conceived. The project in short was conserved to about half a score persons till almost the moment of execution; and in a matter as important as this, all was loose and abandoned to the dispositions of fortune, without subordination, without order, and without concert. The party were rendered sanguine by their passions, and
desperate

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desperate by their circumstances; but the enterprize in itself was a mere rope of sand, liable to be broken or untwisted by a thousand accidents, and if it failed in one place, no provision made to redress it, or to improve and strengthen it in another. The whole foundation upon which they built this mighty fabrick of a conquest or revolution seems to have been, that when the Chiefs should declare to their vassals a rising out, as they called it, there was no doubt to be made but that from their attachment to the cause and religion of the old Irish, from their love of rapine, and from their mortal hatred to the English, they would powerfully support their leaders; and that the old English Catholicks, when they saw their success, would second their endeavours for a total subversion of the new English interest.

The secret, it must be owned, was confided to few persons, and might have eluded the discovery of the most vigilant administration. But yet the Lords Justices had sufficient intimations given them of some ill intentions towards the state, and time enough to prevent or to provide against them. If according to their duty they had paid a regard to the King's advice and directions given them in March by SR. H. VANE, they ought to have secured and examined the priests and friars who were all the summer following crowding into Ireland in great numbers: And when SR. WM. COLE informed them of some uncommon agitation amongst the Lord MACGUIRE, SR. PHELM O NEIL and others of the old Irish in Ulster, tho' we should allow the excuse for not seizing them which hath been mentioned, which can scarcely be allowed, yet nothing can wipe off the reproach of their negligence and inattention, in not observing the motions of the Colonels and other Officers whom they were particularly charged to watch; whom there was great reason to suspect; who, without any warrant or licence from the King, had arrived just before from abroad, raising men under foreign commissions and marching them to Dublin; and who had in fact so large a share in the conspiracy. But the Lords Justices owed their posts to the governing party in the English Parliament or Council, rather than to the favour and approbation of the King; and they had not therefore that zeal and affection for his service, which might naturally be expected from those who were entrusted with the administration of his affairs. The dark side which has been given of the characters of these men, will prepare the

reader

reader for the steps which they took on the discovery of this conspiracy ; and by leading us to the opening of the scene of rebellion which we have seen contriving, will naturally put a period to this book.

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SR. WILLIAM PARSONS, the first in the commission and the most active in the exercise of the government, was an Englishman of mean extraction ; and reading and writing was all the learning he had. With these qualifications, and about forty pounds in money, he went over to Ireland to seek his fortune. He began the world in that country in the service of the escheater general ; and being of a plodding indefatigable genius, and much addicted to avarice, he was so good a proficient in the arts of making the most of his employment—which is no difficult matter for a man of indifferent parts to do, in an employment which gives opportunity, and when he is not troubled with scruples about the ways of getting it—he soon grew rich. After this he married a niece of the surveyor general ; and being employed under him in that post, upon his uncle's resignation succeeded him in it. At the death of his uncle, he obtained another place which he held as commissioner of the revenue ; and to this was added in a short time after, the place of a commissioner of the lands escheated or vested in the Crown ; by which he procured eighteen hundred acres in the province of Ulster to be allotted him. Thus having the sole care of the admeasurement of the lands as surveyor general, and as commissioner a great influence in the disposal of them, here was a fair opportunity for such a man to amass an immense fortune ; and he did not miss it. Tho' great complaints were made against him with too much reason in both these respects, yet he had the art or the good fortune by making his court to BUCKINGHAM the favourite, at the expence of other ministers, to retain his post of surveyor general, and to be master of the court of wards ; of which he had been the projector. In this employment he acquired new grants of lands and manors to a very considerable amount ; which had made him very obnoxious to all the Irish, and not a little disliked by the rest of the people. He had in his early days imbibed the sentiments of the Puritans ; and had all that gravity in his exterior which is often mistaken for true wisdom, of which it is only the semblance. Tho' he owed the posts which had enabled him to amass his riches, and the grants of his estate, to the King's bounty, yet being still as selfish and

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greedy of wealth as ever, and finding that his Majesty's power was sunk in that of the Parliament, he struck into their measures, and by their recommendation was made one of the Lords Justices.

SR. JOHN BORLASE had been bred a soldier in the wars of the Low-Countries at the beginning of that century; and was a man of a quiet easy nature, of no extraordinary parts, but honest, open, and without design. His behaviour in the commands which had been entrusted to him had been unexceptionable; and he had acquired a good share of reputation for his military skill. Therefore when he returned home to Ireland, he was thought a proper man to keep up the discipline of that army; was preferred to a company of foot and a troop of horse; and made Master general of the ordnance. Avarice was not his vice; and having made no great profit by his commissions, his fortune was very moderate. The genius that he had was wholly confined to his profession of arms; and when he was made a Lord Justice, he was grown old, indolent, and inactive; giving himself little trouble about the exercise of his power, and leaving all to the management of his colleague.—These were the men at that time entrusted with the administration of affairs in Ireland; and under these it is no wonder, that with other circumstances concurring, a conspiracy of the kind we have now in view should make such an astonishing progress as we shall see in the following book.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR
IN
IRELAND.

BOOK II.

ON the twenty-second of October about nine o'clock at night, MR. OWEN O CONOLLY, a gentleman of Irish extraction, but who had long lived among the English and been bred a Protestant, applied himself to SR. W. PARSONS as one of the Lords Justices, and informed him that there was a great conspiracy then on foot for seizing the castle of Dublin the next day. He gave him the names of the chief conspirators, assured him that they were now in town for the execution of their purpose, and that he had this intelligence from MR. HUGH MACMAHON who came up that afternoon to assist in it, and with whom he had been drinking very freely. Whether O CONOLLY's ancestors, who were of the old Irish stock,

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TEMPLE.
BORLASE.
COX.
CARTE.
Hist. Mem.
CASTLEHA.
CLAREND.

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had been dispossessed of their estates by the plantations, or whether there was any affinity or peculiar friendship between him and MACMAHON, that was the motive of confiding such a secret to the former, does not appear. But having received a letter from MACMAHON—who was a grandson to old TYRONE, and had been Lieutenant-Colonel in the Spanish service—to repair to him at his house in the county of Monaghan, he went thither accordingly; and finding his friend was gone to Dublin, and not knowing the business on which he was sent for, followed him thither. He had there indeed drank so freely with the Colonel, that he could not give his information with accuracy and clearness: and instead of detaining him till he grew sober, and of securing his person as an evidence to proceed upon, the Lord Justice PARSONS sent him back to MACMAHON's lodgings, in order to make a further discovery of the certainty and particulars of the plot. But O CONOLLY, though in liquor, had more sense than the magistrate; and knowing that it was with difficulty and stratagem that he had got away from MACMAHON to make his information, instead of returning to him, chose rather to walk the street, and to content himself with the discovery he had already made. On second thoughts however, SR. W. PARSONS, considering the great importance of the information, sent an order immediately to the constable of the castle to have the gates well guarded; and to the Mayor and Sheriffs to set a good watch in every part of the city, and to detain all strangers whatsoever. These directions being given, he went about ten o'clock to his colleague SR. JOHN BORLASE, to acquaint him of the intelligence he had received, and with the steps he had taken. His colleague had either more understanding than he had, or more attention to the public good. He saw in a moment the error of PARSONS in giving the alarm, and in letting O CONOLLY go; as having no body to punish in case the information should prove false, or if it was true, to make any proof, and to get at more discovery. Some of the servants were therefore dispatched about the town in search of O CONOLLY; and others were sent for such of the Council as were known to be at Dublin, to attend the Lords Justices that night at the house of SR. JOHN BORLASE on College-green. SR. THO. ROTHERHAM, and SR. ROB. MEREDITH chancellor of the exchequer, were all that came: and just as the watch had taken up O CONOLLY and was carrying him away as a stranger to secure him, one
of

of PARSONS's servants, who was sent to look after him and had seen him at his master's that night, came up with them and brought him away. When he appeared before the Council, perceiving that his information was not thoroughly credited, he assured them that what he had told the Lord Justice PARSONS was very true; and that if he had the liberty to repose himself a little, his discovery should be clearer and more distinct. Upon this he was ordered to lie down upon a bed in SR. JOHN BORLASE's house, whilst the Council entered upon a consultation about what was fit to be done.

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The effects of sudden events, it is well known, are very wonderful; and even men of good sense are often found as unable to conduct themselves properly upon such occasions, as they are unprepared to expect them. The Lords Justices had not been sufficiently attentive to the danger, of which we have seen in the former book they had notice given them more than once, and against which it was their duty to be upon their guard. A discovery therefore when they found themselves upon the brink of ruin so terrified them with its surprise, as betrayed them into blunders, for which nothing but such a confusion and such a panick could be an excuse. In short, if some of the conspirators had not failed in sending their promised quota of men, or if the rest had had courage and resolution enough to make the attempt that was intended with the men they had, in the first moments after they perceived the design was known, the errors and negligence of the Lords Justices would in all probability have proved fatal. But an impartial man must be surprised, to find this conduct, which was merely owing to fright and surprise, imputed by the Catholic writers to the wishing that no discovery had been made, or to an endeavour to suppress it after it had been made. Had the history of this time been wholly silent, the imminent danger to their own lives and properties from an insurrection of this kind is a sufficient refutation of such a charge. Neither is there the least shadow of proof, from the history of that country or of this, that there was any combination—as those writers suggest—between the Puritans of both kingdoms, to have at first lighted up, and afterwards spread abroad the flames of this rebellion.—When O CONOLLY had somewhat recovered himself from his confusion, occasioned partly, as he said himself, from the horror with which he was struck at the plot which had been discovered to him, and partly

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partly with his drinking too much with MACMAHON that he might more easily get from him, he confirmed all that he had before related, with an addition of these particulars: " That he came to town this evening at six o'clock, and going directly to the lodgings of MACMAHON whom he found at home, they went together to the Lord MACGUIRE's, but his Lordship not being within, they staid there and drank a cup of beer; when he was informed by MACMAHON " that great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish Papists would be in town that night, who with himself had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and possess themselves of all his Majesty's ammunition there to-morrow morning: that they intended first to batter the chimnies of the said town, and if the city would not yield, to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the Protestants that would not join with them: that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom to destroy all the English inhabiting there to-morrow morning by ten o'clock; and that in all the sea-ports and other towns in the kingdom all the Protestants should be killed this night, and that all the posts that could be could not prevent it." Upon this information he moved his friend to forbear being concerned in this business, and to discover it to the government that he might save his own estate: but his answer was " that he could not help it; that they did owe their allegiance to the King and would pay him all his rights, but that they did this for the tyrannical government which was over them, and to imitate Scotland who got a privilege by that course." When he was returned from Lord MACGUIRE's to MACMAHON's lodgings, the latter swore that he should not go out that night, but should go with him the next morning to the castle; and said if this matter were discovered somebody should die for it. Upon hearing him say this, O CONOLLY feigned a necessity of going down to ease himself; and tho' he left his sword as a pledge of his return, MACMAHON sent his man down with him: but coming into the yard, and finding an opportunity, he leaped over a wall and two pales, and so came to SR. W. PARSONS.

This is the substance of the examination, and almost in the same words, which was taken upon oath that night before the council: and before I go any further I shall make this observation on it, which is also applicable to many other examinations on both sides in this history; that no stress is to be

laid

laid upon what is deposed to have been said by some of the English or the Irish. For tho' these evidences may be allowed justly enough to prove that such things were said, yet they cannot fairly be admitted to prove—what all the historians of this rebellion bring them to prove—that the chiefs of the English or the Irish intended to act in the very manner, which, in the hearing of these witnesses, the others had reported. For instance in the case before us; we see that MACMAHON went much beyond what the principal conspirators had determined, in affirming that all the English were to be destroyed by ten o'clock the next morning, and all the Protestants in the sea-ports and towns should be killed that night: whereas it appears by Lord MACGUIRE's narrative, that no lives were to be taken away unless occasioned by an opposition; and that the general rising out was not to be in any part of the kingdom till the next day. But it is no uncommon thing for men who are engaged in such criminal combinations, to talk in very hyperbolical strains of terrors past and to come; in order to make sure of their confederates, or to convert others to their enterprise.

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If the Lords Justices and Council had not been struck with a pannick upon this examination, it was their business to send, without losing a moment, an order to seize the persons of Lord MACGUIRE and MACMAHON, of whose lodgings O CONOLLY had informed them. But instead of this, they contented themselves with setting a watch upon those houses; by which means, and by PARSONS's imprudently giving the alarm, the report of a discovery had taken air; and MOORE, PLUNKET, BIRN, and all the other chiefs made their escape. In short, of the great numbers that came up out of several counties in order to seize on the castle and city of Dublin, what with the terror and confusion of the Council which deprived them of a right presence of mind, and what with the negligence or connivance of the inhabitants, there were not above thirty taken, and those mostly servants and low people; the men of fortune having friends enow in the town either to conceal them or to assist in their escape. Nor was much greater care taken to secure those that had been seized and brought before the Council; two of whom, a servant of SR. PHELM O NEIL, and PAUL O NEIL a priest who had been an active man in the conspiracy, found means to get away.

The

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 A. 1641. power, was thrown away in deliberating how they should exert it.

Indeed the design which they had to defeat, it must be owned was of vast importance, as being very dangerous in its consequence if not defeated, and yet not difficult in its execution. The number of Papists to Protestants was more than ten to one in the city, and not a single company of the army in it. For as it had been objected to the Earl of STRAFFORD that he had billeted soldiers in Dublin, contrary to a pretended meaning of a clause in the charter, tho' it had been practised by all former Deputies and was a measure necessary, so the present Lords Justices, either to give a sanction to that complaint, or to shew how well they could govern in a different manner, distributed the troops they had into other quarters. Unguarded however thus as it was, there were at this time in the castle fifteen hundred barrels of powder, match and bullet proportionable, arms for ten thousand men, and thirty-five pieces of artillery in the arsenal adjoining, with all the necessary equipage belonging to it: and had the rebels made themselves masters of the castle and of these arms and ammunition, it is probable they would soon have become masters of the kingdom.

But what did the Lords Justices and Council do in this situation? They sat up all night in consultation: and it was not till five o'clock on the next morning that they sent to seize MACMAHON and Lord MACGUIRE; and not till the latter had for several hours had notice from MOORE, as we have seen at the end of his Lordship's narrative, that the conspiracy was discovered, the gates guarded, and the city in arms. MACMAHON and his servant were taken in their own lodgings, where at first they drew their swords and made some little resistance; but finding themselves overpowered, they soon submitted and were brought before the Council. There was but little difficulty in bringing the master to confess the plot; not out of any fear, or sense of guilt, but as an action in which he thought it to his reputation to have been concerned. He told them "that all the forts and strong places in Ireland would on that day be taken; that he with the Lord MACGUIRE, Colonel BIRN, Captain BRIAN O NEIL, and several other Irish gentlemen

gentlemen were come up expressly to surprize the castle of Dublin; and that twenty men out of each county in the kingdom were to be there to join them; that all the Lords and gentlemen in Ireland that were Papists were engaged in this plot; that what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it. He added moreover, it was true they had him in their power, but he was sure he should be revenged." After tracing Lord MACGUIRE from one house to another, he was taken at last by the Sheriffs at an obscure house in a cockloft in disguise. At his lodgings were found some hatchets with the handles newly cut off, many daggers, and several hammers: but when he was brought before the Council, he denied every thing, except that he had heard of this conspiracy in the country and ought to have informed them of it; but when he heard of it, or from whom, he would not discover then, nor till six months after.

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The noise of this conspiracy began by this time to be spread abroad confusedly all over the city; and intelligence was brought to the Council, that great numbers of strangers had been observed to come to town the night before and very early that morning in great parties several ways; and finding the gates shut had most of them set their horses in the suburbs. Wherefore the Lords Justices and Council having committed Lord MACGUIRE and MACMAHON to the custody of the constable of the castle, their Lordships drew up a proclamation; commanding all men not dwelling in the city or suburbs to depart within an hour upon pain of death, and making it alike penal to those who should harbour and conceal them. This proclamation being read by the Sheriffs in proper places, and the commitment of the two chiefs above mentioned, and of some others being divulged, which shewed the plot to be discovered, the strangers soon disappeared. The Council were now joined by six more of their body, among whom was SR. FRAN. WILLOUGHBY governour of the fort of Galway; which he had made one of the completest fortifications in that kingdom. Having been sent for from thence a little before by the Lords Justices, he arrived at his house in the suburbs of Dublin in the preceding night. But he had not perceived, either at Galway, or in any part of the road, the least disposition in the inhabitants to an insurrection; nor did he entertain the most distant

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suspicion of any hazard or insecurity to his person. Intending therefore the next morning to wait on the Lords Justices, he was infinitely surprised to meet with the gates of the city shut, and to learn that the keys had been carried to SR. JOHN BORLASE's house, where the Council had sat up all the night in consultation. Thither he repaired as fast as possible—the house being then without the town—over Stephen's green; where his surprise was greatly increased, when he was informed of MACMAHON's examination, and of the intelligence that had been given of the great number of strangers that had come to town from all parts the night before.

It appears however that SR. FRANCIS had more possession of himself than the rest of the Council: For he had no sooner heard the particulars which have been related, than he observed to them the insecurity and the inconvenience of the place where they were, out of town, and without any guard; and therefore proposed, in order for their own safety as well as that of the castle, they should remove thither immediately, and there consider at leisure of their further resolutions in this business. Strange as it is that this observation had never entered their heads before, yet it was no sooner mentioned than assented to, and the advice that he had given immediately carried into execution. To give a further proof of their confidence in his zeal and ability, when they found themselves safe in the council chamber, they commanded him to take upon himself the government of the castle and city, and to provide for the defence of both. In those days there were no good fortifications about the town or suburbs, tho' they were afterwards made better, and are now again destroyed: and the only guard there was to the castle, was eight warders, weak old men, and the forty halberdiers which in solemn parade used to escort the Lords Justices to church. In so critical a situation, and with such a feeble force, the Governor durst not let down the drawbridge of the castle upon any occasion for the first fourteen days without all his guard being present, nor allow himself to go to bed; the council table serving him for a couch, and the cushion to rest his head on. In the mean time he broke down the back stairs, in order to prevent any attempt that way, and made the great gates serve as so many bastions to the castle wall. By this management it was not only out of danger from a surprise, but a regiment which he

he had carried over into England for the King's service against the Scots, having been broken at Carlisle where he was governor, and many of the soldiers coming over at this time to Dublin, he entertained two hundred of them to guard the castle.

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We must now return to the Lords Justices and the Council, who from a sense of their danger were still in a terrible consternation. But imagining that the conspirators in the remote parts of the kingdom would be somewhat disheartened, as soon as it should be known that the design of seizing the castle of Dublin was disappointed, and on the other side that the Protestants and other loyal subjects would be comforted and defend themselves with more success, they drew up and printed the following proclamation; and thus concluded their consultation.

By the Lords Justices and Council,

TEMPLE.

WILLIAM PARSONS. JOHN BORLASE.

These are to make known and publish to all his Majesty's good subjects in this his kingdom of Ireland, that there is a discovery made by us, the Lords Justices and Council, of a most disloyal and detestable conspiracy, intended by some evil affected Irish Papists against the lives of us the Lords Justices and Council, and many others of his Majesty's faithful subjects universally throughout this kingdom; and for the seizing not only his Majesty's castle of Dublin, his Majesty's principal fort here, but also of the other fortifications in the kingdom: And seeing by the great goodness and abundant mercy of almighty God to his Majesty and this state and kingdom, those wicked conspiracies are brought to light, and some of the conspirators committed to the castle of Dublin by us, by his Majesty's authority, so as those wicked and damnable plots are now disappointed in the chief parts thereof; We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publicly known, for the comfort of his Majesty's good and loyal subjects in all parts of the kingdom, but also hereby to require them that they do with all confidence and chearfulness betake themselves to their own defence and stand upon their guard, so to render the more safety to themselves and all the kingdom besides; and that they

advertise

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advertise us with all possible speed of all occurrents which may concern the peace and safety of the kingdom, and now to shew fully that faith and loyalty, which they have always shewn for the public services of the Crown and kingdom, which we will value to his Majesty accordingly, and a special memory will be retained for their advantage in due time: And we require that great care be taken that no levies of men be made for foreign service, nor any men suffered to march upon any such pretence. Given at his Majesty's castle of Dublin, the twenty-third of October sixteen hundred forty-one.

This proclamation, signed by eight of the Council, was immediately printed, and sent by express messengers to the nobility and gentry in several parts of the kingdom to disperse and publish; with hopes that it might contain such as had not declared themselves within the bounds of their duty and obedience to the King. On the same day at twelve o'clock at night, Lord BLANEY came to town with the news of the rebels seizing his house at Castle-Blaney in the county of Monaghan with two hundred men, and making his Lady, and children, and servants prisoners; also a house belonging to the Earl of ESSEX, and another of SR. HEN. SPOTSWOOD's in the same county with two hundred men. At the last place, there being a little plantation of British, they plundered the town, and burnt divers houses, with several adjacent villages; robbing and spoiling the English Protestants, and leaving the Papists as well as the Irish unmolested. On Sunday morning at three o'clock, intelligence came from SR. ARTH. TYRINGHAM, that the Irish had the day before broken up the King's store of arms and ammunition at Newry; where they had lain for many years, and where they found fourscore and ten barrels of powder. Being furnished thus with arms and ammunition, they put themselves under the command of SR. CON MACGENNIS and one CREELY a monk; and plundering the English there disarmed the garrison. From the intelligence given by Lord BLANEY and SR. A. TYRINGHAM, in which there is no mention made of any murders, Abbé GEOGHGAN very ingeniously draws a conclusion, that none such were committed in Ulster. But he does not inform his readers that their intelligence came away in a few hours after the insurrection had broken out; neither had they opportunities of knowing what was done in other parts of the country.

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On Sunday morning the twenty-fourth, the Lords Justices and Council met again in the castle, and issued orders to draw seven troops of horse to Dublin as a further strength; in case the enemy should march thither and they should be obliged to give them battle. They also dispatched letters to the Presidents of the provinces of Munster and Conaught, and to the Sheriffs of the five counties of the Pale, in order that they should consult on the best ways and means for their own preservation. On the same day, the Lords GORMANSTON, NETTERVILL, FITZWILLIAM, and HOWTH, and the next morning the Lords KILDARE, FINGALL, DUNSANY, and SLANE, all of them noblemen of the English Pale, repaired to the castle, and declared to the Lords Justices and Council that they had not before heard any thing of the conspiracy; that the Council might depend on their loyalty to the King and their concurrence with the state, but that they had no arms wherewith to defend themselves or to annoy the enemy. In answer to this the Council told them, that they would willingly supply them with arms as they desired, relying entirely upon their fidelity to the Crown, but they were not then sure that they had enow for the guard of the city and castle: however they supplied such of them as lay most in danger with a small proportion of arms and ammunition for the defence of their houses, lest they should imagine that the Council had any jealousy or suspicion of them. At the same time, they directed them to be very diligent in sending out spies to watch the motions of the rebels, and to make all the discoveries which they could for the information of the government; which they readily promised to do, and so departed.

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Amidst these distractions, the Lords Justices and Council, recollecting that the Parliament had been adjourned to the middle of November, and that Michaelmas term was just at hand, "both which would draw a great concourse of people of all ranks to Dublin, and under the pretence of those occasions might give the rebels an opportunity of executing new designs to the further danger of the state" they thought it necessary to prorogue the Parliament, and to direct the term to be adjourned to the first day of Hilary, except in the court of Exchequer; where the Judges might sit for the more speedy collecting the rents due to the Crown. Having taken these measures on Monday the twenty-fifth, the Council sent a letter to England

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the same day to the Earl of LEICESTER the Lord-Lieutenant, with an account of every thing which is above related; and informing him further, “ that in a case of this nature where all their lives and fortunes, and above all, his Majesty’s power and regal authority were at stake, they must vary from ordinary proceedings; not only in executing martial law as they should see cause, but also in putting some to the rack to find out the bottom of this treason and the contrivers of it, which otherwise they foresaw would not be done.” In the same letter, they observe “ that if the conspiracy be so universal as MACMAHON had said in his examination, namely, that all the counties in the kingdom had conspired in it, then indeed they should be in high extremity, considering their want of men and money, and arms; and must depend on aid from England for their present supply with all possible speed, especially money, of which they had none; nor was money to be borrowed there.” From this view of their condition they imagine his Lordship would see how necessary his presence amongst them was for the better guiding of the affairs of the King and kingdom; and that the Parliament in England should be moved immediately to advance a good sum of money to be sent over directly, in order to prevent an expence of blood and treasure in a long continued war: but if his Lordship should delay his departure for any time, they desire him to appoint a Lieutenant-General to command their forces.” These, they acquaint him, consist only of two thousand foot and a thousand horse; and are so dispersed in garrisons about the country, as that if they were to be drawn together, the safety of the places where they lie would not only be endangered by their absence, but by coming together in such small numbers would be liable to be cut off in their march: nor indeed had they money to pay the soldiers to enable them to leave their garrisons. This letter to the Earl of LEICESTER, signed by the two Lords Justices and thirteen of the Council, was sent over by O CONOLLY who had given the information of the conspiracy; and in a postscript, signed by SR. W. PARSONS alone, he is recommended “ as very worthy of a recompence for his faith and loyalty expressed in this business to his own extreme hazard; which they beseech his Lordship may be taken into consideration in England, in such manner as that his Majesty’s royal bounty may extend to him and his posterity.” A dispatch of the same nature

nature with this, was at the same time sent to the King then at Edinburgh, by SR. HEN. SPOTSWOOD, who went with it by sea to Scotland.

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These informations to the supreme authority in the state having been sent away, the care of the Council was next employed in the further security of the city and the parts adjacent; wherein they met with many difficulties from the want of men and money. To this purpose they sent letters to the nobility and gentry in the province of Leinster, as they had done before to those of Munster and Conaught, and to all the counties to which messengers could pass; giving them notice of the discovery of the plot, and directing them to provide in the best manner they could for their own safety and the defence of the country round them. Another express with the same intelligence was sent to the Earl of ORMONDE, then at his house at Carrick in the county of Tipperary almost fourscore miles from Dublin, desiring him to repair thither immediately with his troop of horse. For tho' the castle was tolerably secured in the manner which hath been related, yet the numbers of despoiled and naked English which were every hour now arriving with the horrid tales of the cruelties that they had endured, had struck such a terror among the well affected inhabitants of the city, that they expected every minute when their own turn would come.

These terrors were greatly aggravated by the rumours that were spread of a sudden approach of a great number of rebels out of the adjacent counties; some pretending that they were discerned already marching down from the mountain side within view of the town: and though some of the council went upon the platform of the castle in order to be ascertained of the fact, or to contradict it, which they did, yet so powerful is imagination when possessed by fear, that several would not be persuaded but that they saw the motions of the men as they marched along. On the back of this rumour another was spread about, that ten thousand rebels were assembled in a body at the hill of Tarah about sixteen miles from Dublin, and that they intended to march without delay and to surprise it. It is easy to conceive that such rumours as these, some of which no doubt were raised and propagated with an ill design, must exceedingly encrease the fears and distractions of the people; already at a great height from what they had seen and
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heard among the sufferers out of the country, and who were multiplying every hour. Nor were the common people the only persons who were thus terrified: for as they were running up and down the streets, communicating their intelligence to one another and mutually adding to their terror, some swords were drawn upon a slight accident about seven o'clock: a gentleman of distinction perceiving this at a distance repaired in a great fright to the Council sitting then at the castle, which he pretended to have reached with some difficulty, and assured them that the rebels had actually possessed themselves of a good part of the town, and came then with great fury marching along the street which leads directly towards the castle. But SR. FRAN. WILLOUGHBY the governor, letting down the draw-bridge and reconnoitring with his guard, soon found the alarm to have no other foundation than what has been mentioned. In this critical situation, many who consulted with nothing but their fears, and who preferred their own particular safety before any other consideration, laid aside all thoughts of defence, and were for retiring with their effects to England: others, who were detained by contrary winds in the harbour, chose rather to endure all extremities on shipboard than to hazard themselves on shore. Even some Scotch fishermen, who lay with their vessels within the bay in great number catching herrings, and who had with great forwardness offered the government to land five hundred men and to enter into arms for their defence, were no sooner accepted than they were terrified with a false alarm, and suddenly in the night put out to sea.

There remained at this time embarked within the harbour of Dublin, four hundred Irish soldiers levied with his Majesty's consent, under the command of Colonel BARRY for the service of the King of Spain; and who would have been sailed long ago, if they had not been stopped by order of the English Parliament, as before mentioned. The inconvenience of this order to the state of Ireland was now very apparent; as these troops were become a terror to the Protestant inhabitants of the city, and as the Council were perplexed to dispose of them in such a manner as to prevent their doing mischief when they were landed. Colonel BARRY was gone into the country, on the evening on which the discovery of the conspiracy had been made; and though the men were in great extremity on shipboard for want

want of provisions, having exhausted the store they had taken in when the embargo was laid on, yet there was no order nor authority how they were to be supplied. For the government to permit them to land, seemed to be adding so many instruments of mischief to those they already had to encounter with: and therefore one of the King's frigates lying in the harbour, the Captain was ordered to prevent their disembarking, which he did till it was evident they must all be starved; and then the Council consented to their landing, on condition that none of them should approach or enter the city.—After having made these men their enemies by almost starving them, they took care by this means of the safety of their own persons; but they let them loose upon the country, thus provoked, instead of incorporating them with their other troops; and most of them accordingly joined the rebels. As to TEMPLE's imputation, of bringing these men together just before the time appointed for the breaking out of this plot, to a design and contrivance that they might assist in the execution of it, when they would have been in Spain at that time if they had not been prevented, this is ridiculous and absurd: but it shews to what a degree party prejudice and hatred will mislead the understanding against the evidence of facts.

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The city was not only in a poor state of defence from the craziness of the walls, the great extent of its suburbs, and the general weakness of the place, but also much more in respect of the ill affections of its inhabitants, most of which were Papists: and these were so deluded by the suggestions of their priests, as to do all that lay in their power to promote a work which they believed to be intended only for the resettlement of their religion and the recovery of their liberties. To them it was therefore owing that the principal conspirators were privately conveyed away when the plot was first discovered; by them many of the rebels who came out of the country were secretly entertained; and from them not only relief, but ammunition, and intelligence of what was doing there, were also sent to the enemy. It is not then to be wondered at that they should shew no disposition to assist the government in any shape. For when the Mayor and aldermen were sent for, and the Council, laying before them the great necessities of the state and the danger of the kingdom, desired to borrow a sum of money of them, which should be repaid out of the first supply that

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was received from England, after a solemn consultation among themselves, the answer was that they were not able to furnish above forty pounds, and part even of that must be in cattle. The Council perceiving themselves in this ill situation from the inhabitants, in order to prevent others from joining with them, issued out a proclamation for the discovery and removal of all such as did or should come and continue at Dublin without just cause: And yet that they might not irritate the ill humours of the Irish, no punishment was inflicted on those who did continue, and of several of whom they had sufficient cause to be jealous; and others who were brought before them and convicted of holding seditious language, were left unpunished. But this was certainly false policy; and it had been better not to publish the proclamation at all, than to permit it to be contradicted openly with impunity, and thereby to bring their authority into contempt.

Within two or three days after their first attendance, the Lords of the Pale came again to the Council board with a petition; wherein they set forth the deep sense they had of an expression in the late proclamation issued out on the discovery of this conspiracy, intended, as it is there said, by some evil affected IRISH PAPISTS; which words they feared might be misinterpreted, and a construction put upon them which might reflect upon their persons as comprehended in them. When men who are not accused are very officious to exculpate themselves it is a strong symptom of guilt. The phrase "evil affected Irish Papists" indeed was general; but it no way comprehended them if they were innocent, and if they were guilty there was no pretence for this petition: it served however, for what no doubt it was brought, as a handle of discontent and of quarrel with the administration. Wherefore the Lords Justices and Council thought fit to descend so far to their satisfaction, as not only to assure them of the clearness of their intention towards them, but also, that it might appear to the whole kingdom that they did not entertain the least jealousy of their Lordships, the Council caused another proclamation to be published by way of explanation of the former; which after the preamble is as follows:

We do therefore, to give them full satisfaction, hereby declare and publish to all his Majesty's good subjects in this kingdom, that by the words

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IRISH PAPISTS, we intended only such of the old mere Irish in the province of Ulster, as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this treason, and others who adhere to them; and that we did not any way intend or mean thereby any of the old English of the Pale nor of any other parts of this kingdom; we being well assured of their fidelity to the Crown, and having experience of their good affections and services of their ancestors in former times of danger and rebellion: And we further require all his Majesty's loving subjects, whether Protestants or Papists, to forbear upbraiding matter of religion one against the other; and that upon pain of his Majesty's indignation. Given at his Majesty's castle of Dublin the twenty-ninth of October sixteen hundred and forty-one.

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Signed by Nine of the Council.

It being apprehended that it might be dangerous in a time of such distraction to admit such a multitude of suitors of all sorts into the castle as had occasion daily to attend on the council board, the Lords Justices transferred the place of their meeting in council to Cork house; tho' their persons were there exposed continually to danger, not indeed then known, from the confident resort of several Lords and Gentlemen in great numbers, who within few days after declared themselves and joined the rebels. This opportunity however was luckily not taken: for there was no great difficulty to make away with the Lords Justices and Council at that house, the majority of the city and suburbs being on their side, and by that means to have brought all things into such confusion as would soon have given them the upper hand. But these people being then entirely unsuspected, the care of the Council was to secure the castle, in which they apprehended their own safety principally consisted: And from the intelligence which they received of the rebels carrying all before them in the North, they thought it expedient to furnish the castle with provisions, that it might be enabled to endure a siege; in case they should be obliged to leave the town, through the treachery of those within, or through the forces of those without who might attempt to surprise it. But tho' this was a work highly necessary in itself, and at that time essential to the safety of the whole kingdom, yet how to perform it without money was a task of no little difficulty. This task however was imposed by the Lords Justices and Council on SR. JOHN TEMPLE,

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Master of the rolls, and one of their body—the historian of this rebellion so often referred to in this work—and he executed it with great ability and dispatch. There was no occasion for him to add to the fears and distractions of the well affected, nor to heighen the apprehensions which they had of their present danger; but of these he artfully took an advantage. He sent immediately for some of the chief Protestant Merchants, and condoling with them very pathetically on the great necessities and distresses of the state, the imminent danger of the town, and of their own, and of the public safety, he recommended their instantly depositing in the castle as a place of security such of their provisions as they had lying by them in unsafe places in the city. The impression had its effect; and the project took place without the least delay. The Merchants were but too well convinced of the common danger, and that their safety could not survive the ruin of the castle: And therefore what with their good affections to the service, and what with a prudential care to secure their property, they brought in immediately great quantities of beef, and herrings, and corn; enough indeed not only to victual the castle for many months, which for want of money and credit could not otherwise have ben provided for, but which proved of excellent use afterwards in maintaining all the army which was for a long time quartered in the city. The Master of the rolls had assured the Merchants, that in case it should be found necessary for the public service to make use of their provisions, that he would see that a restitution should be made in kind to the several owners, or the value paid in money: and this engagement he made good in a few months afterwards, by bills on the chamber of London in pursuance of an order from the English Parliament. The castle being thus supplied amply with provisions, the next care was to dig and clear out an old well within its walls, that had long since been stopped up, and to lay in all other necessaries fit for a siege; which being effected gave great comfort and security to all the Protestants and English. —It will now be proper therefore to leave the proceedings at Dublin, and to give the reader a view of the rise and progress of the rebellion in the several counties.

Notwithstanding the discovery which had defeated the design upon the castle, yet this was not known at any distance: the next was the day agreed upon

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upon for the general insurrection, and the surprisal of all the forts and garrisons in the province of Ulster; and the rebel chiefs accordingly having divided their forces, one of the parties surprised one castle or garrison in which there were companies of foot or troops of horse belonging to the army, whilst another effected the same design at other places according to their combination. In these achievements their progress was so rapid, that in a week's time they got possession of all the towns, forts, castles, and gentlemen's houses of Protestants and English, within the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Cavan, Ardmagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, and half the county of Down; except the cities of Londonderry, Colerain, the town and castle of Iniskilling, and some other castles and places which were at first well defended, but for want of relief surrendered into their hands. SR. PHELM O NEIL, one of the principal conspirators, led the way; and the base and cowardly treachery with which he set out, so characteristic of the man, was a sure presage of every thing which followed. The fort of Charlemont was a very considerable and important place in those days, when the country was full of woods and passages that were difficult, because it commanded a pass over the Black-water in the great northern road. The Lord CHARLEMONT formerly master of the ordnance, who had served with reputation in the war against TYRONE, but was now very old, was governour of the fort as well as proprietor of the land, and had his company of foot there in garrison. SR. PHELM, living in his neighbourhood and in good correspondence with him, sent him word that he would come and make merry with him that day; when he was accordingly well received, and as the manner of the Irish is, very jovially entertained, with the company which he brought with him as usual upon such occasions. Such a feast as this was a sort of notice to the country to come in: and many of SR. PHELM's followers, in order, as it was pretended, to partake of the good cheer and hospitality of the noble Lord, repaired to the castle in different parties in the afternoon, when the chief observing his men to be strong enough, on a sudden seized on his Lordship and the family that were in the room with him; as his followers did on the soldiers who were making merry in the fort, and had laid aside their arms not in the least suspecting any enemy. In this surprize, the whole company were disarmed or taken prisoners; and the same night SR. PHELM took the castle

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castle of Dungannon. Being thus furnished with arms which they took at these and other forts, and with the powder they seized at Newry, mentioned before, they became masters of the open country with great ease: for the common Irish rising universally with their chiefs, in hopes of enriching themselves with the plunder of the English, against whom they breathed utter extirpation, there was no want of men.

It appears from the examination of DR. HEN. JONES who was a prisoner with the rebels, that in the beginning of October there was a meeting of the heads of the Romish clergy and laymen of their faction at the abbey of Multifarnam in the county of Westmeath; where, among many other things there debated, was the course which should be taken with the English and other Protestants in the ensuing insurrection. Men of different dispositions were of different sentiments: some were only for their extirpation without taking away their lives, as the King of Spain had served the Moors, which had redounded much to his honour; and alledged that the same usage of the English, to whom many even there present owed obligations at least for their education, would be of advantage to their cause in England and in other parts: but if a contrary course were taken and they were put to death, besides the curse it would draw from heaven upon their enterprise, it might justly provoke the people of England to take a severe revenge upon them when it was in their power. On the other side, it was said to have been false policy in the King of Spain not to massacre all the Moors, for which his own dominions and all Christendom had suffered to that day: nor would it be less dangerous to expel the English, who might return again with swords in their hands, and being exasperated by that severity and by the hopes of recovering their former possessions, would be far more revengeful than strangers not injured who might be sent against them; and therefore that a general massacre was the safest and readiest way to free the kingdom from such fears. Others amongst them inclined to a milder method than either of these; neither to extirpate nor to murder them, but to take possession of their estates, and to imprison their persons.

It

It must be observed that Lord MACGUIRE takes no notice at all in his narrative of this meeting at the abbey of Multifarnam, and we may presume therefore was neither present at it nor had heard any thing of it; nor does any determination appear to have been made there of this important point. There is no doubt but that DR. JONES had the above account, as he hath deposed, from a Franciscan friar, one of the guardians of the order at this abbey, and present at the consultation: but it would weigh no more with me, for a reason given before, than many other parts of the Doctor's examination relating to what had been said by some Popish priests some time before the rebellion, if the event had not corresponded exactly with the account and confirmed the truth of it. For in some places the English and Protestants were only robbed of their goods and clothes, and turned out of their houses, which were destroyed or burned, and so left exposed to cold and hunger. In other places their persons were only restrained, after their houses were plundered and spoiled of every thing;—perhaps kept for ransom, or exchange of prisoners, or to procure a pardon for their other crimes;—and many were sent under convoy to the English quarters. Through the humanity of PHILIP O'REILY the latter was the case particularly in the county of Cavan; in which fewer and less horrid cruelties were exercised, than in any others of the province of Ulster. As to the murders that were committed in the first week of the rebellion, if we say with the Protestant writers that there were great numbers, we shall speak, by all that I have seen, without authority: and if we affirm with the Popish writers, that there were not above seventeen persons killed at the beginning of this insurrection, we shall conclude against evidence and probability. But throughout this whole affair, not a single writer that I have seen observes dates with any accuracy. For instance, how is it possible to have a precise idea of the time intended by these last mentioned writers, by the “beginning of this insurrection?” Nor is TEMPLE less general, nor more decisive, when he says, “that then—meaning Sunday the twenty fourth—“ the sad relations of burning, spoiling, and horrible murders committed within the province of Ulster began to multiply;” whereas it appears by the account sent on the next day by the Council to the Lord-Lieutenant, that at that time they had not heard of any murders that had been committed. But as these historians have not observed any accuracy in their dates, so for

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want of a precision in their language, and perhaps their ideas, a greater disagreement may appear to be in their several accounts of the beginning of this transaction, than what there is perhaps in reality. In order to make TEMPLE consistent with the relations given by authority—of which he himself was one who signed them—we must either transfer his date to four or five days further than he hath placed it, or he must have admitted into his idea or phrase of “murders,” the turning them naked out of their houses in such cold frosty weather, and so driving them through woods and bogs up to the mountains, whereby multitudes of them perished. This indeed in fact was a cruel kind of taking away their lives, and was true from the first hour of the insurrection: but this not being Murder in the strict and primary sense of the word, the Catholicks probably screen themselves under it; and TEMPLE himself in another place hath said, “that the Irish at the very first, for some few days after their breaking out, did not in most places murder many of them.” But though the charge of murdering great numbers at the beginning of the insurrection may be thus evaded by the Catholicks, yet it appears by evidence upon oath, that on the very first day of the insurrection, the Minister of Donnoghmore was murdered by the Donnellies, and on the second, that ROGER MACGUIRE, brother to the Lord of that name—after getting by treachery into Castle-Skeagh, seizing the money of MR. MIDDLETON, burning the public records, and compelling him to acknowledge the Mass—caused him, his wife, and children to be hanged, and a hundred at least in that town to be murdered. Nay it is said that the rebellion on his part commenced in blood; and that on the day before this, which was the first of this rising out, he hanged no less than eighteen in the church of Clownish, and afterwards burnt it. Moreover on the thirtieth of October, which was but a week from the first day of the insurrection, the Lords Justices and Council mention in a proclamation, as we shall see presently, that the rebels had “slain divers of his Majesty’s good subjects.” But to put the matter out of dispute; in the Manuscript collection of depositions in my possession, authenticated under the hands of the commissioners appointed to enquire into the murders and other cruelties of the rebels, it is sworn by the widow of MR. CHAMPION a Justice of the peace in the county of Fermanagh, that on the first day of the insurrection, the rebels killed her husband and eight others his relations, friends

friends or tenants whom she names, and twenty four besides whose names she did not remember.

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It matters little however in my opinion, as to the guilt of the Irish Papists in this rebellion, whether many murders were committed in the first week, or in the first two months; though so warmly charged on one side, and so stiffly contended against on the other: Nor does it in fact at all lessen their guilt or abate their cruelty, that without any provocation from the English Protestant inhabitants, they only plundered or burnt their houses, despoiled them of their estates, stripped them naked, and exposed them to a lingering death by cold and famine: And whatsoever the leading part of the Irish might design, yet still they were inexcusable; for as Lord CASTLEHAVEN honestly confesses, “there is no great difference whether a man kills another himself, or unchains a mastiff that will tear him in pieces; and he could not therefore but believe the contrivers and abettors of the Irish rebellion guilty of the massacre that ensued.” Indeed if there is any difference, between putting to death immediately by the sword or a rope, and taking away the life by nakedness and want, the last is infinitely most cruel.

Whatever might be at first intended or put in practice, their cruelties, as their success, encreased. The brother and uncle of Lord MACGUIRE made all the havock and devastation in the county of Fermanagh which the most malicious bloody disposition could suggest. In this extremity, the British in those parts, who had lived securely and amicably with the Irish, who had enriched the country with corn and cattle, and good houses, and who thought of nothing less than a rebellion, had recourse to their landlords or tenants of that nation for the preservation of their lives and the safety of their goods and cattle: but this protection availed them little; most of those in whom they confided either basely destroying them with their own hands, or betraying them perfidiously to the enemy. Those who had houses or castles capable of holding out against the sudden attack of a party of robbers endeavoured to maintain them; but this defence served only to delay, and not to prevent their ruin. The priests had so insatuated, and made such cruel impressions upon the minds of the people on their first success, that they held it a mortal sin to give any manner of relief or protection

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tection to the English; and thus all ties of faith and friendship were dissolved, and all other relations cancelled and foregone. This utter infraction of all the bonds of society, and which was not more sudden and unexpected in itself than fatal in its effects, bred so general a terror and astonishment among the English, that they knew not which way to turn themselves, neither what to think, nor what to do. It is observed very justly, "that fear is a betraying of the succours which reason offers:" and under that impression therefore it is no wonder, that people usually have recourse to the first means which present themselves with the hopes of safety, without staying to consider thoroughly the foundation of those hopes. To what else can be imputed the unsafe and imprudent measures pursued by the British and Protestants at this time, and of standing by themselves and keeping singly upon their guard? The terror they were under did not suffer them to perceive, that this must infallibly end in their common destruction, and enable the Irish to effect it with the greatest ease. For if upon the first notice of the insurrection, the English had quitted their houses and drawn out in large bodies in their several counties, under the command of the chief Lords or Gentlemen of their party—as they were tolerably well provided with arms by the condition of their plantations,—they would have been able, if not to vanquish the Irish, who were very ill furnished with warlike weapons, at least to have made a stand, and thrown great difficulties in their way. This advice indeed was given by Lord CLANRICARDE in his letter of the first of November to the Lords Justices; in which he says, "if I may presume to deliver my sense freely, I conceive that many English of quality shutting themselves up in forts, no enemy appearing, without any confidence or community with the gentlemen of quality in the country, left without any arms or defence, between whom and others good distinction might be made, I humbly leave it to your Lordship's consideration whether it may not be of ill consequence." Of very ill consequence indeed it was: for being forced or starved in their own houses, they fell one after another an easy prey without almost any resistance; and by that means supplied the rebels with the greatest part of those arms which they appeared with afterwards in the field. In the places where they acted upon the plan I have mentioned, and gathered together in any considerable number, the Irish were obliged to have recourse to stratagem, to assure them of conditions of good quarter,
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not only for their lives, but for their goods also, and a safe conduct to whatever place they chose. These conditions indeed, though often made under hand and seal, and ratified with an oath, were in the general but ill observed: the English had no sooner surrendered, than the conditions of the treaty were thought to be dissolved; and the soldiers were left at liberty, at least they took that liberty, to plunder and abuse them. The truth is, that in most of the counties of the province of Ulster, where the rebellion first began, there was little or no dexterity or good conduct shewed by the English in their defence; every one seeking only the preservation of his own house and family, goods and cattle, without joining their forces together for their common safety: And to this imprudent conduct must principally be imputed, the astonishing rapidity with which the rebels overrun that province in the beginning of the insurrection.

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It must be owned however that though this was the principal, yet it was not the only reason of their success. For no method which fraud or artifice could suggest, in order to draw in their own people, or to ensnare the English, was left untried. In several places they came under divers pretences, and borrowed such weapons and arms as the Protestants had in their houses: and in Cavan, the high Sheriff, being an Irish Papist, got possession of the arms of all the Protestants in that county, by pretending that they were wanted to secure them against the violence of the rebels that were in arms in the next county. That they might keep off the Scots in that province, who were very numerous, from giving the English any assistance, they openly professed to spare, as they actually did at first, the whole Scottish nation; and that they and the English Papists might live quietly with them: hoping no doubt by this means to restrain them all from taking arms, till they had subdued the English and the Protestants, and that then they should be in a condition to deal with them. But the chief engine of fraud and artifice made use of to delude the ignorant and unwary, was the pretending to have received a commission from the King in Scotland for what they did under the great seal; shewing the commission itself to all their principal followers that were with them, and sending copies to their confederates in every part of the kingdom with the following letter.

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From our camp at the Newry this fourth of November sixteen hundred forty one.

RUSHWORTH.

PHELLIM O NEILE, RORY MACGUIRE, &c.

To all Catholicks of the Roman party both English and Irish within the kingdom of Ireland, we wish all happiness, freedom of conscience, and victory over the English Hereticks; who have for a long time tyrannised over our bodies, and usurped by extortion our estates.

Be it hereby made known unto you all our friends and countrymen, that the King's most excellent Majesty, for many great and urgent causes thereunto moving, reposing trust and confidence in our fidelity, has signified unto us by his Commission under the great seal of Scotland, bearing date at Edinburgh the first day of this instant October sixteen hundred forty one, and also by letters under his sign manual bearing date with the said commission, of divers great and heinous affronts that the English Protestants, especially the Parliament there, have published against his royal person and prerogative, and also against our Catholic friends within the kingdom of England; the copy of which commission we have here sent unto you to be published with all speed in all parts of this kingdom, that you may be assured of our sufficient warrant and authority herein, *viz.*

CHARLES by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. To all Catholic subjects within our kingdom of Ireland greeting: Know ye that we for the safeguard and preservation of our person, have been forced to make our abode and residence in our kingdom of Scotland for a long season, occasioned by reason of the obstinate and disobedient carriage of our parliament of England against us, who have not only presumed to take upon them the government, and disposing of those princely rights and prerogatives that have justly descended to us from our predecessors, Kings and Queens of the said kingdom for many hundred years past, but also have possessed themselves of the whole strength of the said kingdom, in appointing governors, commanders, officers, in all parts and places therein at their own will and pleasure without our consent; whereby we are deprived of our sovereignty and left naked without

without defence: and forasmuch as we are in ourselves very sensible, that these storms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried by the vehemency of the Protestant party into our kingdom of Ireland, and endanger our royal power and authority there also, Know ye therefore that we reposing much care and trust in your duty and obedience which we have for many years past found, do hereby give unto you full power and authority to assemble and meet together with all the speed and diligence which a business of so great consequence doth require, and to advise and consult together by a sufficient and discreet number, at all times days and places which you shall in your judgment hold most convenient and material, for the ordering, settling, and effecting of this great work, mentioned and directed to you in our letters; and to use all ways and means possibly to possess yourselves for our use and safety, of all the forts castles and places of strength and defence within the said kingdom, except the persons places and estates of our loyal and loving subjects the Scots; and also to arrest and seize the goods, estates, and persons of all the English Protestants within the said kingdom to our use: and in your care and speedy performance of this our will and pleasure, we shall perceive your wonted duty and allegiance unto us, which we shall acknowledge and reward in due time. Witness ourself at Edinburgh the first day of October, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

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RAPIN hath observed that RUSHWORTH, who inserted this commission in his collections, had bad memoirs and little judgment not to see in it things which happened not till the next year; such as the Parliament possessing themselves of the sovereignty, and appointing governors and commanders in all places. But the want of judgment is in himself. For whosoever could be weak enough to believe, that the King would give a commission to the Catholics in Ireland to seize the goods, estates, and persons of all his Protestant subjects in that kingdom, was certainly ignorant enough to be imposed upon by the assertion, to which he objects, of what was doing in England: neither was the assertion greatly beyond the truth. For he himself hath related, "that the Commons had rendered themselves so formidable in the very beginning of the Parliament—the year before—that the King found himself on a sudden deserted by all the world, without

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out having other refuge than to consent to whatever the Parliament proposed." If to this we add their forcing him to consent to the execution of the Earl of STRAFFORD, to exclude the Bishops from Parliament, to suppress his power of dissolving it without their own consent, to remove Lord DILLON whom he had appointed to be Lord Justice, and against his consent had prevented the Irish troops from being sent to Spain, the assertion above-mentioned will not appear to be without foundation. But if the rebel chiefs had not known the ignorance of the people whom it was their intention to delude, they would not have pretended any such commission at all; there being nothing more unlikely for a man of common sense to believe. But this want of judgment in RAPIN is much more excusable than his want of candour and impartiality. In one place, he thinks "it is for many reasons more than probable, that the King never granted a commission to the Irish to take up arms;" and in another place, he says, "it is pretended they forged it themselves;" when it is impossible for him in his historical researches into this period not to have met with the account, where, and when, and by whom it was forged. Supposing him not to see it any where else, he must have read it in RUSHWORTH, in the very next page from whence he transcribed the commission, taken from Lord CLARENDON: and therefore to say "it is probable it was never granted, and that it is pretended it was forged," is at best a suppression of the truth; which in an historian is highly criminal.

It is very certain that this pretension and report of a commission from the King to the Catholics of Ireland to take up arms, was of the utmost ill consequence to his affairs in that kingdom, and in this. It encouraged those people to join in the insurrection; and it still further alienated the minds of those, who were before but too much prejudiced against his Majesty, and who thought him capable of doing any thing to avoid the servitude they were preparing for him. In short, the calumny imposed more on many sober and moderate men here—who before had disliked the passionate proceedings of the Parliament—than could be imagined then, or can now perhaps be believed; so great a prejudice or want of reverence—says Lord CLARENDON,—being universally contracted against the Court: and to those who did not believe it, but were enemies to the King, it served as a handle to act against him, as tho' they did believe it: for tho' it required only a little

little good sense and impartiality to discern the cheat, yet these we find are the portion of but a small part of the world. Thus not only General LUDLOW—one of the greatest republican bigots that ever lived—hath propagated a report, which he says in his memoirs, “ he had heard from persons of undoubted credit, that the news of this rebellion was not displeasing to the King tho’ it was attended with the massacre of many thousand of the Protestants there ;” but many of the King’s friends were weak enough to be imposed upon by the pretence of this commission ; as the reader will see hereafter. At present I shall only relate what DR. MAXWELL hath deposed, who was for some time a prisoner among the rebels in Ulster under SR. PHELM O NEIL. He says, that having asked some of the officers and the friars, “ why they sometimes pretended a commission from the King, at other times from the Queen, since all wise men knew that the King would not grant a commission against himself, and the Queen could not ? They said it was lawful for them to pretend what they could in advancement of their cause : that many garrison soldiers now their prisoners, whom they determined to employ in the war and to train others, would not serve them in regard of their oath, unless they were made so to believe : that in all wars, rumors and lies served many times to as good purpose as arms ; and that they would not disclaim any advantage. But they said, for the Queen, in regard as a Catholick she had enemies enow already, they would command their priests publicly at Mass to discharge the people from speaking of her as a cause or abettor of the present troubles.” To the same purpose with the former part of this answer, is what Lord MUSKERY said to Lord ORRERY after the restoration, when he was reproached by him with the wickedness of that forgery ; “ that it would have been impossible to have held their people together without this device.”

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BORLASE.

I have said that it required only a little good sense and impartiality to discern the cheat of this commission, and of a report of the King’s having had any hand, or satisfaction in this rebellion ; and I will now explain what I mean. If the King could have been supposed weak enough to incline to extirpate the Protestant religion, in which he was himself very zealous and sincere ; and if he could have been wicked enough to desire the ruin and destruction of his Protestant English subjects there, or even only to

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stir up this insurrection, yet common policy would have restrained him at that time without any other motive. Because nothing in his then situation with the Parliaments of England and Scotland, could possibly have been more unseasonable than a rebellion in his other kingdom at that juncture. It was in truth the greatest evil that could have befall him; as it obliged him to leave all the management of that war to the two Houses of Parliament here, and to furnish them with the means of raising men and money; a great part of which was employed against himself. Nor was this the only mischief: for though the Parliament did not appear much to regard the calumny that was spread against him on account of this rebellion, yet if it did not fill them with distrust, it gave them a pretence to feign one; and by that means to strengthen the suspicions and fears of those, upon whom the leaders wanted to make an impression, in order to bring them into their measures against his Majesty.

The pretence of the rebels to such a commission from the King, and some other reports that were spread in Ireland to his disadvantage, made the following proclamation appear necessary.

BORLASE.

By the Lords Justices and Council,

WILLIAM PARSONS. JOHN BORLASE.

Whereas we the Lords Justices and Council have lately found that there was a most disloyal, wicked, and detestable conspiracy intended and plotted against the lives of us the Lords Justices and Council, and many others of his Majesty's faithful subjects, and especially in Ulster and the borders thereof, and for the surprising not only his Majesty's castle of Dublin, his Majesty's principal fort, but also of other fortifications in several parts: and altho' by the great goodness and abundant mercy of almighty God to his Majesty and to this state and kingdom, these wicked conspiracies are brought to light, and some of the conspirators committed to the castle of Dublin by us, by his Majesty's authority, so as those wicked and damnable plots have not taken effect in the chief parts thereof, yet some of those wicked malefactors have surprised some of his Majesty's forts and garrisons in the North of Ireland, slain divers of his Majesty's good subjects, im-
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prisoned some, and robbed and spoiled very many others, and continue yet in those rebellious courses, against whom therefore some of his Majesty's forces are now marching to fight against them and subdue them, thereby to render safety to his Majesty's faithful subjects: and whereas to colour and countenance their wicked intendments and acts, and in hope to gain the more numbers and reputation to themselves and their proceedings in the opinion of the ignorant common people, those conspirators have yet gone further, and to their other high crimes and offences have added this further wickedness, even to traduce the Crown and state as well of England as Ireland, by false seditious and scandalous reports and rumours spread abroad by them: We therefore to vindicate the Crown and state of both kingdoms from those false and wicked calumnies, do hereby in his Majesty's name publish and declare, that the said reports so spread abroad by those wicked persons are most false wicked and traitorous, and that we have full power and authority from his Majesty to prosecute and subdue those rebels and traitors, which now we are doing accordingly by the power and strength of his Majesty's army, and with the assistance of his Majesty's good and loyal subjects; and we no way doubt but all his Majesty's good and faithful subjects will give faith and credit to us, who have the honour to be trusted by his Majesty so highly as to serve him in this his kingdom, rather than to the vain idle and wicked reports of such lewd and wicked conspirators who spread those false and seditious rumours, hoping to seduce a great number to their party: and as we now believe that some who have joined themselves to those conspirators had no hand in contriving or plotting the mischiefs intended, but under pretence of those seditious scandals were deluded by those conspirators, and so are now become ignorantly involved in their guilt, so in favour and mercy to those so deluded, we hereby charge and command them in his Majesty's name, now from us to take light to guide them from that darkness into which they were misled by the wicked seducement of those conspirators, and to depart from them and from their wicked counsels and actions; and according to the duty of loyal subjects to submit themselves to his sacred Majesty, and to his royal authority entrusted with us. But in case those persons who were no plotters nor contrivers of the said treason, but were since seduced to join with them as aforesaid, lay not hold on this his Majesty's grace and favour now tendered

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unto them, then we do by this proclamation publish and declare, that they shall hereafter be reputed and taken equally guilty with the said plotters and contrivers, and as incapable of favour and mercy as they are. Given at his Majesty's castle of Dublin the thirtieth of October, sixteen hundred forty one.

Signed by Nine of the Council.

The reports of the cruelties exercised upon the English encreasing every day, with the addition of divers murders as mentioned above in this proclamation, the Lords Justices and Council sent commissions about this time to the Lords CLANDEBOIS, and ARDES, SR. WIL. and SR. ROB. STEWART, and other Gentlemen of rank and fortune in the North, "giving them power to prosecute the rebels with fire and sword, yet so as to rescue such as should submit to his Majesty's grace and mercy; signifying withal, that altho' by the said commission they gave them full power thereunto, yet they acquainted them that for those who were chief among the rebels and ringleaders of the rest to disobedience, that they adjudged them less worthy of favour than the others whom they had misguided: and therefore for those principal persons, they required them to take care not to be too forward, without consulting the council board, in proffering or promising mercy to those, unless they the said commissioners saw it of great and unavoidable necessity."

It is plain that some murders, tho' probably not very many, considering the nature of the insurrection and the end intended, were committed in the first week; but the main view of the common Irish was plunder: they saw the opulence of their English neighbours at the same time that they felt the miserableness of their own condition; and not being able, by their strong aversion to labour, to bring themselves to mend it in any ways of industry, they eagerly caught at the means of doing it by the spoil of others: and chiefly by these temptations of licentiousness and rapine, SR. PHELM O NEIL in a week's time had thirty thousand men under his command; with which he boasted in his letter to his confessor, that he had gained great and many victories. Indeed in that space of time, so very rapid was their progress, they left the Protestants but little in the whole province of Ulster, except Londonderry, Colerain, and Iniskilling, and part of the counties of Down and Antrim: and such of them whose lives they thought fit

fit then to spare they drove out of the country, either into those towns, or some of the northern ports. Many of those who had got together and made a shew of standing on their defence, if they were not plundered, stripped, or murdered on their surrender—as was the case of those who had shut themselves up in the cathedral of Ardmagh and yielded to SR. PHELM O NEIL, and his brother TURLUGH—by giving up all their plate and money and goods, had leave to come up to Dublin under convoy. Several of these came up accordingly in troops of many hundreds, without any weapons, or any thing else but the clothes upon their backs: others, who had the misfortune to meet with more unjust and merciless convoys, were stripped of these, or perfidiously given up into the hands of other rebels who kept no terms with them whatever; and thus multitudes were starved and perished in the road as they travelled along. Of the great numbers that were allowed to go to Dublin, or other places of safety in the North, many of the men, but most of the women and children, survived only a little time the bitterness of their passage: and being either overwhelmed with grief at their condition, or wearied with travel beyond their strength, contracted such diseases, as, being aggravated with cold and nakedness and want, struck so deeply into constitutions which had been nourished in ease and plenty, that they soon brought them down with sorrow to their graves. These were the first fruits of this rebellion: which having covered over the northern parts of the kingdom with a desolation that must be left to the reader's imagination—for words cannot express it—began now to be diffused over the other provinces. But we must leave what was carrying on in Ireland for the present, and turn to see what was done by the King and Parliament of England, when they received the news of this insurrection.

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The King, as we have observed, was at this time in Scotland; whither SR. HEN. SPOTSWOOD had been sent by sea to his Majesty, with letters from the Lords Justices and Council on the twenty fifth of October, the third day after the rebellion had broken out. But it appears by what follows, that the King had received the first intelligence from the Lord CHICHESTER. For on the fifth of November, the Lord Keeper informed the House of Lords, that he had received a letter from the Lord HOWARD,

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dated the thirtieth of October, which was commanded to be read; and in which, among other things it is said, “that concerning the rebellion in Ireland, his Majesty upon the first notice thereof moved the Parliament of Scotland to take this business into consideration; which accordingly they did, and appointed a committee for this very purpose, which made report; whereof a copy is inclosed together with a ratification thereof in Parliament, wherein they have testified their affection and respect to this kingdom.” It is proper the reader should be informed, before he goes any further, who Lord HOWARD was, and in what employment, from whom this account was sent; or otherwise he will be at a loss to understand some passages that will follow hereafter in this book. When the King went to Scotland, a small committee, of one Lord and two Commoners, was appointed by the two Houses to attend upon his Majesty, as it was pretended, but in truth to be spies upon him, and to give the same assistance to the Parliament there upon any emergent occasion, as the Scottish commissioners had done here. Lord HOWARD being the person appointed by the Lords to be of this committee, as one entirely devoted to the party against the Court, it fell to his share to transmit the following account to the Lord Keeper.

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The report of the committee in the Parliament of Scotland, the King being present, the twenty eighth of October sixteen hundred forty one.

“His Majesty produced a letter written to him by the Lord Viscount CHICHESTER, anent some commotions in Ireland, which was publickly read in audience of the King’s Majesty and Parliament; and his Majesty desired that some may be appointed to think upon the business, so far as may concern his Majesty and the kingdom: and the estates nominated the Lord Chancellor, Lord General, Lord LOTHIAN, Lord AMOND—and eight or nine Commoners—to think upon some course necessary to be done anent the said letters, and what is incumbent to be done by this kingdom thereupon, and report again to the Parliament.

“On the same day in the afternoon, the committee above nominated, appointed for taking into consideration the report of the commotions in Ireland,

Ireland, being met in the Lord General's house, and having read the letter directed to the King's Majesty from the Lord CHICHESTER, dated at Belfast the twenty fourth day of October sixteen hundred forty one, hath considered that his Majesty, out of his wisdom and royal care of the peace of his kingdoms, hath already acquainted the Parliament of England with the intelligence from Ireland, and has sent to Ireland to know the certainty of the commotions and of the affairs of that combination, which till it be perfectly known there can be no particular course taken for the suppressing thereof; and the kingdom of Ireland being dependent upon the crown and kingdom of England, the English may conceive jealousies, and mistake our forwardness, when they shall hear of our preparations without their knowledge in this, wherein they are first and more properly concerned: And if the insurrections be of that importance, as the British within Ireland are not powerful enough to suppress it, without greater forces than their allies, and that his Majesty and Parliament of England shall think our aid necessary to join with them, we conceive that the assistance which we can contribute may be in readiness, as soon as England; and if after resolution taken by his Majesty, with advice of both Parliaments, it shall be found necessary that we give our present assistance, we shall go about it with that speed which may witness our dutiful respects to his Majesty's service and our affections to our brethren, his Majesty's loyal subjects of England, and Ireland."

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" The twenty ninth day of October sixteen hundred forty one.

Read in audience of his Majesty and Estates of Parliament " ad futuram rei memoriam," as a testimony of their affections to his Majesty's service and the good of their neighbour kingdoms, and appoints three of the Barons and three Boroughs to meet the Earl of EGLINGTON at three hours afternoon, to take to their consideration by way of estimation or conjecture, the number of boats or lime-faddes, which, in the parts of this kingdom lying opposite to Ireland, may be had in readiness, and what number of men may be transported therein, and to report again to the Parliament."

Besides this report of the committee, and the ratification of it in the Parliament of Scotland, the King also sent expresses to both houses of Parliament

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ORMONDE,

CARTE. Though I am sorry for this occasion I have to send unto you, which is the sudden and unexpected rebellion of a great and considerable part of Ireland, yet I am glad to have so able and faithful a servant as you are, to whom I may freely and confidently write in so important a business. This is therefore to desire you to accept of that charge over this, which you lately had over the former army: the which though you may have some reason to excuse, as not being so well acquainted with this Lord-Lieutenant as you was with the last, yet I am confident that my desire and the importance of the business will easily overcome that difficulty; which laid aside for my sake, I shall accept as a great renewed testimony of that affection which I know you to have to my service. So referring what I have else to say to Captain WEEMES's relation, I rest

Your most assured friend,

Edinburgh
31st Octob. 1641.

CHARLES R.

By the same messenger a letter was sent to the Earl of ORMONDE by MR. Secretary VANE; acquainting his Lordship "how unwelcome and how unexpected to the King this revolt in Ireland was; but that his Majesty's care and affection of his faithful loving subjects was such, as that all possible diligence had been used in sending for supplies of men and money from England, and troops out of Scotland to reinforce the Lords in the North." The reader will recollect another letter from the same Secretary to the Lords Justices, recited in the former book, and which he was desired then

then to keep in remembrance for this occasion; as it serves to shew the King's desire to have prevented this insurrection: and had the Lords Justices done their duty, according to the advice and orders sent them in that letter, in all probability it would have been prevented. It appears by the journal of the Parliament of Scotland above recited, that the King had also sent into Ireland—to the Lords Justices no doubt—to enquire into the certainty and the circumstances of these commotions: He sent over also several commissions to persons of honour and trust in the North, some arms and ammunition, and all the money that he could spare: so that his Majesty we see was not idle nor careless on his part about the consequences of this rebellion; nor could he possibly do more than he did, at the distance he was at in Scotland, to remedy and suppress it. Let us now see what was done by the Council and Parliament of England, on receiving the intelligence of this insurrection.

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O CONOLLY, the first discoverer of the plot, and who was sent over with the letters to the Lord Lieutenant, arrived at London on the last day of October, and late in the evening delivered them to his Lordship. The Lord-Lieutenant, having read them over, and received a full information of all the particulars that O CONOLLY then knew, on the next day went to the Council Board; and having acquainted the Lords with them, he was directed to communicate them to both houses of Parliament then sitting. Accordingly on the same day, “The Lord Keeper informed the house of Lords, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland having yesterday received a packet of letters and examinations from the Justices and Council of Ireland, discovering an insurrection and treason in that kingdom, and that the rebels have already committed divers murders, and fired houses and villages of the Protestants there; upon this the Privy Council met at Whitehall, and considering it to be a matter of so great importance, thought it not fit to omit any opportunity, nor lose time: therefore because this House was appointed not to sit till this afternoon, the Lords of the Council, as Privy-counsellors, thought it expedient to communicate the same speedily to the House of Commons: And this morning in a full house, their Lordships in person caused the letters and examinations concerning the business to be publickly read unto them, and desired the House of Commons to take the same into

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consideration." The letter of the Council to the Lord Lieutenant, the whole contents of which the reader hath already seen in the former part of this book, was then read in the House of Lords; with the examinations and proclamations there already also recited. Two private letters to the Lord Lieutenant from the two Lords Justices were also read; declaring the state and danger which that kingdom is in, if there be not present supply of arms, men, and money from England. The Lord Keeper then acquainted the House, that the Lords of the Council being informed of the packets of letters that came this week from Ireland, had sent out their orders and sealed them, and committed them into the hands of the Gentleman-Usher, until their Lordships further directions be known herein. Whereupon the Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Admiral, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of BATH, Earl of SOUTHAMPTON, Earl of LEICESTER, and Earl of WARWICK were appointed to be a committee, to open and read such letters as conduce any thing to the discovery of the affairs of Ireland, and to report the same to this house, and to return those which concern merchants affairs to the Postmaster to be delivered to the owners; their Lordships, or any seven or more of them to meet when they please, and have power by virtue hereof to divide themselves into several, by any four or more, as they shall see occasion." — Let us now see what passed relating to this affair in the House of Commons.

RUSHWORT.

" Upon the first day of November, MR. PYM acquainted the House, that there was a noble Lord at the door, one of the King's Privy-council, who saith that certain Lords of the Privy-council Members of the House of Peers, have business of great importance to impart to this House, and desire to do it in person; it being privately intimated to the House, that it was to impart intelligence newly come of a breaking out of a rebellion in Ireland. The House thereupon ordered chairs to be set for those Lords; and as they entered into the House they came uncovered, the serjeant carrying the mace before them. Likewise the members of the House of Commons at their coming were uncovered till their Lordships were sate on their chairs; which being done, both the House, and the Lords sate covered. The Lords that came, were the Lord Keeper of the great seal of England, the Lord Privy-seal, the Lord High-chamberlain, the Lord Admiral, Earl Marshall,

Lord

Lord Chamberlain, Earl of BATH, Earl of DORSET, Earl of LEICESTER, Earl of HOLLAND, Earl of BRISTOL, Earl of BERKSHIRE, Lord Viscount SAY and SEAL, Lord GORING, Lord WILMOT; being all Lords of his Majesty's most honourable privy council. The Lord Keeper first stood up and said, that the occasion of their coming thither, was to impart what intelligence they had received out of Ireland of a great conspiracy in that kingdom, to enter into an attempt of hostility and to raise rebellion, which was discovered but the night before it was designed to be put in execution: therefore because it is a matter of great importance, and requires a speedy resolution to suppress them in the beginning, the House of Peers have thought fit to communicate this matter to this House." Then the Earl of LEICESTER—sometime before made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—stood up and spake uncovered, much to the same purpose of what the Lord Keeper had said, and communicated letters and papers sent by the Lords Justices; adding further, "that they had information of shedding much blood of the Protestants there, and some of the rebels confess that all the Protestants were to be cut off, and not to save any British men, women, or children alive, but to root them out of the nation: that the time for putting this bloody design in execution, was upon Saturday the twenty third of October, a day dedicated to ST. IGNATIUS the founder of the society of the Jesuits. Their design was to seize upon the King's forts, castles, and magazines throughout the kingdom; to kill the Lords Justices and all the King's Privy Council, and to seize upon the castle of Dublin; having in Ulster seized already several forts and magazines." The Lord Lieutenant further added, "that there must be a speedy course taken—for a little thing will draw diseases away at first—that there be timely supply from England with men and money, which will enable us to do great things to save Ireland; for the safety of England depends upon it: and then he delivered the examinations and letters mentioned above, which were read by the clerk of the House of Commons."

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Before I relate the proceedings of the House of Commons on this intelligence, the reader will give me leave to observe, that the Lord Keeper in the House of Lords, and the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Commons, had both exceeded the informations that had been given, either in the letters,

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or in the examinations transmitted over. No historian hath taken notice of this falsification; and yet one cannot believe that it was owing in both to accident or mistake. The Lord Keeper hath said, "that the rebels have already committed divers murders," and the Lord Lieutenant, besides, affirming "that they had information of shedding much blood of the Protestants there," added moreover "that the design of the rebels was to kill the Lords Justices and all the King's Privy-council. Whereas neither in the letters, nor in the examinations, is there a single word of any murder being then committed; nor was there the least thought among the conspirators, for any thing that appears, of killing particularly the Lords Justices and all the King's Privy-council: and the Council in their letter, after giving an account of several robbèries, burning houses and villages, and seizing some forts and castles; expressly say, "and this though too much, is all that we yet hear is done by them." For what end or purpose, an enterprise, so detestable in itself, should be thus made more odious than the truth would warrant, let the reader determine for himself. There is no accounting fairly for such a representation, but by supposing——what might be the case—that an information of some murders had been received in the instant of O CONOLLY's leaving Dublin, which was not committed to writing.

RUSHWOR.

The examination of O CONOLLY, the letter of the Council to the Lord Lieutenant, and the proclamation which was issued first, having been read, the Lords of the Council withdrew: And the Commons being unwilling to lose time in helping the distressed kingdom of Ireland, resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house; whereupon MR. SPEAKER left the chair, and MR. WHITLOCK a Member of great parts and ability being made chairman, the committee came to several resolutions, which he reported when the Speaker resumed the chair; and which were agreed to by the House to be the heads of a conference to be desired with the Lords.

" Resolved,

That fifty thousand pounds shall be forthwith provided for the service of Ireland; and that a conference be had with the Lords, to move them that a select committee of the Members of both Houses may be appointed to

go to the city of London, and make a declaration to them of the state of the business in Ireland, and to acquaint them that the lending of monies at this time will be an acceptable service to the commonwealth; and that they propose unto them the loan of fifty thousand pounds, and assure them that they shall be secured both for the principal and interest by act of Parliament.

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A. 1641.

Resolved, that another head of this conference shall be to desire the Lords, that a select Committee of both Houses may be named to consider the affairs of Ireland, and of the raising and sending of men and ammunition from hence into that kingdom.

Resolved, that OWEN O CONOLLY who discovered this great treason in Ireland, shall have five hundred pounds presently paid him; and two hundred pounds a year pension, until a provision be made for an inheritance of greater value.

Resolved, that the persons of Papists of quality in the several counties of this kingdom may be secured.

Resolved, that another head shall be, that a list be brought in of the Queen's priests and other servants.

Resolved, that a proclamation be issued forth commanding all strangers, that are not of the Protestant religion, to deliver in tickets of their names and an account of their stay here, within two days after the issuing forth of the said proclamation, or else to depart the kingdom forthwith."

These votes were accordingly communicated to the Lords at a conference managed by MR. WHITLOCK: whereupon the Lords afterwards sent a message to the House of Commons, that they had appointed a select committee of twelve Lords to go into the city, desiring that a proportionable number of the House of Commons may go with them, to move the city for the loan of fifty thousand pounds for the present occasions of Ireland; and thereupon the House of Commons named a committee accordingly.

CHARLES I. The Lords also acquainted the Commons, that they had named a select committee of Lords to be a standing committee to manage the affairs of Ireland; and desired the House of Commons to name a proportionable number of their House: thereupon a committee of fifty two were named to meet with the Lords to be a standing committee for the affairs of Ireland. —It may be proper to inform the reader, that NALSON makes MR. PYM the manager of this conference; and to the resolutions above recited adds another, that a committee of Lords may be nominated to take the further examination of OWEN O CONOLLY upon oath, upon such interrogatories as shall be offered by a committee of the House of Commons, and in the presence of that committee. There is some other difference in the account, but which is not very material: and NALSON tells us, that “MR. PYM said he was commanded by the House of Commons to desire their Lordships to let the Earl of LEICESTER know, that they take his diligent and timely acquainting the Parliament with his intelligence, concerning the rebellion and treason in Ireland, very well; for which he was commanded to give his Lordship thanks from the House of Commons for his good service done therein to the King and kingdom.”

NALSON.

The Lords having agreed to the resolutions of the Commons communicated at the conference, the Lord Keeper by command of the House, returned their thanks to the Lord Lieutenant—as MR. PYM had done in the name of the Commons—desiring also his Lordship to write speedily to the King, to acquaint him with the affairs of Ireland and the danger that kingdom is now in; and to let his Majesty know what the Parliament had done towards a supply and aid for reducing the rebels. At the same time it was ordered, that his Lordship should write to the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, to acquaint them that the Parliament had taken into their care to send them a supply of men and money with all convenient speed, and are resolved to give them assistance in this great defection: wishing them to persist in their diligence and care in defending that kingdom against the rebels until succours can be sent them; and that they give intelligence with the first opportunities how the state of that kingdom is, and how the rebels behave themselves.”

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The Parliament of England having proceeded thus far, on the two first days after the discovery had been made to them of the Irish insurrection, on the two days following—being the third and fourth of November—the House of Commons came to these further resolutions;—“ That the House holds fit that two hundred thousand pounds be forthwith supplied for the present occasions of Ireland; That a convenient number of ships shall be provided for the guarding of the sea-coasts of Ireland; That this House holds fit that six thousand foot and two thousand horse shall be raised with all convenient speed for the present expedition into Ireland; That the Lord Lieutenant shall present to both Houses of Parliament such officers as he shall think fit to send into Ireland to command any forces to be transported thither; That the magazines of victuals shall be forthwith provided at West-Chester to be sent over to Dublin, as the occasions of that kingdom shall require; That the magazines of arms, ammunition, and powder, now in Carlisle, shall be sent over to Knockfergus in Ireland; That it be referred to the King’s Council, to consider of some fit way, and to present to the House, for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to such as shall do service in this expedition to Ireland, and for a pardon of such of the rebels in Ireland as shall come in by a time limited, and for a sum of money to be appointed for a reward of such as shall bring in the heads of such principal rebels as shall be nominated; That letters shall be forthwith sent to the Justices in Ireland, to acquaint them how sensible this House is of the affairs of Ireland; That the committee of Irish affairs shall consider how and in what manner this kingdom shall make use of the friendship and assistance of Scotland in the business of Ireland; That directions shall be given for the drawing of a bill for the pressing of men for this particular of Ireland.”

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RUSHWORT.

To these resolutions, NALSON hath added, “ That in Bristol and West-Chester, and one other port in Cumberland, magazines of arms, ammunition, powder, and victuals shall be provided, to be transported into the next convenient ports of Ireland, as the occasions of that kingdom shall require; That all arms, ammunition, and powder in the magazines at Hull—except such a proportion of powder, bullet, and match, as shall be thought fit for the supply of the northern counties as occasion shall require

—be

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—be transported to the Tower of London; That a convenient number of engineers and gunners shall be sent into Ireland; That a Post shall be set up between Beaumaris and Holyhead; That the House holds it fit that a drum shall be forthwith beaten for the calling in of volunteers for the service of Ireland; That the eleven thousand pounds in ready cash in the chamber of London shall be forthwith paid over to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the present occasions of that kingdom, and that the commissioners and treasurers appointed in the act grant forth their warrants and orders accordingly; That the officers and customs of the several ports of this kingdom towards Ireland, do make diligent search in all trunks and other carriages that come to be transported from England to Ireland, that belong to any Papist or suspected person; and particularly that those trunks sent by Exeter shall be stayed and searched."

NALSON.

In the mean time, whilst the Commons were employed about these resolutions, "it was ordered in the House of Peers, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should take care, that all such persons as are now in this kingdom, and have places of trust or command in Ireland, should speedily repair thither to their several charges in the defence of that kingdom. The several interrogatories prepared for the examination of O CONOLLY were read, as follow. What ground had you to suspect that the Papists had any design upon the state of Ireland? What have you heard any Priests or others say concerning the promoting the Romish religion? What discourse have you had with MACMAHON concerning any such design in Ireland? Have you heard of any design in England or Scotland of the like nature, and what is it you have heard? Declare your whole knowledge."—I see nothing in those questions that can warrant the accusation which NALSON has formed upon them against the Parliament; "of their designing purposely to draw out something from him, which might give colour to the pretended calumnies against the King or Queen, or both of them, as being some way or other concerned in promoting popery and the rebellion in Ireland." But it was impossible for the Parliament to be more prejudiced against the King, or more ready to suspect him on every occasion which administered the least room to do so, than this writer was prejudiced against

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the Parliament, and ready to impute intentions to them on the most distant grounds.

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“ The Lord Privy-Seal reported, that the committees of both Houses had gone into the city the day before in the name of the Parliament, to acquaint them with the state of affairs in Ireland, and that without a speedy supply of men, arms, and money, that kingdom would be in danger to be lost; but the Parliament required nothing of them but the loan of money — fifty thousand pounds — which should be secured to them by act of Parliament, with advantage to themselves, with interest. Upon this, his Lordship says, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council, being much moved at the relation, and as it was the case of religion, retired to consult among themselves till it was very late, and so the committee left them. But the Recorder had that morning waited on the Lords of the Council at Whitehall, and declared, that he was ordered to acquaint their Lordships, that so great sums of money had been lately drawn from that body that they were hardly able to supply this occasion: “ yet that they had such hearty and good affection to the cause, it being for religion’s sake, the saving the lives and estates of Protestants, the saving of a kingdom, and the preserving it to the dependency of this crown, they would do their utmost endeavours, but would not promise any thing before every man had consulted with himself what he was able to do; which they promised to do speedily, and the Recorder hoped to give a further account of it that night.”

NALSON.

“ The Lord Keeper then signified that he had received a letter from MR. Secretary VANE, dated the twenty eighth of October last from Holyrood-house, touching the intelligence which his Majesty had received in Scotland concerning the rebellion in Ireland; which is by his Majesty’s command to be communicated to both Houses of Parliament here, to whom he hath recommended the care of those affairs, and expects their advice what course is fittest to be taken for the reducing of that kingdom. His Lordship added, that he had received copies of other letters, which were sent to his Majesty out of the north parts of Ireland, desiring him to send them speedy supplies for the saving of that kingdom.” These were all referred

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referred to the committee for Irish affairs. The resolutions of the House of Commons above recited were then read and agreed to: and the Lord Keeper was ordered to take care to see them sent to Ireland; as also to send copies of them to his Majesty, that he may see the care of his Parliament in his absence concerning the affairs of Ireland. The Lord Admiral was also ordered to give command for the stopping the Posts towards Ireland, upon such as were then going from Flanders thither: and a draught of a declaration to be sent into Ireland to the Lords Justices, with a letter from the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, were presented to the House and read. The declaration was as follows;

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The Lords and Commons in this present Parliament being advertised of the dangerous conspiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked instigation of Romish priests and jesuits, for the bloody massacre and destruction of all the Protestants living there, and other his Majesty's loyal subjects of English blood, tho' of the Romish religion, being ancient inhabitants within several counties and parts of that realm, who have always in former rebellions given testimony of their fidelity to this Crown: and for the utter depriving of his royal Majesty and the Crown of England from the government of that kingdom—under pretence of setting up the Popish religion—have thereupon taken into their serious consideration, how these mischievous attempts might be most speedily and effectually prevented, wherein the honour safety and interest of this kingdom are most nearly and fully concerned: wherefore they do hereby declare, that they do intend to serve his Majesty with their lives and fortunes for the suppressing this wicked rebellion, in such a way as shall be thought most effectual by the wisdom and authority of Parliament: and thereupon have ordered and provided for a present supply of moneys, and raising the number of six thousand foot and two thousand horse to be sent from England, being the full proportion desired by the Lords Justices and his Majesty's Council resident in that kingdom, with a resolution to add such further succours as the necessity of those affairs shall require. They have also resolved of providing arms and munition, not only for those men, but likewise for his Majesty's faithful subjects in that kingdom, with stores of victuals,

tuals, and other necessaries as there shall be occasion: and that these provisions may more conveniently be transported thither, they have appointed three several ports in this kingdom; that is to say, Bristol, West-Chester, and one other in Cumberland, where the magazines and storehouses shall be kept for the supply of the several parts of Ireland. They have likewise resolved to be humble mediators to his Majesty for the encouragement of those English or Irish, who shall upon their own charges raise any number of horse or foot for his service against the rebels; that they shall be honourably rewarded with lands of inheritance in Ireland according to their merits: and for inducing the rebels to repent their wicked attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or in his absence to the Lord Deputy or Lords Justices there, according to the power of the commission granted them in that behalf, to bestow his Majesty's gracious pardon to all such as within a convenient time, to be declared by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices and Council of that kingdom, shall return to their due obedience; the greatest part whereof they conceive have been seduced on false grounds, by cunning and subtle practices of some of the most malignant rebels, enemies to this state and to reformed religion; and likewise to bestow such rewards, as shall be thought fit and published by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices and Council, upon all those who shall arrest the persons, or bring in the heads of such traitors as shall be personally named in any proclamation published by the State there: and they do hereby exhort and require all his Majesty's loving subjects, both in this and that kingdom, to remember their duty and conscience to God and his religion, and the great and imminent danger which will involve this whole kingdom in general, and themselves in particular, if this abominable treason be not timely suppressed; and therefore with all readiness, bounty, and chearfulness, to confer their assistance in their persons and estates to this so important and necessary a service for the common good of all."

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The letter to the Lords Justices from the Speakers of both Houses, which was to accompany the declaration, was as follows:

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My Lords Justices, and the rest of his Majesty's Council of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

I have received a command from the Lord's House in this present Parliament, to send unto you this inclosed declaration of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the better encouragement of his Majesty's faithful subjects, to unite and employ themselves in opposing and suppressing the rebels of this and that kingdom; the publishing whereof I am to recommend to your care and wisdom, and rest, &c.

NALSON.

When these letters had been read and agreed to in the House of Lords, an ordinance of Parliament to give power to the Lord Lieutenant to grant commissions and to raise men for Ireland, which had passed the House of Commons the day before, was then agreed to by the Lords, as follows:—
 “The Lords and Commons in Parliament, being very sensible of the great danger and combustion in Ireland by reason of the multitude of rebels now in arms for the destruction of his Majesty's loyal subjects there, and the withdrawing that kingdom from the allegiance of his Majesty and the Crown of England; and forasmuch as in this time of his Majesty's absence, his royal commission cannot be so soon obtained as the necessity of that kingdom doth require; and for more speedy opposing the wicked and traitorous attempts of the rebels there, and for that his Majesty hath especially recommended the care of the preservation of that kingdom unto both the Houses of Parliament, do hereby ordain and authorise ROBERT Earl of LEICESTER Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by warrant under his hand and seal, to give one or more commissions to such captains, commanders, and other officers, as to his Lordship shall seem expedient, for the levying of three thousand five hundred foot and six hundred horse, by the beating of drum, of such persons as shall voluntarily undertake the same service by accepting of prest money; which persons are to be raised in such several parts of the kingdom, as shall be most convenient for their passage into the parts of Ireland, which his Lordship shall think most necessary to be forthwith supplied: and for the furnishing of the same men, as also of other of his Majesty's subjects in that kingdom, we have ordained that the Earl of NEWPORT, Master of his Majesty's ordnance, shall deliver a number of
 arms,

arms, munition and powder answerable, unto the said Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to be disposed of as he shall think fit for the best defence of that kingdom: and for the levying the said number of men this ordinance of Parliament shall be his sufficient warrant.”

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The ordinance to the Lord NEWPORT just mentioned was read and agreed to at the same time; together with another to the Lord High Admiral, to provide ships with all expedition for the transporting of the men, ammunition, arms, and other provisions that were thus ordered to be sent to Ireland; the Parliament having resolved to see moneys supplied for the performance of this service. But notwithstanding the ordinance of Parliament, the Earl of LEICESTER it seems made a scruple of raising men to be employed in the war in Ireland, without the King's commission: and this being communicated to the House by the Lords committees for Irish affairs, the Lords, according to the power given them by his Majesty mentioned in that ordinance, thought fit to order again, “that the said Lord Lieutenant shall have full power by virtue of this order to levy men according to the order given him from the Parliament, in the interim, until his Majesty shall grant him a commission under the great seal of England for his warrant for so doing.” The House of Commons being also made acquainted with his Lordship's scruple, agreed to a resolution that he should proceed to raise men for the service by virtue of the ordinance of Parliament.—It appears very strange, that a separate vote of the two houses should be thought to give an authority, to which the ordinance of Parliament had not been deemed sufficient.

NALSON.

About the same time a letter from the Lord HOWARD, dated at Edinburgh the second of November, and directed to the Lord Keeper, was produced and read in the House of Lords; the purport of which was this: “That the King had again moved the Parliament of Scotland to take the business of Ireland into further consideration; and tho' they will not do any thing in it till they hear from the Parliament of England, yet they have taken a survey of what shipping and boats they have to transport men in, and what number of men they are able to send over if need be; and they find they are able to land a considerable number of men in the North

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of Ireland, and that with more speed and less charge than it can be done from any other part of the King's dominions, and their Highlanders are conceived proper to fight with the Irish in their own kind and country amongst hills and bogs." On the next day the Lord Keeper reported a conference with the commons; in which MR. PYM delivered by command of that House divers heads agreed unto by them, as instructions to be sent to the Commissioners of both Houses then attending on his Majesty in Scotland, in which they desire their Lordships to join with them. "First, you shall humbly inform his Majesty, that the propositions made to the Parliament of Scotland, concerning their assistance for suppressing the rebellion in Ireland, hath been fully considered and debated by both Houses of Parliament here; and their wise and brotherly expressions and proceedings are apprehended and entertained here by us, not only with approbation but with thankfulness: wherefore we desire that his Majesty will be pleased, that you, in the name of the Lords and Commons of England, give public thanks to the states of the Parliament of Scotland, for their care and readiness to employ the forces of that kingdom for the reducing the rebellious subjects of Ireland to their due obedience to his Majesty and the Crown of England. Secondly, you shall further make known to his Majesty, that in the great and almost universal revolt of the natives of Ireland, cherished and fomented as we have cause to doubt by the secret practices and encouragements of some foreign states ill-affected to the Crown, and that the northern parts of that kingdom may with much more ease and speed be supplied from Scotland than from England, we humbly desire and beseech his Majesty, to make use of the assistance of his Parliament and subjects of Scotland, for the present relief of those parts of Ireland which lie nearest to them; according to the treaty agreed upon and confirmed in both Parliaments, and this affectionate and friendly disposition now lately expressed, as is more particularly specified in the fifth article. Thirdly, you shall present to his Majesty the copy inclosed of the declaration which we have sent into Ireland, for the encouragement of his good subjects there, and for the more speedy and effectual opposing of the rebels: and in the execution and performance of our expressions therein made of zeal and faithfulness to his Majesty's service, we have already taken care for fifty thousand pounds to be presently borrowed and secured by Parliament. We have likewise resolved to hasten the Earl of LEICESTER,

Lord

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, very speedily to repair thither, and forthwith to raise a convenient number of horse and foot for securing Dublin and the English Pale, with such other parts as remain in his Majesty's subjection, intending to second them with a far greater supply. Fourthly, we have further ordered and directed, that his Majesty's arms and munition lying in the castle of Carlisle, shall be transported into the North parts of Ireland for the supply of Carricfergus and other his Majesty's forts and garrisons there; and that a convenient number of men shall be sent from the North parts of England, for the better guard and defence of those forts and countries adjoining; and that a large proportion of arms and other munition shall be speedily convey'd out of his Majesty's stores to West-Chester, to be disposed of according to the direction of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for arming the men to be sent from England, and such other of his Majesty's loyal subjects as may be raised in Ireland. Fifthly, and because we understand that the rebels are like with great strength to attempt the ruin and destruction of the British plantation in Ulster, we humbly advise his Majesty, by the counsel and authority of his Parliament in Scotland, to provide that one regiment consisting of a thousand men furnished and accomplished with all necessary arms and munition, as shall seem best to their great wisdom and experience, may with all possible speed be transported into Ireland, under the command of some worthy person well affected to the reformed religion and the peace of both kingdoms, and well enabled with skill and judgment and reputation for such an employment; which forces we desire may be quartered in those Northern parts for the opposing the rebels, and the comfort and assistance of his Majesty's good subjects there; with instructions from his Majesty and the Parliament of Scotland, that they shall upon all occasions pursue and observe the directions of the Lord Lieutenant, his Lieutenant General, or the Governour of Ireland, according to their authority derived from his Majesty and the Crown of England. Sixthly, and as touching the wages and other charges needful which this assistance will require, we would have you in our name to beseech his Majesty to commend it to our brethren the estates of the Parliament of Scotland to take it into their care, on the behalf of his Majesty and this kingdom, to make such agreements with all the commanders and soldiers to be employed, as they would do in the like case for themselves; and

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CHARLES I. and to let them know for our parts we do wholly rely upon their honour-
 A. 1641, able and friendly dealing with us, and will take care that satisfaction be
 made accordingly.”

RUSHWOR. To these six articles the Lords assented, making only this alteration in
 which the Commons acquiesced; “that a thousand Scots for the present be
 sent over into Ireland, with an intimation of a desire of nine thousand
 more, to make up ten thousand men, if occasion be, according to such
 articles as shall be agreed upon with the Parliament of England.” But to
 these the Commons had added two other articles, complaining of the great
 miseries and distempers which for several years had afflicted all his Majesty’s
 kingdoms, and had issued from the false and malicious practices of some in
 places of council and authority about the King; many of whom they enu-
 merated with great asperity, and with more passion than truth. “To the
 same evil counsellors they profess to impute the cause of the conspiracies
 and commotions then in Ireland; who, if they were still to continue in
 credit and authority, would apply those aids which the Parliament might
 raise for subduing that rebellion to the fomenting it, and in the end to the
 destruction of the Protestant religion and all his loyal subjects in both king-
 doms. They beseech him therefore to change these councils, and to em-
 ploy such Ministers as shall be approved of by his Parliament:” and if his
 Majesty will not condescend to this supplication, they proceed to threaten
 him in plain terms, “that they shall resolve upon some such way of de-
 fending Ireland from the rebels, as may concur to the securing themselves
 from such mischievous councils and designs, as have been and still are in
 practice against them, as they believe; and to commend those aids, which
 this great necessity would require, to the custody and disposing of such
 persons as they had cause to confide in.” The Lords had not yet lost all
 spirit; and tho’ they did not put a direct negative to these articles, which
 bore so hard and so unceremoniously upon the Crown, yet they evidently
 shewed their dislike of them by deferring the debate upon them till another
 day: and when the Commons afterwards in a conference pressed the Lords
 to agree with them in these articles, relating to evil counsels and counsel-
 lers, as they had done in the others, and they would tarry four or five days
 for their Lordship’s resolutions, yet the Peers still persisted in putting off the
 consideration

consideration of those articles to a day which never came. They agreed however to a petition, which was to be sent to his Majesty with those instructions, in the following words:

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To the KING's most excellent Majesty.

RUSHWOR.
NALSON.

The humble petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

Most gracious Sovereign,

Whereas this messenger, MR. PICKERING, is employed with instructions to our committees in Scotland, to petition your Majesty to propound to your Parliament of Scotland, our desire of some aids from that kingdom for the suppressing of the rebels in Ireland; if it fall out that your Majesty shall be come out of Scotland, or our committees, before the arrival of this messenger there, we humbly beseech your Majesty to give authority to the said MR. PICKERING to present the said instructions to the Parliament of Scotland, and to bring back their answer to the Parliament of England.

After this, an order made by the House of Commons was read and agreed to; "that an ordinance of Parliament may pass, to engage the honour credit and authority of both Houses of Parliament, for the securing and repaying to the city the fifty thousand pounds with interest, desired to be borrowed of them for the occasions of Ireland; and that a provisional act shall pass with all speed for repayment of the said sum with interest within six months." At the same time an ordinance of Parliament, that had passed concerning Irish affairs, was read, as follows: Whereas there is just cause to conceive that divers ill-affected persons here, being natives or inhabitants of Ireland, do intend to pass over thither to join with the rebels, it is ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that no Irishman shall pass out of any of the parts of this kingdom to return into Ireland, without special licence of the committees of both Houses for Irish affairs, or the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-council, or of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It is further ordered, that no arms, munition, or powder, shall be transported, without such licence as is aforesaid. It is likewise ordained by the same Lords and Commons, that whereas upon the

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the perusal of divers letters and other intelligence here, there is just cause to suspect that divers of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland had some hand in the conspiracy and rebellions of the Irish, that the Lord Lieutenant shall certify from time to time, during his abode in England, into Ireland, the names of such suspected persons, and the grounds and reasons of the suspicion; and that thereupon the Lords Justices of Ireland and the rest of his Majesty's Council there, shall enter into examination of the said parties, and shall have power to commit them to prison till the truth may be fully discovered; that so they may either be cleared if they be innocent, or if they be found guilty, they may be proceeded against according to the laws: and that this ordinance of Parliament shall be a sufficient warrant to the Lord Lieutenant, Lords Justices and Council aforementioned.—There is something so extremely silly and ridiculous in the latter half of this ordinance, in suspecting some of the subjects in Ireland to have had a hand in the conspiracy and rebellion there,—for who else had any hand in it?—and in giving authority to the Lord Lieutenant and Lords Justices, to do what they had already a full power to do by their commissions, and what they certainly would do of themselves if there was occasion, that we are obliged, I think, to suppose the Parliament excessively fond of their power in making ordinances, or they would never have made them to purposes so unnecessary and impertinent.

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The Lord Admiral next acquainted the House, that he had command and directions from his Majesty to send some ships for the guarding the Irish coasts, and also some ships to keep the narrow seas; because his Majesty conceived, that the rebellion in Ireland is fomented from abroad, and that they expect some supply from foreign parts.—In other times of order, and of decent regard to royal authority, such a direction as this from the Sovereign to the Lord High Admiral, would have been deemed a sufficient warrant: nay a neglect, or a disobedience to this command, would be thought a crime and a misdemeanor of no small degree. But at this time the Parliament had assumed the supreme dictatorship of the whole state; and little more of sovereignty was then left to the King, than the name, and mere appearance. It doth not belong to this history, to shew for what reasons, and by what steps, this strange revolution in the government was brought about

about: in what manner the King assumed an arbitrary power the first fifteen years of his reign, and intended to render himself absolute; and how the House of Commons obliged him to redress their grievances and to secure the liberties of the people, but not stopping at this just resistance, grew to be greater tyrants than the King. This is too well known already, I suppose, to all who will read this history; and if it is not, this is not a place to relate it in: a writer of the history of England in those times must be consulted for that account, if the reader can meet with one that is impartial enough to lay it before him with truth and faithfulness; which I have never met with. But in this present work, I confine myself entirely to what relates to Ireland, or is so connected with the affairs of it at that time, as makes it necessary to be mentioned: and therefore I proceed to relate, that the Lord High Admiral, instead of obeying the King's directions as the immediate servant of the Crown, desired the directions of the Parliament in what manner he should comply with his Majesty's orders in this particular; and it was resolved to have a conference with the Commons upon the subject. Several orders of the lower House were then read and assented to, relating to their giving leave to Merchants for the transportation of Spanish money into Ireland, to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, in such ships as had been appointed to that service; the said sums of money so transported being entered here in the Custom-house, and certificates returned from the ports of Ireland in which the money was landed.—The reader hath now had an account of all the measures that were taken by the King and Parliament of England, in consequence of the first intelligence which they received of the insurrection that was broke out in Ireland. The King, it must be owned, had done every thing on his part towards the suppressing it, and for the speedy assistance of his Protestant subjects, that was in his power to do. The two Houses of Parliament too, on whom, being then himself in Scotland, he had devolved the care and management of relieving Ireland, had readily undertaken it. Many speeches had been made; many zealous and spirited resolutions had been taken; and much seeming concern employed, to stop the progress of this rebellion, and to give assistance and supply, of men, and money, and arms, to the Protestant subjects of that kingdom. But notwithstanding all these pompous votes, and their care of Ireland, of which they made many vain
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ostentatious boasts, yet it was not less than two months after they had the news of the rebellion, and the deplorable state which that kingdom was in for want of men and money, before any material succours were received in that unhappy country. But we must now take our leave of England for a while, and attend the progress of the rebels, and the measures pursued in Ireland for their defeat.

When SR. PHELM O NEIL had made such a rapid progress as we have seen in the first week of his insurrection, and had so many thousand men under him as their Chief, his head, which was always weak, began to be turned with his success. One would think that he had promised himself that he should be King of Ulster: for he assumed all the dignity and jurisdiction which had of old belonged to that title, being indeed descended from the first Earl of TYRONE. Thus he caused his proclamations to be made in the name of THE O NEIL, made grants of manors to his adherents with power to try treasons and felonies; warranting them in the exercise of those powers in the stile of a Monarch, "according to our royal intention;" and subscribing his letters as Earl of TYRONE. It appears from the account which I have given of the common Irish, in my former volume, that far from imagining there was any thing very criminal in acts of rapine and plunder, they rather deemed them to be heroical. To such a people, who imagine there is no great heinousness in their offence, the first general offers of pardon are seldom made without effect. Their Chief therefore took care that their hands should be dipped in blood; and that they should exercise such cruelty to the Protestants and British as must make them despair of pardon. But whether this was the scheme of SR. PHELM and his confederates to keep his men together, by making all accommodation and laying down of arms impossible, or to make his soldiers terrible by their cruelty, which he could not assure himself of by their valour; and whether it was owing to the suggestion of others, or to the cowardliness of his own heart, it is not easy for us to determine; perhaps these motives might all concur. But it is certain that he first began and encouraged those massacres, which have justly rendered his memory execrable to posterity, and left such a stain upon his nation and religion—whether it should do so, or not—as will never be wiped away. There is one circumstance which

which inclines people to think, that his cruelty was rather owing to the violence of his nature, than to any policy; which cruelty on some occasions approached to rage and frenzy. On any news of ill success, he would immediately order all his prisoners to be murdered, or some other act of barbarous and senseless vengeance to be committed. In one of these fits, he ordered MR. BLANEY, Knight of the shire of Monaghan, to be hanged in his own garden; and the old Lord CHARLEMONT to be shot: In another, when he heard that the rebels had been repulsed, and several of the clan of O NEILS slain in their attack of the castle of Augher, he ordered all the English and Scots within three parishes to be killed. But when he was told of the taking of Newry by Lord CONWAY, he went in haste and fury to Ardmagh, and in breach of the capitulation made by himself under hand and seal, as before mentioned, he ordered an hundred people to be murdered, burnt the town, and the cathedral dedicated to ST. PATRICK;—a name revered enough by the Irish, one would have thought, to have protected it;—fired all the houses and villages in the neighbourhood; and butchered many people of all ages and sexes in the town and country round about. His brother TIRLOGH was equal to him, if he did not exceed him, in acts of cruelty: nor were their followers at all unwilling to execute their instructions; but giving a loose to the mortal hatred which they bore the British and the Protestants, rivers of blood were inhumanly shed. The reader's humanity will be too much shocked with a particular recital of their sanguinary measures. Let it suffice here therefore to say, that every thing which the most savage ferocity could suggest was put in practice by the common soldiers; and their massacres were committed with such a variety of hellish tortures, and with so many circumstances of horror, as is scarcely to be paralleled in any history. Nay their inbred hatred to the English, did not confine itself to their persons and their houses, but extended even to the poor cattle; many thousands of which they destroyed with the most senseless and lingering tortures, merely for being English.

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But tho' SR. PHELM was not yet at the height of his cruelty, yet he was at the height of his success; for he never succeeded after the first week, at the end of which he began the massacre, in any one enterprise that he

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undertook. In the last wars against TYRONE, Dundalk in the county of Lowth had been a frontier town to secure the Pale; and had so well defended itself, that with all the power he had he could never get it into his hands. But at this time, tho' a company of the army lay there, yet the Lieutenant who commanded, having neither arms nor ammunition nor men in readiness, complied with the inclinations of the inhabitants towards the rebels, and without striking a blow delivered up the place. After this success, they marched to Ardee, a little town further up in the county of Lowth, which was immediately surrendered; and which lay within seven miles of Drogheda. The Lord MOORE had removed from his house to this place for safety; it being within the Pale, and in the province of Leinster: and here he had the command of a troop of horse and two companies of foot, with SR. JOHN NETTERVILLE, eldest son to the Viscount of that name, under him. But instead of being of use to him, he fomented the ill affection of the inhabitants, raised fears and rumors, sought a quarrel with Lord MOORE by giving him ill language, and gave great cause of suspicion that he had a design to cut him off, and to seize upon his troop for the rebels. The inhabitants were however extremely terrified with their danger; and, the majority of them being Papists, were ready to take advantage of the present seeming necessity to surrender. The Lord MOORE gave immediate intelligence to the state at Dublin, of the imminent danger of the town, without an immediate reinforcement of horse and foot. For if the rebels should make any sudden approaches and attempt to surprise it, he found such slender preparations within it for any defence, such apparent disaffection in the inhabitants, and all things in such confusion, that he should not be able, by all the endeavours he could use with his present strength, to give a good account of that place. Hearing nothing from the Council he went himself to Dublin, offering to make up his own troop an hundred, and to raise an hundred foot at his own expence, but his offer was not accepted; and all that he could obtain was arms and ammunition for a company of the inhabitants. With this reinforcement, SR. FAITHFUL FORTESCUE, the Governour, thought the place untenable: and therefore on the news of the taking of Dundalk, he went also to the Lords Justices and Council: and being able to get no such supplies as he thought necessary for a place of that importance, he resigned his government, and wrote to
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some of his friends there, that he was very ready to sacrifice his life in defence of the place, but did not care to sacrifice his reputation, or to starve in it. Upon this, the Council ordered a regiment of foot to be immediately raised at Dublin under the command of SR. HEN. TITCHBORNE; "which, as there were three thousand pounds in the hands of the Vice-treasurer [in other places the same author says, and the Council write, "they had no money"] was in a few days compleated, and sent away with him for the defence of Drogheda."

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About this time SR. PHELM, having notified the pretended commission from the King, and being joined by ROGER MOORE, whom the reader remembers to have escaped from Dublin as soon as the conspiracy was discovered, published a manifesto to apologise for this rebellion: but it differs not more widely from the truth, than from the real motives of his taking arms, and his public declaration that he made at first. There is no name nor authority at all to the paper; and it might therefore be owned or disclaimed just as they pleased, and as they found it was either of service or prejudice to their cause. It was in the name of all the Roman Catholics of that Kingdom, "who profess a pure and immutable allegiance to the King, because he had granted them some liberty of religion, but who had suffered hard oppressions from their governors to the ruin of their lives, estates, and honours. They complain of the malignant envious humour of the English Parliament, against them and their religion, as well as to draw the power of the King out of his hands: and therefore they had taken up arms to regain his Majesty's prerogative, and to secure the liberty of their consciences and their country." This is the substance of the manifesto: and their view in dispersing it was to put a gloss upon their cause, and by representing the great danger of an extirpation of their religion, to engage all the Papists in Ireland to join with them, and to procure aids from foreign Princes of the same communion. To this purpose they dispatched a friar to Cardinal RICHLIEU; who detaining him five weeks to see how their attempt succeeded, they sent another friar to him with an account of all their proceedings: upon this information, the Cardinal assured them that arms for two thousand two hundred men should be sent to Wexford; and if they could not be landed there should be carried to Carlingford. An account of this

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was sent by Mr. WISHART, a Scotchman who had been a prisoner among the rebels, to Mr. PYM: but that zealous patriot, who was ready upon all occasions to make use of pretended plots, and invented discoveries of designs against the commonwealth, thought fit to keep this intelligence in his pocket; which, if it does not shew, that he and his party had measures to keep with that Cardinal for the furtherance of their project—as it is highly probable—yet it shews, that the Patriotism of Mr. PYM, was, like that of many in our own time, a cloak to cover his animosity or ambition.—We must now turn to what was doing in other parts of the country, under other leaders of the rebels.

The reduction of the county of Cavan under O REILY, and his humanity to the English, have been already mentioned. About this time, they sent a remonstrance of their grievances to the Lords Justices and Council; which, Bishop BURNET tells us in the life of BEDEL, was drawn up by that pious prelate out of matter presented to him by the rebels: but Mr. TALBOT, a Gentleman of that county, writes to the Lords Justices, that he understood from Mr. O REILY, that this remonstrance was framed in the Pale, and brought to the Irish in Cavan by Colonel PLUNKET of the county of Dublin. But let this be as it might, the remonstrance was to this effect: “ That they had for a long time groaned under many grievous pressures from the rigorous government of such as had been placed over them; but that they found themselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity of their consciences, their losing their lawful liberties, or utter expulsion from their native seats, without any just grounds given on their parts to alter his Majesty’s goodness that had been so long continued to them: that they had great cause of fears of all this from the proceedings of their neighbour nations; and saw it already attempted by certain petitioners for the like course to be taken in that kingdom: they had therefore, for the preservation of his Majesty’s honour and their own liberties, thought fit to take into their own hands for his use and service, such forts and other places of strength as might otherwise prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter ruin of the kingdom; that they had not the least thought of disloyalty to the King, or of doing any hurt to his subjects in their possessions, goods or liberty: that they desired the Lords Justices to represent their fears and grievances to his Majesty,

Majesty, that the liberty of their consciences might be secured, and they might be eased of their other burdens in civil government, in such a course as might be settled by their Parliament: As to the mischiefs which had happened through the disorder of the common people, they the Noblemen and Gentlemen of that and the several other counties, were willing to endeavour that restitution and satisfaction might be made, as they had in part already done. They desire an answer as soon as possible, to avoid the barbarity and incivility of the common people, who had committed many outrages, without their order, privity, or consent." The reader must own that this is very civil language: but he must see from what hath been related in the first book, that they had no grounds for these pretended grievances and fears sufficient to excite them to this insurrection; and that nothing could be more absurd than to seize the King's forts and castles, in order to preserve his honour, and the kingdom from ruin. The Council however gave them a fair answer; assuring them of their readiness to redress their grievances, if they would make restitution of what they had taken, and forbear all further acts of violence, and that their remonstrance should be sent over to the King; which was done accordingly.

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The Sheriff of the county of Longford, a native and a Roman Catholick, soon followed the example of that of Cavan; and raising the posse of the country seized all the castles and houses of the English. This was chiefly inhabited by the clan of the O FARRALLS; who in general were great sufferers by the plantations, though they had deserved well of the Crown in TYRONE's rebellion. They had complained in vain of this undeserved usage many years before; and having now, as they thought, an opportunity of redress offered them, they resolved to follow the example of their neighbours. When they had possessed themselves of the houses, castles, and plantations of the English, they sent a remonstrance of their grievances to the Lord DILLON of Costello, one of the Council; in order to be presented to the Lords Justices, and transmitted to the King. The remonstrance was signed by six and twenty, all of the name of FARRALL; and accompanied with an oath of allegiance to his Majesty, which all of them had taken, and would seal, they said, with their blood. They complain of the severity towards Papists in some neighbouring counties, of the discouragements which

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which they all lie under, and the refusal of the graces of the crown for their lands and liberties, which had brought them to great poverty. They entreated therefore the Lord DILLON, that there might be an act of general pardon without restitution, a liberty of their religion, a repeal of all statutes made against it, and a charter of free subjects for all the native Irish. The reader need not be told, that these overtures for an accommodation came to nothing.

The Ulster rebels however had nothing to ask in particular: their intention was to abolish the British plantations, to re-instate themselves in the possessions of their ancestors, and to return to their old Irish customs, tenures, and ways of life. By the barbarous murders which they had committed, they had made a submission impracticable, and would therefore enter into no treaty; which they knew must end in an inquisition into those murders, and in delivering up the guilty to public justice. When the news of their insurrection came to Carrickfergus, Colonel CHICHESTER, who was there, immediately took the proper steps for raising the country, and put all the arms that could be spared from the stores into their hands. The same course was taken in the other towns of the county of Down, which had not been surprised; forming the people into companies, and putting the most considerable Gentlemen of the country over them as their officers. Carrickfergus was the place of greatest strength in those parts; to which the common people, being terrified with the insurrection, thronged in great numbers with all their substance. The reports of desolation still encreasing, many of them put to sea with what wealth they had: which, though it answered the purpose of their own safety, yet served to impoverish the country very much, and made accommodations for the soldiers afterwards greatly wanted. Colonel CHICHESTER being joined by Colonel HILL, and having sent out scouts for intelligence, they wrote to Lord MONTGOMERY of Ardes, who promised to meet them at Lisburn with a thousand men. In their march thither with a body of four hundred and fifty, they were informed of the miscarriage on the design at Dublin; which, from the declaration of the rebels, they imagined to have been taken. When they were all met at Lisburn, they made up an army of above twelve hundred men, with several good old officers of great experience; but for want of a regular authority

authority to command them they could not be kept together. The same course which had been taken by Colonel CHICHESTER at Carrickfergus, was taken also by Colonel MATHEWS at Dromore: who getting together a body of two hundred men, attacked five hundred of the rebels; and having killed three hundred of them without the loss of a man, the next day he pursued the rest who had hid themselves about in the bushes, and starting them like hares out of their forms, killed a hundred and fifty more. These successes shew plainly, that if the English had got together in bodies in other places and faced the enemy in the field, instead of shutting themselves up in towns and castles, their safety would have been much better provided for, and the insurrection probably soon suppressed.

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Colonel CHICHESTER, being informed of these commotions about Dromore, drew out two hundred foot, and his own and Lord CONWAY's troops of horse from Lisburn to assist Colonel MATHEWS, who had fresh bodies of the rebels to encounter. In his march he saw several small parties of the rebels; but in places too remote, or too dangerous to be attacked without dividing his forces; or without being diverted from his design of relieving Dromore, which they had possessed. But at the news of his approach, the rebels set the town on fire, and retreated as fast as they could to Newry. The next day, a messenger arrived with a commission from the Lords Justices and Council to Colonel CHICHESTER, and SR. AR. TYRINGHAM, to command in that country; and to order and dispose of places according to their discretion. Armed with this authority, they took all the methods in their power for the defence of the country; in which they were greatly encouraged by the return of the express, which the Lord CHICHESTER, as it hath been mentioned, had sent to Edinburgh to the King; and with the arms and commissions which his Majesty sent.

Had all the other Lords and Gentlemen, in the interest of the Government, been as active and as valorous as these in the northern parts of Ulster, the success of the rebels would have been inconsiderable, and of short duration. They sent for several of the eminent Irish, who had yet remained quiet in their houses, and secured them in the castle of Carrickfergus. They relieved the garrison of Augher, which was stormed under the command of SR. PHELM O NEIL in person, and repulsed the rebels

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with the slaughter of two hundred men. Dispirited with this defeat, he lay the greatest part of the month of November in his camp at Newry; from whence he sent a body of two or three thousand men to take Lisburn—then called Lisnegarvy—and of which, from the intelligence he had from some within it, he did not doubt. But notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, of which they had no notice, and though the inhabitants fired the town about their ears, yet the officers of the garrison behaved so gallantly, and were so well seconded by their men, that they repulsed the rebels with some slaughter, and without the loss of a man on their own side. In a few days after, they made another attack with four thousand; but SR. AR. TYRRINGHAM having in the mean time re-inforced the garrison with near a thousand men, the rebels were a second time repulsed with great loss. The same ill success attended SR. PHELM with three thousand men in an attack of Castle-derrick, in his own county of Tyrone; and in his march to burn Rapho in the county of Donnegal. In short his forces were routed in almost all the Northern parts; and finding his affairs in this ill situation, and that he was daily losing ground, he marched Southward in order to form the siege of Drogheda.

But before we leave the province of Ulster, it is necessary to take notice of an accusation, which the Irish writers bring against the English and Scots in Carrickfergus; “who, they say, committed the first massacre in Ireland, by murdering in one night, about the beginning of November, all the inhabitants of the territory of the island of Magee, to the number of above three thousand, men, women, and children, all innocent persons, in a time when none of the Catholics of that country were in arms or rebellion.” This accusation, I presume, will not a little startle the reader; who hath seen that several murders were committed in the three first days of the insurrection; above an hundred particularly by RORY MACGUIRE in one place: and though the later popish writers who vindicate the accusation, excuse this contradiction by limiting the sense of the word MURDER, or rather by extending that of MASSACRE to a much greater number than the word Murder was ever thought to signify, yet this evasion is too pitiful. Let it however avail for what it may: it will less excuse the falshood of this accusation to say, as they have said in excuse for it, that it was the first massacre

massacre committed in ULSTER; because the author of the accusation has affirmed, "that it was the first massacre committed on either side in IRELAND." If we suppose the author not to have had a precise idea of the word massacre, which is an indiscriminate slaughter, in order to save his credit we must also suppose him not to know the meaning of the word COUNTRY; because he says, that this massacre was at a time when none of the Catholics "of that country" were in arms or rebellion. Will that expression convey an idea to the reader of no other part of the county of Antrim, but the narrow island of Magee itself, which is a peninsula adjoining to the town of Carrickfergus; or will it not naturally lead him to suppose that it means the adjacent country? To be sure he will understand it in the latter sense, and then it is absolutely false: for not only in the county of Antrim in which this island stood, but in the county of Down which runs up to it, the rebels had been in arms before the beginning of November, even from the very first day of the insurrection. Supposing the fact therefore of a massacre there to be true, yet the circumstances of its being the first, and before any of the Catholics of that country had been in arms, are manifestly falsified.

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But as the fact of so great a massacre is strenuously insisted upon, it may be worth while to examine its credibility. The island, or rather the peninsula of Magee, which is artfully enough called a territory, that the reader may be led to suppose it a large district, capable of supporting a numerous race of inhabitants, is a long narrow tongue of land, three miles in length, and at a medium a mile in breadth, at that time not cultivated, and without a single town. If any one can believe that such a territory was so thoroughly then thronged as to contain above three thousand inhabitants, when the whole kingdom of Ireland was extremely thin of people, he may believe it for himself, but he should not desire to impose it upon other people. If there is any truth in the fact of a massacre there, which is very probable, it may be confidently affirmed that it was not the first in Ireland, nor in Ulster, nor before any Catholics of that country had been in arms: and it may be supposed, in order to reconcile it with probability, that the number reported by the author was three hundred, but being written in figures was easily mistaken in the copy for three thousand. I have been the more par-

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A. 1641. above-mentioned; as well as by Abbé GEOGHGAN, in his French History of Ireland, about three years ago.

Whilst these things passed in Ulster, the Lords Justices and Council were taking all the measures possible for defence against the rebels; but calculated rather for their own safety, than for that of the kingdom. Enough had been done already, one would think, for the security of the castle and city of Dublin: but as though the Council thought nothing was enough for their own safety, and as though they cared little what became of the rest of the people, in short, as though they more inclined now to continue than suppress the rebellion, they sent for all the horse of the army except five troops, and all the foot to Dublin. Not satisfied with this, they gave a commission to SR. CHA. COOTE to levy a thousand men more there; which he accomplished in a few days, out of those who had escaped, and survived their hardships in the North. Had this army, when it was thus collected, been sent under proper officers into Ulster—and there had been Deputies who had suppressed as formidable a rebellion with as small a number of forces—the rebels that were in arms would have been defeated; and the report only of such an army marching against them would have deterred others from rising. If they had not heads or hearts amongst them capable of forming such a resolution—and one of these must be supposed—yet surely when the Earl of ORMONDE, who by this time was come to them with his troop of horse, proposed to march immediately with the horse and foot that could be spared, and attack the rebels before they had any supply of arms, they were inexcusable in rejecting his proposal. There must have been some other reason for this refusal, than fears for their own safety, and the castle of Dublin: for besides fifteen hundred old well disciplined foot, they had near five thousand new raised men, and three hundred horse. What their real motives were for this astonishing refusal one cannot say: but the want of arms for all the men, which was the only reason they gave themselves, was so notoriously false—there being arms and tents and all other necessaries in the stores for above ten thousand men—that it could be used only to cover motives which they were ashamed of owning. It appears from several letters of SR. WIL. ST. LEGER, a brave old officer and Pre-
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fident of Munster, to the Earl of ORMONDE, that they were so much afraid of their orchards and gardens about Dublin that they could think of nothing else. But whether it was owing to this cowardice, or to any directions they had from the faction in the English Parliament, whose creatures many of the Council were, or to their own hopes of lucre from the forfeited estates by the spreading of the rebellion, that they did not care to crush it in the bud, which some parts of their conduct gave too much room to suspect, it is impossible for us to determine. But most certain it is, that they did not take one vigorous step to improve any opportunity that was offered of quelling this rebellion; and that they did all they could to prevent the Earl of ORMONDE from doing the same.

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The Lords Justices and Council were not only extremely wanting in vigour and dispatch, but they neglected the rules of policy which all wise states observe in conjunctures of this nature. It is true that at this time they published a proclamation with a promise of pardon; but then they took care to confine it so much to places, and to limit it to such conditions, and dates, as made it of little use. The reader expects no doubt that it was principally to operate in the province of Ulster, where alone almost at that time there had been any insurrection; and that it should have been a general pardon to all Gentlemen not concerned in any massacre, murder, or deliberate act of cruelty, in order to produce as well a distraction of counsels among the rebels, as a thought in every man of providing for his own safety, and, with a defection of some of the leaders, the desertion of their followers. This indeed would have been wisdom; and in the history of all ages it hath been found by experience to have had good success. But in this case there was nothing like it. The proclamation of pardon was to no other rebels than those in the four counties of Meath, Westmeath, Lowth, and Longford; in the two first of which no body of rebels had then appeared, only some few plunderers; and from this all freeholders, and all that had shed blood, or were in prison for any spoil, were expressly excepted: the time of submission was within ten days after the date of the proclamation; and the goods that had been wrongfully taken away, and consequently dispersed into various hands, were also then to be restored. Let the reader determine whether this proclamation could be intended to strike

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strike at the root of the rebellion, or answer any valuable purpose. The fears of the Council however encreasing with the outrages of the rebels, under a pretence of shewing confidence in the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, but in reality to get their assistance, in the beginning of November, they gave out several commissions of martial law to them, "empowering them to pursue and put to death in battle or otherwise, according to their discretion, all the traitors and their adherents; and to take or spoil all their castles, houses, goods, and territories; or, otherwise according to their discretion, to receive any of them to mercy, and to forbear the devastation before mentioned." There was another commission given to the chief persons of quality in the Pale and the parts adjacent; which, besides the power of martial law, gave them authority to raise the forces of the county, and to have the command of them in opposing the incursions of the rebels. But as these governors, with all their power, could do little without arms, to Lord GORMANSTON there were delivered arms for five hundred men in the county of Meath, for three hundred in the county of Kildare, for three hundred in the county of Lowth, three hundred for the county of West-meath, and three hundred in the county of Dublin, with match and bullet proportionable to them all.

On the fifth of November, the administration sent a second dispatch to the King in Scotland, and letters to the Privy-council, the Lord Keeper, the Speaker of the house of Commons of England, and to their Lord Lieutenant; in all which they gave an account of their imminent danger, and the necessity of sending them relief immediately, or the kingdom would be lost. To the Lords of the Council they gave a particular detail of the progress of the rebellion; "that many had been already slain, and some hewed to pieces in the province of Ulster; that the counties of Longford and Leitrim had joined in the insurrection, and those of Meath and Lowth had fallen upon the English near about them. They held it their duty therefore to press for the speedily sending over ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, together with some able commanders, and an hundred thousand pounds in money; without all which, they must repeat it again and again, the kingdom would be utterly lost, the Protestants and English all destroyed, and a new conquest must be made of Ireland." It is very certain

certain that the poison of this rebellion, which had hitherto been confined to the Northern counties and their confines, began at this time to be diffused into other parts of the kingdom; and when the reader considers the cowardly, or the negligent conduct of the administration—to give it the softest epithets—he will not wonder that it should do so. If they complained, and complained with reason, of the little regard shewn to their distresses by the English Parliament, the loyal people of Ireland had full as much reason to complain of them. They made a great bustle with their proclamations and commissions; but they went no further. They shut themselves up at Dublin surrounded with a good army and plenty of ammunition; but the distresses of the country, which were sounded in their ears every hour, served to little other purpose than to add to their fears, and to make a further provision for their own safety. Thus on the twelfth day of November, when the Irish in the county of Wicklow rose up most furiously, spoiling, robbing, and murdering all the English inhabitants, burning their houses, and driving away their cattle, the council, tho' convinced of the importance of driving the rebels thence which was in their neighbourhood, yet terrified to death at the thoughts of diminishing the guard of their own persons, sat silently looking on, and gave not the least assistance whatsoever to their miserable fellow subjects. The rebels being thus unmolested, even under the nose of government, and left to exercise their cruelties at their pleasure, it is no wonder that the Irish of Wexford and Carlow, two adjoining counties in the same province of Leinster at a further distance from Dublin, should follow the example of their neighbours. The county of Kildare was even nearer than that of Wicklow; and gave great room to suspect that the arms and ammunition, which had been given them for the defence of the English, would be turned against them. But neither the distresses of the people who were under their care, nor the example of the defeats which were given the rebels by small bodies of the army in the northern counties; in short neither the honour of the state, nor their own reputation, could prevail on them to diminish their own strength but for a day. The objects of wretchedness which arrived every hour at Dublin, covered with rags or almost naked, widows lamenting the murder of their husbands, mothers of their children destroyed before their faces, infants ready to perish in their mother's bosoms,
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some stupified with grief, others distracted with their losses, and all having no place where to lay their heads, nor food to supply their hunger, these shocking spectacles, instead of animating them with a proper spirit to scourge and suppress the villanies of the rebels, added only to their amazement and their terror; unless we will suppose a much worse disposition: And if the members of the government, who had all the power and so much strength in their hands, were thus benumbed with fear, we may easily guess at the distraction of the inhabitants, who figured in their imagination all these calamities and cruelties at their gates. Every man began to consider himself and his own private preservation, as the example had been set them, before that of the publick. Those who lived in the suburbs removed their families into the city; the Council and people of quality shut themselves up in the castle; where even many began to suspect their safety, and embarked with all possible speed on board the ships in the harbour; and to heighten their calamities, it was the most dismal tempestuous season, that had ever been known for so great a length of time in the memory of man. But the Lords Justices were come to a determined resolution, not more stupid than it was fatal, to do nothing more with the army than secure Drogheda, and the Metropolis, till they received supplies from England; of which, on the tenth of November, they had an assurance in the declaration of the English Parliament, already recited, which then arrived. Elated with the expectation of powerful succours out of England, they thought they had no occasion of any further assistance within the kingdom; and therefore very imprudently sent for the five hundred arms that had been given to Lord GORMANSTON, thereby renouncing any confidence in him; as also for the three hundred that had been sent to Louth, tho' that county was the most exposed of any. The other arms which had been delivered out were also sent for; but they were dispersed into so many hands that it was impossible to recover above an hundred and fifty. Nothing had happened to give occasion for any further suspicion of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, than when the arms were entrusted with them; and therefore the Council ought either not to have put these arms into their hands, or they ought to have let them remain there. But they were visibly under such impressions of fear—to say the best in their favour—that their counsels were not to be accounted for on the principles of reason.

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On the day after they had received the declaration of the English Parliament, the Lords Justices and Council published a Proclamation, "requiring every person whatsoever, not having necessary cause of residence in the city of Dublin and the suburbs thereof, and the places within two miles about the same, to be approved of by the Council of war, to repair to their respective homes within twenty four hours after the publication of the proclamation, upon pain of death." This was a rigorous treatment of many Gentlemen, of the Pale particularly, who had retired to Dublin as a place of security for their persons, whilst their goods and cattle were plundered by the robbers; who took advantage of these troubles to spoil and plunder tho' they did not join the rebels. This measure was not only therefore very inconvenient to those Gentlemen, but it proved in the end to many of them very fatal. For they were not only obliged to return to their houses without arms, exposed in a short time after to the violence of the rebels, whom they were unable to resist, but also to pay them contributions for leave to live in quiet, and to have a constant intercourse with them; which in the eye of the law is treason, and which induced several to join with them. This was particularly the case of SR. ROB. TALBOT; who, after engaging against the rebels in defence of the English, for which his two best houses were burnt down, and he had retreated with his family to Dublin, where he had offered to raise men if the Council would furnish him with arms, had not leave to remain at Dublin; but was forced by this proclamation upon pain of death to depart he knew not whither, and therefore in the end to enter into the confederacy against his will. It will need all the candour of the reader to make any excuse for the violence and ingratitude of the administration towards this Gentleman; especially when it is added, that at the first breaking out of the insurrection, he made an offer to PARSONS to secure the heads of the clans in the county of Wicklow if he would authorise him to do so; assuring him that the clans would not stir whilst their Chiefs were in custody as hostages for their fidelity; and that it was the most effectual way to prevent an insurrection in that province. The wholsomeness of that advice must be evident to every man of common sense; and why the Minister would not take it, unless he was in reality frightened out of his wits—which is the best that can be said—it is not difficult by this time for us to guess.

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The reader may remember that the Parliament had in August last adjourned to November, with the consent of the Lords Justices, in order to continue the session, till the King's Graces—as they are called—which their committee were bringing over, had passed into acts. He may also remember, that in a day or two after the conspiracy was discovered, the administration had prorogued the Parliament to February; “supposing that it would draw such a concourse of people to Dublin, as would give opportunity under that pretence of assembling and taking new counsels.” Some few of them however were of course to meet in Parliament on the day of the adjournment, in order to declare the prorogation. But MR. BOURKE, who was one of the committee sent into England, already mentioned, complained of the prorogation to the Lord DILLON of Kilkenny about a week before: insisting on the injury which it did to the nation in general, and to the members in particular, who were thereby precluded from expressing their loyalty and obedience to the King, and from shewing their desires to suppress this dangerous rebellion. The Lord DILLON informing the Council of this uneasiness, and that MR. BOURKE had gone so far as to say, that if the Ministry persisted in the prorogation, the members would have reason to resent it, and would complain to the King of this injustice, he was sent for to the board; where in a modest manner he delivered himself to the same effect. Upon this, the Council entered into a debate, how far it might be thought reasonable to condescend to the desires of the committee. The Earl of ORMONDE, the Lord Viscount DILLON, and some others, were of opinion, that the prorogation ought not to take place, but that the Parliament should sit according to the adjournment made in August; and this opinion was well supported. For besides the supplies of money that the Commons might give—which would not only procure credit as soon as they were voted, but would also be collected much sooner than they could hope for in any other way—they urged the very ill condition of the whole kingdom on account of the rebellion in Ulster, which had already reached some of the counties of Leinster, and was spreading into Connaught; that all the nation was in great expectation of having the King's Graces, that the committee had brought over, confirmed in this session of Parliament, for which the adjournment was assented to; and therefore that a disappointment in this very important article, would probably

probably exasperate them to such a degree, that the insurrection would become general and draw out the war into a great length: whereas it was now so easy to suppress them, that the Earl of ORMONDE offered, if they would supply him with arms for such volunteers as would follow him, and give him power to take up provisions in the country thro' which he marched, he would undertake to put an end to the rebellion within a month. But the Lords Justices, and their party in the Council, were not to be won with these reasons; and insisted on the prorogation. They said "it would highly trench on the wisdom and gravity of the board, to alter a resolution so solemnly taken up, and made known to the whole kingdom by a proclamation; that it would be of dangerous consequence to bring so great a number of people into the city at such a time; that many of the Protestant members, and others well affected of both houses, were so dispersed, or shut up, that they could not come to the meeting of the Parliament; which would give the Irish such a Majority as would enable them to carry every thing in their own way, and joining with the ill affected in the city might destroy the State and the rest of the English in those parts." These reasons, which were too shallow to be the true ones, in a city from which all strangers had been banished by proclamation, which was guarded by a garrison of above four thousand men, and in a Parliament from which most of the native Irish were absent, did not satisfy the other Councillors; but on a vote it was carried to abide by the prorogation. It was thought fit however to do something to make this measure less disagreeable to those who had complained of it: and after a long debate on all particular circumstances, it was agreed that the Earl of ORMONDE, SR. JOHN TEMPLE, and SR. PIERS CROSBY, should have a meeting with some of the most leading members in the House of Commons, to inform them that the Council approved of their inclination to do something in the Parliament that might tend to the suppression of the rebellion: and tho' they could not consent to disannull their prorogation, yet they would so far comply with them as to limit it to a shorter time; and would consent to their present sitting for one day, if they would immediately draw up a protestation against the rebels, with whom they might appoint a committee to treat about laying down their arms: and as to their grievances, the Council were ready

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to receive them, and would transmit them directly to his Majesty for redress. The members of the House of Commons were extremely troubled when they found that the prorogation was not to be altered; but seeing no remedy, they were obliged to take up with what was offered: hoping when the two houses were met in a body, they might prevail with the administration by a joint address, and obtain leave for sitting longer, or for a shorter prorogation. Confiding in these hopes, and in the probability of doing something for the satisfaction of the people and the safety of the kingdom, they seemed tolerably well contented, and undertook to make the protestation in as ample a manner as was desired.

On the day to which they were adjourned, the Lords and Commons met in Parliament at the usual place in the castle. The garrison was put under arms, and the Justices appointed a guard of musketeers; not to infringe the freedom of the debates, but to secure the persons of those who met there, as well as the safety of the castle. Both the Houses were the thinner, on account of the Proclamation which had been issued for the prorogation: this intention of sitting not having reached the members of Conaught and Munster, and the rebellion having intercepted the Lords and Gentlemen in the province of Ulster. The House of Commons went immediately upon the state of the kingdom, and to frame a protestation against the rebels. Many of the members were very averse to give them that appellation; many of their own houses and estates being in their power, and being unwilling to do any thing that might widen a breach which they all wanted to heal. The House of Commons therefore sent up “a meager cold protestation”——says SR. JOHN TEMPLE——to which the Protestant Lords objected: there being great reason to fear, that if they were not declared rebels, such an omission might be interpreted a seeming approbation of the insurrection. Rejecting therefore some virulent expressions, which might enflame and could not possibly do any good, an accommodation was made, by drawing up the protestation in such terms, as the law adopts in indictments of treason, to which both Houses unanimously consented; and it was as follows:

The Protestation and Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled.

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Whereas the happy and peaceable estate of this realm, hath been of late, and is still, interrupted by sundry persons ill affected to the peace and tranquillity thereof, who contrary to their duty and loyalty to his Majesty, and against the laws of God, and the fundamental laws of the realm, have traiterously and rebelliously raised arms, have seized some of his Majesty's forts and castles, and dispossessed several of his Majesty's faithful subjects of their houses, lands and goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhuman outrages and acts of hostility within this realm: The said Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, being justly moved with a right sense of the said disloyal rebellious proceedings and actions of the persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and declare, that they the said Lords and Commons from their hearts do detest and abhor the said abominable actions; and that they shall and will to their uttermost power maintain the rights of his Majesty's Crown and Government of this realm, and peace and safety thereof, as well against the persons aforesaid, their abettors and adherents, as also against all foreign Princes, potentates, and other persons and attempts whatsoever: and in case the persons aforesaid do not repent of their aforesaid actions, and lay down their arms, and become humble suitors to his Majesty for grace and mercy, in such convenient time, and in such manner and form as by his Majesty or the chief governor or governors and Council of this realm shall be set down, the said Lords and Commons do further protest and declare, that they will take up arms and will with their lives and fortunes suppress them and their attempts, in such a way as by the authority of the Parliament of this kingdom, with the approbation of his most excellent Majesty, or his Majesty's chief governor or governors of this kingdom, shall be thought most effectual.

The two houses also joined in an ordinance, empowering nine Lords and above twelve Commoners, after receiving directions and authority from the Council, to confer with the rebels in Ulster and other parts, about the cause of their taking up arms, and such other matters as they should be so directed and authorised to confer about; to report all to his Majesty, the Council,

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Council, or the Parliament, and to proceed according to their directions. As these necessary proceedings could not be dispatched in one day, they continued sitting the next, to the great uneasiness of the Justices; with whose designs says Lord CASTLEHAVEN it seems they did not square; they having often been heard to declare, “that the more were in rebellion the more lands would be forfeited to them.” The two Houses however understanding that they intended to prorogue them on that evening, “they sent some members from each House to the Lords Justices, to desire the continuance of the Parliament, at least till the rebels then few in number were reduced. But they met with an absolute denial, to the great surprise of both Houses, and the general dislike of all knowing and honest men.” The Parliament, offended justly as they were at this conduct, did not forget what they owed their country: and though they were not allowed to take any measures themselves to suppress the rebels, yet they passed an ordinance to empower the administration to raise the posse of any counties they saw fit; to make levies and continue such a number of armed men during the present troubles, under such commanders as the counties should agree to; and to levy and collect money for the support of the said forces, in such manner and form as the said counties should think fit. They likewise drew up a representation of their sentiments to the King, on the most effectual methods to quell the rebellion, and restore the peace of the nation. To this public dispatch, a committee of the Lords added a private paper of instructions, and sent them by Lord DILLON of Costello, a Protestant and a Privy-councillor; the event of which will be mentioned in its proper place. It shall be said only here, that his Lordship had been one of the committee that was sent into England in the summer; that he was a man of good parts, very active, generally esteemed, well affected to the Crown, but no friend to the measures which the Ministry in Ireland were then pursuing.

There was something so very weak, or wicked, in not permitting the Parliament to sit at this critical juncture, that the reader will excuse a reflection or two upon it before I go any further; in order to shew that the greatest part of the miseries which Ireland underwent in this rebellion, were in a good measure occasioned by the obstinacy, or the evil intentions of those who were then at the helm. In all the periods of our history since
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Parliaments had an existence, they were ever looked upon as the natural and the best resource in national distresses; and on less urgent occasions, and rebellions more dangerous than this was then, they had often been called particularly in Ireland. Indeed SR. JOHN DAVYS says, and the history of that country shews it, that such rebellions had been the general cause of holding Parliaments, especially at the reformation, and under Queen ELIZABETH: when religion was the constant pretence of insurrections, and the two Houses were composed mostly of Roman Catholic Members. But now the wisdom of this measure was slighted, when the administration had every favourable circumstance on their side; and nothing but their own fears and jealousies, or something worse, to set against it. The Members which composed the Parliament were men of great estates and credit in their several counties; and though they could have nothing to get, yet they had much to lose, and more to fear by the rebellion: and who therefore so proper to advise the measures for suppressing it? But supposing the resolution and the means they should advise were of no use, yet surely the supplies of money which they might have given, and which they offered to give if they might be allowed to sit, were of great importance at such a juncture, when there was none in the treasury, and when they could not have it so speedily in any other method. There were scarce five Members at that time engaged in the rebellion, and those only of the native Irish: there was no reasonable ground to suspect the rest would join with them, or, in order to remove any suspicion, that they would not exert themselves with zeal; which whether it was real or pretended would equally serve the state. Every body knows the power which the discovery of a conspiracy gives a government; and there was no doubt but the administration might have carried every thing that was essential to the service of the Crown, when no one durst openly have opposed any motion made for such an end. In short there never could be stronger or more pressing reasons for the sitting of a Parliament than there were at this time in Ireland. For besides the rebellion actually then on foot, the Graces lately granted by the King, in which the whole nation was concerned, and which arrived after the adjournment, were to be confirmed in this session, and were expected with great impatience. To disappoint them therefore in such an eager expectation of such very important and national benefits, could only serve to irritate

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irritate those who were well affected, and to make the others desperate. The Ministers, if they knew any thing of the state of the nation, must know this: and yet to aggravate the uneasiness which the prorogation gave to the Parliament and the People, they dismissed the two Houses, without saying a word of the Graces from the King, or giving them any assurance, or even a faint glimmering hope, that they should be passed in another session.

The breaking up of the Parliament in such a manner, and the strange aversion shewn by the Lords Justices to its sitting though but for a day, threw a great part of the nation into despair. It encouraged the rebels, and vastly encreased their numbers in many parts of the kingdom. The Ministers had made themselves very unacceptable to the greatest part of people of consequence, by several measures since the breaking out of this rebellion. But the greatest discontent of all, as Lord CASTLEHAVEN says, was occasioned by this prorogation: "The Parliament being the only way the nation had to express their loyalty and to prevent their being misrepresented to their Sovereign; which had it been permitted to sit for any reasonable time, would in all likelihood, without any great charge or trouble, have brought the rebels to justice: for the war that afterward ensued, was headed and carried on principally by members that then sat in Parliament: And to say that these Members were all along concerned in the rebellion, or engaged with the first contrivers of it, is to make them not only the greatest knaves, but the veriest fools upon earth: since otherwise they could not have been so earnest for the continuance of the Parliament, whilst sitting in the castle and under the Lords Justices guards, who upon the least intelligence, which could not long be wanting, had no more to do than to shut the gates and make them all prisoners, without any possibility of escape, or hopes of redemption."

But we must now turn to see what was doing in the country by the rebels. It has already been observed, that all the other provinces, besides Ulster, had generally continued quiet till about the middle of November; when the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, and some others in the provinces of Leinster, joined in the insurrection. The peace of the other parts were
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however tolerably well preserved till the end of November; the Irish Gentlemen in Conaght and Munster continuing firm; and no man of quality and estate descended from the English race appearing to join and countenance the rebels. In the Province of Conaght, the strength of the English Protestants was very inconsiderable. The Lord Ranelagh was President and Governor of the whole province, except the county of Galway; but he had only his own troop of horse and three companies of foot to defend it. The administration therefore committed the care of the county of Mayo to the Lords DILLON and MAYO, who kept it in order for some months without any assistance from the government: and though some plunderers had joined the Ulster rebels in the county of Leitrim, and made some excursions into Sligo and Roscommon, spoiling Irish as well as English, yet all the Noblemen and Gentry assisting the Lord President, the devastations were soon put a stop to, and the province preserved in obedience to the State. To this no body contributed more than the Earl of CLANRICARDE; a Roman Catholic, and a Peer of England as well as Ireland, and who by a particular commission was governor of the county and town of Galway. A great deal may be said of his parts, accomplishments, birth, alliances, and estate; but too much can scarcely be said of his good heart and temper. By an hereditary inclination, as well as his own principles, he was strongly attached to the Crown: and having received particular obligations from the King, he remembered them with a gratitude which is not common in any age, and then was very extraordinary. He was but just settled in Ireland when the rebellion began: but being the first man of quality in his county, with a vast estate, and the most considerable Gentlemen in it being some way or other related to him, his presence, joined with his incessant zeal and application, were of great advantage to that province. But nothing was of more effect than the care which he took, after the prorogation of the Parliament, to quiet the minds of the people there, by an assurance of their obtaining the Graces of the King which had been ordered for them, with a probability of something further if they preserved their allegiance. To render this assurance still more effectual and authentic, he made application to his Majesty on this head; who, in a letter of the tenth of December, commands him to assure all his subjects of that province who have remained faithful to him and his Crown, that they shall

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receive the fruits and effects of whatsoever he hath promised and formerly directed for the settlement of their estates. The care and activity of Lord CLANRICARDE in preventing any insurrection in his county, though a very large one, and though not supported with arms and ammunition from the government; were so conspicuous and effectual, that he received the public thanks of the two Houses of Parliament in England, at the end of November.

In the province of Munster, of which SR. WILLIAM ST. LEGER was Lord President, the English were very numerous, and very ready to assemble in a body in order to preserve the peace and safety of the country; but they were utterly destitute of arms: and all the solicitations made by SR. WILLIAM, which were strong and numerous, could not persuade the Lords Justices and Council to spare him any. He was a brave old soldier, of great experience and activity; and did every thing that it was possible for a man to do with one troop of horse, which was all his guard for the whole province; a guard scarce sufficient to repress the insolence of robbers in a time of profound peace, much less in a time of such general spoil and disturbance. But with the assistance of the Noblemen and the Gentry of the province it continued quiet for above six weeks. Indeed no one man of Quality, or Gentleman of English blood, either Papist or Protestant, had as yet joined the rebels; and even many of the old Irish had expressed the utmost abhorrence of the cruelties which they had committed: Nay many of the leading Roman Catholicks, who made a great figure afterwards in the general assembly of the confederates, expressed a great detestation of the rebellion, in their private letters to Lord CLANRICARDE; and importuned him very strongly to exert all his care and zeal in the suppression of it. So that had the Lords Justices and Council acquitted themselves like men of probity and understanding, here was time enough given them to suppress an insurrection, which for six weeks was confined almost to the province of Ulster, without any Chief that was so considerable as SR. PHELM O NEIL. But it was the great misfortune of that unhappy country, to be governed then by a man that had not one qualification for such a post at such a time; and to those defects was added great obliquity of heart both toward the

the King, and toward the Irish. The accusation may be severe, but it is just.

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In a few days after the Parliament had been prorogued, the Council sent letters to the Lord Lieutenant, giving a full account of the state of the rebellion, pressing earnestly for the supplies of men, money, and arms, which their former letters had requested; and desiring his Lordship to repair thither as soon as possible to manage the war. But besides this public letter signed by the whole board, another was drawn up the next day signed only by the Justices and their particular friends; on which, the other Councillors, who had signed the former the night before, were not consulted. With these letters, FITZGERALD, a trusty agent, was sent to negotiate with the Earl of LEICESTER, and the leaders of their party in the House of Commons. In the private letter to his Lordship, about which they tell him they expect and hope for his secrecy, after insinuating that they could not open themselves with freedom at the Council board, they inform him of the instructions which they heard had been given to Lord DILLON by a committee of the Lords, already mentioned; in which they offer of themselves without aid from England to suppress the rebellion. They beseech his Lordship therefore that no such overture might be accepted; and among other reasons, "because the charge of supplies from England would be abundantly compensated, not only by a firmer peace than had ever yet been settled, but in raising a far more considerable revenue to the Crown than formerly, out of the estates of those who were actors in this rebellion." What the private instructions were that Lord DILLON was entrusted with are not particularly known; because from this information, when he and Lord TAAFE who accompanied him were got to Ware, their persons and papers were seized by order of the English House of Commons; who had no authority over them, but who detained them in custody several months, till they made their escape to the King who was at York: but it was then too late to offer a remedy, and the rebellion was become in a manner general. FITZGERALD resided constantly in London after this, attending the committee of Parliament for Irish affairs; receiving from them, and communicating to the administration at Dublin, such secret advices and directions as were not fit to be imparted in a public dispatch to the whole Council.

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Council. The Members of the Council whom they shut out of their secrets—such as the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of ORMONDE, the Archbishop of DUBLIN, the Bishops of MEATH and RAPHOE, the Earl of RosCOMMON, and the Lord Chief-Justice LOWTHER—had made a vigorous effort to save their country by the continuance of the Parliament; and tho' they were outvoted at the board, yet they had pressed their reasoning with so much force and freedom, that the Justices were determined to transact their affairs of privacy without their participation.

The reader must remember, that in the two days which the Parliament was allowed to sit, a committee was authorised under the great seal to treat with the rebels about laying down their arms. The rebels had been very much disheartened by their late ill success in the North, and by not having been able to draw in a single Nobleman, or Gentleman of any estate, since the insurrection had commenced. But when they saw the false step which the Ministers had taken in proroguing the Parliament for two months, they took courage again. RO. MOORE had sense enough to discern the advantages which this step had given his party; and he took care to acquaint them with it. When the committee therefore applied to him, and Colonel MACMAHON, who lay about Dundalk with above two thousand men, they were so elated with the prospect which this ministerial measure had held out to them, that they received the Members very coldly, tore the commission and the letter sent them in an insolent manner, and with great scorn refused all overtures of accommodation. Some of the leading Popish Priests, who abhorred the cruelties which had been committed, and who protected and saved many of the Protestants, were likewise employed by the Lords Justices to bring about an accommodation: and though they readily engaged in the attempt, and used their utmost endeavours to have accomplished it, yet they could not prevail; SR. P. O NEIL refusing to enter on any treaty, unless Lord MACGUIRE, and MACMAHON were set at liberty; and the rebels not doubting, that in the general discontent occasioned by the prorogation, they should carry their point all over the kingdom. Besides, MOORE, when he found the ill success of their first pretensions, had sense enough to drop the design of extirpation; and in order to get the English Catholics on their side, without whom he saw they should miscarry,

miscarry, he took care that the declarations against the English should be suppressed, and put the whole strength and merits of their cause on the foot of religion. For this purpose he framed an oath of association, to be taken by all his followers, and dispersed over the kingdom; in which the motives to this insurrection were no other than the preservation of their religion, the defence of his Majesty's rights and prerogatives, and the liberties of the subject. This had a wonderful effect in conciliating the minds of the English Catholics; and there was but too much authority given to this pretence, by the conduct of the English Parliament, by the recent provocations given at home, and the much greater hardships that were still expected. For to say nothing of what was done by that Parliament, relating to affairs here which had an affinity to those of Ireland, the House of Commons passed a vote, "that no toleration of the Romish religion should be allowed in Ireland; and that the House of Lords should be desired to join with them in addressing the King, to make a public declaration to that effect." This might serve their own ends perhaps, but was surely very unseasonable with regard to Ireland; where nothing could so much promote the cause of the rebellion, as to have it thought a mere war of religion. This violence of the Parliament gave too much credit to the reports that were continually flying about, of a design of extirpating the Roman Catholics: and as this was an age of fears and jealousies, every angry word which arose from heat and zeal in the midst of a debate, or every threat of severity which a wicked policy suggested, were easily swallowed, and in imagination realised.

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It appears from the declaration of the English Parliament, already recited, on the first news of the conspiracy, and which was about this time received and published in Ireland by the administration, that they recommended the King's pardon to be granted, to all such as within a convenient time should return to their due obedience. But though the Justices and Council published the declaration, by which all the people of Ireland saw the sense of the English Parliament, yet no regard was paid to this advice. A general pardon offered under such an authority for it, would no doubt have had a very considerable influence; as well as a reward, which was also advised, for those who should bring in the heads of the ringleaders: and

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and when they saw that neither of these measures were pursued, the people could not help suspecting, that the administration in Ireland had some other design, than a speedy end of this rebellion. After all that has been related of the ministerial measures, the reader will not be surprised to find the rebels now increasing in strength and number. They increased indeed at this time so much, that they attacked and took a house of the Lord MOORE's, guarded by a party of soldiers, within three miles of Drogheda, of which town they threatened a siege; and so terrified the Council by such a near approach to Dublin, that they granted commissions to raise four regiments of a thousand men each, and four independent companies of foot. In the mean time they sent a regiment of foot and two troops of horse under SR. CHA. COOTE, to secure the country about Navan, in the county of Meath; and ordered six hundred foot and sixty horse to re-inforce the garrison of Drogheda, and as a convoy to some ammunition and provision that was going thither. The men were raw and undisciplined; and though Lord ORMONDE, who had now received a commission in form of Lieutenant General from the Lord Lieutenant, on viewing this convoy before they marched, did not think it sufficient, yet the Justices would not alter their order, nor any further diminish their own strength at Dublin.

SR. PAT. WEEMS the commander of this body, received intelligence in his march from Lord GORMANSTOWN, that two thousand foot and five hundred horse of the rebels were at St. Julians-town bridge, which some say he had sent for to intercept them: but the scouts bringing intelligence that there was no enemy there, the march was continued in great security. They had scarce however got a quarter of a mile beyond the bridge, before the rebels were discovered marching towards them in good order, in five bodies of foot, supported with horse on each wing. SR PATRICK put his men in tolerable order of battle; and drawing up his troop of horse in the front, and being promised to be faithfully seconded, he ordered the trumpet to sound, and advanced to begin the charge: but all his foot, without firing a shot, threw down their arms, and run away as fast as their heels could carry them. Indeed their flight was so swift, that very few were killed: and their commander had nothing to do, but to wheel off with his horse,
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and make good his retreat with them to Drogheda; which with great difficulty he accomplished without the loss of a man. But tho' this defeat was inconsiderable with regard to the men, yet it put more arms into the hands of the rebels, than they had before among all their forces, with a considerable quantity of ammunition; of which they stood in great need. They did not however think themselves yet strong enough to attempt the siege of Drogheda: and tho' SR. H. TITCHBOURN marched out with an intention to give them battle, yet the mist, which had concealed them in their approach to the King's forces, served them equally well in their retreat. This success, and the stile of the Catholic army which they had assumed, fighting only for their religion which was intended to be extirpated, added several thousands to their number; and some whole companies of foot, which had been raised and armed for the defence of the State, revolted to them.

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SR. CHA. COOTE having secured the parts about Navan, was ordered to the relief of the castle of Wicklow, then straitly besieged, and in great danger of being taken. But the rebels upon his approach retired into the mountains; and the town being left at his mercy, to which he appears to be a stranger, he put to death several persons without distinction of age or sex, in revenge of the several spoils committed upon the English in those parts. The news of the rout at St. Julians-town bridge, caused such a general consternation and so many disorders at Dublin, the one side being so elated and the other so dismayed, that if the rebels had followed their blow at that juncture whilst the impression was hot, they might probably have made themselves masters of the city. In this exigence, the Council sent immediately to SR. CHA. COOTE to march back in all haste with his troops; but in obeying this order, he was attacked by a thousand Irish under one of the TOOLEs, whom he defeated. For these services, and for their greater safety, the Ministry made him Governour of the city of Dublin; which he applied himself with great care to secure. He was a man of courage and experience, but of a morose and surly temper: and being provoked by the great damage which his estate had suffered by the rebels, he committed many acts of cruelty without distinction, equal in that re-
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spect to any of theirs; which gave a general dislike of him to the wise and good of his own party, and which furnished the Irish with a pretence of retaliation.

The rebellion till now had been carried on by the mere Irish, without one Nobleman appearing in it, or even without a Gentleman of English blood; and was chiefly confined to the province of Ulster, some few counties in Leinster, and one alone in Conaght. But the beginning of December opened another scene, and gave birth to a general insurrection; in which a great part of the Nobility, and almost all the English Roman Catholic Gentry throughout the kingdom, were first or last involved. The steps by which this great defection was brought about, and the manner in which the Lords and others of the Pale who led the way, were brought into it, will be the proper subject of another book. I cannot close this however without observing, that if the Protestants in Ireland have the strongest reason for accusing the Papists there, of forming a most horrid and unreasonable conspiracy against the estates and persons of their ancestors, which occasioned cruelties and desolation too shocking for a description, the Roman Catholics may recriminate on the weak and ill intentioned measures of the Administration, which fomented and continued it. The first indeed are most criminal, as having began the war: but the crimes on both sides, owing to the wickedness of particular men, being too great for extenuation, instead of charging each other at this day with principles and practices which the wise and good of both sides did abhor, they should lament the follies and vices of their forefathers, and be taught by their example to abstain from all approaches towards the same sort of guilt. In short they should learn, from the miseries of discord that have been now related, that as charity is the sublimest of all Christian virtues, so nothing conduces more to the peace and prosperity, the strength and harmony of a nation.

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B O O K III.

IN order to preserve the thread of the history, and to take things in their proper order, it is necessary to cast our eyes again upon England, to see what was doing there in relation to this rebellion; before we attend the further progress and the great increase of it in Ireland. The reader must remember that we left the King in Scotland, and, on the first news of the Irish conspiracy, fatally giving the management of it to his English Parliament. The English Parliament, or at least the leaders in it, who intended to possess themselves of the whole regal power here, rejoiced exceedingly at the authority which his Majesty himself had given them in his other kingdom of Ireland: and to that error of the King's, into which

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A. 1641.

NALSON.

he was led by his just desire of suppressing the insurrection in Ireland, a large part of the misery of the civil war in this country was in a great measure owing. The reader remembers the zealous votes which passed in the two Houses, about supplies of all kinds being immediately sent to Ireland, as soon as they had received intelligence of the conspiracy, and the King's request to take it under their care. Those resolutions looked well to his Majesty, to the people of Ireland, to foreign States, and to the publick here; and little more was intended by them. When the second dispatches from the State of Ireland were communicated to the House of Lords by the Lord Keeper and the Lord Lieutenant, it was agreed to have a conference upon them with the House of Commons. The substance of these letters has been already given the reader in the preceding book, and therefore need not be now repeated. The result of the conference of the two Houses upon them, "was to communicate them to the city of London, in order to induce them to lend money for the present supply of the business of Ireland; to send ten thousand men thither instead of six which had been before resolved on, and two thousand horse; and to accept the offer of the Scots, for sending ten thousand men into Ireland, under such conditions as shall be agreed upon by the Parliament. In two days after, the House of Commons came to the following resolutions, which being communicated to the Lords were assented to by them: That so many officers shall be sent into the province of Munster as shall command a thousand foot and a troop of horse, a list of which shall be made by the Lord Lieutenant: That the thirteen hundred arms that were in Carlisle should be sent away immediately to the North of Ireland, and arms for a troop of horse: That the forty old foot companies there should be recruited to an hundred men each: That SR. JOHN CLOTWORTHY should be recommended to some honourable entertainment in Ireland, and the like recommendation for the Lord DUNGARVAN: That order should be presently taken for securing the Port-towns and forts on the South-west of Ireland towards Spain: That the officers may be speedily sent for Dublin; and that SR. SIM. HARCOURT should have a salary of twenty shillings a day above the rest for his command of that place; and go away immediately: That two hundred thousand pounds should be raised for the suppressing the rebels in Ireland, for the security of this kingdom, and the payment of debts." Tho' the Parliament seemed in

haste

haste to make these resolutions, which was on the thirteenth of November, yet the reader will find they were extremely backward in carrying them into execution; for SR. S. HARCOURT did not arrive at Dublin with any men till the last day of December. To these resolutions the Lords added an order, that as the Lord Lieutenant had not been invested formally in his place by receiving the sword in Ireland, he should have power to command the Lords Justices to seize upon any suspected persons, till they could clear themselves to the satisfaction of those Ministers. The committee which carried the letters from Ireland into the city, reported that the Mayor and Aldermen unanimously voted the lending money; which they would presently pay, or subscribe to do it in a short time.

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In a few days after, the House of Commons having pressed that SR. S. HARCOURT may have a commission to levy soldiers for the service of Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant, who, it hath been observed, had some scruple about his authority from an ordinance of Parliament without a warrant from the King, presented a copy of such a commission to the House of Lords, of which they approved: and for his further satisfaction, "the House undertook to be suitors to his Majesty, to confirm the authority, given the Earl by the Parliament, under the great seal; and will always avow his proceedings upon their orders in the mean time." Other letters arriving from the administration in Ireland, dated the thirteenth of November, were then communicated: desiring that some ships might be appointed to guard their coasts, and that ten thousand foot, a thousand horse with arms and munition, an hundred thousand pound, and a supply of provisions and oats for horses, might be immediately sent them. About this time, the King returned from Scotland to Whitehall; but before he reached the town, he was attended by all the principal Nobility and Gentry, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who conducted him in a most grand and pompous cavalcade into the city; which the reader will find in some of the historians of those times, but of which we at this day have no such instances, nor any conception. His Majesty, the Queen, and the royal family, having dined with the Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall, where a magnificent entertainment was provided for the whole Court, they were conducted in the same splendid order to Whitehall, in which they had en-

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tered the city. But how little such popular testimonies of affection are to be depended on, the sequel will soon shew. With no more sincerity than in this compliment, was an order made in a day or two after by the House of Commons, "that a declaration should be drawn for clearing his Majesty's honour from false reports cast upon him by the rebels in Ireland; and a provision to be made that there be no conclusion of that war to the prejudice of this kingdom." Whosoever had heard of this report from Ireland, had likewise heard of its contradiction there: and whilst they appeared to be vindicating the King's honour in not encouraging that rebellion, there was a malevolent insinuation that he might probably put an end to it, in a way that would be prejudicial to his English subjects.

NALSON.

The King, in his first speech after he returned from Scotland, recommended to the Parliament the affair of Ireland; in which he says, tho' he does not doubt their care, yet he thinks the preparations for it go but slowly on. He then acquaints them that two Lords are arrived from Scotland properly authorized, in consequence of the petition sent to him by the Parliament; and desires the two houses would appoint a select committee to end the business with those Noblemen. The reader remembers that this petition hath been already recited, and that the business meant was the forces that were to be sent into Ireland from the Scots. In consequence of this speech, the Parliament appointed three Lords and four Commoners to treat with the Commissioners from Scotland; but not to come to a final conclusion, till they had informed the King and the two Houses of their proceedings. On the eighth of December, the King again pressed the Parliament, in a message by the Lord Keeper, to prepare instructions for treating with the Scotch Commissioners about Ireland; which they complied with accordingly. But the Commons were willing at first to treat only for five thousand men, till the King expressed a great desire that the number treated for might be ten thousand. Shortly after, in a conference between the two Houses, a certificate from the Council of Ireland was produced; importing that as the city of Dublin was not able to entertain all the distressed people that retreated thither stripped of every thing by the rebels, the Council had ordered the women and children to be transported into England; and recommended them to the charity and commiseration

ration of well disposed Christians. The two Houses accordingly entered on a contribution for the relief of these miserable distressed people. A bill for the pressing of soldiers for the more speedy supply of Ireland being brought into Parliament, which was a plain infringement of the King's prerogative, his Majesty went to the House on the fourteenth of December, and sending for the Commons acquainted them, that the last thing he had recommended to them was the business of Ireland, of which he was in hopes he should not have had a necessity of putting them again in mind. But seeing their slow proceedings, notwithstanding the daily accounts which came of the lamentable state of his Protestant subjects there, he could not but earnestly recommend the dispatch of that affair; as what he had at that time chiefly at heart, and was most worth his care. He then offers every thing that his power and pains could contribute towards that good and necessary work: and taking notice of the bill then depending, he declares his readiness to pass it, if it does not diminish his prerogative; or to avoid all further debate at that time, to pass it with a "salvo jure" to the King and People. As a conclusion, he conjures them by all that is dear to him and them, that laying aside all disputes they would go on chearfully and speedily in the reducing of Ireland.

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It is plain that in this speech the King had no intention to violate the privileges of Parliament, but to remove the obstacles which occurred to the relief of Ireland by this bill: but as his Majesty is not supposed to know of any thing that passes in those Houses, more than what they themselves communicate, it was very ill advice that had been given him, especially in the situation he was then in with the Commons, to take this notice of their debates, and to make such a proposal; and it was accordingly resented as a breach of privilege by both Houses. This not only contributed to foment the public dissatisfaction—with which view no doubt his false hearted Councillor ST. JOHN gave him this advice—but as the Parliament refused to stir a step in the business of Ireland till this injury was repaired, that kingdom must be entirely lost, and the disgrace must lie at his Majesty's door, or he must pass it as they had prepared it. The Commons, when this was done, sent a Member to desire the Lord Lieutenant to issue out commissions for raising two regiments in Ulster, and to hasten all other commissions.

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commissions for raising men for Ireland; having ordered an imprest for three thousand pounds for raising conducting and transporting three thousand men; and having directed the Master of the ordnance to deliver to his Lordship such quantities of powder, as should be thought necessary for the present expedition into Munster. The House of Commons then came to several resolutions about the sums to be paid to the officers and soldiers that were to be sent to Ireland; which need not be related here.

NALSON.

The House of Lords, having received a proposal from the Commons, at a conference, for sending into Ireland ten thousand Scots, they desired to know what certainty the Commons would give them, if the Lords agreed to that proposal, that ten thousand English should speedily follow. To this, in another conference, the Commons answered, "that they were not used to be capitulated withal, and desire it may be so no more; that they had given a sufficient certainty already, having voted the sending ten thousand English into Ireland, and transmitted the same to their Lordships, and think therefore they need not vote it again; but desire the Lords would vote the sending the ten thousand Scots without any regard to the other, the safety of Ireland depending upon it, and as they conceive the ten thousand English cannot go unless the bill for pressing passes."—The reader here sees the clause that unriddles all the rest. The tragical necessity of Ireland was a very popular theme, and upon that they were determined to put the issue of the pressing bill, in order to clip still further the royal power and prerogative; towards the melting down of which into the mass of the Parliament they had made great attempts already. For to shew that there was no occasion of pressing, the King had engaged to raise ten thousand men for this service, if the House of Commons would undertake to pay 'em. But to this they would not agree; choosing rather to hazard the entire loss of Ireland, notwithstanding all their pretended zeal about it, than to send thither ten thousand English at such a juncture.—The House of Lords however voted unanimously, that ten thousand English and ten thousand Scots should be sent into Ireland; and ordered their committee to acquaint the Scotch commissioners with those votes. The Commons still continued to press the Lords, by getting a petition to be sent them from several of the Nobility and Gentry then residing in London, and another from the Merchants

chants trading to Ireland, begging immediate relief for that unhappy country: and they themselves tell the Lords, “that they can think of nothing but Ireland, nor speak nothing but Ireland.” The King and the House of Lords however saw into their design through all this zeal; and that, let what would become of Ireland, the Commons would not part with ten thousand men, in whom they had a much better interest than the King, and whose assistance they knew they should soon want. Neither would they consent to the King’s raising a new body of troops of that number; knowing that his Majesty would grant the commissions to such officers only as would be at his devotion.

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In the midst of these disputes, some more letters from the Council of Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant were communicated to the House of Lords; in which, besides acquainting them with the further progress of the rebellion, in the manner which hath been related in the foregoing book, and pressing for a speedy succour of every kind, “they send their Lordships an intelligence which they had received, of ships being laden with arms and ammunition at Dunkirk, to be transported to the rebels in Ireland. They acknowledge the receipt of the money sent them in the latter end of November, which amounted only to sixteen thousand five hundred and ninety pounds, and which they complain of as far short of the supply that was necessary for their service; as thinking nothing less will do than two hundred thousand pounds. Indeed that sum had been voted, and the Parliament had actually borrowed fifty thousand pounds of the city of London—already mentioned—for the speedy supply of Ireland; and if no other designs had been on foot, which it was not then thought proper to own, there is no doubt but that the whole sum would have been sent. In this letter, they press the Lord Lieutenant to go over, as a thing absolutely necessary to the safety of that state: and the Earl of ORMONDE, about the same time, wrote his Lordship a private letter, in which he sets forth the necessity of having the civil and the military power in a single person at that juncture. But whatever might be the disadvantage or distress of having no Lord Lieutenant upon the spot, it is certain that the Earl of LEICESTER, for some reason or other, never went to Ireland. But what that reason for his not going before, or at this time was, does not appear from any history of that

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that period; although why he remained here afterward is accounted for. — But however to keep alive the expectations of the Irish Protestants, and to save appearances of zeal and commiseration, the two Houses agreed in some more vigorous resolutions, of sending arms and ammunition of all sorts from Carlisle and the tower, to be ordered and disposed of as the Lord Lieutenant should think fit, and seven thousand pounds for levy-money, transportation, and victualling, to be taken out of the subsidies. But the King's warrant for particular quantities and species of arms and ammunition, of which he might be informed and judge of the propriety, though it would answer the end of supplying Ireland, yet would not answer an end which they had much more at heart: and therefore the House of Commons petitioned him, to grant a general warrant to the Master of the ordnance—who was a friend of their own—to deliver what arms and ammunition the Parliament should require. But though the King granted a warrant for the particulars mentioned in the votes of the two Houses, as it was requested, yet their designs by this time were so evident, that he refused the general warrant; and desired they would take care to replenish the stores for the security of this kingdom, which had been issued for the supply of Ireland.

RUSHWORT.

Notwithstanding the seeming haste of the Parliament to send a supply of soldiers into the North of Ireland, by a treaty with those of Scotland, which was signified to the King by an express messenger in the middle of November, yet it was not till the latter end of January, that they had finished the treaty with the Scotch Commissioners—though often pressed by them to do it—for that purpose. After all the votes they had passed in the two Houses, and the delays that had been occasioned by the Commons; after the numerous accounts they had received of the progress of the rebels in Ireland, and the extreme distresses to which the Protestants in that kingdom were reduced; in short, after the many earnest solicitations of the Council there for the most speedy succours, this treaty at last with the Scotch Commissioners was only for two thousand five hundred men which they had then on foot. The articles of it related chiefly to the pay, advance-money, and transporting of them with convoy; to all which the two Houses assented. But there was one proposal in them, of which the King, when they were communicated to him, did not approve; and wished the Parliament

Parliament would re-consider it as a matter of great importance, which might be prejudicial to the service intended, as well as to the Crown of England. The third article provided, "that the Scots should have the command and keeping of the town and castle of Carrickfergus, with power to them to remain still within the same, or to enlarge their quarters and go abroad into the country, upon such occasions as their officers in their discretion shall think expedient for the good of that kingdom: and if it shall be thought fit that any regiment or troops in that province shall join with them, that they receive orders from the commanders of the Scotch forces."

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——It is no wonder that a King of England should have an objection to this article, so detrimental to his Irish subjects in those parts, and so full of indignity to his English army. The wonder is, that an English Parliament should be so lost to all sense of spirit towards the Scots, to all sense of decency towards the King, and to all sense of honour towards their country and themselves, as to pass a vote, "that those who advised his Majesty to disapprove of that article, was an enemy to the King and kingdom." But before the King was acquainted with this vote, the Scotch Commissioners, having heard of his disapprobation, went to Windsor to him: and representing how unkind it would be in his Majesty, who was their native King, not to put as much trust in them, as the two Houses of Parliament, who were only their neighbours, had done, they cajoled him into consent; and he sent word the next day to the two Houses, "that though he could have wished the third article had been more for the advantage of the Crown of England, yet as they had thought fit to grant it, he would admit of their advice; especially as he found his rejecting it would delay the supply so necessary to his kingdom of Ireland." It is easy to see, that this advice was calculated more to please their old friends the Scots, and to keep the English forces at home, which they were so soon to want, than to assist the people of Ireland: and indeed it would have been as well, if not better, for most of the Northern Irish, as will appear hereafter, if these forces had never entered Ireland with the power vested in them by that article. This being the last transaction relating to the affairs of that kingdom, before his Majesty separated from the Parliament, and went to York, we must now leave England for a while, and, bad as that was, return to a scene of much greater confusion.

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It was the report of numbers of the rebels to their Protestant and English prisoners, as appears from several examinations, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale had originally contracted with the conspirators to be parties in the insurrection: and some of the Irish went so far as to say, that the great men of the Pale were the first contrivers of this plot. But so many of their sayings, which are recorded in the Manuscript collection of depositions in my custody, are so ridiculous, or incredible, or contradictory to one another, as shew plainly that they spoke what their own, or the different passions and sentiments of their leaders prompted; sometimes, what came uppermost, or they thought would best serve or vindicate their cause; at other times, what the reproaches of their prisoners provoked them to; not seldom, what despair suggested; and for the most part, as they were tutored by their Priests. Upon the whole, there is no credit to be given to any thing that was said by those people, which had not other evidence to confirm it: And the reason why so many idle silly tales were registered, of what this body heard another body say, as to swell the collection to two and thirty thick volumes in folio closely written, it is easier to conjecture, than it is to commend. At the same time therefore that we are to reject the belief, that the chief men of the Pale were the first projectors of this insurrection, yet there seems evidence enough to incline us to think, that many of them were privy to it, if not consenting. However I shall not conceal from the reader, that I differ in this point from all other historians: those on the side of the Council being of the first opinion, and CARTE and others supposing that they knew nothing of it. But be this as it might: After the Parliament had been prorogued, and the rebels had marched into the Pale, declaring it to be a war of religion, and to defend the rights and prerogative of the King; after they had met with the success in defeating the convoy, already mentioned, which had greatly encreased their strength, and there was no appearance of any succours from England, the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale made no scruple of giving countenance to the suspicions that had been already formed of them at Dublin. The rebels having passed the Boyne, and encamped with a great army within three miles of Drogheda, the Justices and Council were more alarmed than ever: and being determined in this extremity, to take all the advice, and to gather all the strength they could, and perhaps to try if they might depend on the
loyalty

loyalty of the Pale, they called a Council of all the Nobility within any convenient distance, to the number of twelve, in a circular letter of the third of December, requiring their attendance at Dublin on the eighth; to no other end, it is said in the letter, than to confer with them about the state and safety of the kingdom in those times of danger.

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Whether this letter was first received, or whether Lord GORMANSTON had first issued a warrant to the Sheriff of Meath for a general meeting of the county, of which he was Governor, for want of knowing the date of that warrant, it is impossible for us to say; neither is it at all material. For it is very evident, from the deposition of a Gentleman of the Pale, who was at all their consultations and was afterwards taken prisoner, that the resolution of calling the county together had been taken about the day on which the letter was written. The defeat of the convoy was on the twenty ninth of November; and MR. DOWDALL deposed, that some four or five days after that defeat, the warrant issued from Lord GORMANSTON: so that the agreement for the meeting must have been made, before the letter from the Council could be received, and probably a day or two before it was written. I have been the more particular in fixing the date of this resolution, lest the reader should imbibe the same prejudice with CARTE, and suppose, as he does, that this summons from the Council had driven them into the measures which they took. In consequence of the warrant from Lord GORMANSTON, seven Lords, and fourteen Gentlemen of the Pale, with at least a thousand others, met at the hill of Crofty; and after remaining there two or three hours, RO. MOORE, MR. O REILY and his brother, the Colonels BIRN and MACMAHON, and Captain Fox, appeared with a guard of Musketeers. As soon as the parties had joined, the Lord GORMANSTON, being one of the foremost of the Pale, demanded for what reason they appeared thus in arms; to which MOORE answered, "for the liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his Majesty's prerogative in which they understood he was abridged, and for making the subjects in that kingdom as free as those in England."—The reader will observe that there was more of sound than sense or consistency in the two latter reasons: because, if they were not already as free as the subjects in England, the difference was owing only to the King's prerogative; and if

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 A. 1641. taking up arms against his loyal subjects in Ireland.—These reasons however were swallowed; and Lord GORMANSTON wanted only to know, whether these were indeed their real motives, or mere pretences, and whether they had not some other private ends of their own. The latter being denied with great asseverations of sincerity, his Lordship then said, that since those were their ends they would likewise join with them: upon which it was publicly assented to, and declared, “that whosoever should deny to join with them, or refuse to assist them in it, should be accounted as an enemy, and to the utmost of their power they would labour his destruction.” The agreement thus made, another warrant was issued to the Sheriff, to summon a general meeting at the hill of Taragh a week after, where the Lords and Gentlemen before-mentioned came accordingly; and two or three eminent lawyers, with a multitude of others, joined them. The business of this meeting was to settle and sign the answer to the summons sent from Dublin, which Lord GORMANSTON had brought ready drawn for that purpose; and it being presented by his Lordship, and perused and approved by the lawyers, it was signed by himself, and the Lords FINGALL, SLANY, DUNSANY, NETTERVILLE, TRIMBLESTON, and LOWTH. The letter contained only a very flimsy excuse for their not appearing at the Council; as having before offered their advice, which had been neglected—which unless it was in Parliament was not true—and therefore they supposed their loyalty had been suspected; that they were informed, SR. CHA. COOTE had said something at the Council board, tending towards a design of a general massacre of those of their religion, which had determined them not to wait upon their Lordships, but to stand upon their best guard, till they heard how they should be secured from the peril of their lives; but would continue faithful to his Majesty’s service.”

On the day appointed by the summons, the Lords KILDARE, FITZWILLIAM, and HOWTH, attended the Council; and no more of the twelve, to whom the letter was wrote, appearing, the administration thought fit to put off the conference. But being informed on the next day, that the Lord NETTERVILLE’s second son had caused a tumultuous meeting of several Gentlemen and others at Swords—six miles from Dublin—and had

had encamped there in arms, the Justices and Council issued a proclamation, "requiring them, whatever their intent might be—which it was conceived might be owing to some mistake—to separate immediately upon sight thereof; and that NETTERVILLE, BLAKENY, KING, and six others of the principal persons so assembled, should appear at the Council the next morning, to shew the cause of their assembling there." Instead of complying with this order, they detained the messenger, who carried the proclamation to them, a day and a night in custody, threatening to hang him; and then returned for answer to it, that they were so terrified by the rising out of some horse and foot at Dublin, who had killed four Catholics, for no other reason than because they bore that name, as they durst not stay in their houses; and therefore they resolved to continue together till they had an assurance from the Council of their safety, and might run no hazard by their obedience. Upon receiving this answer, and finding that the men in arms still continued at Swords, the ministry published a manifesto, declaring that one of the four whom the soldiers had killed at Santry, was a Protestant, and that they had all been guilty of rebellious acts; and therefore that NETTERVILLE, and the others before-mentioned, should immediately separate, and appear in five days time to shew cause as before directed: to which end their Lordships gave them the word of the State, that they might all securely and safely repair thither, without danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever. But far from obeying the proclamation to depart, some of their followers had seized a bark lying off Clontarfe—a village on the bay of Dublin within three miles of the city—and plundering it of all the commodities they found on board, had deposited most of them in the house of KING, one of the leaders before-mentioned of the rebels at Swords. The Council judging that an act of such a dangerous tendency, which in its consequence might lead to blocking up the harbour, required a speedy remedy, they immediately ordered the Earl of ORMONDE, "to send a party of soldiers to endeavour to cut off the rebels, as well for punishment, as terror to others, and to burn and spoil their houses and goods: to prevent their further annoying the shipping that might be going out, or coming in, or lying within the harbour, the soldiers were also to bring up to the new crane at Dublin, such of the boats and vessels now lying at Clontarfe

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tarfe, as they could upon the sudden; and to burn, spoil, sink, and make unserviceable the rest. Unless the rebels houses had had a mark upon them, and the vessels ordered to be destroyed were known to belong to ill-affected persons, this resolution surely was too indiscriminate and severe. Severe however as it was, SR. CHA. COOTE, who commanded the party by express nomination of the Ministers, took care to execute it to the full. He marched out with some soldiers privately to Clontarfe, which belonged principally to KING; and suffering his men to pillage the place, they burnt many of the houses, and particularly part of his mansion-house, in which some of the goods were found that had been taken out of the bark.

The rebels at Swords, who were rather exasperated, we may be sure, at what had been done by the soldiers at Clontarfe, instead of separating as they were commanded, returned an answer to the Council by their messenger, that within a day or two they should hear of them; and they were as good as their word. For they sent one party to Santry, and another to Finglass within two miles of Dublin, where they displayed their banners, and robbed and plundered the Protestants and English even to the suburbs of the city; till a thousand men were sent against them under SR. CHA. COOTE, who put them all to flight, and burnt—perhaps very unjustly—the parts of those two towns in which the rebels had been quartered. It does not appear from any account, that more of the Irish, than the foot above-mentioned, were put to death in either of these expeditions; and yet GEOGHGAN asserts, “that eighty of them were massacred at Santry and Clontarfe in the beginning of November, and that the Irish in the North did not murder any till they heard of these cruelties:” whereas the affair at Santry and Clontarfe was not till near the middle of December, almost a month after the most shocking barbarities had been committed in Ulster: but the Abbot seems to have profited of his own observation, “that it is easy to impose on a stranger who is unacquainted with the history;” or he would never have asserted, “that there were six times more Catholics than Protestants massacred; that the English had begun by order of their chiefs, and that the crime of the Irish was to have followed so barbarous an example.”

In answer to the letter sent by the Lords of the Pale, to excuse their not obeying the summons to appear at Dublin, the Justices and Council published a proclamation, “ declaring to them and all other his Majesty’s subjects of the Romish religion, that they never heard SR. C. COOTE or any other utter such speeches at the board or any where else, tending to a design of a general massacre of those of their religion, or any massacre at all; and that they never had a thought of so odious and impious an act: nor should any one who could be proved to have spoken any such words escape being punished very severely. They required therefore the said Lords of the Pale, to attend them at the board on the seventeenth day of December, that they might confer with them; giving to all and every one of them the assurance of the State, that they might then securely and safely come unto them, without danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever.” No other effect was produced by this proclamation than the former. For though in the reply that was made to it by the seven Lords, they acquit the Council of having heard SR. C. COOTE utter the words of which they before accused him, yet they declare their belief that he said them: and that they beheld with terror his inhuman acts in the county of Wicklow, the late massacre at Santry, and the burning MR. KING’s house and substance at Clontarfe. They were ready however, they said, to attend upon such of the Lords of the Council, as were best estated and interested in the commonwealth of the kingdom, in any place at a convenient distance from the command of SR. CHA. COOTE; in order to contribute their best endeavours and advice for his Majesty’s service, and the peace of the kingdom. The futility of this reply must be obvious to every reader without being pointed out; and it will easily be imagined, that no Commissioners were deputed, nor any public notice taken of their excuse. Having proceeded thus far with the Administration, the Lords of the Pale thought it time to make their cause good with the King, before he was prejudiced too much against them. To this purpose they drew up a petition, and an apology for taking arms, in the name of the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and other inhabitants of the English Pale. In the former, they begged leave to lay before his Majesty the motives which constrained them to join with the forces of Ulster; in whose declaration for this commotion, finding nothing contained but the
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continuance of their allegiance to his Majesty, the maintaining and defending his royal prerogative, the free and public exercise of their religion, and the reformation of the grievances of the kingdom, they presumed that his Majesty would make no worse construction of what they had done, than their loyalties and affections deserved; and no worse than he had made of others of his subjects, who upon less or the same occasions had done the like: and though they were ready upon his command to lay down their arms, yet they hoped he would be pleased to give them the like redress, as he had given to the others by a free Parliament, and to grant his assent to such things as should be therein judged expedient for him and them; and in the mean time to command hostilities on both sides to cease. This is the sense of the petition, stripped of all the flattery to which that nation was formerly much addicted. In the apology which accompanies this petition, they set forth their requesting arms of the Lords Justices at the beginning of the insurrection, which from an unjust suspicion had been refused them; though they had undertaken, if supplied with them in a competent manner, to have appeased the present troubles with little expence to his Majesty. After this, they proceed to charge the Lords Justices, with every measure they could reckon up to their disadvantage; some of them true, but the worst, and the greatest part, utterly false. They seem indeed to be aware of the injustice of their cause, by not resting it on the issue of this apology; and by sending at the same time a petition likewise to the Queen, to intercede for them with the King. These instruments, with a further verbal representation, were to be sent by SR. JOHN READ; a Lieutenant Colonel in the disbanded army, and an officer of good experience. He was also a Gentleman of the privy-chamber to his Majesty; and he undertook the journey, on condition that his expences in it, and in his solicitations at Court, should be defrayed; besides a provision for his wife and family in his absence, and in case any accident should happen to him. But there being some difficulty in the raising this money, or waiting to see the issue of the siege of Drogheda, his journey was retarded; and by an extraordinary fate attending him, of which the reader will hear in its proper place, the papers were never sent.

The Lords and Gentry of the Pale, having now declared themselves publicly against the government, began to put all that territory in a war-like condition, to make themselves ready to join their northern friends in the siege of Drogheda; and if they succeeded in that enterprise, to become masters of the city and castle of Dublin. To this end were held many public meetings and consultations; in one of which, Lord GORMANSTON was declared General in chief of all the forces to be raised within the Pale, Colonel BIRNE Lieutenant-general, and the Earl of FINGALL General of the horse. A power was given to these Lords, to nominate Captains in the several baronies; and these were to raise soldiers according to the orders that had been agreed on. The General accordingly issued out his warrants, requiring those that were appointed to raise the men and to furnish them with provisions, to send them out upon pain of death. Other warrants were sent to such as had been appointed overseers of the corn belonging to the Protestants, that it might be threshed out and applied to the maintenance of their army. The next work was to make a constant provision of all manner of necessaries, for the entertainment of their own, and the Ulster forces that were set down at the siege of Drogheda. For this service, they made an applotment of the proportions of corn and cattle, that were to be furnished out of every part, for the victualling of those that were encamped about the town: and that they might engage the country people to furnish the army more readily with these proportions, they not only publicly prohibited all corn from being carried to Dublin, but they blocked up all the ways leading to it, and made the markets very thin. But a proclamation from the Council, assuring those that would bring their corn to market as usual, that they should have ready money for it, and threatening those that would not, soon remedied that inconvenience: the country people choosing to bring it, tho' with hazard, rather than to suffer it to be threshed out by virtue of warrants from Lord GORMANSTON for the Irish army, or to have it burnt in the stacks by those from Dublin.

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In a letter to the Lord Lieutenant from the Ministers, after the open defection of the Lords of the Pale, they tell him, "that tho' it may make the rebels more considerable in the eye of such as are unacquainted with those Lords, yet they who know them, their power, and their abilities, well

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know that the strength it adds to the rebels, is in truth no more than the addition of those seven men to their number." Whether the Council were weak and ignorant enough to think in this manner, and if this was not their real opinion, with what view they could impose it upon the Lord Lieutenant, it is hard to say: the event however shewed, that a more erroneous opinion was never entertained; as this defection of the Pale was followed by a general insurrection over the kingdom. The parts which lay next to Dublin first declared. The Gentlemen of the county of Kildare armed themselves and their tenants, and made themselves masters of all the towns round about them: most of those of Westmeath did the same: on the West side of Dublin, within six miles of it, were two thousand of the rebels under the command of Ro. MOORE: great numbers were come down from Wicklow, and had lodged themselves in villages and castles within three or four miles of it on the South; and these, with the rebels at Swords before mentioned, had in a manner environed the city on all sides by land. In this extremity, the Justices and Council had again recourse by letter to the Lord Lieutenant; begging a speedy succour of men, and arms, and money from England, and that he would immediately repair to them himself. It is impossible for words to express a stronger sense of distress, or a more vehement desire of present aid, than this letter contains. Notwithstanding therefore they might have wished, when their fright and their danger, as they thought, were over,—what some of them, it is said, were often heard to wish,—“that the number were greater of such as became criminal;” and although they held the Lords of the Pale so very cheap, as to imagine their revolt was only adding seven to the rebels number, yet in less than ten days after that revolt, their tone was altered: and TEMPLE himself, who signed that letter, confesses, “that the city of Dublin began to be much more straitened by the rebels’ forces, much increased thro’ their late conjunction with the English Pale.” Nor was the whole of their increase to be found only in that neighbourhood. For to strengthen their party as much as possible, by drawing in all the old English Roman Catholicks, the Lords of the Pale sent manifestoes and declarations into Munster, Conaght, and all the rich trading towns and sea-ports in the kingdom, which were chiefly inhabited by English; and who were ready enough to unite with them for their common safety. In the last letter which

which I mentioned, the Council sent the draft of a proclamation to be immediately published by the King, to be signed with his own hand, and sealed with his privy signet; as being more authentic than if published in their own names by the King's authority: and they tell the Lord Lieutenant, that if his Majesty approves of this, it would be necessary that there should be twenty copies, so signed and sealed, that they may be dispersed several ways. The reader will see the reason of mentioning this circumstance, when we return again to England: we must now attend the insurrection in other parts of the kingdom.

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It hath already been taken notice of, that the whole province of Munster, of which SR. WIL. ST. LEGER was President, except some petty robberies, had continued quiet. The rebels of the county of Wexford had sometimes wasted its borders, and made incursions very often in the county of Kilkenny: but towards the end of November, they grew more considerable and outrageous; pursuing the English whom they had plundered to the very gates of Waterford. The President had only his own troop of horse for the security of the whole province; but being joined by about a hundred of the Gentlemen of the country, he pursued those rebels: and after a tedious march in terrible weather he came up with them, recovered the prey they had taken, slew about two hundred, and took above threescore prisoners, whom he brought to Waterford and caused to be executed by martial law. He was an honest brave man, but too rough and fiery in his temper: and if he struck a terror into the rebels by his activity, and executing them without mercy when he came at them, his heat and peevishness with the Gentlemen of the country, had made him less beloved by them in his old age, than otherwise he must have been. In the middle of December, he was informed of another robbery that was committed on the cattle of his brother-in-law, which he revenged in a very cruel and indiscriminate manner; killing near twenty people, four of them entirely innocent, and burning some of their houses: and when one of his Captains under him, who had killed nine or ten inoffensive people, and destroyed their houses, and drove away their cattle, was complained of to him, the President, instead of punishing, seemed rather to approve these outrages. Some of the principal Gentry of the country, being surprised and justly

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offended at these rash and cruel proceedings, waited upon him with their complaints; observing how much the people were exasperated by these severities, and that if he would qualify them with authority and arms, they would undertake themselves to keep things in order, and to secure the peace of the county, without any barbarity. But he treated their complaints with many passionate expressions; and rejected their offer, with a rudeness extremely culpable: and tho' this was resented quietly enough by those Gentlemen, yet it raised a general ferment and uneasiness in the country: many of the English, after the defection of the Pale, suffered very much for the cruelties which the President and his men had exercised upon the Irish; and exercised indiscriminately, as well upon the innocent, as the guilty. It was said indeed in his excuse, that it was done in retaliation of the massacres committed in Ulster; which had transported him with rage against all the Irish. But it is too poor an excuse for such intemperate violence in a man of sense; as it would rather keep up that inhuman ferocity, than extinguish it; and it was as criminal, as it was impolitic. It was the middle of December however, before any Nobleman, or Gentleman in the province of Munster, appeared to favour the rebellion; nay many of them had shewn themselves zealous to oppose it, and had offered their services to that end. Lord MUSKERY particularly, who had married a sister of the Earl of ORMONDE, made an offer to raise a thousand men at his own expence; and as the Government could not supply them with arms, to mortgage his estate to buy them; if when the service was ended, he might keep the arms, or be reimbursed what they cost him. But the Administration did not choose to give so much power into the hands of a Catholic; and their jealousy, added to the report of their design to extirpate that religion—for which report they had imprudently given too much reason—brought him against his inclination into the rebellion. There are many honourable testimonies of the care and preservation of the English by this Nobleman and his Lady; not only in saving their lives from their enemy, but in relieving them in great numbers from cold and hunger, after they had been stripped and driven from their habitations.

The Lord MOUNTGARRET was joined in commission with the Earl of ORMONDE for the government of the county of Kilkenny; and upon the
Earl's

Earl's going to Dublin to take the command of the army, the supreme authority of raising the forces in the county, and providing for its safety, was vested in Lord MOUNTGARRET. He was a man of years and experience, and had been very enterprising in his youth; but was now grown too old for action. However as the general voice of the country, and the resolutions of the English Parliament, had alarmed him with an apprehension that the Catholics and their religion were to be extirpated, he resolved to take up arms in their defence. The Gentlemen of the county were for the most part somehow or other related to him; and, being generally Roman Catholics, they very readily embarked in the cause with him, and amidst a numerous train of followers attended him to Kilkenny. In this place, he made a public declaration of the reasons which induced him to take up arms; and by proclamation inhibited his followers from pillaging, or hurting any of the English in body or goods. It was impossible however for him, with all his authority, and solicitous as he was to do it, to prevent the rabble, who flocked to him in hopes of booty, from being guilty of plunder: but seeing one of the rank of a Gentleman transgressing his order, he was so provoked, that tho' he was his friend, he shot him dead with his pistol. Kilkenny being thus secured, he detached several parties different ways to secure other towns in those parts. His son had the gates of Waterford opened to him: and the towns of Clonmell, Carrick, and Dungarvan, were surprised by a brother of Lord ORMONDE's; who kept his followers from plunder, as well as murder. Indeed all the Gentlemen in this part of the kingdom were exceedingly careful to prevent bloodshed, and to prevent the English from being pillaged or stripped; tho' it was many times impossible. But in the space of one week, every town and fort, except two, in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, were in the hands of the rebels; so great an addition of strength had the defection of the Pale given them.

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The Lord RANELAGH, it hath been observed, was President of Conaght: and all that province, except a few pillagers in the county of Sligo, owing in a great measure to the forward zeal and activity of Lord CLANRICARDE, tho' a Roman Catholic, had till this time continued quiet. It appears however by several of his Lordship's letters, that very ill measures had been

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been pursued by the administration, “either thro’ too much fear and distrust of others, or thro’ spleen, or zeal, or some private ends:” and in his letter of the fourth of December to the Lords Justices, he complains with great sensibility, “that there was nothing he had more desired than to go out upon service with his friends and followers; nor had any thing so much disquieted him, as to be neglected, and kept in such a condition as to be disabled from doing service.” Many remonstrances which he had made to them, and to England, for arms and ammunition, being in vain, and the infection of the Pale having spread in the remoter parts, about the middle of December, the whole province of Conaght in a manner revolted; the county of Galway, of which Lord CLANRICARDE was Governour, excepted. Upon this, men and orders were sent into several parts, and divers malefactors brought in and executed by martial law: which did much good for a time, till the rebellion became general; when either fear or affection had involved all conditions of men, in the common calamity of being ruined, or called traitors.

Whilst these transactions were carrying on in Conaght and Munster, the Ulster rebels were employed in the siege of Drogheda; before which they had now been set down a month, and upon the fate of which, that of the kingdom in a great measure seemed to depend. The town is seated upon the river Boyne, about two miles from the sea, and twenty three from Dublin: and tho’ it was surrounded then with a wall, it had scarce any other fortification. It was very late in the year to begin a siege, especially by an army who had neither cannon, arms, ammunition, tents, nor instruments of war for such a purpose. But they trusted in their numbers, and the hardiness of their men, to block up all the avenues of the town, and to reduce it by famine; as they knew the garrison to be in want of fuel, clothing, and provision. We shall leave them in their fruitless and unprofitable attempts of a surprisal, to see what was doing at Dublin. We left the Lords Justices shut up there with their Council, and their army; under terrible apprehensions for their safety, or of famine, and yet afraid to stir. For besides the attempt that had been made to starve their market, the rebels had threatened to cut off the water-course which supplied the city and castle with water, to burn their suburbs, and to besiege them:

them: and had they succeeded at Drogheda, there is no doubt but they would have carried such a design into execution. Whatever had been the case before, their danger was now apparent, and their fears were real. Perpetual consultations employed the day; and their nights were generally disturbed by informations of instant danger, from treachery within, or from surprise without. As the fruit of their consultations, they issued a commission under the great seal, to DR. HEN. JONES Dean of Kilmore, and seven other Clergymen; "to call before them all such persons as had been robbed and spoiled, and to examine them upon oath, as well as all the witnesses that could give testimony of any such robberies committed since the twenty second of October, or should hereafter be committed, the particulars of which, to what value, by whom, and on what day or night, place of their dwelling, and all traitorous or disloyal words and speeches." It is said that this commission was in order to administer relief to them according to their ranks; and that by taking an account of their losses, a restitution might be made when matters were brought to a settlement. On the other hand it is insinuated, that it was in order to convict the rebels of treason, and for the forfeiture of their estates. The reader may take which of these motives he pleases; but I incline to believe that neither of them was the true one. At the time when this commission was passed, the Ministry were in too much real danger, as to the castle, the city, and their own persons, and too much terrified with that danger, as is plain from their letter of the next day to the Lord Lieutenant, abovementioned, to think of restitution to the sufferers, or of forfeitures to themselves. I apprehend therefore that their intention in this commission, was only with a view to stop the progress of the rebellion, which they saw was becoming general, by laying before the rebels the consequences of their conduct, which many of them might not have thought of. For notwithstanding the haste which they are said to be in for the forfeitures, by those who embrace the latter opinion, it appears by the authentic collection of depositions that I have in my possession, that the first examination is no earlier than the twenty-fourth of March; which was above three months after the date of the commission. The truth is, they were then in such extreme danger, and in such fears arising from that danger, that their consultations tended to nothing but to their safety, and to stop as well as they could the torrent of insurrection. But in the midst of their terror

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and distraction, on the last day of the year, SR. S. HARCOURT arrived at Dublin with his regiment of twelve hundred foot, and with the news of three hundred unarmed men more at sea that were almost within the harbour. He was a gallant old officer, of great experience in the wars of Flanders, and was appointed by the Parliament to be Governor of the city ; and his arrival with this reinforcement caused a general joy amongst the well affected.

The Justices and Council began now to take a little courage ; not only on account of the strength which such a regiment and commander added to them, but also because they saw by it, of what they really were in doubt, if not in despair, that the Parliament would take them under their care, and supply their wants. Whosoever reads only the history of England, and hath seen the vigorous votes of both Houses of Parliament here on the affairs of Ireland, would ever suppose it could be two months before they sent over any troops against the rebels ? And in truth the Ministry at Dublin, who had sent over so many and such moving representations of their distress, had too much room to suspect, that those who had the lead in the House of Commons here, were too full of their projects to bring their own country into confusion—to which the rebellion in Ireland was so very serviceable—to send an aid that would be effectual for their relief. The reinforcement therefore that came with SR. S. HARCOURT, tho' it revived their spirits, and enabled them to send out some parties to clear the country within a few miles of Dublin, yet was far from being sufficient to reduce the rebels. The body assembled at Swords, already mentioned, had been an object of terror both to the Council and the People : and therefore as soon as they thought themselves safe at Dublin, by the arrival of these forces, SR. C. COOTE was sent out against them ; who entirely routed them, and burnt the town of Swords, and some adjacent villages, as either belonging to their Chiefs, or as quarters for their entertainment : a severity, which fell promiscuously among Protestants as well as Papists, and was at this time a little unseasonable now their danger was at an end. The town of Naas was a principal place of meeting for the Gentry of the county of Kildare, in which they held their councils of war for appplotting levies of men and money and provisions ; and as there were some expectations that a battle with the rebels would be the consequence of an attempt to dislodge them thence, the Earl of ORMONDE was sent on that expedition ;

expedition; with Lord LAMBERT, SR. C. COOTE, and SR. S. HARCOURT under him. In his march thither he burnt the borough of Newcastle, according to his orders, the village of Lyons, and several others in the neighbourhood of Naas: but the rebels having quitted that town upon his approach, and the inhabitants having been forward in receiving the rebels, and expelling and robbing the Protestants, it was given up to plunder: however, finding it capable of being fortified, and a convenient place, on account of its distance from Dublin, for a garrison, he preserved it, against his orders, from being burnt. Many prisoners were made upon this expedition; and as it was troublesome, expensive, and might be dangerous to keep so many at Dublin, the Administration were resolved to thin them. Men of estates were exempted, in order to preserve the King's escheats upon attainders; but the rest were given up to martial law; under a pretence that they could not find Freeholders enough for Juries: and yet at the same time, there were bills of indictment for high treason found in two days against all the Lords and Gentlemen in the counties of Meath, Wicklow, and Dublin, and three hundred persons of quality and estate in the county of Kildare. These military executions therefore fell entirely upon the poorer sort who had no estates to forfeit; and particularly on the priests and friars, who were generally charged as the chief excitors of the rebellion, and whose execution would most exasperate the Irish. The better to direct them in these measures, another commission was issued under the great Seal, on the eighteenth of January, to the same persons named in the former, with this additional direction; "that they should enquire what lands had been seized, and what murders committed by the rebels; what numbers of British and Protestants had perished in the way to Dublin, or any other place whither they fled; and how many had turned Papists, since the twenty second of October." But more will be said of this commission, when I come to speak of the return made by the commissioners, in its proper place. The Earl of ORMONDE, upon his return to Dublin, had a message from Lord GORMANSTON, complaining of his burning the country, and hanging people in his expedition; and threatening that Lady ORMONDE and his children should answer it, if he did such things for the future. The Earl refused to receive this message, in a way that might be interpreted a correspondence with a rebel; and therefore caused the person who brought it to be examined before the Council,

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M. S.

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About this time, the Ministers received the proclamation they had desired, under the King's own hand, and sealed with his privy Signet; "declaring all those who had taken his forts and castles, possessed themselves of his garrisons and magazines, spoiled many thousands of his good subjects of their houses goods and lands, massacred multitudes, and imprisoned many of them, to be REBELS AND TRAITORS; as likewise their adherents, and abettors, and all who should hereafter join with them. In the same proclamation he commanded them to lay down their arms immediately; and in case of their disobedience, authorised the chief Governors to prosecute the said rebels and traitors with fire and sword." This is the whole purport of the proclamation; and is the only proclamation that was ever issued in the King's name. But this is so falsified by GEOGHGAN, that it ought not to be passed by. He says, "that the King was so sensible of the provocations of the Irish, that he ordered a proclamation to be published in his name, of a general amnesty to all who should submit in forty days." The reader will see from hence, that nothing can be depended upon in such a writer: and tho' the chief design of this proclamation was to give the Irish the just appellation of REBELS, yet GEOGHGAN insists upon it that they were not rebels; "who are those alone, he says, that rise against their Sovereign." The King's whole authority in that country was vested in the Justices and Council; and to say, as the Abbot does, that the Irish acknowledged only the King for their Sovereign, and did not acknowledge the sovereignty of the Justices and Council, and therefore their rising against them was no rebellion, is such an evasion of the truth, as the greatest candour cannot excuse. But this proclamation was ineffectual; and

and the rebels were now united in one body, under the title of the “ confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland;” to which confederacy they bound themselves by an oath of association, which was generally taken by them throughout the kingdom. They swear, “ that at all hazards they will maintain the free and public exercise of their religion, that they will bear allegiance to the King, defend him against those that shall endeavour to suppress his prerogative, or do any act contrary to his regal government, and also the powers and privileges of Parliament, the rights and privileges of the subject, and every person that took that oath in whatever they should do in lawful pursuance of the same; and by all means oppose, and endeavour to bring to condign punishment, even to the loss of life, liberty, and estate, all such as should in any way whatever attempt any thing to the contrary of any one article in this vow or oath contained.” The absurdity and contradiction of this oath of association, stares every one so much in the face, that nothing but an infatuation, under which these people seem to have been from the beginning, could have reconciled it to a man of the meanest understanding. The first article is, that they will maintain the free and public exercise of their religion; and therefore the King, whom by another article they swear to bear allegiance to and defend, who they knew did oppose that article, they vowed to punish, if it was in their power, with the loss of his life, and liberty: another article is, that they will defend him with their life, power, and estate, against all such as shall do any act contrary to his regal government; at the same time that every act of theirs in this rebellion, even this very oath of association itself, was contrary to his regal government, and was high treason. But I have dwelt too long perhaps on an absurdity, too flagrant to pass among any other people than among the Irish.

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In answer, it may be, to this oath of association, which was circulated over the kingdom, the Council issued a proclamation on the eighth of February, declaring sixty five Gentlemen by name, their aiders and confederates, to be traitors and rebels; and requiring all his Majesty's good subjects to pursue and plague them with fire and sword, and to apprehend and kill them. It was further therein declared, “ that whosoever before the five and twentieth day of March, should kill, and bring to the Lords Jus-

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tices, the heads of SR. PHE. O NEIL, SR. CON MAGENIS, RO. MACGUIRE, PH. O REILY, or COL. MACMAHON, who were the principal conspirators and the first actors in this rebellion, should have by way of reward for the head of SR. PHE. O NEIL one thousand pounds, and for each head of the others before named six hundred pounds, with a full pardon for all the offences of those who should so kill or bring in any of their heads: and if any one should kill them, and not bring in their heads, upon due proof made of being killed, shall receive as a reward for killing SR. P. O NEIL eight hundred pounds, and for the others, four hundred each, with a pardon as before." It is further set forth in the same proclamation, "that whosoever under the degree of a Knight—except the said O REILY, and MACMAHON, L. TOOLE, the descendents of FEAGH BIRNE, and except RO. MOORE—shall before the said day, kill, and bring to the said Justices the heads of all or any of the other persons therein named, shall have as a reward for every head four hundred pounds, and pardon as before; or for killing them, without bringing in their heads, due proof being made, for every one of them so killed three hundred pounds, together with a pardon for all offences." This had been a policy, which, in former rebellions in that country, had produced a good effect; but at present, what with the oath of association, and what with this war being now made, by many of their enemies as well as their friends, a war of religion, few or none were destroyed by virtue of this proclamation.

After a tedious expectation and many promises from England, at last towards the end of February, the Lord Lieutenant's regiment of fifteen hundred foot under Lieutenant Colonel MONCK, and four hundred horse under SR. R. GRENVILLE, arrived at Dublin. If the Administration were disappointed at so inconsiderable a supply of men, they were much more chagrined that they brought neither money nor provisions; for both which the State was in the utmost distress, and that distress must increase as the number of their men increased. The garrison of Drogheda had been already seventeen weeks behind in their pay; the rest of the army, old and new, had received none for two months; and the arrears of the old army had none of them been discharged. The Council therefore compelled the inhabitants of Dublin, on whom the soldiers were billeted for their lodging,

to give them credit for their diet on their promise of speedy payment. But all access to the city, and their trade failing, to their poverty was added a great scarcity of provisions; the villages, and the country round it, being imprudently burned or laid waste by the Council, to prevent the rebels subsisting there, instead of sending out their troops to secure the country for their own accommodation. Hence many inconveniences ensued to the army. Such of the soldiers as could get off for England deserted; of those who were prevented doing so by a proclamation, some necessitated by want, robbed and plundered; others, feeding only upon salt herrings, fell into diseases, and died in great numbers. In this situation they were at Dublin when the troops above mentioned arrived; and tho' they added to their strength, they added also to the scarcity of provision, and to the dangers arising from want of pay. Tho' the Lords of the Pale had not committed any hostilities, yet three thousand of the rebels being posted at a castle within seven miles of Dublin, a place of great strength on account of the woods and other fastnesses, and it being necessary now to give the army some employment, the Lieutenant General, considering the wild and cruel orders which the Ministers gave for this expedition, chose to go on it himself. For they ordered him not only "to kill and destroy rebels and their adherents and relievers, but to burn, waste, consume, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses, where they had been relieved and harboured, with all the corn and hay there; and also to kill and destroy all the male inhabitants capable to bear arms." Can any one read this order, and think that these Justices had any reason to complain of the cruelties of the ignorant and savage Irish? It must be owned however that Lord ORMONDE had more humanity; and thinking that such an order was less barbarous in his hands, than in those of some others with whom they might be entrusted, he commanded the party himself. When he came up to the rebels, he burnt a few villages, and some houses near them, in order to draw them out of their fastnesses; and finding that way ineffectual, he attacked them in their intrenchments, drove them out, and routed them.

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The long and great distresses of the garrison of Drogheda, which had been blockaded by the rebels for three months, had made but little impression at the castle of Dublin. The Council were too much taken up with

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with their own fears and danger to spare them any assistance; except some biscuit and ammunition at one time, and at another, when horse-flesh, dogs, and cats were greedy food, a good supply of provisions. Even after this late accession to their strength, the Lords Justices were not satisfied that it was proper to attempt to raise the siege. There was every consideration in the world to induce them to this attempt, besides the incredible hardships and dangers which the garrison had so long endured, and from which in justice they ought to be relieved as soon as possible. As the season of the year was coming on to permit a regular siege, and the place was untenable against it, the destruction of so many brave men, who would probably have no quarter, would be not only an irreparable loss, but, when they had such an army lying idle within the walls of Dublin in their neighbourhood, would expose the Administration to all the world. Even supposing the rebels to spare their lives, they would most certainly disarm the garrison, as they had done every other; and the very supply of arms and ammunition, of which they were in the utmost want, would be a mischief to the State which they ought to prevent. Besides the town itself, on account of its situation between Dublin and the North, and of its river and harbour, was of great importance: neither was any doubt to be made, if Drogheda should be taken, but that the forces of the rebels from all parts of the kingdom would be drawn against Dublin; which, when they were every where masters of the field, would be subdued by famine, if nothing else. But should the siege be raised, it would in a manner crush the rebellion, their own people would be revived, the rebels disheartened, Dublin would be secured, and the whole kingdom rescued from imminent danger. On the other side it was suggested, that the attempt to raise the siege was not only hazardous, but the mischiefs of a miscarriage would be irretrievable; that the town would then be immediately given up; and when it was known that the forces were drawn out of Dublin, the rebels in Wicklow and the adjoining counties might probably fall upon them, and Dublin would be lost without a siege. The Council being distracted between these two opinions, did, as most timorous people do on such occasions, take a middle way between both. Necessity obliged them to send the troops out of Dublin for their subsistence; and tho' they would not part with them so far as Drogheda, which is above twenty miles, yet they resolved

solved to send between three and four thousand into the Pale, to burn and pillage; in hopes the plunder would please the army, and the report of their advancing would raise the siege.

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On the third of March therefore, an order was given to Lord ORMONDE, to go with three thousand foot and five hundred horse against the rebels in the counties of Meath and Dublin, and to burn and destroy as he should think fit, the places, towns, and houses, where they and their adherents usually resided; but to take care that no corn, hay, or houses should be burned within five miles of Dublin: and though he was allowed to march into such places as he saw fit between the sea and the Boyne, yet he was on no consideration allowed to pass that river. The Council were at their wits end, lest the General, when he had got his troops upon the march, should break in upon his orders, as he had been so pressing at the board for the relief of Drogheda, and carry them further than they intended. Not contented therefore with having tied him up so strictly in their instructions, PARSONS wrote him a letter in which he acquainted him, "that having considered of the expedition and some consequences of it concerning his Lordship, they had resolved to entreat him earnestly to stay at home, and to let them send away the army under the conduct of SR. SIM. HARCOURT, wherein they desired his Lordship's approbation." But the King having entrusted him particularly with the command of his army, his Lordship refused to let it march upon an expedition of such consequence, and in which so much liberty of plunder and spoil was given, under the conduct of any General besides himself. When he was advanced to some distance from Dublin in the way to Drogheda, he sent out parties to waste and pillage the country; in order to draw some of the rebels to him, and to make it be believed that he was marching to raise the siege. The report of his march had the effect expected. SR. PH. O NEIL sent away his cannon to Dundalk; and the whole force of the rebels, quitting the neighbourhood of Drogheda, dispersed themselves in great haste, and fled towards the North. Upon the news of this event, Lord ORMONDE consulted with SR. S. HARCOURT, SR. THO. LUCAS, and SR. ROB. FARRER, the Generals under him; who were unanimous in opinion with him, that by an immediate pursuit of the rebels to Newry, with their own army, and what might

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might now be spared from Drogheda, here was a fair opportunity offered for reducing the North into obedience, and for putting an end to the war. Lord ORMONDE sent an account of this to the Ministry, and desired most earnestly to have his authority enlarged for this pursuit: and as he found a disposition in the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, to lay down their arms and to surrender, he desired also that he might have instructions what he should do in case they came in to him; and whether he was to burn and destroy the houses and goods of those Lords, on account of their quality, and of no directions having been sent from England, though desired by the Council about them. He sent with the officer and a party of horse who carried this letter, Colonel READ, and two Gentlemen, who had come in to him the day before. Whatever excuse might be made in time past for the Administration, on account of their fears, in not permitting the General to attempt the relief of Drogheda, yet now, so great an alteration in the state of affairs had been made by the dispersion of the rebels, that weakness and timidity can no longer be pleaded, in justification of the refusal which they gave the General. Had three thousand rebels been at the gates of Dublin, they could not have been more agitated than they were now at receiving this proposal from Lord ORMONDE, for carrying the army to Newry in pursuit of the rebels. The Council were summoned in great haste, and an answer drawn immediately. Instead of rejoicing at an event, which not only put them into perfect safety, but which gave a probable prospect of putting an end to the war, if the opinion of the Generals were complied with, they abide by their former order for him not to pass the Boyne; they direct him to admit those that came in, as prisoners of war only, who should be first seized by the soldiers, if it could be so, before they had access to his Lordship, whom he was not afterwards to see; they order that there should be no difference between the Noblemen and other rebels, in burning and laying waste their goods and houses; and in their great condescension, they give the general leave, in case the necessity of the service requires it, and he receives no orders from them to the contrary in the interim, to stay two or three days longer than the eight days to which they had before confined him. As soon as his Lordship had sent away his letter, he continued his march towards Drogheda, and hastened thither himself with the General Officers just mentioned, in order to consult further with

SR,

SR. H. TITCHBORNE, and Lord MOORE, who had so gallantly defended that place, and were best acquainted with the forces of the rebels. They were entirely of the opinion that had been given before; and therefore Lord ORMONDE drew up another letter to the Ministry, to press an enlargement of his authority to pursue the rebels, which was signed by all the other five Officers as well as himself. They made themselves so sure of obtaining what was asked, that his Lordship told the Council in his letter, he should march immediately to Atherdee and Dundalk, and either burn or garrison those places as should be directed; and desired that some ammunition, meal, and biscuit, might be forthwith sent to Drogheda by sea, as the fittest place to serve for a magazine to supply the army.

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The Earl of ORMONDE had seen many proofs of the weakness or the wickedness of those at the helm, since this rebellion had been on foot; but he did not know them yet. The measures which he had concerted with the other Generals, were all broken by the answer, above recited, which he received from Dublin. A letter from SR. J. TEMPLE accompanied it, under the notion of particular friendship to his Lordship; in which having told him, that his proposal of pursuing the rebels to Newry was disapproved by the whole board, and by some very sharply resented, he beseeched him to be very careful how he received any submissions, and to observe punctually the directions given him; very modestly bidding him "remember, he had no commission to receive any, otherwise than they had directed." The reader will easily guess at the resentment which Lord ORMONDE must feel, at being thus controlled in the command of the army, by men who were not soldiers, and were so much inferior to him in every respect. But if he was uneasy on his own account, he was not less so on account of the public service; which he saw was sacrificed to the imperious humour, or the malignant disposition, of the Lords Justices and their creatures. The last uneasiness he kept to himself for the present; the other his Lordship communicated in a letter to them the next day. He tells them, "that such a confidence was usually reposed in the judgment and fidelity of those that were honoured with the command of an army, as that it was left to them, when, and where, to prosecute an enemy; and that he took this to be his due, though he was content to depart from it. He assured them, that all the general officers

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approved as much of the execution of the design, as he himself who had proposed it; but that nevertheless he was applying himself to perform their last commands. He knew very well the terms on which he stood with the Lords Justices, for having constantly opposed their pusillanimous inactive measures with regard to the army, and their violence and cruelty with regard to the Roman Catholics not in arms: and therefore if he should give them any pretence for an accusation, in order to remove him, the King in his present circumstances could not protect him, nor put another into the command of the army in whom he could confide. When he communicated his orders to Lord MOORE, and SR. H. TICHBORNE, and his intentions instantly to obey them, they were astonished to the last degree. The Ministers had not condescended to give any reason for continuing these orders, after such an alteration in the state of affairs; and no reason for it could be conjectured. The Generals saw no appearance of any important business about Dublin, that should require such a speedy return,—which DR. BORLASE absurdly says, “was BENEATH the capacity of those who would have had it otherwise,”—but they saw here was a fair opportunity lost, of reducing the whole county of Louth into obedience, and of putting garrisons into Ardee and Dundalk, which would curb the Northern rebels, if nothing further; and they looked upon these orders with indignation. They sent to Lord ORMONDE however to spare them some of his army, and two pieces of cannon, in order to take in the strong houses about Drogheda; and they imparted to him some intelligence they had received of the distressed condition of the rebels. His Lordship thought this advice important enough for him to make one effort more to prevail with the Administration to revoke their order. For this purpose he called another council of war; to which, besides the Officers who had assisted before, Lord LAMBERT, and SR. RICH. GRENVILLE were added. The case was so clear, that there was a fair opportunity of giving the rebels a great defeat, if not a total overthrow, which might never offer again without much blood and treasure, that they resolved unanimously to inform the Ministry, “that they could not consistent with their faith to his Majesty’s service, or their due respect to the State, pursue their intentions of returning, before they had communicated to them the letters of Lord MOORE and SR. H. TICHBORNE, and received their Lordships directions: and considering

sidering the great benefit, and the little hazard, of freeing the country at least as far as Dundalk from being the seat of war, by pursuing the rebels, they unanimously besought the Council to send them orders to proceed, together with a supply of ammunition, and provision, and some shoes and stockings. But their representations were all in vain. The Council, who were the creatures of PARSONS—for BORLASE was but a cypher—adhered to their first order; and as they had no reasons which they durst avow, they gave none at all for their refusal. They gave leave indeed to Lord ORMONDE to send the re-inforcement desired by SR. H. TICHBORNE: and for fear he should be remiss in executing their former order, after this infamous treatment of him, they repeated their instructions to him, to burn all the houses of the rebels and their adherents in his return.

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At the same time that they persisted in their obstinate or traitorous resolution of recalling the army, they complain in their letters to the Lord Lieutenant, that they could not subsist the troops upon their return; that for want of clothes, the common soldiers were exposed to cold and nakedness, in a manner that was dishonourable to the State; and, from the unwholsomeness of their diet, many of them were daily dying." Why then did they not permit the army to pursue the rebels into a plentiful country, which had not yet been wasted; that they might live upon the spoil and contributions of the enemy, and supply themselves with necessaries out of their stock and plunder? The reader perhaps will expect to find the reason in their next dispatch to the Lord Lieutenant. But not a word is there to be seen of the state of the Northern rebels, of the General's application for leave to pursue them in their distress, and of their refusal. Such an absolute silence in so important an affair, and at a juncture so critical, gives an unfavourable impression of the truth and faithfulness of the representations made into England by this Council. As Lord ORMONDE's march with the army from Dublin, had frightened the rebels from the blockade of Drogheda, and his advancing to that place had also driven them away from Ardee and Dundalk, so they no sooner heard of his return, than they took possession of those places again, and began to draw together their scattered forces. SR. H. TITCHBORNE, and Lord MOORE, having reduced some strong houses in the environs of Drogheda, and burned the country

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in the barony of Slane, advanced towards Ardee. They were met by a party of rebels whom they soon routed: but the town was too ruinous and wasted to be worth keeping possession of: they marched on therefore to Dundalk, which had a garrison of eight hundred rebels, and which, besides its natural strength, they had fortified with a double ditch. SR. HENRY assaulted it immediately upon his coming up to it, and with a very inconsiderable force took it by storm. About an hundred of the enemy were killed in the place: but the rest, with SR. PH. O NEIL their commander, being favoured by the dusk of the evening, made their escape. When SR. HENRY had taken this place, which he thought of vast importance to the public service, he made strong representations to the Lords Justices for a reinforcement: but as they pretended they had not forces enough, to send him such a supply as would enable him to keep both that and Drogheda, they thought the first must be deserted. He maintained it however against all the forces of the rebels; though by not being pursued, they had time to recover their spirits, and to gather again in a body: And if he with so small a force, after a fortnight's loss of time, could reduce the whole county of Lowth, what might not the Earl of ORMONDE and the other Generals have done towards ending the war, with an army of four times the number of the other, had his Lordship been permitted to pursue the rebels, in the height of their terror and consternation?—But it is time to leave these proceedings, and to return to England.

RUSHWORT.
CLARENDON.

The reader may remember that we left it, when the King was separating from his Parliament, highly dissatisfied with each other, and removing to York. But before he went from Windsor, he took great offence at MR. PYM's affirming in a speech, printed by order of the House of Commons, "that since the stop upon the ports against all Irish Papists by the two Houses, many of the chief commanders, now in the head of the rebels, had been suffered to pass by his Majesty's immediate warrant." The King demanded to know, if this were a genuine, or a spurious speech; and if the former, upon what information that charge was grounded, that it might either be found to have been false, or he might know by whose fault his authority had been so highly abused. The House of Commons owned the speech, and averred what MR. PYM had said to be true; though they believed

lieved that the warrants were without his Majesty's knowledge. The King declared his dissatisfaction with this answer; and was positive no such person had passed by his warrant, since the order of the two Houses. He expected therefore that they should name the persons, who had been licensed by him to pass into Ireland, and were then in the head of the rebels, or that they would publicly own their mistake. The Commons named several, to whom, and their companies, passes had been granted, "who might be doubted to be of the party of the rebels." His Majesty said in answer, that for any thing that had been yet declared, he could not see any grounds for that bold affirmation which Pym had made to both Houses; as there had not been any particular person named, that was then so much as in rebellion, much less in the head of the rebels, to whom he had given a licence to pass over: and therefore he insisted on a public declaration of their mistake. But such a declaration would have convicted their favourite of a deliberate falsehood; and so as they could not defend him, they chose to give no further answer. When the King passed the bill for impressing men, soon after, by commission, he sent a message to both Houses; declaring, that "as he had concurred in all propositions made for the service of Ireland by his Parliament, so he was resolved to leave nothing undone for their relief, which should possibly fall within his power: nor would he refuse to venture his own person in that war, if the Parliament should think it convenient for the reduction of that miserable kingdom." In a short time after, he sent them another message, in which he "earnestly desired them to use all possible industry in expediting the business of Ireland, in which they should find so chearful a concurrence in him, that no inconvenience should happen to that service by his absence, being unable by words to manifest more affection to it, than he had endeavoured to do by his former messages, having likewise done all such acts as he had been moved unto by Parliament. Therefore if the misfortunes and calamities of his poor Protestant subjects there should grow upon them, though he should be deeply concerned and sensible of their sufferings, he should wash his hands before all the world, from the least imputation of slackness, in that most necessary and pious work." To make therefore some shew of their own zeal towards it, but in reality to put the disposal of so much money into their own power, they prepared an act for the payment of four hundred thousand pounds, to
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such persons as were nominated by themselves, and to be issued in such manner as the two houses should direct: and as the King had committed the carrying on the war of Ireland to them, he was obliged to pass the act with such general clauses; though it put it in their power to divert the money to other uses than those for which it was given; and they did divert it accordingly. The Commons also voted an order, “that the corn, victuals, and other provisions to be sent to relieve the Protestants in Ireland, should be transported free of customs.”

RUSHWORT.

But many people, who saw that the zeal of the Parliament, towards suppressing the insurrection in Ireland, consisted principally of words, and that it never would be suppressed by the way they took, proposed a method of raising money that would be speedy and effectual; to which the two Houses assented in the following manner: That two millions and a half of acres of the rebels lands in that kingdom, of English measure, consisting of meadow, arable, and pasture—the bogs, woods, and mountains to be holden in free and common socage of the King—should be allotted and divided after this proportion; to each adventurer of two hundred pounds, a thousand acres in Ulster; for three hundred pounds, a thousand acres in Conaght; for four hundred and fifty pounds, a thousand acres in Munster; and for six hundred pounds, a thousand acres in Leinster; paying a penny an acre in the first province, two-pence halfpenny in the second, two-pence three farthings in the third, and three-pence an acre in the province of Leinster, quit-rent to the Crown: That for the erecting of manours, settling wastes and commons, maintenance of ministers, creating of corporations, and regulating of plantations, commissions should be hereafter granted by authority of Parliament: That the money for this great occasion might be the more speedily advanced, all the undertakers in the city of London, and within twenty miles of it, should underwrite their several sums before the twentieth day of March, all within sixty miles before the first of April, and the rest of the kingdom before the first of May. These propositions, with some others about the days and sums in which payment was to be made, being approved by the two Houses and laid by them before the King, his Majesty made answer, “that as he had offered, and was still ready, to venture his own person for the recovery of that kingdom, if his Parliament should

should advise him thereunto, so he would not deny to contribute any other assistance he could to that service, by parting with any profit or advantage of his own there: and therefore relying upon the wisdom of his Parliament, he consented to every proposition now made him, without taking time to examine, whether that course might not retard reducing that kingdom, by exasperating the rebels and rendering them desperate; and that he would give his assent to any act for confirming these propositions." The Parliament took care in drawing the bill, to insert such clauses of authority to themselves, and diminution of the King's, as in a manner to put the making a peace with the rebels out of his power; but he was obliged to pass it. This being all that was done here relating to Ireland at the end of March, I shall now lead the reader back thither again.

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During the late expedition to Drogheda, several Gentlemen of the Pale—probably convinced, by the raising of that siege, of the folly of the insurrection—came in and submitted to Lord ORMONDE: and as they had none of them been in any action with the rebels, and some of them had been plundered by the Irish, they depended upon being received to mercy. Lord DUNSANY, whose family had been always loyal, who was himself English, and by descent, alliance, and affection constant to that interest, had wrote to Lord ORMONDE to desire his protection. He had retired out of the Pale, when the other Lords and Gentlemen of that country had joined the Irish, and lived quietly in his own house; doing all acts of humanity to the distressed English, even at the hazard of his life, till he came about this time with his son to Dublin, and surrendered himself to the Government. The Lords NETTERVILLE, and SLANE, and many of the principal Gentry in that district, had made an offer, if they might be accepted, of the like submissions: and this practice there was becoming so general, that the Ministry thought it time to put a stop to it. It appears by their letter to the Lord Lieutenant at that time, that they thought themselves much wiser than other Ministers had been, by too easily receiving submissions, and granting pardon to rebels; and therefore they should take another course. Some of those Gentlemen of the Pale had been indicted of high treason, for having been seen to converse with some of the rebels, whilst the rebels were masters of their country, and the bills had been found

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 A. 1642. hundreds, as it hath been already said, in two days. The Ministers resolved therefore to have these tried in a legal course; in order to shew the rest that their submission would entitle them to no favour, as well as to lead to a full resumption of the King's just and regal power.—MR. CARTE hath gone further, and hath charged the Ministers with a breach of the royal word in the proclamation; wherein mercy was promised to such as should immediately lay down their arms and forbear further hostility: but there is no such promise in the proclamation—of which the reader hath had the substance already—nor any intimation of such favour; and therefore this charge upon them is without foundation.

It is evident however from their last letter to the Lord Lieutenant, just mentioned, that they hoped for an extirpation, not of the mere Irish only, but of all the old English families also that were Roman Catholicks. Hence all the Gentlemen that surrendered themselves, were, without being admitted to the presence of the Justices, committed prisoners to the castle; preparations were made for their trial; and it was publicly said, that they should be prosecuted with the utmost severity. But as they had never appeared in the field, nor been engaged in any warlike action, proper facts were wanting to support a charge against them. To supply this defect, the Lords Justices had recourse to the rack, tho' against the law, in order to extort such confessions as these miscreants had a mind to put into the mouths of those unhappy men who were to undergo it. Could they bring any of them to confess, that all the Catholicks in the kingdom, especially those of the Pale, were originally concerned in the conspiracy, or to charge the King with authorising or encouraging the rebellion, the first would justify their intended severity to those Gentlemen, and forward their own scheme of extirpation; and the last would serve the purpose of their faction in the English Parliament. The first person brought to the rack was MACMAHON; whom the reader must remember to have been taken on O CONOLLY's information, when the conspiracy was discovered. I copied his examination from the Bishop of CLOGHER's manuscripts in the College library; and in that examination he had nothing but hearsay evidence to give; which amounts only to his having been told, that Lord MACGUIRE,

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SR. P. O NEIL, and PHIL. O REILY were the chief conspirators; that all the Papists in Parliament last summer, knew, and approved of the rebellion; that the Committee then employed into England would procure an order or commission from the King to proceed in their rebellious courses; that he was told last October, that the King had given a commission to the Papists to seize upon all the garrisons and strong holds, and that he should see it when he came to Dublin; but he doth not say that ever he saw any such commission. It hath already been observed, that there is no dependance to be had upon any thing that was said by the leaders of this rebellion in order to draw in the weak and credulous: and tho' the Council knew the falsehood of the pretence as to any commission from the King, yet it served the views of his enemies, and helped to blow up the fears and jealousies that they daily inculcated on the people. This examination however being not enough to the point to satisfy men of sense, the next day SR. JOHN READ, by the same stretch of arbitrary power, was brought to the rack. This Gentleman hath been already mentioned, as of the privy chamber to the King, a Lieutenant Colonel in the late disbanded army, and engaged by the Lords of the Pale to carry over their petitions to the King and Queen. He intended to make no secret of his journey, and therefore sent a letter by a servant of his own to PARSONS, to desire a pass; who, in answer, required him to repair to Dublin that the Council might confer with him. Whether he had joined the rebel army before Drogheda, as some writers say, or whether he was intercepted only by them in his return thither to his house, as others say, is not certainly to be determined: the former appears to me to be the better opinion. But be this as it might.

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On the rebels marching away from Drogheda, SR. J. READ went directly to Lord ORMONDE, and was the first that gave him intelligence of the siege being raised. But when his Lordship in his letter to the Council mentions Colonel READ's coming in to him, with two other Gentlemen, he adds, "that he had thought fit to send these to be disposed of according to their Lordships pleasures, and their own demerit." When he was brought to Dublin, his papers were seized, and he himself committed prisoner. Besides the petitions to the King and Queen, which were not transmitted to them by the Council, he was charged with a letter to themselves

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from Lord NETTERVILLE; in which he desired a safe conduct for his own person and two or three others, that they might go to Dublin to see the King's proclamation, which they were told had commanded them to lay down their arms and submit to his mercy; in order, if it was true, that they might render obedience to it. There was nothing in these papers that could make the bearer of them subject to any punishment; but SR. JOHN READ was notwithstanding put upon the rack, and there examined. What sort of confession they drew from him does not appear: though as the Ministers sent his examination to the House of Commons, and it was never heard of any more, it may be concluded, I think with certainty, that there was nothing which could be interpreted to the King's dishonour. The king indeed was a stranger to all these proceedings: and tho' the Justices wrote to MR. Secretary NICHOLAS, by the same post which carried this examination to the House of Commons, yet they said not one word to him about it: which shews that they acted in concert with the leaders here, if not by their direction. The King however having heard by several reports of these examinations, ordered the Secretary to write for them to the Lords Justices: but they, conscious, no doubt, of their iniquity in this transaction, and being determined to be governed by the English Parliament rather than by the King, forbore to send him any account: upon which he sent to Lord ORMONDE for a copy of the examinations: but they were as industriously concealed as they were clandestinely taken; and his Lordship, tho' a Privy Councillor, was not able to comply with the King's request: but this was not all. SR. J. READ was sent a prisoner to England; and whilst absent, and in those circumstances, was indicted and outlawed for high treason; his Lady and goods were seized upon, and she and his children turned out of doors: and when she petitioned to these worthy Justices to assign her some part of her effects to maintain her family, they absolutely refused to allow her any; tho' the Barons of the Exchequer, to whom her petition was referred, certified, that it did not appear to them what her husband's offence was, nor how, nor for what cause the Crown might be entitled to his goods or other estate. After such proceedings as these, what fidelity had the King to expect from these Ministers; and what mercy could those flatter themselves with, who laid down their arms and submitted to them? The reader will be apt to ask, why the

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King did not immediately dismiss these men from a trust which they abused, and from a power which they violated, against law, and against humanity; and natural as the question is, it cannot be answered but by conjecture. He knew the reports that had been spread to his disadvantage about this affair of Ireland; and it was not one of the greatest injuries he suffered from such reports, that he durst not employ those in whom he most confided.

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The racking MACMAHON, and SR. J. READ, did not content this merciless Administration; and so MR. BARNEWALL of Kilbrew was put to the same torture. He was one of the most considerable Gentlemen of the Pale; a venerable old man of sixty six years of age, delighting in husbandry, a lover of quiet, and highly respected in his country. He had sent intelligence to the Government of the motion of the Ulster rebels in the month of November; and the only thing that could be said against him was, that he had obeyed the Sheriff's summons for the meeting at the hill of Crofty, when Lord GORMANSTON declared an union with them. It does not appear that he approved the union, or that he actually had joined them upon any occasion; and so little did the Ministers get by putting him to the torture, that it only served to make his innocence, and their own inhumanity, the more conspicuous. His innocence was in truth so very clear, that when a party was sent out afterwards to gather the harvest about Kilbrew, there was a particular order to take care of his stock and effects. The Lords of the Pale, finding with what contempt their application to the Ministry, by Colonel READ, had been treated, joined in a request to Lord CASTLEHAVEN, that he would move the government that they might be licenced to meet in a convenient place—having laid down their arms in obedience to the King's proclamation, tho' they could never see it,—where they might draw up their grievances to be presented to his Majesty; and in the mean time that a cessation of arms might be continued. Lord CASTLEHAVEN was descended of a very ancient family, who had been Barons of England from the time of EDWARD the first. But the honours, and the English estate having been forfeited by his father, King CHARLES had restored him both to the earldom of Castlehaven, and the barony of Audley; the English estate having been granted away. He was a man of

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good parts, great honour, and a very active spirit. His genius leading him to arms, and the small remains of his family estate not enabling him to live suitably to his quality, he went abroad with a view of instruction in the military art, and of an employment in some foreign service: and having been at the siege of Turin, and also made a campaign in Flanders, he came home to settle his estate, in order to return into the army of some Prince abroad. At that juncture, the rebellion broke out in Ireland; and as soon as he heard of it, he hastened away to Dublin, and offered his service to the Lords Justices: but they told him, that his religion was an obstacle against his having any command. He then desired a passport to go to England, where a Parliament was sitting, of which he was a Peer; but this was likewise very unjustifiably refused him; and he attended the Irish Parliament the two days they were allowed to sit. His Lordship then acquainted the Ministry, that his estate there was not sufficient to maintain him in Dublin; and desired he might be supplied with some money for his subsistence, till such time as he could apply himself to the Parliament in England for a pass to carry him over; but this they also denied him: and since they would neither employ him in the army, nor permit him to go to England, nor enable him to live at Dublin, he desired they would direct him what he was to do; to which they replied, that he should go home and make fair weather. This advice he took; and retired to Maddinstown, a little hunting seat in the county of Kildare: where he was very serviceable in relieving the English that were robbed and stripped in those parts, and from whence he sent frequent intelligence to the Administration, and the troops quartered at Naas, of the proceedings of the rebels.

Whilst Lord CASTLEHAVEN was thus employed, the Lords of the Pale inclosed to him the letter to the Lords Justices above mentioned. The letter, his Lordship says in his memoirs, was very humble and submissive: wherefore he sent it in one of his own, which was little more than a cover; but the Ministers were silent about that from the Lords of the Pale, said they were rebels and traitors, and advised his Lordship to receive no more letters from them: and as to his own request of a pass into England, they again refused it, and enjoined him not to leave the kingdom without one.

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The arbitrary power exercised by the Lords Justices on every side; their illegal exertion of it in bringing people to the rack to draw confessions from them; their sending out so many parties, from Dublin, and other garrisons, to kill and destroy the rebels, in which care was seldom taken to distinguish, and men women and children were promiscuously slain; but above all the martial law executed by SR. C. COOTE; and the burning the Pale, for seventeen miles in length and twenty five in breadth, by the Earl of ORMONDE; these measures not only exasperated the rebels, and induced them to commit the like or greater cruelties upon the English, but they terrified the Nobility and Gentry from all thoughts of submission, and convinced them that there was no room to hope for pardon, nor any means of safety left them but in the sword. Tho' the Lords of the Pale had put themselves into arms, and made a formal declaration of their conjunction with the Ulster rebels, yet this union was far from being hearty, and was scarcely more than in name. For when the former had raised an army, they took care that no part of it should be under the command of the old Irish; and attempted to engage the neighbouring counties to acknowledge Lord GORMANSTON for their General. Some of their Chiefs made visits to the Ulster officers in their quarters about Drogheda; but it does not appear, says MR. CARTE, that they ever remained with them, carried any of their forces, or engaged in any attempt upon the place, or in any other action with them: But in Lord CLANRICARDE's memoirs, there is a letter to him from four Lords of the Pale, dated "from the Catholic camp near Drogheda;" tho' they might not long remain there: and as to the operations of their own army, notwithstanding they took possession of several towns and put garrisons in them, yet upon Lord ORMONDE's approach with the royal army, they quitted them; and in the great devastation of their country by the forces under him, wherein their own and their tenants houses were burned, they made no opposition. There is no accounting for this inactivity, but by supposing that they had repented of their union with the Irish, as soon as they had made it; and that they had flattered themselves with the hopes, that by barely standing upon their guard, they should not be embarked beyond a possibility of retreat. The frequent quarrels of the Chiefs on both sides, observed by the prisoners, in which the Gentlemen of the Pale would frequently lament their combination with those that had al-

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ways been their enemies, prove the first supposition; and the last is evident from the submissions they offered to make, and laying down their arms on the King's proclamation. The Lord GORMANSTON, who was the principal mover in the union with the Irish, and in bringing in the other Lords of the Pale to quit the insurrection, was so affected with the behaviour of the former, and with the severity exercised by those in power, that he died not long after of grief: and his associates growing desperate, at seeing no hopes of pardon, or of peace, joined all their forces in support of the common cause.

The cruelties of the martial law under SR. C. COOTE have been already mentioned: but about this time when it was thought politick to discourage the submissions, which were growing frequent, Father HIGGINS, a very quiet pious inoffensive man, who had put himself under the protection of Lord ORMONDE, and whom his Lordship had brought with him to Dublin, was one morning seized; and, without any trial, or delay, or giving his Lordship any notice of the intention, by SR. C. COOTE's order hanged. F. HIGGINS officiated as a priest at Naas and in that neighbourhood; had distinguished himself greatly by saving the English in those parts from spoil and slaughter; and had relieved several whom he found had been stripped and plundered; so far was he from engaging in the rebellion, or giving any encouragement to it. Lord ORMONDE had therefore taken him under his protection on his return from that expedition; and when he heard of the execution of this innocent man, for no other reason than his being a priest, his Lordship was very warm in his expostulation with the Justices upon it at the Council board. They pretended to be surprised; and excused themselves for having had any other hand in the affair, than giving SR. C. COOTE a general authority, to order such executions without consulting them. Lord ORMONDE told them very plainly, that he did not expect they would order, or suffer, one so well recommended to him, and so justly taken under his protection, to be put to death in that manner; and insisted that COOTE should be tried for what he had done, as having hanged an innocent, nay a deserving subject, without examination, without trial, and without a particular warrant to authorise him in it. The dispute was warm on both sides. The Justices, who had either directed him to do it, or were determined

determined to support their favourite in a proceeding which was agreeable to them, would not give him up; and Lord ORMONDE threatened to throw up his commission, unless they gave him satisfaction. This was probably the very thing they wanted: and therefore though he highly resented this indignity, as he had good reason to do, yet considering the ill consequences to the King and to his country, by throwing up his commission at this juncture, he resolved not to gratify them in parting with it. Their hanging a man of character at all, deserving in many respects, and exceptionable in none but his religion, inclines one to think, that they intended this war should be understood to be a war of religion. But their hanging him in such a manner, by martial law by SR. C. COOTE's authority only, against justice and humanity when brought thither and protected by Lord ORMONDE, could be only meant to prevent all submissions, or to offer such an indignity to his Lordship, as should provoke him to resign his commission, and to oppose them no longer in Council.—It is time now to view the proceedings in other parts of the kingdom.

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The rebels having possessed themselves of a castle in the county of Wicklow, within four miles of Dublin, SR. S. HARCOURT was sent out with a small party in order to dislodge them. But being obliged to send back for some battering cannon, whilst he waited for these and was giving his soldiers some orders, one of the rebels perceiving him discharged his piece at him, and gave him a mortal wound; of which he died the next day, to the prejudice of the service, and the great grief of the English. His men, who loved him greatly, were so enraged at the cowardly manner in which he was killed, that when the cannon came up and had made a breach sufficient for them to take the castle by storm, they put all within to the sword, without sparing man, woman, or child. The next attempt was to send out Lord ORMONDE with three thousand foot, five hundred horse, and five field pieces, to burn and destroy the houses and goods of the rebels, who had deserted the county of Kildare. When he came to Naas, which he had before saved from burning, he put a garrison into it, established a new sovereign and eight burgesses, and settled fifty families of despoiled English in the houses that had been forsaken. He then marched on according to his orders, desolating the country, and relieving several of their
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own castles, which had been blocked up by the rebels. To the same purpose he detached SR. T. LUCAS, COOTE, and GRENVILLE, with six troops of horse and dragoons to Burris, and other places. The enterprize was difficult and dangerous, on account of the length of the march, the badness of the roads thro' woods bogs and defiles, and the troops of the rebels which lay dispersed about in those parts. Expedition and secrecy were the life and soul of the enterprize, and the only things which could ensure success. They took their way thro' the woods of Montrath, performed all the service for which they were sent, and returning thro' O DUN's country, whither the General had sent a body of five hundred foot and a troop of horse under Colonel MONCK to favour their passage over the Barrow, they rejoined the army; after a march of eight and forty hours, with only three hours rest, without any loss, except of some horses, which were rendered unserviceable thro' the greatness of the fatigue.

The rapid progress which was made under the Lord MOUNTGARRET and others on the borders of Munster, at the close of the last year, has been already related. Having advanced to Cashell in January, he was met there by Lord IKERRIN, with above seven thousand men; not half armed indeed and very wretchedly accoutred, but their numbers which were increasing hourly, made amends for all other defects. They marched on then, meeting with no resistance, into the county of Corke; where they took the castle of Mallock, and where they were joined by others of that county: and tho' SR. W. ST. LEGER came up with them, yet viewing their forces from the top of an adjoining mountain and seeing their number, he did not think it prudent to attack them with his handful of men; and only desired a parly with Lord MOUNTGARRET, or some of his principal officers. Whilst this conference, which was consented to, was carrying on between the parties, SR. WILLIAM got time to convey away from Mallow and other neighbouring places, such arms, ammunition, and goods, as he was most desirous to preserve; which seems to have been the only end of the conference, and indeed the only thing that he could do. It hath already been taken notice of, that when the insurrection broke out, the whole province of Munster had no more than a single troop of horse for its defence: and tho' the President had obtained, by reiterated complaints

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plaints to the State, a commission to levy a regiment of foot and two troops of horse, yet having no arms for them, and the Parliament of England, to which he had applied, having sent him none, he was in no condition to make head against the rebels. Lord MOUNTGARRET had therefore the whole country before him, and saw nothing to hinder his march to the several forts in that county; which, being very indifferently provided for a defence, he might easily become master of. His Lordship was very desirous however to make the attempt: but Lord ROCH, who was very powerful in those parts, and had a great body of men in that army, disputed his authority, and insisted on having the command in that county himself. His claim was supported by the Gentlemen belonging to it; and the heats were carried to such a height, that the army separated, and did nothing of any consequence for a long time after. But when Lord ORMONDE had executed his orders in the expedition just mentioned, and was returning with the army to Dublin, he found Lord MOUNTGARRET and the principal rebels of those parts, with a body of eight thousand foot and two or three troops of horse, at the bridge of Mageny, ready to dispute his passage. Lord ORMONDE, with SR. T. LUCAS, and some other General officers, escorted by two hundred horse, went out to reconnoitre their strength, and their encampment. His Lordship, at his return to his quarters, called a Council of war, to consider what was best to be done. Many of the horses were exceedingly harrassed, in their late, long, and difficult march; several of the soldiers were sick; their provision and ammunition were almost exhausted; they were greatly encumbered with a multitude of carriages and bread waggons, for their own subsistence, and a supply of the castles which they had relieved; and the rebels were posted to a great advantage. Under all these circumstances, it was resolved in the Council of war, not to attack the enemy; but if the rebels should oppose them in their march, not to bear such an insult, and to force a passage at all events. What with the men left in several garrisons, and the great number sick, the army of fighting men did not amount to three thousand. Of these Lord ORMONDE made the best disposition he could: and they had scarce marched a mile in that order, when they discovered the rebels about three miles on their right, marching in haste to overtake them, or to seize a pass thro' which the King's army was obliged to march. As the rebels were not encum-
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bered with any baggage, their army marched faster than the other could possibly do; and therefore the General detached SR. T. LUCAS with the greatest part of the horse to secure the pass. By the time that they had marched about two miles further, the scouts brought intelligence, that the rebel army were on the other side of a hill, which had concealed them, and were making great haste to the pass. SR. T. LUCAS however had secured it; and facing about towards their van caused their whole army to halt. Each side upon this prepared for the engagement; the left wing, or rather the left division of the rebels, both horse and foot, fled at the first charge given by SR. T. LUCAS, supported by SR. R. GRENVILLE, leaving many colours and arms behind them: the right division, in which was Lord MOUNTGARRET and most of the principal rebels, and in which they reposed their greatest confidence, exchanged some volleys when it was attacked by Lord ORMONDE with his troop of volunteers, and three hundred foot under SR. JOHN SHERLOCK, and then retreated in some order till they reached the top of a hill near them; where they broke at once, and run for their lives to a neighbouring bog, to which their other division had fled for safety. In this action, which is called the battle of Killrush, the English had not above twenty killed, and forty wounded: but above seven hundred rebels were slain on the field of battle; amongst which were several Colonels and Gentlemen of distinction. The Chiefs of the rebel army fled different ways, all in no little distraction; and their forces were quite dispirited and dispersed. After giving this defeat, the royal army being to pass just by Lord CASTLEHAVEN's gates, some of the officers of his acquaintance galloped up, and informed him that Lord ORMONDE would be with him in half an hour. Upon this, he says, he bestirred himself; "and having some company with him, and two or three cooks and a good barn door and plenty of wines, they patched up a dinner ready to be set upon the table at his Lordship's coming in: but some that came with him turned it another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and published thro' the army that it was a mighty feast prepared for Lord MOUNTGARRET and the rebels. This passed for current thro' the English army; and he believes did him no small prejudice with the Lords Justices." The army moved the next day to Naas where SR. C. COOTE was left with his regiment and three hundred horse in garrison, and then returned

turned to Dublin. But before we leave the province of Leinster, it is proper to inform the reader, that about this time the Romish Clergy, who had hitherto—as the Lord Justices say—walked somewhat invisibly in these works of darkness, began openly to justify the rebellion. The titular primate, O NEIL, summoned all the bishops and clergy of his province to meet in Synod at Kells; where after making some constitutions against murderers, plunderers, and usurpers of other mens estates, they declared the rebellion to be a pious and lawful war, and exhorted all persons to join in the support of it. The titular bishop of Meath was a much honest man. He neither obeyed the summons himself in person, nor by proxy; nor sent any excuse, nor admonished the dignitaries of the church to attend the Synod. He had laboured all that was in his power to keep the Nobility and Gentry of his diocese from engaging in the rebellion, which he declared to be unjust and groundless; and he had succeeded so well, particularly with the Earl of WESTMEATH, in whose house he lived, and with several of the Nugent family, that they had not embarked in it. To this the rebels imputed their miscarriage before Drogheda: and therefore it was thought necessary to censure a prelate who had done already so much mischief; and, in case he did not submit, to threaten him with a suspension.

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Notwithstanding the most pressing applications possible of the President of Munster to the Council at Dublin, and to the Parliament in England, for supplies of men, and money, and ammunition, nothing was sent to him, except Lord DUNGARVAN's troop, till the beginning of March; when SR. CHA. VAVASOUR with a thousand foot, and Lord INCHICQUIN with horses and arms for two troops, arrived at Corke. His Lordship had procured him a small proportion of powder out of the King's stores before he quitted England: and had it not been for that supply, the whole province, and all the towns in it, would have been lost, and the President must have quitted all, or perished. He had been ordered, as we have seen, to raise men, but he had no arms; nor had any money been sent him to raise or maintain them afterwards. The forces which now came over had brought him no arms, ammunition, nor money, of all which he stood in extreme need; so much care did the English Parliament take of the war in Ireland, after they had had the management of it for five months. Nay the troops then

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sent over did not bring any money for their own subsistence; the Parliament intending they should be maintained by the province, though the greatest part of it was then in rebellion, and vast numbers of the English themselves had been so plundered that they had not bread to eat. The succour of men indeed in one respect came very seasonably: for Lord MUSKERY soon after joined the rebels, and the difference being compromised between the rival Lords, G. BARRY was declared their general; and they joined all their forces to subdue the rest of the country. But the President, after putting the tenable places into the best posture of defence he could, was forced to shut himself up in Corke; forrily provided to sustain a siege, and surrounded by a great number of enemies, who resolved to starve him if they could not take the place by treachery or assault. To this purpose, Lord MUSKERY besieged him on the north side of the city; and had it not been for Lord ORMONDE's success at the battle of Killrush, who defeated them, the Tipperary, and Lord ROCHE's forces were to have joined, to beleaguer him on the south. But having thus been shut up above a month, Lord INCHQUIN sallied out with three hundred musketeers, and two troops of horse, in order to dislodge a party who had advanced almost up to the walls; and having routed that party and drove them upon their army, the musketeers followed their blow so effectually, that not above two hundred of the whole army made good their retreat. The President however was in no condition to improve the victory; and if he had not borrowed four thousand pounds, and taken as much more by force, which was going to be shipped for England—and was not repaid till after the restoration—all his forces would have disbanded. He had no artillery, and but one engineer: he wanted provision and ammunition, and the soldiers were almost naked for want of clothes. Oppressed with these difficulties, he was neither able to take the field, nor to relieve the fort of Limerick which had been for some time besieged. Hearing however that Lord MUSKERY, who had got his forces again together, was marching thither, he was resolved to oppose him in the best manner he could. When the two armies met, and the President was preparing to begin the attack, a trumpet brought a messenger from Lord MUSKERY—supposed to be Mr. WALSH the lawyer—who desired to speak with SR. W. ST. LEGER, on a business of the utmost consequence. The President had with him the Earl of BARRYMORE, son-in-law,

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in-law, and the Lords KINELMEAKY, and BROGHILL, sons of the Earl of CORKE; and having given notice to the trumpet that the messenger might approach, WALSH told the Lord President that his business was with him alone. SR. WILLIAM, and the Lords with him, who all knew WALSH, began to reproach him; and expressed great surprize that a man of his education and learning should be so mad as to join with the rebels. To this he replied they were no rebels; as he would soon convince them, if he might be allowed to speak privately with the President. SR. WILLIAM, being a man of great intrepidity, was going aside with him; but the Lords, not thinking it safe that their general should be in the power of an enemy, desired WALSH to say what he had to deliver in their presence; and on his refusing to do this, it was agreed that he might speak to the President out of ear-shot, but that a party of men should be on each side of them for his guard. When they were thus drawn aside, he told the President in few words, that he would do well to decline fighting against them, because Lord MUSKERY had a commission from the King to raise men to assist him in all extremities; and that, if he might have a safe conduct, he would bring the commission under the great seal and shew him at his own house the next morning. The President was infinitely surprised at this message; and assuring WALSH he should have a safe conduct, if he brought the commission, dismissed him. When he imparted it to the Lords, they were all struck with astonishment; but on a moment's recollection, Lord BROGHILL observed it must be a cheat, and that the King would never grant a commission to those, who in his proclamation he had declared to be rebels. He desired therefore that SR. WILLIAM would examine the commission narrowly, if it was brought, of which he doubted; taking it only for a stragem to amuse them while Lord MUSKERY passed by. They agreed however to expect WALSH at the President's house, which was near at hand, and in the mean time encamped their soldiers. At the return of the trumpet, the rebel army also was drawn off; and the next day, WALSH was conducted in the same manner again to SR. WILLIAM's, where he produced a large parchment, containing a commission in form to Lord MUSKERY to raise four thousand men, with the great seal affixed. When the President had read it over, he dismissed WALSH; and returning to the Lords, assured them there was a commission in due form, and that he would dismiss his men,

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men, and stir no more in this business; for he would die before he would be a rebel: upon which they withdrew to their several houses. The rebels had had so much success with the other commission, pretended to by SR. PH. O'NEIL, that they were willing to try it in this instance, to save their army from being beaten: And the same author adds to the account already related, that Lord BROGHILL — from whom he had it — being one day after the restoration alone with Lord MUSKERY, and finding him in a pleasant humour, asked him how the rebels obtained that commission, which they shewed to SR. W. ST. LEGER under the great seal. His Lordship told him very freely, that it was a forged commission drawn up by WALSH, who having a writing to which the Great Seal was fixed, one of the company very dexterously took off the sealed wax from the label of that writing, and fixed it to the label of the forged commission; and that it would have been impossible to have held their people together without this device. — We must now turn and see what was doing in the province of Conaght.

It hath already been observed, that by the care of Lord RANELAGH the President, and the extraordinary vigilance of Lord CLANRICARDE, the Governor of the county and town of Galway, there had been no acts of hostility in those parts, till after the defection of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale. The county of Mayo then rose in arms, seized on Lord DILLON's house, who was gone to England, and pillaged all the English thereabouts. Lord MAYO had raised some companies for the security of the country; but having no arms to put in their hands he was too weak to make head against the rebels. The county of Roscommon was also so generally ill-affected, that the President, who had only one troop of horse and two companies of foot for the defence of the whole province, was reduced to great difficulties. One of the castles of Lord CLANRICARDE was surprised by one of his own tenants, whom he had entrusted with a company of fifty men; and though his Lordship was desirous to recover that castle, yet he could not venture with the small strength he had to march into so remote a corner of the country. The whole force he had at first was an old company of fifty men, which the Ministry had given him leave to make up an hundred: and though he had prevailed with the Gentlemen

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of the county, to raise two troops of horse and to maintain them at their own expence, yet they were miserably armed, and much too few for their defence. But however his care and activity had been so effectual, that the county had been preserved free from any ravage or commotion, till an unhappy difference between the town and fort of Galway had like to have put the whole into a flame. The fort was commanded by Captain WILLOUGHBY, son to SR. FRANCIS Governor of Dublin castle; but without his father's experience, or good temper. Being young and violent, and trusting perhaps to his interest, he had treated the townsmen, who on their side were proud and haughty, with too little management; putting some of them in prison, and setting a guard of musketeers on their goods in ships. Hence arose many jealousies and quarrels between them; and the town having furnished the fort with four months provisions at the beginning of the insurrection, refused now to furnish any more without ready money. Lord CLANRICARDE interposed, and pieced up their quarrel for some time, procuring money and provision for the fort: but soon after, it broke out more violently than before; Captain WILLOUGHBY firing great and small shot into the town, and the inhabitants imprisoning some of the soldiers of the fort. Upon this his Lordship desired SR. R. BLAKE, who had great interest in both places, to try to make up this breach; which he did with good success: but so much rancour remained between them, on account of the Captain's violence and rashness, that his Lordship was obliged to go thither, and stay several days, before he could make a thorough reconciliation between the town and the fort. Many of Lord CLANRICARDE's letters at this time are full of complaints of the little strength he had, to do service to others, or to preserve himself from danger; and pressing the administration to supply him in such a manner, as would enable him to act according to his zeal for the public good. But though they made, he says, "a formal shew of favour and regard, yet they had but little intention to repose any trust or confidence in him, or to afford him any kind of supply; as was apparent by their telling him, that they would send him powder, match, and lead, if they knew how to send them, so as they might not be intercepted by the rebels, when at that very time, and frequently before, they sent the same to Captain WILLOUGHBY by sea, without any direction to him to supply his Lordship with them; and probably the Captain's sus-
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picion was grounded on the cautions he received from Dublin." In short, the conduct of the administration towards Lord CLANRICARDE, to whose zeal, interest, and indefatigable application, the preservation of the fort and town of Galway, and the peaceableness of the county, were entirely owing, admits of no excuse: and in another part of his memoirs at this time he says, "that by several observations he had cause to mistrust, that the State did not much care if the government there were destroyed, or he himself forced into action against it."

As much care and pains as this Lord had taken, to secure a good understanding and agreement between the town and fort of Galway, upon which the public service in the county did in a good measure depend, yet all his endeavours were in a few days entirely frustrated. Some of the Merchants and young men of the town, notwithstanding their great professions of loyalty, and of a desire of preserving harmony with the fort, taking advantage of the absence of the Captain of a ship and some of his men, and disguising themselves like boatmen that used to come for salt, attacked the rest of the crew that were in the ship in the harbour, which had a dozen pieces of ordnance, about as many muskets, and seven or eight barrels of powder: and though the pretence was that they wanted it for their own defence, yet they killed the mate, and one more common sailor, wounding several others, disarmed all the English in the town, secured the ship, and entered into an oath of association to bear allegiance to the King, but to avow and maintain the Roman Catholic religion, and to defend all those who should join in that union. Upon this, Captain WILLOUGBY on his part burned the suburbs next the fort: on the other hand, the townsmen bestirred themselves in fortifying the town, in raising a battery against the fort, and blocking it up on all sides in order to starve it. A ship arriving from England at that time, with Lord CLANRICARDE's own armour, with arms for thirty horse, and with some wine, and clothes, his Lordship sent his Gentleman to Galway to fetch them away; but so much madness and confusion reigned in the place, that it was not without great difficulty that he and the other servants with him got safe away, with a few of the pistols and carbines, but could not bring away his Lordship's armour. The reader will easily imagine, that a man of Lord CLANRICARDE's zeal and activity,

activity, when such a dispute happened between a fort, and town of which he was governor, and the harmony whereof he had laboured to promote, was not idle. He sent an hundred and forty carriages of provisions into the fort; he raised all the force he could in the county, to the number of seven hundred foot and near two hundred horse; and placing strong garrisons in his castles round about the town which commanded the river, he scoured the plains with his horse, and prevented any provisions being brought to market. Thus the design of reducing the fort by famine was returned upon the inhabitants: being by this means brought to reason, he entered into a treaty with them for a cessation of arms for two months, as the best expedient then in his power. But after wasting ten days in a fruitless negotiation, his Lordship dissolved the treaty: and as soon as he had sent away his dispatches for that purpose, a man of war of thirty guns under Captain ASHLY arrived in the bay of Galway, with a plentiful supply of ammunition for the fort. Upon this his Lordship advanced with his forces before the town; and going into the fort and saluting them with three and thirty cannon shot, sent a trumpet with a summons to surrender. Seeing him thus in earnest, and beginning to be streightened for want of provisions, the inhabitants sent an agreement to his propositions: but Lord CLANRICARDE would then accept of nothing less than an absolute submission till the King's pleasure was known; with which they thought proper to comply. They laid down their arms, they sent away their rebel garrison, they agreed to dismantle their new fortifications, to sell and issue out no ammunition nor arms without his Lordship's warrant, and to deliver all in their possession then to the commissioners which he appointed; and for the performance of these conditions, they put two lawyers, and a merchant, into his hands as hostages. In this manner did Lord CLANRICARDE reduce one of the strongest and most important towns in the kingdom, to the surprize of every body, and his own honour, without any other aid from the State than what has been mentioned, and in a manner without any blood shed: when many parts of the county were in action; when the neighbouring counties were overrun with rebels, and threatening every day to fall upon him. The success of the undertaking, great as it was, even with all his interest and authority, was more extraordinary, because two or three days before the submission, a ship loaded with arms, ammunition, and corn, had put into

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a neighbouring creek, and conveyed the powder to Galway. For this eminent service, Lord CLANRICARDE had the thanks of young SR. C. COOTE, who commanded in a neighbouring garrison, and of the President of the Province; acknowledging the happy effects and importance of it to the kingdom. But the Justices and Council, though they thank him for relieving the fort at Galway, yet they tell him, “that if they had been consulted, they should not have admitted of his descending to make such an agreement as he had made with the rebels; wherein to deal clearly with his Lordship, there were sundry particulars much to be disliked in some respects.” Lord CLANRICARDE had wrote them word, that resolutions had been taken to burn and destroy all behind him by the rebels in the county of Mayo, and to inclose his small forces between them and those before the fort; and that it was difficult, next to a degree of impossibility, to keep his own followers at a siege who disliked the quarrel with the town, with many other particulars that made his agreement with them necessary; and it would have been madness in the Ministers to have controlled him, and to take the pacification out of his hands. But the point which galled these honest Governors, was his Lordship’s receiving a submission, and granting his protection, though it was only till the King’s pleasure should be known, to the town of Galway: and they sent him express orders, “to receive no more submissions from any rebels whatever, but to prosecute them with fire and sword.” Such indeed was the tenour of all their orders; though they knew—for they own it in their letters—that the soldiers in executing these orders, murdered all persons that came in their way promiscuously, “not sparing the women, and sometimes not the children.”

The President, and Lord CLANRICARDE, saw the evil policy of these orders, and very justly dreaded their effects: and the former tells his Lordship, in a letter contained in his memoirs, “that he should presume to crave leave to swerve from directions of such pernicious consequence, Lord ORMONDE having informed him that they were the advice of some particular persons in the Council, to which he had always been averse; and to which he himself, with God’s favour, shall also be, as his actions would demonstrate.” These were directions that not only tended to make those rebels already in arms merciless and desperate, but tended also to persuade others

others of them, that an utter extirpation of all their nation and religion was resolved upon. The treatment which Lord CLANRICARDE met with from the Ministry; the orders which he received, so contrary to his judgment, and his humane and benevolent temper; the discontent and uneasiness of his best and nearest friends, who had had protections from the State at his request, and yet had been plundered, and their houses and effects destroyed by the royal army; the damage which he had himself sustained in that respect; and the threatening of the rebels, that if he persisted in his opposition, they would fall upon him; these were circumstances, which would have tempted a man of less zeal, and honour, and goodness of heart than he had, to remain at least inactive. But he was unalterable in his affection for the good of his country; and though he had done much already, he had a great deal more to do.—What a lesson of rebuke is the conduct of this Nobleman to the patriots of our days! Who if they are dismissed from an employment, or fail of procuring one they solicit, immediately set themselves upon traversing the measures of Government; and right or wrong, be they of advantage or be they pernicious to their country, endeavour all that is in their power to overturn them. The reader hath seen already many discouragements to Lord CLANRICARDE from the Administration at Dublin; many others might be mentioned. Let it suffice however only to add, that from the beginning of the rebellion, he had desired with much earnestness both here and there, that he might be honoured only with the command of a troop of horse; and this small gratification, so necessary to the public service, as well as to his private inclination, with all his application, and notwithstanding he was laying out all his time, his estate, and money, sacrificing his ease, domestic comfort, and acting against his principles of religion, he could not obtain. But what was his Lordship's behaviour upon this occasion? Did he immediately resign his government of Galway, oppose the measures of the Administration, endeavour to distress them by throwing difficulties in their way, and by propagating reports of falsehood and calumny, or did he even remain inactive, sullen, and indifferent as to what became of his country, since his own ambition, or vanity, or interest, was not gratified? No, nothing like it. He still continued, with the same zeal and activity, expence and labour, to promote the public good: and though a man of as high a spirit, as jealous of his honour, and

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of as quick a sensibility of ill usage as ever was born, he carried on the same friendly correspondence with the Administration, and paid the same obedience to their orders, whether he approved them or not, as tho' he had been used by them ever so well, and they had not denied him any thing. If the PATRIOTS of the days in which we have lived, were to lay their hands upon their hearts, and honestly to ask themselves whether they would have acted the same part, it would be very much to their honour—more I doubt than would be believed—if they could answer, that they would.

Had it not been for the constant unremitted care, and the powerful interest, of the Earl of CLANRICARDE in this business of Galway, the whole province of Conaght would have been endangered, if it had not been possessed, by the rebels. For in the county of Mayo, they were very powerful, and had done much mischief: and if his Lordship had delayed but a few days longer his agreement with the town of Galway, they would have been upon his back; and with the few forces that he had he must have been destroyed between them. Lord MAYO, it is true, had assembled all his dependants to oppose their progress: but by two of his letters to Lord CLANRICARDE at this time, he was certainly not very zealous, and may be said to have been wavering in his resolution; and the rebels had got possession of most of the castles and fortresses in the county. The adjoining county of Sligo was entirely under their command; and except a few castles which held out, and these too they had besieged, they were masters of the county of Roscommon. In this situation was the affair of the rebellion at the end of May in the province of Conaght. Let us now turn to see what had been doing in Ulster.

It hath already been observed, that the English Parliament had agreed with the Scotch Commissioners sent up for that purpose—upon terms dishonourable enough to England, and detrimental to the public service in Ireland—for the immediate transportation of twenty five hundred men, which they had ready in Scotland, into the province of Ulster. The condition of the rebels in the Southern part of that province, after they had raised the blockade at Drogheda, hath also been set forth. Notwithstanding the advantageous terms which had been granted to the Scots for the immediate

immediate supply of the Northern part of it, and that this contract was made in the last week of January, yet it was the middle of April before General MONROE landed with the men at Carrickfergus. SR. H. TITCHBORNE had already driven the rebels to Newry; to which place he would have pursued them, if he had had strength enough to spare men to garrison the place when he should have taken it. But soon after the landing of the Scots, and being joined by Lord CONWAY and Colonel CHICHESTER with eighteen hundred foot and seven troops of horse and dragoons, they marched for Newry; which the enemy quitting on their approach, they entered, and the castle surrendered without any resistance. The same submission was made the next day at Carlingford castle to SR. H. TITCHBORNE; who left a few men to secure it, and went on to confer with the Scotch General, and to inform him of the state of the province, and of the condition of the rebels in it. They were indeed in a terrible consternation at the approach of this army, and with good reason; being destitute of every thing necessary for their defence. The principal rebels in the county of Down, had quitted their seats, and fled with great precipitation. SR. P. O NEIL, dreading the further advance of the army, had burned and deserted Ardmagh, given up Dungannon, and retired to Charlemount—which, tho' a fortress almost impregnable, was at that time indefensible for want of powder—and his followers had dispersed themselves and fled into the fastnesses of Tyrone. There was then a royal army in Ulster of twelve thousand foot, besides a considerable body of horse; a strength, says SR. H. TITCHBORNE, “fit for a greater employment, and of more importance than the clearing of Ulster was likely to be, if the benefit of time were speedily embraced.” It was indeed a strength sufficient to reduce the whole province, and to assist the government in other parts of the kingdom, where the rebels were more formidable than there. This was SR. HENRY's opinion; and he pressed very strenuously to pursue the rebels with vigour, before they had time to recover their spirits, or to procure arms and ammunition from foreign parts. But MONROE had either instructions or inclinations of another tendency: and therefore after putting about sixty men, two priests, and eighteen women, to death at Newry, and leaving a garrison of three hundred men there under one of his own Lieutenant Colonels, he returned with the army to Carrickfergus. In his march back he

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wasted the country, and took, besides other effects, a prey of four thousand cattle: but the night before they were to be divided between the armies, the Scots carried them all off, to the great discontent of the English troops, who began to mutiny, and never afterwards cared to march with such a band of thieves. This was the first fruits of that dishonourable treaty made by the English Parliament with the Scots, the inconvenience of which was foreseen by the King; by which treaty the Scotch officers were to be accountable for their proceedings only to his Majesty, and the Parliament of England. In short the Scotch General had as little honour as the banditti which he commanded. After a short stay at Carrickfergus, employed in sending away their booty to Scotland, he marched his army into the county of Antrim; where he burned a town belonging to the Earl of that title, wasted his lands, and made another prey of five thousand cows. The Earl of ANTRIM had been but a short time in that country; but he had found means to supply the town of Colerain, which had been blocked up by the Irish, and reduced to great extremities, with an hundred head of cattle, and fixty loads of corn, together with other provisions, at his own expence. As soon as MONROE arrived in the country, the Earl sent him an offer of his service, in order to assist him in securing the public peace; in which, on account of his great estate in those parts, his Lordship was highly interested. The General made him a visit at Dunlacc, a strong castle by the sea-side in which he lived; where Lord ANTRIM received him with great pleasure, and entertained him with great magnificence. But no sooner was the entertainment over, than the Scot, seizing the castle, made the Earl a prisoner in it, and left a garrison with a Lieutenant Colonel to take care of both. He continued in this country, roving up and down with his army for the sake of plunder, but without the least attempt against the rebels, for two months; who had leisure given them by this negligence to gather again in a body.

It is time now to look toward Dublin; which the reader may remember we left on the return of Lord ORMONDE with the army from the battle of Killrush. The Ministers had received notice from the King at this time, of his intention to go into Ireland to settle the peace of the kingdom, and to chastize the rebels; at which they were greatly alarmed. For but a few days

days before, they had written to the Speaker of the House of Commons, "that considering the Parliament of England had with great wisdom and piety interposed towards their deliverance from the bloody hands of the rebels, they thought it necessary in that respect so to order their councils, that their proceedings in that great work might consist with the Parliament's purposes and resolutions, for his Majesty, and his kingdom of Ireland." They knew that the King's coming over would not only defeat the purposes of the Parliament, which was not to put an end to a rebellion that was so serviceable to their views, but they likewise knew that their own authority would be determined by it, their own measures defeated, and as they were conscious of much infidelity to the King, and of illegal arbitrary conduct towards his subjects, that they should be certainly dismissed with ignominy, if not with punishment. No wonder therefore that they were alarmed at this resolution, and that they used all their art to prevent it. They represented in a letter to Secretary NICHOLAS, that the rebels were exceedingly strong, their forces very numerous, and masters of the field; that thro' the inclemency of the winter, the want of clothes, food, shoes, medicines, and pay, so many of the royal army were incapable of service, that they had not above six thousand effective men fit for fighting, including those that must necessarily be kept in garrison, which were two thirds of that number. In short they made so doleful a representation of their condition, and especially of their great want of money, as should convince the King, that unless he was enabled to supply all the defects they had set forth—which they knew he could not be—it was in vain for him to come over, or to do any service if he did come. Thus by the craft of these Ministers, and by the English Parliament's absolutely interdicting the King's intention—as the reader will see in its proper place—here was another fair opportunity lost of putting an end to the rebellion, and of restoring the peace of Ireland. If the Lords Justices did not act in this matter by the express direction, yet it is plain enough it was with the concurrence, of that faction which governed then in the English Parliament. Their endeavours indeed were so very acceptable to that body, as that they thought themselves entitled to some recompence: and accordingly in a private letter of their own, to the Speaker, exclusive of the rest of the Council, in a few days after their letter to the Secretary above mentioned, they besought the

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Among all the groundless pretences for bills of indictment of high treason at this time at Dublin, sure none could equal that which was found against Lord CASTLEHAVEN. The reader will remember what was said of him before in this book, from the memoirs which he published after the restoration. It hath been already said, that he had offered his services to the Ministers at the breaking out of this rebellion, and had been rejected on account of his religion; that he had desired a pass into England that he might attend the Parliament there, of which he was a Peer, which had been refused; and that he was ordered home to his house in the country, where he did all the service in his power to the distressed English. But now on the mere pretence that a lame boy, blind of one eye, kept by his Lordship out of charity to whip the dogs away, had been instrumental to a servant of Lord ANTRIM's being taken by the rebels, Lord CASTLEHAVEN was indicted of high treason. Colonel TOUCHET, his brother, being then at Dublin where the bill was found, as soon as he heard of it, went and complained to the Lords Justices of this ill usage: but however, he said, he would go and fetch his Lordship up, if they would assign him a party of horse for a convoy; which they refusing, he went accompanied with some of his friends. The Earl was surprised, but came immediately with them; and as soon as he arrived at Dublin, addressed himself to Lord ORMONDE, whilst his brother went to the Council to inform them that Lord CASTLEHAVEN was there. Their answer was, that they could say nothing to it till his Lordship appeared before them; and when he waited at the castle, for that purpose, they committed him, without calling him in, to the custody of one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. After the many ex-

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traordinary things that we have seen were done by this Administration, we shall not wonder at this treatment of a Peer of England, as well as of that kingdom. We must leave him a prisoner with the Sheriff for a time, and turn to other affairs.

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A relation hath been already made of a provincial synod summoned by the titular Primate for the province of Ardmagh. To this it was thought proper to add a general synod of all the Popish Bishops and Clergy of Ireland; which met in May at Kilkenny. Three of the titular Archbishops, six other Bishops, the proxies of five more, besides Vicars general, and other dignitaries, were present at this synod; and all agreed in declaring the war for the defence of the Catholic religion, and the maintenance of the prerogative and royal rights of the King and Queen, to be just and lawful. Among other constitutions, they ordered an exact register to be kept in each province, of the robberies, burnings, murders, and cruelties committed by the Protestant forces; and passed censures of excommunication upon such of their own people, as should be guilty of any of those outrages; or should proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge, or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions. They provided that no distinction should be made of Old and New Irish; that all who had taken arms should be united by a common oath of association; that whosoever should refuse to take the oath, or should remain neuters, or should assist the enemy with victuals, arms, advice, or intelligence, should be excommunicated, and deemed enemies of their country. They resolved also to send ambassadors to the Kings of France and Spain, to the Emperor and the Pope, in behalf of the whole kingdom. There are many other articles relating to the regulations of their several Councils, their soldiers, prisoners, and other subordinate affairs; but too tedious and uninteresting to require a place. It must be observed that all these were the acts and ordinances purely of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, represented in a general synod: And therefore I suppose it will be allowed on all sides, that whatever principles are found here, or whatever practices are here allowed of, may with great truth and impartiality be charged on the Catholick religion: but that whatever proceedings are here condemned, are to be placed to the account of the follies and vices of parti-

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cular people, and cannot fairly be charged on the Roman Faith. Here then both the Protestants and Papists must join issue; as little soever as it may suit with the prejudices and the passions of either.

I shall pass by the extreme treachery of entering into a solemn general association, in order to carry on a war against the King's authority, against his interest, and against his positive command, as a means to preserve his rights, his person, or prerogative. This is too glaring to be admitted by a man of common sense, unless his understanding is perverted, by interest, or by passion. But this treachery, gross as it is, was the only refuge they had to cover their want of allegiance and fidelity to the powers that were: and when the other article is considered, of sending an embassy to the Pope, and foreign Princes, it shews us that it is the grand overruling principle of the Catholic Faith, which directs the whole system, that nothing is to stand in competition with the interest of that religion, be it the obedience due to Princes, under the protection of whose laws the professors of it live, or any other ties whatever. Hence the prosecution of those they deem Hereticks, in order to compel them to embrace this religion, when they have it in their power, is derived. If this is not the first principle of the Roman policy, to which all other considerations are to be subservient, then the acts and constitutions of this general synod are without any meaning. Well therefore doth it become the wisdom of every Protestant State in Europe, to admit to no place of trust, or power, or public counsel, any member of the Church of Rome: but this security being taken, the civil Magistrate hath nothing further to do with opinion; and the private exercise of their religion should be allowed without disturbance. The Papists ought to submit quietly, and without uneasiness to the former; and the Protestants ought not to repine at, or infringe the latter. But tho' it appears by these acts of the Clergy, that the allegiance of Roman Catholics to their natural Sovereign, is ON PRINCIPLE to be subservient always to their religion, and can never therefore be depended on, where these interests clash or interfere, yet the robberies, murders, and barbarities committed by the Irish in this rebellion, and not in open war, are very severely censured. How weak, how uncharitable, and how unjust then is it in those, who charge such horrid impieties on the principles of the Roman religion,

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as were merely owing to the accursed hellish disposition of the particular persons who gave a loose to them? The Protestants, I am sure, would take it ill, and very justly, if the barbarities of SR. C. COOTE, and SR. FRED. HAMILTON, were fastened on their religion; and why then should they charge those of which SR. P. O NEIL and others were guilty, on the principles of the Romish church, which hath disclaimed them? It is to be hoped that these considerations may have a good effect on the passions and prejudices of both sides. They may be too candid and impartial to please the ignorant and the bigotted; but they will teach principles and practices more agreeable to Christianity, than those which prevailed at that time, and which we now so much lament; and may therefore prevent such for the future.

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In a short time after Lord ORMONDE returned with the army, Lord LISLE, son of the Lord Lieutenant, landed at Dublin with his regiment of horse, and another of dragoons, making nine hundred men. The latter were sent immediately to possess the country between Drogheda and Dundalk, and the other were kept about Dublin. Lady OFFALY had been besieged for several months in her castle in the King's county, which she had defended with surprising spirit and gallantry: but being now reduced to great extremities, the Council thought it high time to relieve her. Lord LISLE was complimented with the command of the party destined to that service, which they performed with ease; and having supplied the castle with all necessaries, the old Lady chose to continue in it. The same assistance was given to Castle-Jordan, burning all the country in their march; and tho' four of the Lords of the Pale were in the town of Trim, yet they quitted it on the approach of the detachment. They left indeed three or four hundred men to defend it, but they were soon obliged to surrender. The place was of some consequence being situated on the Boyne, about twenty miles from Dublin; very convenient for annoying the rebels in the counties of Cavan and Westmeath, and in the best country in Ireland for horse service. The General officers employed in the expedition, were of opinion it should be held by a garrison, and that it might be made one of the strongest towns in the kingdom. Lord LISLE therefore wrote to the Lords Justices to send him three troops of horse and twelve hundred foot,

CHARLES I. that he might push his conquests on that side. But a great debate arose in the Council upon that letter: some were even for recalling him with the troops he had already, instead of sending above twice as many more. They were afraid of trusting so young and unexperienced a commander with such a body of forces; but they were afraid too of disobliging him on account of his father. Upon the whole therefore it was resolved, to send the twelve hundred foot and one troop of horse to reinforce the party at Trim; but to send orders with them not to make inroads into Cavan, or the country thereabouts. But the day before they were to march, Lord LISLE came to Dublin to hasten them away; and when he understood the orders that were to accompany them, the Council easily prevailed with him to stay behind. The command then devolved on SR. C. COOTE; but the reinforcement was so long delayed, and the party was so weakened by Lord LISLE's and another convoy to Dublin, that the rebels attacked the town of Trim with three thousand men: the garrison however being prepared for them, they were beaten off with loss; and SR. C. COOTE, rallying out with a party of horse to improve the success, was shot dead in the field; but whether by the enemy, or one of his own troopers, it seems was wholly uncertain. On receiving this intelligence, the Council sent orders to SR. R. GRENVILLE, next in command, to spoil and kill all the rebels on this side the Boyne, and then on the other side, as far as he could go in a day and a night; but not to attempt any places, unless by surprisal, nor to leave any garrison, if they should be taken. The reader cannot avoid observing the extreme caution used by the Ministers, against an enemy that was always vanquished: a caution natural enough to old men not versed in military expeditions, the success of which often depends on accidents not to be foreseen, and at the moment when they happen may be seized with advantage. But however at this time, there were reasons of another sort; which made this caution against the consequences of ill success not at all improper. The English forces that had been sent over did not well agree with the old or new army in Ireland; tho' all of them Protestants, and for the most part English. An impertinent kind of vanity in respect of their own country, and too great a contempt for the other—to which the people of England are at all times too much addicted—had put the English forces upon upbraiding the other, in reproachful language, with the rebellion of their

their countrymen, which had produced frequent quarrels between them; and for want of pay, it was impossible to exact a proper discipline. On the day before the reinforcement marched to Trim, some of the Captains, who were ordered to go upon that service, repaired to the castle whilst the Council were sitting; and, requiring an audience, told the board very bluntly, that they were not able themselves to march for want of money, and that the men refused absolutely to stir from Dublin without their pay, and without being furnished with shoes and stockings. Had this been only the resolution of a few, the Government might safely have punished them with severity, as a terror to others: but the common men of the army were generally thus disposed; which made the Council dread a mutiny every moment. They had no money, and none they could borrow: but the greatest part of a thousand pounds which had been collected in England, as a charitable relief for the poor ruined Protestants, being not then issued, they were obliged to use that money to give some content to the officers; who were even then with difficulty prevailed on to march. But the common soldiers still refused: and one of them persisted in so high a tone, and with such seditious insolent expressions, that they were obliged to give orders for hanging him at the head of the ranks, when they were drawn out to march to Trim. These orders had nearly occasioned a general mutiny: they all exclaimed aloud for their pay; and some of them were attempting to rescue their comrade from the gallows. If the officers had not restrained them, by respiting the execution till they had sent to the Lords Justices, a general mutiny probably would have ensued. This saved themselves, as well as the man; the Ministers yielded to his pardon, and then the detachment marched away. But those that remained at Dublin, were in such distress for want of money, that it was with great difficulty they were kept from plundering the city.

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Tho' very little was done in England at this time for the relief of Ireland, to which the Parliament had made such great pretences, yet it is proper the reader should be acquainted what that little was. We left England at the end of March, when an act was passed for allotting the forfeited estates in Ireland, to those who would subscribe their money for the reduction of it: and tho' the King in his then circumstances could not refuse this act, yet it

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it put the power over the money in the Parliament, who took care that very little of it went to Ireland; and it also deprived the King of his prerogative, in rewarding those who had served him well, or in pardoning such as had been unwarily drawn in, and forcibly driven to join the rebels. In the beginning of April, the King sent a message to the Parliament, that “being grieved at the very soul for the calamities of his good subjects of Ireland, and being most tenderly sensible of the false and scandalous reports dispersed among the people concerning the rebellion there, he had firmly resolved to go thither with all convenient speed: and as he undertook it for no other end, than the defence of God’s true religion, and his distressed subjects—to the truth of which he called God to witness—so he assures them, that he will never consent, upon any pretence, to a toleration of the Popish profession there, or the abolition of the laws now in force against Popish recusants in that kingdom. Towards this work, he tells them, that he intended to raise immediately by his commissions, in the counties bordering upon Chester, a guard for his own person when he should come into Ireland, consisting of two thousand foot and two hundred horse; to be armed at Chester from his magazine at Hull, where all the officers and soldiers should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The charge of raising and paying these forces, his Majesty desired the Parliament would undertake; but if their pay was found too great a burden for his subjects, he was willing, by the advice of his Parliament, to sell or pawn any of his parks, lands, or houses, towards the supplies of the service of Ireland.” The Parliament were extremely discomposed at this message; and the rather because they durst not own their real objection. Their objection was, that the management of the war in Ireland would be thereby taken out of their hands; and consequently would deprive them of a great deal of power over men and money; which, tho’ raised for the service of Ireland, they intended to employ to another purpose. Besides, it was reasonable to suppose, that the King would probably recover in a short time one entire kingdom to his obedience, by which he might be able to preserve the peace of the other two. When the true reason of a measure is not to be owned, other reasons, however flimsy or fallacious, are to be substituted in its room. Thus among several reasons which they offered to the King, in answer to this message, for his not going to Ireland, the two Houses tell him, “that it

it will exceedingly encourage the rebels, who do generally declare that his Majesty doth countenance their proceedings, and that this insurrection was undertaken by his commission; especially there appearing less necessity of his Majesty's going thither at that time, by reason of the manifold successes which God had given against them." I presume Bodies of men never take shame, and are out of countenance, when they make use of weak and impudent pretences to impose on the public understanding. But be this as it may in other cases—of which there are a thousand instances in our history—in the case before us, the Parliament must have had a consummate assurance, to endeavour to make the King and the people believe, that his going over to Ireland to be at the head of his army in the field against the rebels, would encourage them, and confirm the report of their acting by his commission: and as to the successes which had been given against them, the reader hath seen an account from the Lords Justices to the King, when they dissuade his coming over, directly contradictory to this representation. The Parliament were resolved however that the King should not go; and therefore after giving some other absurd and shallow reasons for that resolution, they proceed to tell him plainly, "that they would not consent to the raising or payment of any levies, but such as should be employed and governed by their direction; and if any such levies were made as they did not agree to, they should interpret them to be raised to the terror of the people, and should apply the authority of Parliament to suppress them." The King was extremely irritated with this answer; "and appealed to all his good subjects and the whole world, whether the reasons alledged in it were of weight to satisfy his understanding, or the counsel presented to dissuade him were full of that duty as was like to prevail over his affections." He reminds them that the officers of several regiments, whom they had a long time allowed entertainment for that service, had not raised any supply or succour for it; that many troops of horse had long lain near Chester untransported; that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on whom he relied principally for the conduct of affairs there, was still in this kingdom, notwithstanding the earnestness expressed by his Majesty that he should repair to his command: and that he had signed a commission to four Lords and eight commoners, as a committee for the affairs of Ireland, and yet little or nothing was done. In short he confuted all the reasons they had given, as he

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he might easily do. RAPIN says, that the Parliament lost no time in replying to the King; but in RUSHWORTH, whom he quotes as his authority at the head of the paragraph, there is no such reply to be found, nor in Lord CLARENDON. If the King got an advantage by being able now to say, that he had offered to go in person and endeavour the reduction of Ireland, but his offers were rejected; the Parliament on the other hand had a new cause of triumph, that they had plainly threatened him out of what he pretended to have been firmly resolved to do. In a short time after, both Houses threw a reflexion upon the King, in one of their declarations, that tho' the insurrection in Ireland began at the latter end of October, yet that the proclamation against those bloody traitors who joined in it, came not out till the beginning of January; and then, by special command from his Majesty, but forty copies were appointed to be printed. General LUDLOW in his memoirs hath gone further: he hath asserted very falsely, "that the Parliament earnestly pressed the King to proclaim them rebels, but could not obtain it to be done till after many weeks: and then but forty of those proclamations were printed, and not above half of them published." The reader may remember that the Irish Ministry had sent a draught of a proclamation to the Lord Lieutenant, to be signed by the King's own hand, and sealed with his signet; and desired twenty copies might be sent them. His Majesty, in his answer to the two Houses, reminds them that he was in Scotland at the breaking out of that rebellion, and for a month after; that he therefore remitted all the care of that business to his Parliament; that however he had observed all the forms, to which they, or his Irish Council, had advised him; that if no proclamation from him issued sooner, it was because none was sooner desired; that the number mentioned was twenty, but that he had caused forty to be printed, which he had signed with his own hand; and it being double the number desired from Dublin, he thought no objection could be made to him on that head.—To be impartial it must be said, that the truth was, as the King had related, but it was not the whole truth: he might be very well excused in signing only forty, when the Ministers who drew them desired no more than twenty: but he ordered Secretary NICHOLAS, when the copy was sent to the printer with a warrant for the printing them, to declare it was "his Majesty's express command that he should print but forty copies."

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What the King's reason could be for this command, it is hard to say: but it is easy enough to see, from the suspicions there were of his tenderness to the rebels, that this warrant would be made use of to his disadvantage; and in whatever light we consider it, it could not be to his credit. In these mutual reproaches for a neglect of Ireland consisted in a manner all that was done here about that time for its relief. The Parliament, to save appearances, now and then sent a few forces, a little ammunition, and small sums of money; just enough to feed the hopes of the Protestants, and to keep the war alive, but in no respect sufficient to supply their wants, or to enable them to reduce the rebels. Thus in the beginning of June, after the King had reproached them with their shameful negligence of Ireland, they sent eleven thousand five hundred pounds, and four regiments of foot: "a supply so unanswerable to the long expectations of the government,—as they write the Lord Lieutenant,—and so far short of enabling them to give any satisfaction to the army, that they still lay open to the danger of mutiny; and their proceedings were arraigned with terrible exclamations." We must now leave England, where nothing more was done this year in Irish affairs, and which was in the midst of its distractions preparing for a civil war; in order to return to Ireland which was unhappily engaged in one: and if the hand of Providence had not been very heavy, as a scourge upon these nations, the fate of the latter might have served as a warning to prevent the miseries of want and slaughter which the former afterwards endured. But as this war, between the King and his Parliament, had a considerable influence on the affairs of Ireland, and put them in some measure under a new direction, it will be proper to put a period to this book. The reflexions to be made on it are so obvious, and it is so very plain to the reader, at whose door must lie the blame of continuing this rebellion, that it is entirely needless to point them out. I shall therefore conclude it with an observation I have somewhere met with, that kingdoms are liable, like all other sublunary things, to be disturbed or interrupted in their courses by certain extraordinary incidents unforeseen; which for any thing we can discover of the ways of Providence, may be termed epidemical distempers that frequently precipitate their destruction.

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R E B E L L I O N and C I V I L - W A R
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B O O K IV.

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BORLASE.
CARTE.
CLANRICA.
CASTLEHA.
COX.

THE nearer the Parliament of England advanced to an open rupture with the King, the more did the Lords Justices, and their party in the Council of Ireland, withdraw themselves from their obedience to his Majesty's commands, and delay the execution of his orders: the more in short, they were the Ministers of the Parliament, and less the Ministers of the King. When SR. CHA. COOTE went out on the expedition in which he was killed, Lord LAMBERT, being the most eminent commander left in Dublin, had the charge of the city committed to him, during SR. CHARLES's absence; and on the news of his death the Council continued his Lordship in the government, and applied to the King for a com-

mission to confirm him in it. The King approved of Lord LAMBERT; and sent an order to the Justices to pass a patent for making him Governor of Dublin. But, in the mean time, the Lord Lieutenant having sent over a commission appointing Colonel MONCK to that command, with a salary of forty shillings a day—in which he exceeded his authority—the Council respite the execution of the King's orders. They had no such pretences however in the case of Lord MOORE, and several others, wherein they took upon them to frustrate his Majesty's commands. The Earl of ORMONDE received at this time a letter of thanks from the King, for his eminent services against the rebels; and another from the Speaker of the House of Commons, to thank him for the same in their name: the Commons also ordered him a present of a jewel of five hundred pounds value, and that the House of Lords should be moved to join with them, in desiring the King to make his Lordship a Knight of the garter. But whether the Lords did not concur with them in that request, or whether his Majesty did not approve of their recommending to such honours, doth not appear: it is certain that it was not conferred upon him by this King, nor till some years after. His Lordship received however at this time from the King, a commission to nominate, in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, all such subordinate officers as were necessary to supply the vacancies which might happen.

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On the twenty-first of June, the Parliament met at Dublin: and on the same day, the House of Commons expelled all the Members that were actually in the rebellion, or that stood indicted of treason; which, though it took in a considerable number against whom indictments had been found, they had certainly a power to do: but on the next day they made an order, that no person should sit in the House, either in that, or any future Parliament, till they had taken the oath of supremacy; which they certainly had not a power to do. The oath was however immediately taken by all the Members then present: and as by the first order forty-six in the rebellion were expelled, so by the last a much greater number, unexceptionable in all respects but that of their religion, were disqualified. What by these orders, what by many that were prevented by the rebel army from coming up, what by others employed against them, and what by many absentees

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in England, the House was very thin. They were sensible that they had need of a particular law to warrant what they had thus arbitrary ordained; and therefore immediately drew up heads of a bill, to be presented to the Council for their approbation, and to be by them transmitted in due form to England. Whether such a bill as this was expedient at that juncture, I will not take upon me to determine: much may be said on both sides: but in the circumstances in which the nation then was, it could not be said to be necessary: and from thence perhaps an argument might be drawn that it was not expedient. The distractions in England however at that time, gave no leisure to the King and Council to take such a bill into consideration; and the Parliament had not then attempted to alter the constitution of the Irish Government. When they had finished this bill, a declaration was drawn up, and agreed to by both Houses, in an address to the King and Parliament of England, praying that a present course might be taken for executing the penal laws in force in Ireland against all the Papists in that kingdom, and particularly in the city of Dublin; that bills might be transmitted into England, in order to make all the laws there against the Popish clergy and their relievers to be enacted for Ireland: and that it might not be in the power of any Governor of that kingdom, to suspend, inhibit, or connive at, the exemption of such laws, or any of them. If it was the design of the Council that the rebellion should be thought a war of religion, and a total extirpation of all Catholics, and of Popery, was the scheme proposed, then nothing was more to the purpose than this declaration. But it was a measure, of which all wise and good men dreaded the consequence. The two Houses also joined in a representation of the distress of the State, for want of clothes, arms, ammunition, money, provisions, and men; and in pressing for an immediate supply of them all, as absolutely necessary for the safety of the nation. Having made a provision, as they thought, for pushing things to extremity, no consideration at all was had of any methods to quench the flame of rebellion, to quiet the minds of the people which were in the utmost distraction, or to restore the peace of the kingdom. The Earl of ORMONDE was abroad with the army; the Earl of CLANRICARDE could not stir from his post; and the others, who had honesty and inclination enough to propose such methods, and were not employed abroad, had not weight enough to undertake it. On the third day of their sitting, they

they adjourned to August, to allow time for the return of the bills that were to go to England: and thus ended a session of Parliament, which, with the power of doing a great deal of service to their bleeding country, did a great deal of mischief, by opening further those wounds which it was their duty every way to try to heal. In the same week in which this Parliament met, SR. AND. AYLMER, who had married Lord ORMONDE's sister, Lord CASTLEHAVEN, and several others who had lived quietly in their own houses, and had never been in any action with the rebels, were arraigned at the bar of the King's bench, and then remanded back to prison. About the same time, in order to save some expence to the State, Lord MACGUIRE, and MACMAHON, were sent to England, and committed to the Tower of London.

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The Lord Lieutenant had for some time appeared devoted to the party which governed in the English Parliament. The reader hath seen that the King complained of his not repairing to Ireland, though he had earnestly pressed him to do so; and one would think by his conduct, that he staid for no other purpose but to serve the interest of the Parliament, and to follow their directions in the disposal of all commands that became vacant. This gave a great and a reasonable disgust to the army: the Colonels complained that they could not recommend very deserving men to their own regiments, and the Subalterns that they were not preferred in their order, but had raw and unexperienced men put over their heads. Upon these accounts, and because it had been the custom in former times, for the Commander in chief to bestow all commissions that became vacant, whilst the army continued in the field in actual service, the King sent the commission mentioned above to Lord ORMONDE; though his Lordship kept it a secret, till an accident happened which obliged him to disclose it. On the death of SR. C. COOTE, his Lordship recommended Lord DILLON for his troop of horse; a Protestant young Nobleman, who had constantly attended him as a volunteer, to the great hazard of his life, in all the General's expeditions against the rebels; and whose father, the Earl of ROSCOMMON, was a Privy Councillor, and had been twice Lord Justice of Ireland. But the Lord Lieutenant, not regarding Lord DILLON's merit, nor the recommendation of the General, disposed of the troop; and soon
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after another, to officers of his own, or the Parliament's choosing. Lord ORMONDE was nettled at this neglect: and another troop of horse becoming vacant just after, he gave it to Lord DILLON, without any other ceremony than acquainting the Lord Lieutenant that he should do so. The Lord Lieutenant, who knew nothing of the Earl's commission from the King, complained to the Lords Justices of his abusing his power, in pretending to dispose of commands without his Lordship's leave; and directed them to put Major WILLIS in possession of the troop which had been given to Lord DILLON. Lord LEICESTER however alledged as a reason, that a resolution had been taken in England, that no troops nor companies, either of the old or new army, should be given to any but Englishmen whom the Parliament approved of. If this had not been false in fact — as it was by Lord INCHQUIN's having a troop then given to him, who was born in Ireland, and of Irish race—it was a resolution which the Lord Lieutenant could not obey, without betraying his trust from the King. Lord ORMONDE, who had never heard of the resolution, and who thought the distinction odious, and of pernicious consequence, insisted on his right by the King's commission; in the execution of which he had hitherto been very sparing. He had indeed conferred the command of a company of firelocks, which were the most proper for convoys, on SR. PHIL. PERCIVAL, Commissary General of the provisions of the army; who had been some time in possession of the company, recruited it with men, repaired their arms, and supplied the wants of the soldiers at his own expence, when the Government had no money to pay them. But now the Lord Lieutenant, who was too full of resentment to write to Lord ORMONDE, in the same letter in which he commanded the Justices to dispossess Lord DILLON, commanded them also to turn out SR. P. PERCIVAL, and to give his commission to Captain DENN who had one already. The Council however paused upon this order relating to SR. PHILIP, who was much in every body's esteem; and chose first to represent to the Lord Lieutenant, the great inconveniences which would happen by obeying his order. Lord ORMONDE refused to sign the letter; and dispatched SR. PAT. WEMYS into England, to acquaint the King with the indignity that had been put upon him, and with the management of his Majesty's affairs in Ireland. The King was then at York; where the Earl of LEICESTER was also come, as he pretended in his way to that kingdom,

kingdom, but in reality to complain of Lord ORMONDE's invasion of his rights, and to get him removed. The reader, from what he hath seen of the exertion of his Lordship's authority, will easily guess how this dispute ended; especially when he is told, that Lord LEICESTER justified what he himself had done, by insisting that no body should be admitted to any command, but who was first approved of by the Parliament. Whilst there were any hopes of accommodation, and there were any terms necessary to be observed towards the Parliament, it might have been prudent in the King,—though his affairs in Ireland suffered by it extremely—to continue Lord LEICESTER, who was in their favour, Lord Lieutenant. But when all hopes of accommodation were at an end, when he had not obeyed the King's pressing instances to repair to Dublin, and when he now avowed himself a creature of the Parliament, the King was inexcusably weak, in not displacing him immediately, by giving the sword to the Earl of ORMONDE. But his Majesty contented himself with supporting his Lordship in what he had done, and in acquainting the Ministry at Dublin, that as it was by his command and by the authority which he had given the Lieutenant General, in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, that Lord ORMONDE had disposed of some posts in the army, so his Majesty would not suffer them to be disputed; but that all persons who had already, and should hereafter be so preferred by his Lordship, in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, should be continued in their commands. It was indeed high time to invest Lord ORMOND with this authority; considering that attempts had been made to engage the army in the interests of the English Parliament; and more endeavours probably might be used. SR. P. WEMYS was instructed to lay all the wants of the State before the King; and at the same time to complain of the arbitrary interposition of the Justices and their party in the management of the war, by which means several fair opportunities of reducing the enemy had been lost. Among other partialities and mismanagements, may be reckoned the custodiams which were granted at this time of the lands of rebels to their favourite officers of the army, and the creatures of the Ministry. There was a specious pretence indeed of relieving some of the sufferers in this rebellion, of encouraging and subsisting some of the soldiers, of preserving the corn and grass to supply the army and other good subjects, and of keeping the rebels from
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these advantages. But in fact these custodians were an obstruction to the service, by employing the troops upon them when they should have been sent against the enemy: and the officers to whom they had been granted were so intent upon their gain, that notwithstanding the public necessities, they would not send their corn to supply the markets, without an extravagant price. A crime perhaps more notorious among the English, than any other civilised people under the sun!

It is time now to look into the provinces to see what was doing there. The province of Leinster, of which the Ministry had the care, if it had suffered nothing from the rebels since the battle of Kilrush, it had done very little against them. The distresses of the army were so great, that in truth but little could be attempted. The four regiments which were at last sent over, were so far from being a reinforcement equal to their necessities, that they wanted at that time, as they express in their letter to the committee for Irish affairs, at least seven thousand men to recruit their forces. These supplies were necessary to enable them to take the field, and to reduce Rosse, and Wexford; and that service was also necessary, because the rebels expected great supplies of men, and arms, and ammunition, to arrive at those two places. In order to intercept this reinforcement, the Ministers had sent to the Parliament for two men of war to lie at the mouth of the river of Wexford: but instead of this, Captain KETTLEBY, who had been sent with some frigates to lie off the coast of Ireland, had, notwithstanding all the treaties of the Lords Justices, failed back, and left the sea open for the ships which brought the succours. One is tired and disgusted with so many repeated complaints, as are found in the letters of the Council, of the distresses they endured for want of men, of money, of arms, of ammunition, of provision, and of the small quantities they received of either from the English Parliament; "as though, say they, it was intended that the forces should be incapacitated to act against the rebels." A great deal of this disagreeable trouble hath been saved the reader, by my giving only a general account of such complaints, without reciting the particulars. The Council however made a shift, after the arrival of the four regiments above-mentioned, to send Lord ORMONDE with four thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horse, to raise the blockade

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of Athlone; in which the President of Conaght had long suffered. In his way thither, he took the castle of Knocklynch by storm; forced a pass in which five hundred rebels had intrenched themselves; and advancing to Lord NETTERVILLE's, who had fortified his house and intended to defend it, his Lordship abandoned it, and burned the town; and the Earl proceeded towards Athlone. But SR. JAMES DILLON, who had lain before it from Christmas, upon the approach of the army, raised the blockade and retired. This gave an opportunity to the Lord President, to march out with a small party, and to meet Lord ORMONDE at Kilkenny: where he received his own, and SR. MICH. ERNLY's regiment, and two troops of horse that were designed him, but no money to pay, or to subsist them; and the General, having performed the service on which he was sent, returned with his army to Dublin.

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We left the province of Munster in a very indifferent plight; the President, SR. WIL. ST. LEGER, having neither men, nor money, nor provision, neither able to take the field, nor to relieve the fort of Limerick which was besieged. Both he, and his province, seem to have been abandoned by the Council, and left to shift for themselves as they could. In the last letter he wrote to the Earl of ORMONDE, which was almost eight months after the rebellion had broken out, he tells him "that he had not received the honour of one tittle or letter from them, either of instruction, encouragement, or advice. Money he did not expect from them, nor urge for very earnestly: but that which he chiefly desired, they could never answer the refusal of before God or man; having so many ordnance to spare — of which he only desired six pieces — as that he knew they could not possibly devise how to employ them there." As the rebels had laid a boom across the river of Limerick, to prevent its being relieved by sea, they were in daily expectation of its being surrendered for want of provision and ammunition; but finding their hopes fail them, they resolved to undermine it. Having worked some time with little success, at last a great part of the wall fell down; and the fort capitulated. The President, seeing himself and his province so much neglected, and being worn down too much with age to bear up against the difficulties with which he had to encounter, he laid his ill treatment so much to heart, that he fell into a disorder of which

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he died, in a few days after the loss of Limerick. Upon his death, the military command of the province was given by the Administration to Lord INCHQUIN; and in the civil government, he was joined by Lord BARRIMORE, who dying a few months after, the whole command devolved upon him. He sent over two officers to the Parliament to solicit supplies of all sorts; but he got nothing save only ten thousand pounds, which served to keep the forces just alive, and not to enable them to take the field; they were so much weakened by sickness, and want, and other hardships. The Lord FORBES, who was made by the Parliament, without the King's concurrence, Lieutenant General of the additional forces raised by the adventurers to scour the coasts of Ireland, in a privateering kind of way, came into the harbour of Kinsale, with twelve hundred soldiers on board his ships; and without any ceremony towards Lord INCHQUIN, in acquainting him with his commission or design, he landed his men, and marched with eight hundred into the country; where he sustained a great loss in men, and arms, and colours by the rebels. Lord INCHQUIN, being desirous to make use of the forces for the advantage of the public service, passed by the incivility shewed him; and sent a gentleman to Lord FORBES, desiring his assistance in an expedition to destroy the harvest of the rebels in the county of Limerick, which by preventing their subsistence in the ensuing winter might shorten the war in that province. But Lord FORBES gave a flat denial. He was solicited also to throw in some provisions by sea to SR. ED. DENNY's castle, a strong and important place on the coast of Kerry: but he chose to make preys on the country, rather than to do any service; and after besieging the castle of SR. RÖG. SHAGNUSSY, who was then in actual service against the rebels, after burning his town, wasting his estate, and committing other ravages in the county of Cork, he re-embarked his forces, and sailed for the river of Limerick.

Lord INCHQUIN being thus unassisted, and scarce able to subsist, could do nothing more than make incursions into the country from his garrisons, in order to bring in some provisions for his men. The rebels, by the surrender of the castle of Limerick, had acquired some pieces of cannon—one of which carried a ball of two and thirty pounds—and with these they had reduced all the castles in that county. They were preparing to reduce those

those in the county of Cork; and Lord INCHQUIN, apprehending that he should in the end be blocked up and starved, resolved to make a push, and to put the fate of the province upon the issue of a battle. Besides the forces already mentioned, the Earl of Cork had raised two troops of horse at his own expence, commanded by his sons the Lords KYNALMEAKY, and BROGHILL, and four hundred foot; and the Earl of BARRIMORE, his son-in-law, had raised another troop, and two companies of foot. They had maintained as well as raised them, at their own charge, till a little before this time; when, at the instance of the Administration, they were put on the establishment, but they had not yet received any pay for them. They were very ready however to go upon action; and having joined Lord INCHQUIN, the army under him consisted only of eighteen hundred and fifty foot, and four hundred horse: a small body to encounter seven thousand five hundred rebels; and yet to make up that small body, he had drained his garrisons so near, that there were not above four hundred men left to garrison the important towns of Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal. The Irish brought with them their large battering piece in a hollow tree; drawn by five and twenty yoke of oxen, over bogs where no wheel-carriage could pass. Their first attempt was on the castle of Lisscarrol, belonging to SR. P. PERCIVALL, which was strong both by art and nature; but having only a serjeant and thirty men to defend it, in a few days surrendered. Lord INCHQUIN being determined to risque a battle, and having with him SR. CHA. VAVASOUR a gallant old officer, and the Lords BARRIMORE, DUNGARVAN, KYNALMEAKY, and BROGHILL, advanced towards Lisscarrol to meet the enemy. The rebels had intended to march to Donneraile; but hearing of Lord INCHQUIN's intention to engage them, they drew up in order of battle, to great advantage near the castle, and determined to wait for him in that posture. When his Lordship saw their situation, he was more concerned at their advantage-ground, than at their numbers. He made use of a feint therefore to draw them from it, in which Lord KYNALMEAKY was killed by a musket shot; but this feint not succeeding, he determined to attack them where they were, notwithstanding the advantage of the post they occupied, and their vast superiority. The rebels received the attack with more firmness, and maintained the action with more courage for a short time, than was usual with them; but at last, they fell back,

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We left the province of Conaght at the end of May, with the counties of Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon, mostly in the power of the rebels: And tho' Lord ORMONDE, as we have seen, had carried a supply of two thousand five hundred men, yet bringing no provisions, nor money for their subsistence, nor for the pay of those forces that were before in the province, the men were rather a burden than of any use. For they came to a country wasted to such a degree, that the garrisons of the county of Roscommon could not have subsisted so long as they did, if they had not been supplied with provisions from the county of Galway, by the care and credit of Lord CLANRICARDE. The President had been blocked up for six months in Athlone; and being almost starved himself, had nothing for the supply of the additional forces. DR. BORLASE, who seems greatly prejudiced against Lord RANELAGH, says indeed "that with these forces he might easily have subdued all Conaght: but instead of employing such brave men abroad, while the summer lasted, he kept them at home on short and rotten commons; whereby most of them were famished, or so enfeebled, that a tenth man was hardly able to march, tho' the country yet abounded in corn, and cattle." The truth is, the soldiers had not a morsel of bread for three days after they came to Athlone, and for fifteen days succeeding but three pounds to a man: so that they took up their arms, and were marching

marching away to Dublin in a mutiny; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that SR. M. ERNLY, who came with them from England, and commanded one of the regiments, could prevent their going away. This however was not the fault of the President, as BORLASE says with great untruth, and as many others at that time seem to have believed.

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The memoirs and letters of Lord CLANRICARDE, in which the distresses of that province, and the President's utmost endeavour to relieve them, appear very clearly, are a sufficient vindication of Lord RANELAGH: And though SR. M. ERNLY, SR. C. COOTE, and several other officers, exhibited seventy four articles against his Lordship, which Lord ORMONDE sent to the King, yet when he attended his Majesty in England, in consequence of that complaint, he fully cleared himself of all the aspersions cast upon him. Indeed it appears very clearly from these memoirs, that Lord RANELAGH was one of those who did not approve of the scheme of extirpation; and who was for treating those who had been unwarily misled, or forced into the rebellion, with much more moderation, than those who had from the beginning been the chief actors in it: and this opinion, and his conduct conformable to it, were probably the foundation of all the complaints against him. But be this as it might. As soon as he had procured a supply of bread, and four hundred pounds from Lord CLANRICARDE on their joint bond, which appeased the army for some time, the President led them into the field, took and burned some castles, engaged and defeated a body of rebels, and routed the forces of O CONNOR DUN the Irish Chieftain of the province; "who had long lain inactive, and was then but newly awakened out of his ale and aquavitæ." The bread and money being exhausted, and the President unable to procure more, the soldiery were reduced to a distress which words cannot paint. This obliged him to make a cessation for three months, in the counties of Westmeath, and Longford; and not being able to do the same for Roscommon, Athlone was again besieged by the rebels, and so continued for the remainder of this year.

Except a wild tract of country, called Irconaght, the whole county of Galway, the largest and richest in that province, was hitherto preserved in peace and obedience, by the indefatigable care, and the great credit, and interest

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WILLOUGHBY was not content with what he could do himself, but he sent for Lord FORBES, to assist him with his fleet against the town, in breach of the pacification. As soon as his Lordship anchored in the bay of Galway, he landed some of his men on the Thomond side, and burnt the houses, and wasted the lands, of the only two Gentlemen in the county, who

who had not joined in the rebellion; and who had not only preserved the English all that was in their power, but had also relieved the fort with provisions, by their boats when it was besieged. The arrival of this commander, without any commission from the King, or from the Government of Ireland, threw Lord CLANRICARDE into a fresh perplexity. His Lordship represented to him, the fatal consequences that would attend the breach of the pacification. But FORBES, who had all the roughness of the seaman, without any of the politeness of the nobleman, and who was besides governed by the famous HUGH PETERS, his chaplain in the expedition, meant nothing less than to do any service to the King, and the country, against the rebels. Thus landing his men on the west-side of Galway, he took possession of one of the churches, planted two pieces of ordnance against the town, declared against the pacification, required an absolute submission from the corporation, of which he sent them a draft, and burned all the villages round about, which were chiefly the estates of Lord CLANRICARDE. His Lordship complained loudly of these proceedings; and the President of Conaght went on purpose to Lord FORBES, to persuade him to withdraw his forces, and to leave the town and country in the quiet, in which the Governor, by his great prudence and interest, had hitherto preserved it. But though the Admiral had found by this time that he could not take the place, nor execute the wild schemes which WILLOUGHBY had infused into him, yet when the President proposed his removing with his fleet to the bay of Sligo, which was an excellent harbour at a small distance, a town easily to be gained, and the fittest for a magazine of any in those parts, the Admiral would not comply with it. He made however some accommodation with Lord CLANRICARDE, and some little excuses for his uncivil letters, and the outrages of his men: and having committed a senseless kind of fury towards the town, in defacing the church, digging up the graves, and burning the bones and coffins inclosed in them, he embarked his men, and returned to the river of Limerick. As soon as Lord CLANRICARDE had got rid of this imperious and troublesome visitant, he renewed his care and influence in supplying the fort with three months provisions. But it would take up a large book of itself to recount the violent proceedings of Captain WILLOUGHBY, and of the Captain of a frigate in the bay of Galway, against the town; the resentment of the town against those

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commanders; the complaints of both to Lord CLANRICARDE; his Lordship's representations to the Government; and the infinite pains and trouble which it cost him, to piece up the quarrels between the town and fort. These may be seen at large in the folio edition of Lord CLANRICARDE's memoirs: and nothing but the perusal of that work can give the reader an idea of the indefatigable application of that Nobleman; the difficulties he had to struggle with, through the want of all assistance from the Ministry, or rather from their discouragements; from the perverseness and ill humours of the town of Galway; the unaccountable frenzy of Captain WILLOUGHBY; the perpetual solicitations of some of his Catholic friends and relations to join with them in the common cause; and the threatnings, if he did not, of being destroyed by others. But such was the real patriotism of Lord CLANRICARDE, that nothing could move him from his loyalty to the King, and his love to his country: and therefore at much expence, and with great trouble, and danger, he continued to supply the fort, and to preserve the town and county of Galway in their duty, to the end of the year.

In the province of Ulster, to which we must now return, we left the rebels reduced to the last extremities, by their disappointment at Drogheda, their loss of Newry, the successes of SR. H. TITCHBORNE, and the progress of the Scotch forces in the North of Ireland. But MONROE having lain idle for two months, without attempting any thing against the rebels, they had time to gather again in a body: and SR. P. O NEIL, having collected all the forces that could be raised in that province, marched at the head of them against SR. W. and SR. ROB. STEWART. They met, and fought; and after the sharpest action that had been in the North, the rebels were routed with the loss of five hundred slain on the spot—BORLASE says two thousand—besides many prisoners and a much greater number wounded. The two conquerors were desirous of improving their victory, by driving the enemy out of their lurking holes in those parts; and they represented the necessity of doing it to the government: but as they had no pay for their men, and the Ministers either could not or would not send them any, this necessary service was not performed. About this time Lord MONTGOMERY, with seven hundred of his own regiment, and three troops of

of horse, followed by others of Lord CLANBOY's and CONWAY's men, joined MONROE as he lay in his quarters near Lisburn. His Lordship pressed him extremely to pursue the rebels into the county of Ardmagh; and MONROE positively refusing to cross the Bann, he marched thither with his own little army, and forced the town of Charlemont. On the same night, SR. W. BROWNLOW surprised the fort of Dungannon; and with the brass ordnance that was found there, Lord MONTGOMERY hoped to frighten the fort of Charlemont—the only place of strength left to the rebels in those parts—into a surrender; but being short of ammunition, he was obliged to quit the enterprise, and return home. He prepared however to make a second attempt upon that castle; but MONROE would not permit his forces to march, pretending that the Scots only were to make war in Ulster. Indeed they carried that article in their agreement with the English Parliament—so dishonourable to England, and so pernicious to the Irish service—to so great a length, that the Earl of LEVEN, the Scotch General, sent positive orders, that no place should be besieged, nor a garrison put into any town in Ulster, but by permission of the Scotch commanders.

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As soon as MONROE began to assemble his forces, and to make ready for attacking the rebels, which was not till the middle of July, the Irish Chiefs had a meeting to consider what should be done: and finding it impossible for them, in their then circumstances, to make any defence, having neither arms, nor ammunition, it was agreed that every one should shift for himself; and they were preparing for their escape abroad accordingly. But just at this juncture, an express arrived from OWEN O NEIL, with an account that he was landed in the county of Donnegall, accompanied with some old officers and soldiers of his own regiment, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition; that he had sent a ship with another cargo to Wexford; and since his landing had possessed himself of Castle-Doe, where he should stay till they sent some forces to convoy him into their quarters. This account revived their hopes; and getting together a sufficient number of men for that purpose, they soon brought O NEIL to the fort of Charlemont; which, if the Scotch General had pleased, might have been then in the hands of the Government. But he would not permit the royal army to take it, nor would he take it himself. His

CHARLES I. whole time was spent in ravaging the counties of Down and Antrim, which he wasted more than the rebels had done, and in driving vast herds of cattle to the sea side, and transporting them into Scotland. His exploits of this kind were so extravagant, that the Council found themselves obliged to complain of him to the Commissioners for Irish affairs; lest he should exhaust the province of Ulster of all the cattle, and distress the army, and inhabitants, for want of provision.

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OWEN O NEIL was a man of good natural parts much improved by experience in his profession; in the exercise of which he seems to have copied after the model of the Roman FABIVS, by leaving very little to chance, in dextrously taking hold of any advantage given him by his enemy, and in the utmost care to afford no advantage over himself. To this officer, who had brought them such seasonable supplies, the Ulster rebels submitted readily, as their General; and put the management of the war into his hands. To his military qualifications, may be added his sobriety, moderation, reservedness, and knowledge of the world; in all which SR. PHELM was very defective. Tho' the latter therefore had the true pretensions to the title of THE O NEIL, which he had assumed—OWEN being of an illegitimate branch—yet he thought it prudent to drop it, in respect to a General officer of such superior merit. The first thing which the new General did, was to express his abhorrence of the cruelties that had been committed upon the English, and to send the few prisoners, that had not been put to the sword, safe to Dundalk. He affected to treat SR. PHELM with great ceremony; but yet he told him plainly, that he deserved to be used with the same cruelty. To shew his detestation of the barbarities that had been committed, he burned several of the murderers houses at Kinnard, where he was declared General; and said with a warmth, that was not usual to him, that he would join with the English rather than not burn the rest. His next care was to discipline his forces, and to provide the fort of Charlemont against a siege.

For the Earl of LEVEN was landed with so many additional forces, as made the Scots an army in Ulster of ten thousand foot. As many more of the King's forces, besides a thousand horse, were likewise in that province; and

and the whole was under his direction. With this army, that was equal to the greatest undertaking, nothing was done that deserves any notice. They passed over the Bann into the county of Derry; and thence advancing into Tyrone, LEVEN wrote a letter to O NEIL, to advise him to return to his former service abroad; and in which his Lordship told him, that he was sorry that a man of his great reputation and experience, should come to Ireland to maintain so bad a cause. O NEIL in his answer said, that he had more reason to come to relieve the deplorable state of his country, than his Lordship had to march at the head of an army into England against his King, in order to force him into unreasonable conditions, when they were then already masters of all Scotland. LEVEN found by this answer, that he was not a match for O NEIL in letters; and whether or no he concluded thence that he was not a match for him in arms, it is certain that in the short stay he made in Tyrone he attempted nothing; but retreating back to the Northern part of the province, delivering up the command of the army to MONROE, and telling him he would certainly be worsted, if once O NEIL got an army together, he went off for Scotland.

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Whether this conduct of the Scotch General, at the head of twenty thousand men, will move the reader's mirth or indignation must be left to himself: if it was his Lordship's cowardice, it will excite the former; but if it was his iniquity, that the war might be protracted, and their troops employed, it will move the latter. No good reason surely can be given for such inaction; and if we add, that he refused to send the powder, match, and other military stores, which were at Carrickfergus before his arrival, for which the Lords Justices had given express orders, and for want of which they were in the utmost distress, a bad reason it is to be feared must be assigned. Indeed the Irish confidently gave out, that they had no hostilities to fear from the Scots; and as tho' MONROE had a design to confirm the report, he made no attempt upon the enemy during the remainder of the year, nor till the following spring. If, in excuse of this inactivity, he might plead that his forces were very ill paid by the English Parliament, the other forces in the province were paid worse, and were besides in great want of all warlike necessaries. Indeed the two regiments, of Lord CONWAY, and SR. JOHN CLOTWORTHY, raised and officered by the Parliament,

CHARLES I. had received one thousand pounds; but all the other regiments, commissioned by the King at the breaking out of the insurrection, whose services and sufferings had been very great, and who had borne the brunt of the war in all the rigour of the winter season, were left to shift for themselves. It was not till six months after they had been raised and maintained, chiefly at the expence of their officers, who were Gentlemen of fortune in the country, that the Council in Ireland could prevail to have them put upon the establishment; and in six months after they were allowed to be paid, not a shilling had been sent for these ten thousand men. The Council repeated their solicitations in favour of them, from time to time, and represented their infinite distress; but the Parliament contented themselves with ordering the value of fourteen thousand pounds, in money, provision, and ammunition, to be sent to Carrickfergus for them in October; for nothing of this was received at the end of the year, tho' they had been fourteen months in arms without any supply whatever. Having seen the state of the several provinces to this period, we must return to the transactions which were carrying on at Dublin by the Council, and at Leinster under them.

A dispute between the Lord Lieutenant, and the Earl of ORMONDE, about the disposing of commissions in the army, hath been already mentioned: and as Lord LEICESTER pretended that he was going over to his command in Ireland, so the castle was fitting up for his reception. Wherefore to provide against any oppression, which Lord ORMONDE might suffer from the ill humour of the Lord Lieutenant, or any detriment to the public service by vacating his commission, the King sent him a licence to repair into England when he saw fit; and a commission, under the great seal, of Lieutenant General of the army in Ireland, by immediate authority from his Majesty: the commissions which he had for that post before being from the Lord Lieutenant, and revocable at his pleasure. The King, having thus provided for the continuance of his Lordship's power, as a further mark of the sense his Majesty had of his eminent services and fidelity, created him Marquis of ORMONDE. But the more he was honoured and confided in by the King, the more obnoxious he became to the Irish Ministers. They had always found his command in the army had been a great obstruction to their

their measures; and they did every thing which they could to make him uneasy in it, that he might be tempted to throw it up. He was but too well acquainted with their sentiments, and with their designs against him; but his desire to serve the King, and to prevent the ruin of his country, made him pass by all their contumelious usage. He had about this time proposed to them the siege of Wexford, where the rebels expected their foreign supplies to land; and desired nothing more than to march out with such a part of the army only as might well be spared from Dublin. He pressed this expedition daily at the Council board; but the prevailing opinion, that they had not either men, or ammunition enough to spare for such an undertaking, set it aside. That proposal being rejected, the Marquis then recommended, that a part of the army might be employed, in reducing some of the most considerable inland places in Leinster; in which lay the greatest strength of the rebels in those parts. This proposal met with a better reception; and the Marquis had fixed on the number of men, and the day to march: but falling ill himself of a violent fever—not without some suspicion of poison, says Lord CASTLEHAVEN—that design was also laid aside. Tho' all his proposals of going out upon service, had been answered with the emptiness of the stores, and the wants of the army, yet when he was confined by illness, provisions were found, without any fresh supply, for a three weeks expedition under the Lord LISLE; who did nothing more in it than waste the lands of the Earl of FINGALL, and burn the houses, corn, hay, and turf, that he found in the country, without any opposition from the rebels.

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Before the Marquis was recovered, Colonel PRESTON landed at Wexford. He was brother to Lord GORMANSTON, had served many years abroad with great reputation, and, having married a Flemish lady of quality, was in a fair way of aggrandising himself in Flanders. He brought with him three frigates of war, besides some other vessels laden with battering cannon, field pieces, and a vast quantity of arms and ammunition. He was accompanied with four Colonels, several engineers, and five hundred other officers who had been long employed in foreign service, whom he had persuaded to try their fortune under him. There had two vessels arrived at the same port before him, laden with arms and ammunition; and he

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he was soon followed with twelve more, not only freighted with the same warlike stores from three ports in France, but with abundance of officers, and old soldiers, which RICHLIEU had discharged, that they might return into their own country upon this occasion. The Council in Ireland had given notice to the English Parliament of these intended supplies—as already mentioned—and had desired some men of war to be sent upon that coast to intercept them. But when Lord ORMONDE proposed to the same Council the siege of Wexford, in order to prevent the landing of these supplies, or securing them if they came into port, they were as inattentive to him, as they saw the Parliament had been to them; and probably because they saw the Parliament so. In this manner were the Irish supplied abundantly with all sorts of warlike stores; whilst the English forces were labouring under the want of every thing.

There was not a single piece of battering cannon at Dublin, and their powder and match were brought very near to an end. The clothing, and money, that had been sent, bore no sort of proportion to the distresses of the officers, and soldiers of the army. To enumerate all these would be tedious and disagreeable: let it suffice to say in general, that during a whole year of this rebellion, the several sums put together sent over by the English Parliament for the pay of the army—which was above thirty four thousand men, besides the Scots—and for the relief of the ruined Protestants, amounted to no more than eighty eight thousand five hundred pounds. Whoever considers the vast disproportion between the sums remitted, and what was necessary for the pay of the army, and the other occasions of the service, the amazing slowness in sending any supplies, and the paltry sums and quantities in which they were sent, so unequal to the distresses of the State and army, and of so little use to remove them, can scarce believe that the English Parliament had any desire then to suppress this rebellion. Many instances might be given in which it served their purposes very effectually; but they have been already hinted at, and more does not fall within the purpose of this history. About the latter end of October, REYNOLDS and GOODWYN, two Members of the House of Commons, arrived at Dublin, with twenty thousand pounds, and some powder and match. The business of these men was to govern the Lords Justices, and to endeavour to seduce the

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the army in Leinster; in order to make themselves as sure of Ireland, as they were then of Scotland: and tho' the supply they brought was infinitely below the necessities of the State and army, yet they signified that nothing further was to be soon expected.

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The Parliament of Ireland met at Dublin in November according to their adjournment; but the bills which had been sent to England, in order to make the penal laws against the Papists still more severe, were not yet returned: and according to POYNING's law, there could be no proceeding upon those bills, till they were approved, and remitted by the King, and Council in England. The Ministers, ever ready at expedients, proposed a bill to suspend a part of the statute, called POYNING's act, concerning acts to be passed for the abolishing of Popery, and the attainder of the rebels. But as in the draft of this bill they had taken notice of the Adventurers act lately passed in England, the Marquis of ORMONDE objected to it, as implying a concession very prejudicial to the independency of that kingdom. The Parliament were much alarmed at this objection; and as they would not admit, that acts passed in England should be obligatory upon Ireland, without being confirmed there, so this expedient was then dropped. A petition from the Lord DUNSANY, and several other prisoners in the castle, was presented to the House of Lords; complaining of the hardships they suffered in their confinement, and desiring to be admitted to bail: but after several debates, the House came to a resolution not to intermeddle in the case, and to refer their examinations to the court of King's bench; the judges whereof should make use of them, as they saw cause, and as was practised in the like cases. The petitioners, finding they were not likely to be bailed, presented a second petition; desiring that their prison might be changed. This petition was referred to the consideration of a committee, who reported that the Lord DUNSANY, and three others, were fit to be recommended to the Council, to be sent to some prison or place of safety in the city.

As soon as REYNOLDS, and GOODWYN, sent over by the English House of Commons—as above mentioned—were settled at Dublin, they took upon them the direction of all public affairs: they were allowed by the Lords Justices,

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left to the reader's determination: but the House of Lords, then sitting, resolved that the sermon should not pass without a censure. Lord HOWTH therefore acquainted the House, that he had been informed, by a reverend Prelate, of some very scandalous reflections, which one JEROME had thrown on their Majesties, and some of the Members of that House, in a sermon on Sunday last; which he thought was an affair that required their Lordship's consideration. The Bishop of MEATH then stood up, and assured the House, that he was at church and heard the reflections mentioned; upon which an order was made to take JEROME into custody, and to bring him before the House to answer the complaint against him. The next day the Bishop of MEATH informed the House, that JEROME had the day before preached another sermon in the same place, no less scandalous than the former, and therefore moved that he might be brought before them, and punished; more especially, he said, as the Lords Justices had protected him, in contempt of the authority of his diocesan. But JEROME, not caring now to rely upon his protection, absconded; and was not taken till the Tuesday following, when he was brought to the bar, and committed to the custody of the Serjeant at arms. Had it not been for the length which the Ministers went, in supporting such a turbulent noisy fellow, he was in himself so worthless and inconsiderable, that the Lords would have left him to the contempt of the public, without any notice of him. But when they saw the steps which the Justices had taken, it was no longer the cause of a mean illiterate buffoon, but it was the cause of the State against the Ministers of the State. The business of JEROME therefore was referred to a committee, of three spiritual and six temporal Lords, upon whom the Judges were to attend. When the report was made to the House, it was thought the most prudential way, in order to put a stop to such licentiousness, to send the examinations to the Council, by the Lords ORMONDE and LAMBERT, who were members of it, and for them to recommend it to the Justices, as a matter of great consequence fit for their consideration. At the same time, JEROME was committed to the custody of one of the Sheriffs of Dublin, till further order from the Justices, or the House of Lords. The Justices were far from inclining to punish a man whom they had protected, if not employed; and this impunity encouraged others to follow his example. Upon this, the Lords ORMONDE

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and LAMBERT were again appointed to acquaint the Ministers with the evil consequences of this practice; and that it was the desire of the House that they would take care to prevent them. But as the Ministers were determined to do nothing in it themselves, they were resolved that the House of Lords should have no opportunity of proceeding in it neither. Wherefore letting the business lie dormant, on the day on which they had determined to prorogue the Parliament, PARSONS sent the examinations to the Lord Chancellor, and directed him to inform the House, that the Council "thought JEROME worthy of punishment, for so much of his sermon as should be deemed to reflect on his Majesty; but that they did not think fit to take it out of their Lordship's hands, and left it wholly to them to punish the delinquent—whom the Justices esteemed a rash distracted man—as the Lords should think fit." The Chancellor delivered the message, and the examinations; and the Lords were not a little nettled at this tricking treatment of the Justices. They resolved however, as short as their time of sitting was to be, to declare their sense of this proceeding: and forming themselves into a committee, of which the Marquis of ORMONDE was chairman, they drew up an order, to which the House unanimously assented, and which was accordingly entered. After reciting the several preceding facts, "it was resolved that the examinations should be carried again to the Justices by the same two Lords; who should acquaint them, that as the House is disabled by the prorogation from the final hearing of the cause, and it is a matter in which the honour of the King, and of the Government, is much concerned, therefore the House conceived it proper, that the Justices who represent his Majesty's person, and who have his authority, should vindicate the same; and that JEROME should be continued, or bailed, or discharged, as they should direct." The Lords had scarce passed this order, when a message was delivered to them from the Commons, that they had heard of an intention to prorogue the Parliament; and having some business of consequence then before them, they desired that the Parliament might not be prorogued till some other day, or at least not till the afternoon. An answer was returned by the Lords, that they had also business of consequence before them; but they had thought fit to conform themselves to the pleasure of the Government, and should acquiesce in the prorogation. Thus was this Parliament broke up on a sudden, without any intimation

intimation to either house, for the dispatch of the business before them, in order to a recess.—It is impossible to read an account of the arbitrary measures of these Ministers, and not to be moved with surprise and indignation, that men so devoted to the destruction of their country, and so disobedient to the interests, and to the orders of the King, should be so long entrusted with the power of hurting both.—We must now turn to the proceedings of the rebels in Leinster till the end of the year.

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It was expected when PRESTON had landed at Wexford, with such an extraordinary supply as hath been mentioned, that they would have entered immediately upon some important action: but they had some affairs to settle among themselves, before they could draw out all their forces, to act in concert against the Protestants. It was absolutely necessary for the rebels to establish some authority, to make orders obeyed, and to prevent those mischiefs which always attend competitions for power, and an uncertain right of command. To this purpose, the deputies out of all the provinces met in a general assembly, in the latter end of October, at Kilkenny: and after protesting that they did not mean that assembly to be a Parliament—the right of calling which they owned to be inseparable from the Crown—but a general meeting only to establish order in their affairs, till his Majesty's wisdom had settled the present troubles, they proceeded to form their plan, in a manner resembling that of a Parliament. One body was composed of Bishops and temporal Lords; and the other consisted of the deputies of counties and towns, as the estate of the Commons. They met in one room, in which MR. DARCY sat bareheaded on a stool, to represent the Judges, or Masters in Chancery; and MR. NICH. PLUNKET sat as Speaker, to whom both Lords and Commons addressed their speeches. The former had an upper room to retire to for private consultations; and when they had taken their resolutions, they were communicated to the latter by MR. DARCY. The Clergy met in another house, called the Convocation; where, it was reported, that they handled only matters of tithes, and the settling of church possessions; to which but little deference was paid by the laity. Each county was to have its Council, to decide all affairs cognisable by Justices of the Peace, pleas of the Crown, and suits for debts, and personal actions. From these there lay an appeal to the provincial Council,

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consisting of two deputies from every county, to meet four times a year, to decide all suits like Judges of Assize, and to establish recent possessions. From these there lay a further appeal to the Supreme Council of twenty-four, to be chosen by the General Assembly; of which twelve were to be constantly resident at Kilkenny, or wherever else should be judged expedient: they were to have equal voices, but nine were necessary to make a board, and seven were to concur in the same opinion to make it an act of council. Out of these twenty-four, a President was to be named by the General Assembly, who was to be always resident; and in case of death, or sickness, or any necessary absence, the other residents were to choose a Vice-President out of the whole Council.

To this Council was committed a power over all the Generals, military officers of all ranks, and all civil Magistrates: to which they were to send an account of all their proceedings, and receive their orders from it. In short, the Supreme Council was to hear and judge in all causes, except in titles to lands, and to do every thing that was necessary for the common good of the confederacy; and it was to be confirmed or changed at the end of each Assembly. Having thus settled their form of government, the provincial Generals were next appointed; OW. O'NEIL for Ulster, PRESTON for Leinster, GAR. BARRY for Munster, and in hopes of prevailing with Lord CLANRICARDE, Colonel BOURKE as Lieutenant General only for the province of Conaght. To prevent dissensions between particular persons about titles to estates, it was ordered, that all lands should be enjoyed by those who had been in possession for three years before the insurrection; and that no distinction, nor comparison should be made, between the old Irish and the new English, or between septs and families, under very severe penalties. But even in this Assembly, where harmony and unanimity seemed so essential to their common cause, a spirit of ambition created feuds and animosities; SR. P. O'NEIL, R. MOORE, and others, conceiving themselves to be slighted in the disposition of the ministry, and the posts in the army. These were however composed by the interposition of friends; at least in appearance. Several other regulations were made in this Assembly, but not worth reciting. Their chief employment was to draw up letters and instructions for their agents to foreign princes, desiring their

their assistance; and petitions to the King and Queen, setting forth their condition, and begging that a place of safety might be assigned them where they might with freedom express their grievances. These petitions are too long and wordy to be inserted: nor is there in them any justification, or apology for their behaviour, but what is founded upon a fallacy too gross to deceive the King. They assign the resolution taken by the English Parliament, and their party in Ireland, to extirpate their nation and religion, and the King's subjects there in arms being bent upon their ruin, as the reason of their rebellion; which they modestly call too, "putting themselves into a posture of natural defence:" and all the hellish cruelties which SR. PH. O NEIL, MACGUIRE, and others practised, are skimmed over with the phrase "of an intemperance in the commonalty, that they acted some unwarrantable cruelties upon Puritans, or others suspected of Puritanism." But they dwell largely upon the measures offered to the Catholic natives, and give a minute and pathetic description of the barbarities which they suffered. These petitions were read on the last day of the Assembly, and their conveyance was recommended to the Supreme Council.

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The reader must remember how, and on what account, Lord CASTLEHAVEN was made a prisoner by the State, without any hopes of relief from England; the King telling his brother, Colonel TOUCHET, that he had left all the affairs of Ireland to the Parliament; and on his application to them, the Parliament saying, they could do nothing without the King. In this uneasy situation, after twenty weeks imprisonment at the Sheriff's, there was an order of Council to remove his Lordship to a closer confinement in the castle; at which he was startled. The Ministers, he knew, were of the faction of the English Parliament; and Lord ORMONDE was confined with illness. Weighing these circumstances well, "and concluding that Innocence was but a scurvy plea in an angry time, he resolved to attempt an escape, and save himself in the Irish quarters." Having effected his escape, and got safely into Kilkenny, at the time when the General Assembly had made these regulations, his Lordship was sent for by the Council there, to tell his story, and what he intended to do. On his replying that he intended to go by the way of France into England, they informed him what they were doing for their preservation, seeing no distinction made,

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made, nor safety but in arms; and assuring him that he was well-beloved, and persecuted on the same score that they were, and they were all so ruined that they had no more to lose than their lives, they persuaded him to stay with them. He took two or three days time to consider of this proposition, and to examine the model of government they had prepared, and most particularly their oath of association; which was ordered to be taken in every parish throughout the kingdom, and the names of such as took it to be enrolled on parchment, and returned to the ordinaries of every diocese. Lord CASTLEHAVEN having spent some time in these considerations, and taken his resolution—to which whether anger and revenge did not incline him as much as any thing, he could not certainly resolve—he returned to the Supreme Council, thanked them for their good opinion of him, and engaged himself to run a fortune with them.” There is an inaccuracy in his Lordship’s placing the Supreme Council before the General Assembly, which is here corrected; but as his memoirs were written at the distance of forty years after the facts, the inaccuracy is not much to be wondered at. He was added to the Supreme Council, when he had taken the oath, without relation to any province, but to the kingdom at large,, and made General of the Horse under PRESTON.

The oath of association differs somewhat in form, though little in sense and in a treacherous absurdity, from that which had been taken before; and which is mentioned in the former book. In this oath they swore, to bear true allegiance to the King, and to maintain his prerogatives and rights, the power and privileges of the Parliament in Ireland, and the fundamental laws of that kingdom.” But they swore at the same time, in direct opposition to these fundamental laws, “that they would defend and uphold the free exercise of the Roman catholic faith and religion throughout the land, and the lives, liberties, estates, and rights, of all those that had taken, or should take that oath, and perform the contents thereof: that they would obey all the orders of the Supreme Council, and would not seek any pardon or protection for any act, touching the said general cause, without the consent of the major part of the said Council: that they would not do any thing to prejudice the said cause, which, to the hazard of their lives, and estates, they would assist, prosecute, and maintain: moreover

moreover they swore further, that they would not accept of, nor submit to any peace made without the consent of the General Assembly: and for the preservation, and strengthening of the association, upon any peace to be made with the confederate Catholicks as aforesaid, they would, to the utmost of their power, insist upon, and maintain the ensuing propositions, until a peace be made, and the articles agreed upon be established, and secured by Parliament." The ensuing propositions were to no less a purport, than that "the Roman catholic religion should be as freely, and publicly exercised, and in as full lustre and splendour, as before the reformation; that the Prelates, and all the secular Clergy, should enjoy their several jurisdictions, and immunities, in as full and ample a manner, as they did before the reformation; that all the laws of restraint, penalty, fine, or incapacity laid upon the Catholicks, clergy or laity, since the reformation, should be repealed by Parliament; and that the Prelates, and Clergy, should hold and enjoy all the churches, and church livings, with all their profits and emoluments in as large and ample a manner, as they were enjoyed by the Protestant Clergy before this rebellion."

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In short, the meaning of these propositions, was nothing more nor less, than that the Protestant religion should be extirpated, the reformation should be annihilated, and Popery should be established in all its ancient splendour. That the titular Bishops, and Clergy, should have impudence enough to frame such an oath, and such propositions, by which they were to acquire so large a share of power, and profit, is not much to be wondered at: but that the Nobility and Gentry, who had either conscience or common sense, could be weak enough to submit to an oath, by which, in the beginning of it, they were bound to maintain and defend the King's rights, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and in the end of it, equally bound to oppose those rights and laws, and finally to abrogate and overturn them, is a matter of great astonishment. If the making a new Great Seal, coining money, appointing an Attorney General, and ordering "that no temporal government or jurisdiction should be exercised within that kingdom during the troubles, except such as should be approved of by the General Assembly, or Supreme Council," were not acts that deprived the King of his rights and prerogatives,

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tives, and that abrogated the fundamental laws of the land, then nothing could be so interpreted; the King's Ministers were rebels, and this Assembly was the legal State: An absurdity, which the Popish Clergy found men obedient enough to them to swallow, though so repugnant to common sense. But it confirms an observation made in the last book on the principles of Popery; "that no duty of allegiance, no ties of any kind, are to stand in competition with the interest of that religion." It shews too, what a great power the priesthood have over the conscience in that communion; a power inconsistent with reason, and not more opposite to liberty, than to the Christian doctrine.

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A resolution had been taken in the General Assembly, to raise an army of upwards of thirty thousand men in Leinster; the greatest part of which was to be kept in the garrisons of that province: but about six thousand foot, and six hundred horse, were to form an army for General PRESTON; under whom Lord CASTLEHAVEN served as Lieutenant General of the horse. When half of this body was got together, PRESTON marched into the King's county; and having invested the castle of Burras, it was surrendered to him immediately. This was the last action performed in the province of Leinster in that year; and how the state of the other provinces, and of the transactions in England relating to them, remained at that period, hath been already shewn. The next year was ushered in, in the same county, with investing the castle of Birr, which was unprovided for a defence: but however the garrison made a good capitulation, to march out with their arms, half their plate and money, their clothes, and as much provisions as they could carry; the terms of which were very honourably fulfilled. Lord CASTLEHAVEN had here the good fortune, he saith, to begin his command in the army with an act of charity. For going to see the garrison before it marched out, he found many people of quality of both sexes in a great room; who, as soon as they saw him, fell on their knees, and, with tears in their eyes, besought him to save their lives. He was much astonished at their posture, and petition; and having desired them to rise, asked what was the matter. They answered, that from the first day of the war, there had been continual action, and blood-shed, between them and their Irish neighbours, and but little quarter on either side; and

and therefore, understanding that he was an Englishman, begged that he would take them under his protection. His Lordship owns that he knew there was too much reason for their fears, considering they were to march for two or three days, through woods, and waste countries, before they got to Athy, their next friendly garrison; and therefore he went immediately to the General, to obtain his leave to be commander of their convoy: and, as though his Lordship still suspected the villanous cruelty of his own party, he chose three hundred foot and two hundred horse, in whom he could most confide, and carried off the garrison, consisting of above eight hundred men, women, and children; which, though sometimes attacked by the Irish, he delivered safe to their friends with all their baggage.

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There being no opposition made to PRESTON, he sat down before fort Falkland; a place of strength enough to have held out against him, longer than he could have staid, in that season of the year, and for want of provisions. But though those within the place were numerous, yet many of them were not serviceable; and they were all much discouraged, by a long and vain expectation of succours from the Ministry, which had entirely neglected them. It would have been impossible indeed, that they should have so long subsisted as they had done, had it not been for the relief which was sent them, from time to time, by Lord CLANRICARDE. But as he was himself then surrounded with too many difficulties to afford them a prospect of any succour, and as PRESTON had granted an honourable capitulation to the garrison at Birr, the besieged were inclined to surrender to him, for fear of falling into worse hands. Therefore the next day after he came up to fort Falkland, before any battery was raised, Lord CASTLESTEWART the Governor capitulated; and was to be convoyed safe with all his people to the fort of Galway.

Though PRESTON had met with Colonel MONCK, and had near double his number—says CARTE from the Lords Justices letter—but in the number pretty equal—says Lord CASTLEHAVEN who was in the action—yet the business was soon over, and not many killed before PRESTON's army was routed: and had MONCK pursued his victory, it being a plane country, and no garrison near, the Irish must have lost the greatest part of their foot.

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But the Colonel having contented himself with beating them, and there being but about fixty of them killed in the action, PRESTON soon reduced all the forts in that county. Whilst he was upon this expedition, he wrote a letter to Lord CLANRICARDE, to endeavour to bring him over to the cause of the Irish, and their religion. But his Lordship so clearly and so ably refuted his arguments, and exposed so thoroughly the false pretences by which they coloured over this rebellion, as not only shewed the superiority of his understanding, and the integrity of his heart, but that all such attempts from the General would be in vain. I have said that Lord CASTLESTEWART had capitulated to be convoyed with all his people to the fort of Galway; and PRESTON accordingly sent two companies with them as a guard. But they were stopped by Colonel BOURKE, the Catholic Lieutenant General for Conaght, who would not permit them to pass according to the capitulation; granting leave only to his Lordship, and two or three servants: and the convoys, with their charge, were obliged to return back, and then to deliver them at the castle of Athlone.

The army in and about Dublin, it hath been already said, was in extreme distress; even after the arrival of the two commissioners from the Parliament with the twenty thousand pounds. The Council had endeavoured to give some little contentment to the soldiers in defect of their pay, by supplying them with provisions for their subsistence: but the Officers, having had no relief that way, and no other pay than in small dividends, proportionable to the inconsiderable sums remitted out of England, were reduced to miseries, grievous to themselves, and scandalous to the nation. They saw themselves neglected so entirely, notwithstanding their great services, and the repeated representations they had made of their distress, that it looked as though they were sent over only to perish, by the sword, or famine. Under a just sense of this cruel treatment, the Earl of KILDARE, and all the principal Officers of the army then in Dublin, except the Lord LISLE, drew up a remonstrance to the Council of the hardships they underwent. They take notice, in the preamble, of their earnest but vain solicitations of MR. PYM, and the other commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, by Major WARREN, whom they had sent into England for that purpose; which had obliged them to seek redress of their grievances, by appealing to the King.

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The remonstrance consists of eight articles; setting forth the agreement that had been made by the Parliament of England, by the Lord Lieutenant, and Council, that their pay should be made good; the services that had been performed by the army, at the frequent hazard of their lives; the strictness put upon them in musters upon oath, notwithstanding their starving condition; the privileges inseparable from their profession, of having military offences punishable only by martial law; the neglect of making up their accounts ever since they had been upon this service; the vast sums of money raised in England for them, and the small part which had been applied to their necessities; the loss which they suffered by the coin, in which the little pay they had was received, whilst others wanted not the confidence to advance their own fortunes by it; and the hard condition for them to venture their lives, if their arrears were to be answered in subscriptions, and not in money. This is the substance of the remonstrance: and in the conclusion they desire, that the Council would speedily make it appear there was a real care taken for their certain subsistence; or otherwise, since there was so small hope of assistance from the Parliament of England, that their Lordships would leave them to themselves, to take such course as would best suit with the glory of God, the honour of the King, and their own urgent necessities.

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Whilst the Marquis of ORMONDE was sitting one day at the council-table, he was informed by the door-keeper, that some Officers of the army desired to speak with him. On his Lordship's going out, he found SR. FULK HUNCKS, Colonel GIBSON, and several others, who presented the remonstrance to him, signed by above forty of the principal Officers of the army, and desired him to deliver it to the Lords Justices and Council. He complied instantly with their request: but the Ministers endeavoured to put them off, as usual, with promises and fair words; which was a coin that would pass with them no longer. To shew some desire therefore of gratifying them, they issued out an order, that every one should bring in half their plate to be converted into money, for the present relief of the Officers of the army; and this order being ineffectual, they declared in council they would send in their own plate the next day. The members then at the

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board signed a writing to that effect; which was sent to the absent members by a messenger, for them to subscribe it likewise. The Bishop of MEATH was one of these; being seldom summoned to Council, on account of his opposition to the measures of the Ministry, as well in Parliament, as at the board. His Lordship telling the messenger, that he had no plate, and nothing but a few old gowns left to give, the Justices very readily caught at this answer, as a disrespect to their authority; and were determined to make him feel the weight of their resentment. Accordingly they summoned him to attend the board; and when he appeared, he was committed to the custody of one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. The week following, the Bishop petitioned to be confined to his own house, on account of the trouble, and expence of his imprisonment, till they should think fit to order his enlargement. But this petition was rejected; and therefore he drew up a state of his case, and sent it over to the King. The issue of this application we are not told; but it appears by the sequel, that the Bishop of MEATH was in a short time an active member at the board, in opposition to PARSONS his great enemy.

The assistance given by the plate, was too small to relieve the necessities, and to quiet the minds of the officers of the army. Wherefore they made a second application to the Justices and Council: and despairing of relief from them, they drew up at the same time an address to the King; representing that their case was now become so desperate, through their fruitless applications to the English Parliament, “that unless his Majesty should interpose, they could not discover any thing that might stand betwixt them and absolute destruction.” This address to the King was by no means agreeable to the two commissioners from the Parliament; so that when a pass was moved for at the board, for Major WOODHOUSE to go over with it to his Majesty, they took occasion to declare, that the Parliament would certainly withdraw their supplies, upon notice of such an address; and not only engaged the Ministers to refuse the pass, but, lest the Major should go without one, to lay an embargo on all ships in the harbour. The Officers seeing their design thus defeated, in two days after, Lord KILDARE, SR. FULK HUNCKS, and Colonel GIBSON, having obtained admittance to the Council,

Council, demanded a pass for Major WOODHOUSE to go into England with their address to the King. The embargo was taken off; and if they did not grant a pass, which is most probable, the Major got away without one, and delivered the address to the King at Oxford.

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When the commissioners from the Parliament found that all their endeavours to seduce the Officers at Dublin were without effect, they made a visit to all the considerable garrisons in Leinster, to try if the same arguments would have the same ill success; and they were every where disappointed. They hoped however to derive a greater advantage to their negotiations, from another affair which happened at this time; in consequence of the petitions from the General Assembly to the King and Queen, already mentioned. The King, having considered the circumstances and occasion, which had induced so great a body of nobility and gentry of English race to have recourse to arms; their repeated application for a cessation; their earnest desire of laying their grievances before him, and submitting to his determination; the blood that must be shed, and the ruin that would attend the kingdom if the war continued; the little care the Parliament had taken to send supplies, and the improbability then of sending any more; the inability that he was under to subsist the army, or to preserve his Protestant subjects from destruction, now the rebels had received such great assistance from abroad; the King, I say, considering these several incidents, directed a commission under the great seal of England, to empower the Marquis of ORMONDE, and five other Privy-Councillors, together with MR. BOURKE, a Roman Catholic Gentleman who carried over the commission, to have a meeting with the principal rebels that had signed the petition, and to receive in writing what they had to propose; transmitting it afterwards to his Majesty.

At the same time, the King sent a letter to the Lords Justices, to inform them of this commission, and to require them to assist in the execution of it. But these honest Ministers, instead of obeying the King's command, were more inclined to stop it, and to obey the commissioners of the English Parliament, who exclaimed loudly against it. No artifices, whether true or false, were omitted by them, in order to prejudice the people against it; and their suggestions were propagated with so much industry, and asserted with

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with such confidence, that the Marquis of ORMONDE was obliged to shew the commission, and to refute the false reports that had been raised, to some of the Officers of the army, that he might prevent their ill effects. The commissioners had endeavoured to get some of these Officers, and of the inhabitants of Dublin, to sign a paper, expressing their discontent of the commission: but they could prevail with none, except persons of mean condition, and of the republican party; which then began to be called Roundheads. The chief support of that party, was Lord LISLE, son to the Lord Lieutenant; who, tho' no Privy-councillor, had, by the favour of the Justices, been always admitted to the board, even when matters of the greatest consequence had been debated. Lord ORMONDE had for a great while connived at this; as thinking that Lord LISLE might be better able to contribute to the public service against the rebels: but when it appeared that he made use of that privilege, to obstruct the King's designs, and to promote those of the Parliament, the Marquis thought it his duty to inform his Majesty of it, and to advise him to direct his Ministers, no longer to assume a power, which he had not given them, of admitting persons unsworn to be present at the most private debates of the Council. Having received upon this advice a very severe reprimand from the King, for admitting GOODWYN and REYNOLDS, with an express command to the contrary, the Ministers thought fit to acquiesce; and to signify to the commissioners that they could be no longer admitted. The commissioners were highly provoked at this exclusion from the Council; where they had usurped the management of all affairs: and they broke out into language, not unsuitable to the pride and arrogance of REYNOLDS, which had made him extremely hated and despised. They had before this acted with some caution, in their endeavours to seduce the Officers of the army; but now they openly solicited them, to oppose the execution of the commission, and to declare themselves for the Parliament. But being stripped of their power in the Council, which had lowered their influence out of it, they met with no success: and being furnished by the Lords Justices with one of the King's frigates, they went to the garrisons in the North of Ireland, where they succeeded better. They had good luck in leaving Dublin when they did; because, in some few days after, a warrant came from the King to commit them to prison.

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His Majesty would now have prevented the ill effects of the disaffection of his Ministers, by making the Marquis of ORMONDE Lord Lieutenant; but he declined it; as thinking he could do the King better service in the way he was in, which was more agreeable to his inclinations. The latter reason was probably true, the former certainly could not; and I draw that assertion from his Lordship's own letters. He had pressed the Earl of LEICESTER, before they had any quarrel, to hasten over as soon as possible; "it being a great disadvantage to the public service, that the civil and military command was not in one person;" and he had more than once complained to the King, of the obstruction to his measures, from the Lords Justices having a power to abridge his command over the army. He had given a particular instance of the fatal effects of that power, in their not permitting him to pursue the rebels, according to the unanimous sense of a council of war, when they fled from Drogheda. But without this, it was obvious to common sense, that the difference to the King's service must be very great, between having Ministers entirely devoted to him, and those who were entirely devoted to the English Parliament: and next to devolving the whole power and management of the Irish war upon that Parliament, it was the greatest fault in the King's conduct with regard to Ireland, not to displace those Lords Justices, the first moment it was perceived that they were engaged in a faction against him. In truth, it contained the original error, to which all his subsequent errors there, and the thread of misfortunes which followed, are to be ascribed.

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Whoever takes his idea of these Irish affairs, from what he meets with only in RAPIN, and the other writers in English history, will never understand them rightly. RAPIN is not content with the many opportunities that he hath, of very justly blaming the conduct of this King, but he seeks occasions of making him appear culpable, when there was no true foundation for it. His partiality is the more gross, and inexcusable, because, for the most part, it is unsupported by the authorities from which he writes. RUSHWORTH, and CLARENDON, are the only authors he quotes on Irish affairs: and tho' the former may be depended upon, for the copies which he gives of all the public papers on both sides, yet the historical part of that author, who was a servant of the Parliament, is much to be suspected;

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pected; and in many particulars is absolutely false. For instance, in the case before us; he says that the King, in his letter to the Lords Justices, commanded the removal of GOODWYN, and REYNOLDS out of Ireland; which is not true. His Majesty's letter, which in CARTE's collection is given at length, requires only "that they should not be permitted to sit at the council table, but if they have any business there, they should attend as others of their quality." Had RAPIN taken this, and all the historical part of RUSHWORTH upon trust, whilst he questions every thing said in favour of the King by Lord CLARENDON, his partiality would then have been too glaring not to be owned. But when an historian gives a turn to facts, which is not supported by the authority from which he writes, but is rather contradicted by it, he is much worse than partial; he is a false historian. Thus in the same paragraph in which MR. RAPIN hath said from RUSHWORTH, that the commissioners from the Parliament, were by the King's express order, sent back to England, he hath also said, "that one cannot help suspecting that the complaints of the officers of the want of men, money, ammunition, and provisions, were all a contrivance, to serve as a cloke for a cessation:" though these complaints had been made long before any cessation was thought of, and though in the passage following that from which this quotation was made in RUSHWORTH, there is a letter from the Lords Justices, whom he hath confessed to be on the side of the Parliament at that time, in which they tell the Speaker, "that the miseries of the officers and soldiers for want of all things were unspeakable, and all those wants made the more insupportable by the want of food, which the Administration was not able to procure them." But to return to the history.

The Marquis of ORMONDE, and the other commissioners, having consulted together, a letter of summons was sent by a trumpet to Kilkenny, directed to the Lords GORMANSTON, MOUNTGARRET, IKERRIN, and seven others, or any two of them which had signed the petition to the King; in order that they should send their agents to Drogheda, to meet the commissioners, and to deliver in writing what they had to propound, that it might be transmitted to his Majesty. The two first of these were members of the Supreme Council; to whom the trumpet delivered the summons,

summons, and a safe conduct from the Lords Justices for the agents and their retinue. Lord ORMONDE, being apprehensive that the Catholic Clergy would oppose every step that led to peace, at the end of the summons added these premonitions; that none but Laymen should be employed as agents, that the number should not exceed thirty, and that they should treat the commissioners with that respect, which was due from such as were in the nature of petitioners, to those who were honoured with the King's commission. But the rebels, being elated with their late successes, and the advantageous prospect they had from their present condition, returned a very slight, or rather a high toned answer.

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Lord CASTLEHAVEN being then at his brother's, and hearing a general account of the summons, and the answer that had been sent, repaired immediately to Kilkenny: "where finding his information true, he sent for those that were in the town, whom he knew to be well affected, and leading men in the assembly, tho' not of the Council; and having acquainted them with what he understood, he told them if they would stick to him, he would endeavour to give it a turn. They all agreed to his proposal; which was to go directly to the Council then sitting, and to remind them that the considerations concerning peace and war, were reserved by the General Assembly wholly to themselves; and therefore to require them, to send immediately a trumpet of their own to the Marquis of ORMONDE, to acquaint him that they had issued a summons for a General Assembly; in order to acknowledge the King's gracious favour, in naming him his Majesty's commissioner to hear and redress their grievances." The Council did not make much opposition; and reconsidering the matter, they wrote another letter, in which they made an apology for their former, and great professions of loyalty; "in which surely, there appeared nothing like the propositions of "actors and abettors in an odious rebellion:" and as they could not but resent these expressions, they insisted, that no such words should be inserted in any instrument directed to them; that they might have a copy of the commission; a more commodious place; and a competent time appointed for the meeting. The commissioners, on the receipt of the first letter, considering the great jealousies that were entertained of the Lords Justices, and imagining that the high resentment, expressed at the

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words in the safe conduct, arose from a notion they had conceived that those words were inserted without warrant, resolved to send an answer, with a copy of the commission; in which the words that stung them would be found, as well as in his Majesty's letter to the Lords Justices. The time and place they allowed might be varied, so as it might be with speed and conveniency; and they required an answer by the drum which carried the letter. The answer was returned accordingly; in which they made an apology for their resentment at the words to which they objected; renewed their professions of loyalty; named six Laymen for their agents; and proposed the seventeenth of March for the day, and Trim for the place, of meeting. The commissioners sent an agreement to this proposal; and assured them of a safe conduct, and a convoy from the Marquis of ORMONDE, to meet them on the road, and conduct them safe to Trim.

Whilst these points were settling, the Council resolved to send the army out into the field; being in as much danger of perishing by their wants, as to be destroyed by the sword of the rebels. It hath already been observed that Lord ORMONDE proposed some months ago to the Council, an expedition to Wexford, in order to prevent the supplies expected by the rebels from landing there; but this proposal was rejected, that the Lord Lieutenant, who was then expected over, might have the honour of it: and now, when their distresses drove them to send out the army for subsistence, the command was intended to be given to Lord LISLE, without any notice of the Marquis of ORMONDE. The Commissioners of the English Parliament had not then left Dublin; and together with Captain TUCKER, agent from the London adventurers, had advanced five hundred pounds apiece for the expedition. The forces were ready to march, and Lord LISLE to put himself at their head: but the Lieutenant General, seeing himself treated with that indignity, declared to the Ministers, that as he was particularly entrusted by the King with the charge of the army, he could not let so considerable a part of it be sent abroad, without going with it himself; and therefore if the expedition went on, of which he had been the first proposer, he was determined to take the command. The Ministers then grew very cool about the enterprize; and the Parliament commissioners were for recalling their money: but TUCKER represented what

what an intolerable affront it would be, to put by the General a second time; and if the expedition could not be undertaken, for want of the money which they had promised to furnish, they would be censured as hinderers of the public service; which would be neither for their own reputation, nor for the honour of the Parliament which employed them. Upon this, an order was made in Council, that the intended expedition should be left wholly to the Lieutenant General, and the council of War; notwithstanding any former debate, or resolution, taken at the board about it. The expedition being resolved upon by that Council, the Ministers empowered Lord ORMONDE, to employ any ships on the coasts of the kingdom, whilst the army was abroad for the public service: and tho' he was ordered to pursue the rebels with fire and sword, yet in case he could not gain sufficient provisions by that means for the army, he was allowed to receive voluntary relief from some of the rebels, by sparing from destruction such houses and places as he should think fit; but no longer than whilst the army was abroad in this expedition.

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On the second of March, the Marquis left Dublin, with three thousand men, two battering cannon, and four field pieces; and having taken three or four castles as they passed along, he made a halt at Carlow for the carriages to come up, and for the ship to arrive at Duncannon, which the Ministers were to send him with bread and ammunition. It being resolved in the Council of war to besiege Rosse, he sat down before it on the twelfth, and immediately planted a battery to make a breach. There were only two companies of foot in the place; but the rebels being encamped with four thousand men, within three miles of it on the other side of the Barrow, they threw five hundred men into it that night, and on the day after, fifteen hundred more. The Marquis had left instructions in writing for the master of the ship, which was to bring him the provision and ammunition; and he was surprised to find it was not yet arrived. But the Justices, not approving the man whom the Marquis's agent had recommended, and appointing another who could not be ready in several days, the opportunity of a fair wind was lost, which added to the delay; and this delay, not only permitted the enemy to send supplies into the town, which otherwise must have been taken in four and twenty hours, but greatly distressed the army,

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through want of provision and ammunition; incommoded enough otherwise with continual rains. In this vexatious situation, the Marquis sent to Lord ESMOND, governour of Duncannon, for a supply; who readily sent him all that he could spare, with two little barks, to be employed as the General should think fit. But the rebels having raised a battery on the other side of the river, which did great execution on these vessels, that had annoyed the town with their shot, the crews not being able, on account of the wind, to bring them off, sunk them both, and joined the army.

The Marquis, seeing no likelihood of his supply from Dublin, and his cannon having made a breach, determined on an assault. SR. FULK HUNCKS, and Major MORRICE, had the management of that service: but the besieged being very numerous, and having stopped up the breach with wool packs, the assailants were repulsed with some loss, and the Major was dangerously wounded. PRESTON, in the mean time, having advanced with an army of six thousand men within two miles of Rosse, to a pass thro' which Lord ORMONDE must retreat, and there being but three days provisions left for the English, it was resolved in a council of war to raise the siege, and to march towards the enemy. Lord CASTLEHAVEN, the Lieutenant General of the horse, is very short in his account of this engagement, which is called the battle of Rosse: but he differs very widely from the account given by CARTE from a manuscript relation of it by SR. F. WILLOUGHBY, Major General of the English army; the former saying, that PRESTON, not having the patience to expect the enemy, went over the pass to them, upon which the Marquis seized the advantage, and gave him no time to form his army into battle, but charged still as they went over; and the latter affirming, "that though the Marquis observed the rebels to quit their quarters, and advance towards him, yet he likewise observed to the Major General, that he imagined they intended to fight, their army being drawn up in order of battle: and when the Marquis proceeded to the attack, the enemy were before them standing in battalia, in a large field surrounded with ditches, not far from a great bog, over one of which ditches he was obliged to pass, in order to attack them in the field in which they were drawn up." The Major General probably drew up his relation, soon after the battle; Lord CASTLEHAVEN his, not till
forty

forty years after: the former enhanced the victory of his party, by representing the advantageous situation of the enemy; the latter exculpated the defeat of his side, by shewing that the management of their General, had made it impossible to prevent it. So prevalent is the love of glory, and so frail is human nature! They both agree however, that the rebels were routed with great loss; and that if PRESTON had not quitted the pass, he must either have starved the English army, or have destroyed them without any hazard.

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Lord LISLE was the commander of the horse in that battle, by whom the engagement was began; and mingling with that of the enemy, and flashing one another for some time, both the bodies went off together out of sight, no body knew whither, leaving the foot on each side not yet engaged. CARTE insinuates very strongly that Lord LISLE did not do his duty; either to lessen the General's glory in not gaining a complete victory, or to prevent the rebels from being obliged to sue for peace. To whatever motive it was owing, that the General had no horse to pursue and destroy the foot, whom he had put to flight, it is certain that a fair opportunity was thereby lost, of giving the rebels, who were the flower of the Leinster army, such a blow as they would not have recovered for a long time. As soon as they had reached beyond the Barrow, PRESTON ordered the bridge to be broken down, in order to prevent any further pursuit. He had not above five hundred men killed in the action, but many of these were officers, and persons of quality; and he lost all his baggage, and ammunition. The number of the killed, and wounded, in the English army, was very inconsiderable. But had it been harrassed in their march home, which if the bridge had not been broken down, it would have been easy for PRESTON's army to have done, considering the small provision left, and the many straights, and woods, and stony passages they had to go through, the rebels might have taken ample revenge for the loss they had suffered in the battle. The Marquis of ORMONDE in his return, having burned and spoiled the enemies country without any opposition, continued his march, for want of provisions for men and horses, with all speed to Dublin. The distress was then so great in that city, that the Council were obliged to expel all strangers, and to send over to England several thousands, whose
maintenance

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maintenance there was insupportable. They made a fresh search into the stores of the Merchants, and took away by force all the commodities which they found, and had not been seized before. This was all the shift they could make: yet this was so far from relieving the necessities of the army, that several officers presented a paper to the board, demanding money for their pay, and victuals for their soldiers, in a stile little short of mutiny. But it is time now to look into the other provinces.

The state of Munster, at the end of the preceding year, hath been already related; and its circumstances since were little mended. Lord INCHQUIN, the Vice-President, had received no supplies from England, except a regiment without any arms, which he thought were sent only to accelerate his ruin; bringing neither money, nor provision, nor even the hopes of either. He had sent agent after agent to the Parliament, in order to set forth the distress of the province, and to solicit succour; yet none was sent: nor could he possibly have subsisted the forces under him, if the Irish had not supplied the markets, and if he had not been very industrious, with the help of some neutral people, to save some corn about Mallow, and Donneraile. But this supply failing, and no hopes of any from England, he applied to the Ministers at Dublin for some provision. The Ministers, considering his great distress, ordered six hundred barrels of salt herrings to be shipped for Munster; and SR. P. PERCIVAL, commissary of the stores, paid the freight and other charges. But before the ship could sail, the wants of their own army encreased so much, that the Ministers were obliged to order it to be unloaded, and the herrings to be distributed to the soldiers in and about Dublin; to the loss of the charges that had been paid, and to the discontent of the Munster army.

The Vice-President, being thus left without any means of preserving his men from starving, or disbanding, was forced to seize all the magazines of tobacco, belonging to the farmers of that commodity—who had nothing for it till after the restoration—and to sell it to the Irish, for money, or cattle. This, with a small supply of provisions which he received from Bristol, enabled him to hold out till the middle of February; when thinking the loss of the province to be inevitable, and fearing the ruin of many
thousand

thousand Protestants, it was resolved in a council of war, to cause the ships of Lord FORBES's squadron, in the harbour of Kinsale, to be stayed and drawn ashore; that they might be ready to receive, and transport those people to England, who must otherwise have been exposed either to the sword or famine. Besides, it was intended to search these ships for arms and ammunition; of both which Lord FORBES pretended he had little to spare, though ordered by the Parliament to furnish the Munster forces with them; and though a great deal of powder was wantonly lavished at Kinsale, as healths were drank at an entertainment, by one of the Captains, when the province was likely to be lost for want of ammunition.

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The distress of the province for provisions at this time was so great, that notwithstanding the Vice-President had taken all their money from the citizens of Cork, and caused all the cattle, corn, and other commodities, that could be found in the counties adjacent to the garrisons, and which had never offended them but had supplied their markets, to be taken from the inhabitants and distributed to the soldiers, yet all this was insufficient: and, enforced by that necessity which confounds all laws, and makes no distinction between friend and foe, he soon after seized all the effects that were left of the Merchants of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, and shipped their wool, hides, tallow, and other goods for France, that they might be sold, or bartered for corn, to relieve the army. He gave the owners indeed certificates of the value of their effects, in order to be paid by the English Parliament, as it was usual in such necessitous cases; but the Parliament refused to pay them. This however being his last resource in Ireland, Lord INCHQUIN once more applied to that Parliament, in a letter to the Speaker which he sent by one of his officers; wherein he said, that his army "were then upon so extreme an exigent, as that unless it please God to put into your hearts an effectual sense of our miseries, and to dispose you to a speedy course for our sudden relief, I fear the next news you will shortly hear will be the total loss of this province, and that our approaching ruin will prevent any further request to be made herein." But his Lordship soon learnt, how little supply was to be expected from them: the officers who were sent from the army in Leinster, declared at the Council board at their return, that tho' they had attended in London above two months,

yet

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yet they had never been able to prevail on the Commissioners for Irish affairs to have a meeting; and when they pressed some of them for money for their subsistence, they were told by one of the principal men of that body, "that if five hundred pounds only would save Ireland it would not be spared," and by another, "that they had not leisure to step over the threshold for Ireland." Lord INCHQUIN therefore had no great reason to expect such a relief, as was sufficient for the great necessities of his province; and it was some months before he heard any thing from the Parliament.

The province of Conaght was in the same deplorable condition. The reader hath already seen the violent and imprudent conduct of Captain WILLOUGHBY, the Governour of the fort of Galway; and how much it added to the trouble and uneasiness of Lord CLANRICARDE, to keep things quiet between the fort and the town. But now all his influence, and his care, were not sufficient to prevent, the mad proceedings of WILLOUGHBY on the one side, and the disaffection, and resentment, of the townsmen on the other. His Lordship saw the consequence of an open rupture, and he did all that was in the power of man to do to preserve the peace. But when BOURKE arrived at Galway, who was appointed by the Catholic Assembly their Lieutenant General in that province, Lord CLANRICARDE's power was greatly abridged, and he himself in no small danger. BOURKE was a native of the county of Mayo, had many relations there and in the county of Galway, and having been abroad in foreign service above thirty years, was much esteemed for his experience, and skill in military affairs. To this was added, a great opinion of his zeal, and piety in religion; which made many adhere to him, and desert from Lord CLANRICARDE, of those whose firmness and affection his Lordship had before been very confident. The Priests too at this time, having such a leader, began to exert themselves in fulminating the censures of the church, against those who refused the oath of association, and to join in the common cause. In vain were the oath of allegiance, and the duty of loyalty to the King, urged to the contrary: and all such as would not be guilty of perjury or rebellion, by acting contrary to those obligations, were by the titular bishop of CLONFERT, and other ecclesiasticks, declared guilty of a mortal sin, and involved in the sentence of excommunication. What with the influence

fluence of the Romish Clergy, and the mad behaviour of the Governour of the fort, the rebels were encouraged to besiege it, under Colonel BOURKE, in the beginning of May. It had been well supplied in the winter by Lord CLANRICARDE for some months; a ship had also brought fresh supplies from Dublin; and WILLOUGHBY had money, and plate, and other commodities, to traffick with among the ships that came there; and might have furnished himself plentifully with all necessaries. But instead of that, he was so ill a manager of the provisions he had, and had lavished away so much powder in his useless furious cannonading of the town, for two or three months, that when the siege was formed, he had neither provision, nor ammunition, for more than a month.

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On the fourth of May, he wrote to a Lieutenant of Lord CLANRICARDE's, that he had provisions in the fort for three months at full allowance, and if necessity required, could make it serve four: yet in eight days afterwards, he wrote to his Lordship himself, "that they were much endangered in the fort by famine; and if they had not speedy help by land or sea, within a month at farthest, they should not be able to subsist." But Lord CLANRICARDE had neither provisions sufficient, nor forces to convey them; nor was it possible to supply the fort by sea, unless with a great fleet, and land forces. His Lordship sent an express with this account to the Ministry; and he entered into a treaty with BOURKE, to have it surrendered into his own hands instead of those of the town, as well knowing the consequence. But their conditions with his Lordship were, that he should join the Catholic union; and if he did not take the oath of association, he should swear not to place any but a Catholic Governour and a garrison of natives into the fort, approved of by their General and the Corporation, nor deliver it up without their consent, upon any pretence whatever, till a general peace was concluded: and whilst they were offering these conditions to his Lordship, BOURKE was treating with the Governour for the possession of it; which in two days after was accordingly given him, and by order of the Supreme Council it was soon after demolished.

There is something very unaccountable in the behaviour of Captain WILLOUGHBY from first to last: and had he been employed to traverse the

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measures of Lord CLANRICARDE, and to provoke the town and country to revolt, which his Lordship was taking so much pains to keep in obedience, he could not have acted a more proper part. Nor is it less strange that the Lords Justices, should never once in their answers to his Lordship, take any notice at all of his reiterated complaints, and very strong remonstrances, against WILLOUGHBY's conduct, nor remove him from his command. To this negligence of theirs, and to this only, must be imputed the loss of the second fort of importance in the kingdom. For if Lord CLANRICARDE had been entrusted with it, as he ought to have been, it had not then, if ever, been in the hands of the rebels. But the loss of this place threatened the loss of the whole province: and if the artifices or power of the Catholic Clergy could have imposed upon or terrified Lord CLANRICARDE, or if the Gentlemen of the county of GALWAY could have been drawn from the affection they had to him, and the confidence they reposed in his good judgment and example, which taught them to prefer allegiance to perjury, and the punishment of excommunication to rebellion, the loss of the fort of Galway must have put the whole province into the power of the confederates. With the fort of Galway, his Lordship's castle of Oranmore situated on the bay, was also surrendered; as his castle of Clare, the chief place of strength and importance that he had to curb the town and adjacent country, by the deceit and practices of a Franciscan friar, had been some time before.

Many of his Lordship's followers having been terrified at their exclusion out of the church, unless they took oaths unlawful and contradictory, he published a direction, that they should repair to their spiritual guide, and demand of him to declare in writing under his hand, and the hand of their bishop of CLONFERT, "whether, notwithstanding their former oaths, they be bound in conscience under pain of mortal sin, and incurring the censure of excommunication if denounced, to take the oath of association; and that his answer be clear, and without evasion, and for the clearer intelligence that he insert his reasons." To this the Bishop published by way of reply, that notwithstanding their oath of allegiance, they were bound under the pain of mortal sin to take the oath of association, and in default were liable to the censure of excommunication fulminated against the refusers of it;

"BECAUSE

“ BECAUSE the emission of the oath, in itself both lawful and necessary, is commanded, upon great deliberation, by the Church, in a matter of weight, and approved by his Holiness.” The oath of association could not be approved by the Pope, when it was first framed, and enjoined under the penalty of excommunication: but whether it was so approved or not, can any man read this declaration from a Christian prelate in favour of perjury and rebellion, and not be shocked at the impiety of setting up the Church above the Gospel, and the approbation of the Pope above that of God? But this is a further confirmation of what hath been observed, that no oaths nor obligations are to stand in competition with the interest of that religion.

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As the rebels in that part of the province grew stronger, Lord CLANRICARDE's difficulties were multiplied; and he saw all means of safety still impairing, by the sudden and unexpected departure of the President, and the English commanders: the former going to defend himself against an accusation, as it hath been mentioned, and the latter following him to support it. Lord RANELAGH had been a second time blocked up in Athlone; and the forces in those parts were reduced to great extremities. To relieve these in some measure, the Council were obliged to spare them some provision, clothes, and ammunition; and SR. R. GRENVILLE, with about a thousand men, went as a convoy with this supply. The rebels attempted to intercept it; but he forced his way through them, and delivered the provisions to the President. The soldiers there had long suffered under grievous hardships, which they had borne in expectation of some relief; but seeing all their succours consisted in a small quantity of clothing and ammunition, without corn, and without money, they were exceedingly discontented; and resolved to stay no longer in a country, to which they seemed to have been sent only to starve. SR. MICH. ERNLY, with some other officers, and about six hundred of their men, took up this resolution: and the President, not caring to be cooped up any longer within the walls of a castle, and hoping by his representations to procure some relief for that province against the rebels, determined to take the opportunity of that convoy to go to Dublin. SR. R. GRENVILLE in his march back, was met

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Lord CLANRICARDE had kept, tho' with difficulty, most of the principal Gentry of the county of Galway in his interest; and Lord MAYO had traversed the measures of Lieutenant General BOURKE, by opposing his command of the forces of that county: but yet the rebels raised a very considerable force, and marched under the command of that General, to reduce the castles in the county of Roscommon; which, except two towns of Lord CLANRICARDE's, were all that held out against them in the province of Conaght. Lord THOMOND was generally deserted by all the Gentry of his county, who joined with those of Munster; tho' he had tried all the ways he could think of to keep them in their obedience: "but they avouched all their actions to be warranted by the King;" and such, he told Lord CLANRICARDE in a letter, "was the incredulity of their countrymen, that he conceived if the King were himself there in person, to declare his detestation of their courses, they would not believe it." This will give us an idea of the power of the Popish Clergy, and to what a length their people carried the submission of their consciences and understandings.

In the last account of affairs in the province of Ulster, at the end of the foregoing year, it was observed that O NEIL was employed in raising, and disciplining his army; and that MONROE did nothing with the Scotch and English forces under his command, but ravage the country, and carry off droves of cattle: and as they continued in the same inactivity with regard to the war, till the beginning of May, there is nothing more to be said of that province in this place, and we must now turn to see what was the issue of the commission above mentioned for receiving the grievances of the rebels.

Whilst Lord ORMONDE was on the expedition which ended in the battle of Rosse, the Earls of CLANRICARDE, and ROSCOMMON, the Lord MOORE, and SR. MAU. EUSTACE, Commissioners for the King, on the seventeenth of March, met at Trim with Lord GORMANSTON, and three other agents
 for

for the confederate Catholicks; from whom they received in writing a remonstrance of their grievances, and a desire that they might be redressed. Besides a long preamble, and conclusion, this remonstrance consists of fourteen articles; and the whole takes up almost ten pages in folio in CARTE's collection. The reader therefore, it is hoped, will not expect to find it here at full length; nor would it give him any great pleasure, to see a repetition mostly of what hath already occurred, in some parts or other of this work. Indeed it must rather fill him with indignation, to see men of their character, and rank, so entirely lost to all sense of shame, and honour, as to advance, in their excuse for this rebellion, falsehoods as notorious as the rebellion itself was true.

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In the very first sentence of this remonstrance, they tell the King, that they were "necessitated to take arms for the preservation of their religion, the maintenance of his Majesty's rights, and prerogatives, the natural and just defence of their lives, and estates, and the liberties of their country." There was something so impudent in this assertion, which the King himself knew to be false in every part, as was enough to deter him from reading any further, or to prejudice him against all that followed. It was known to the whole world, that they were not troubled, nor questioned about their religion, for a considerable time before the insurrection; and that there were no other opponents in Ireland, of his Majesty's rights, and prerogatives, besides themselves; who had usurped them to that degree, as to make it an act of their General assembly, that there should be no other temporal government, or jurisdiction, but what was approved, or instituted by them; and other things already mentioned. As to their lives, and estates, they had the protection of the laws; and not a single instance could be given, that a Papist, merely as such, suffered any violence in either from a Protestant, that was not punished, except in open rebellion, when this insurrection broke out. The King had said in his commission above mentioned, of which the confederate Catholicks had a copy, that he did extremely detest the odious rebellion, which they had, without ground, or colour, raised against him, his Crown, and dignity: and in their preamble they politely tell him, that they never entertained any rebellious thought against either, and insist upon their having been always his most faithful
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and loyal subjects. In short, almost all the truth in this long remonstrance, either concerned the Protestants as well as the Papists in Ireland, and therefore was no sufficient ground for the insurrection of the latter, or else relates to facts posterior to it, which they would make the King believe were the causes of their rebellion. It is difficult to say, whether there is more weakness, or falshood, in this long laboured instrument: there is much of both; and it seems indeed to verify the character which hath been given of it, "that the Irish first resolved to rebel, and then set their Lawyers and Divines to work, in order to fish for arguments to justify or excuse it." When the Marquis of ORMONDE returned from the battle of Rosse, he received this remonstrance from the other Commissioners, which he immediately sent to the King; tho' he thought the propositions made in it unreasonable, and contrary to his Majesty's service.

The Lords Justices, and their party, had taken the advantage of the Marquis's absence on that expedition, to draw up a long letter to the King; with an intention to dissuade him from a peace with the rebels, which they apprehended would be the consequence of his sending the commission above mentioned. It must be confessed that there is more truth, and artifice, in this letter, than in the remonstrance, the length of which is nearly equal: but the rage of resentment, and the want of candour, and benevolence, are too visible and strong in both. Such a letter as this, was proposed in Council by the Justices, immediately on receiving the King's commission, but they found only two of the Members of their opinion; eleven others being against it, or silent at least upon it. But Lord ORMONDE being absent with the army, tho' it was two months after that debate, the Ministers resumed it, and produced the letter ready drawn; which, with a little opposition from some of the Members of the Council, was agreed to, and sent. The work of extirpation had by this time appeared so very difficult, that the term began to be worn out; and the prime authors of that scheme were ashamed of acknowledging such an intention. It was expressly disclaimed in this letter, tho' there were pretty strong insinuations leading to the same point; and they affirmed in so many words, "that there can be no way to bring on a safe and lasting peace, till the sword have abated these rebels, in number, and power."

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The Marquis of ORMONDE being informed of this letter, of which he did not approve, proposed in Council at his return, to send a true representation to the King, of the miserable condition, and the wants of the army; which, without a speedy supply, must in a few months disband, or perish. The Ministers rejected this motion; though it was of the greatest importance to the King's service. But Lord ORMONDE being determined that the King should not be kept in the dark, in a matter which it was highly requisite for him to know, called such of the Council to him, then in town, as he thought faithful to his Majesty, and they joined in a letter to him on the first of April: in which, having set before him their real state, they concluded with an advice, "that if considerable supplies of money, munition, and victuals, were not sent to them within a month or two, or if his Majesty did not in the mean time give directions what to do, in case they failed of that supply, his army there, themselves, and the rest of the Protestants of that kingdom should perish and be consumed." This letter contained a much more favourable account of the distresses of the State, which grew nearer to destruction every day, and of the extremities of the army which were still encreasing, than the Ministers themselves gave of either, in their letters to the Parliament, at that time: And finding the Lord ORMONDE, and some of the Council, had sent such a representation to the King, in three days after, they sent the same account to his Majesty, which they had given then to the Speaker of the English Parliament. To give them their due, they had not been wanting in very frequent and strong remonstrances to that body, of the extremities to which they had been reduced, and the want in which they stood of the most speedy plentiful supplies. But all their letters, importunities, and prayers, produced no other return, than what shewed that the Parliament were determined to be at no further expence in reducing the Irish rebels.

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The Marquis of ORMONDE had the greatest difficulty imaginable, to keep the Officers of the army from going to England; and it would have been impossible to do any service, or to prevent the necessitous Soldiers from committing disorders, when those that should govern them were gone, or even detained with so much reluctance. In order to engage them to march on the expedition to Rosse, the Ministers had promised to do them justice; but

CHARLES I. but those promises had been attended with no effect. This treatment had
A. 1643. made them outrageous; and the Parliament meeting at Dublin on the twentieth of April, they drew up a petition to the House of Lords, which was presented by Lord LAMBERT. Having represented that they were employed in suppressing the rebellion of that kingdom, by commission from the King, with the agreement and establishment of the English Parliament, and though they had endured more penury than could be expected from them, with unwearied patience, yet their hopes of relief from them, and from the State of Ireland, had been fruitless; and at the last gasp they had recourse therefore to the care and justice of that house. They proceed then to complain, that though several sums of money had been sent over expressly for the use of the army, yet on a fair examination it will appear, that they have not been issued, according to the intentions of the King, and the Parliament of England; and that a great sum may yet be found in the hands of responsible men. In the next place they complain, that the small payments that have been made to the army, have been in a coin which hath defrauded them of a great deal, through want of value, and want of weight; and that the Council board had refused to examine MR. LOFTUS about it. They say further, "that there were some of his Majesty's rights applied to the use of private persons, as well as divers custodiams round the city; the benefits of which might be applied to the use of the army. They therefore entreat their Lordships, to call the Vice-Treasurer and his agents, to give an account of all the money sent out of England, and issued there, since the rebellion first began; and out of the estates of the persons offending, to give a present relief to the army, which groans under the burden of these wrongs, and their extreme wants; and for which, if there could not be a subsistence in that kingdom, they should be forced to quit it, and abandon the service." This petition was signed by all the Colonels of regiments then in Dublin, except Lord LISLE, and Lord LAMBERT who presented it, and by all the other considerable Officers of the army.

The House had received a complaint from them about the coin, in the August session, and had addressed the Administration to give them relief; but none had yet been given them. The Ministers indeed had then lately promised the Officers, to yield to a legal hearing of their complaints con-
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tained in their petition: but when they found that it was intended to apply to Parliament, they resolved to prorogue it. Therefore when the House was entering upon the consideration of the petition, the Chancellor informed them, that he had received a commission from the Lords Justices, to prorogue the session of Parliament to November. The Lords, conceiving the petition to be of great importance, in which the subsistence of the army, and the safety of the kingdom was concerned, ordered the Lords RosCOMMON, and LAMBERT, as a committee of the House, to repair to the Justices, and desire them to suspend the execution of that commission; that they might consider the particulars whereof complaint was made. The Justices answered that they would not suspend the prorogation; having issued out the commission upon important reasons, moving the whole Council to that resolution. But several Peers then in the House, who were Privy-Councillors, affirming that they were strangers to any such reasons, it was thought fit, considering the necessity of giving satisfaction to the army at that time, to address the Justices and Council for those reasons: And the Justices alone, to whom this petition had been communicated, refused to suspend the execution of the commission, or to gratify the House with the reasons for the prorogation. The Lords were very reasonably disgusted at this treatment: and it was ordered, that the Lord Chancellor should write a letter to the Secretary of State, accompanying the petition of the Officers, shewing the motives that induced the House to desire time to take it into consideration, the endeavours they had used to gain it, and the necessity of giving speedy relief in the matters contained in the said petition: and the Lords ORMONDE, ROSCOMMON, and LAMBERT, were directed to peruse, and approve the letter. As soon as this order was made, the Parliament was prorogued. The letter however was drawn, approved of, and sent; and with it a petition from the Officers to the King, complaining that his Ministers “ had made his power the refuge of the injuries done to the army, in proroguing the Parliament for no other reason, as they conceived, than for the protection of such persons, as had been the chief instruments of the ruin, and insupportable miseries, under which the army, and his loyal subjects in Ireland, groaned.” The King was much surprised and offended at the prorogation, of which the Ministers had not given him any account;

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 A. 1643. issued out a commission to enquire into the abuses that were complained of.

This arbitrary prorogation was one of the last acts of SR. W. PARSONS, in the office of Lord Justice: and I presume the reader will be of opinion, that he ought to have been dismissed long before. Though the King did not know of all his unfaithful practices in the Administration, yet his Majesty knew enough to convince him, that PARSONS was more the Minister of the English Parliament, than his Minister; and that instead of healing the breach with the rebels, by his violent measures he had made it wider. In short, he knew that Lord ORMONDE, in whom he had placed an absolute confidence, had been frequently controuled by this Lord Justice, both at the Council, and in the command of the army. Even the last circumstance alone, if the Councils of this King had not been under an infatuation, should have determined him to displace a man, who made so ill an use of his power. The Marquis of ORMONDE had given frequent, and plain intimations of this abuse, though he had not said half of what he knew: And if there is any fault to be found in the conduct of that Nobleman, throughout the whole period of which I am writing, it was his submitting too long to the insolence and infidelity of this Minister. His Lordship had so much, and so deservedly, the King's ear in every thing, that he could not doubt of his influence with his Majesty: and the King's service, his own dignity, and the welfare of his country, made it his duty to procure the dismissal of a Minister, whose measures were opposite to them all.

The Marquis of ORMONDE was a man of such shining parts, so many exemplary virtues, and of such uncommon, and distinguished merit in his public character, that it is with extreme reluctance that I accuse him of any fault. Let me palliate this however with observing, that perfection is not the lot of mortals; and that even this fault perhaps was owing more to the influence of his virtue, than to any neglect of his duty, or a want of ability to understand it. Of all the King's servants in that country, the Marquis, as having more of his Majesty's favour, more authority, and a higher rank
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than the rest, was most the object of the jealousy, and the spite of SR. W. PARSONS; and was more frequently, and personally affronted by him. From a true greatness of mind therefore, Lord ORMONDE might be induced not to become the instrument of this man's disgrace. Such lenity and forbearance in private life, where one's self alone is concerned, is a most amiable temper of mind, and the chief characteristick of the Christian Spirit: and in calm and quiet times, even in affairs which relate to the publick, when the injury is not very great, if such a temper is not laudable, it is scarcely culpable. But in times like those then in Ireland, where the power of a chief Minister had been the source of so much desolation, and more was every day to be feared, there lenity and forbearance were no virtues: a bad man escaped disgrace, and the public injuries were not redressed.

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Even when PARSONS was turned out, his colleague BORLASE was continued, and was first in the commission with SR. H. TITCHBORN, as Lords Justices; who were sworn into that office, and had the sword delivered them, on the first of May. It is said in excuse for this measure, that BORLASE was thought to be an insignificant man, who had submitted blindly to the directions of the other. But I presume to think this no excuse at all. The then circumstances of that kingdom, made an insignificant Minister, a very improper one: the times required an active, and an able man; and his blind submission to measures, prejudicial to his Majesty's service, and pernicious to his country, should have been attended with punishment, and not promotion. There were faithful, and able men enow then to be found—more faithful, and more able than BORLASE—without employing him, or without taking away SR. H. TITCHBORN from the army; in which he had done very signal services, and which stood in great need then of such commanders. There was too good an excuse however at this time, for the weak and ill-judged counsels of the English Court: the King should have left the whole business of Ireland, as he was soon after obliged to do, in a great measure, to the Marquis of ORMONDE; who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs, and people of Ireland, whose estate lay in it, who made his loyalty a part of his religion, and than whom there was not an honest, nor an abler man of his time. So few such were then to be

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found—I wish there were many now—that it must be owned I dwell with pleasure upon his character: and if the reader hath not the same pleasure, the reason is too invidious to be pointed out. But in an age of selfishness, and inattention, like the present, there is an utility, as well as a pleasure, in holding out such examples, to reform, and teach it.

The Gentlemen of the Pale, who had submitted to the Administration at Dublin, or to Lord ORMONDE in the field, though they had never been concerned in any hostile act, had been now confined above a year in prison, and indicted of high treason. It will be no impeachment of our candour to suppose, that there was too much hurry in finding such indictments, when we know that above a thousand were found in two days time; and that there was not the fairest and most unsuspected evidence for the finding them, when we are told by the Marquis of ORMONDE, that a letter was read in Council, from a person “who claimed a merit in getting some hundreds of Gentlemen indicted, having laid out sums of money to procure witnesses to give evidence for the finding these indictments.” But be this as it might. The prisoners above-mentioned, to the number of fourteen, petitioned both the King, and Parliament of England, that they might be set at liberty, and freed from the danger of their lives and estates; having never committed any hostility, nor had their hands in the blood, or spoil of any. These petitions they sent to the Marquis of ORMONDE to be transmitted; and relying upon his honour, to attest the truth, and to mediate in their behalf. His Lordship did not fail them in any respect; and though his conduct had been so unexceptionable, that he stood outwardly at least as yet very fair with most of the English Parliament, yet his recommendation of these Gentlemen was without effect, and it was not till four months afterwards, that they were admitted to bail.

The King having conceived no hopes of a general submission, from the extravagant propositions in the remonstrance, delivered by the rebels at Trim, and considering the condition of his affairs then, as well here as in Ireland, about the latter end of April, sent a commission to Lord ORMONDE, to treat and agree with the confederate Catholics, upon a cessation of arms for one year. But before we enter upon his Lordship's proceedings

ceedings in that business, I shall give the reader a view of the state of the several provinces; in order to enable him to form a judgment, whether there was any necessity for such a cessation, when it was concluded, as the King and his friends asserted, or whether it was agreed on, as his enemies represented, to strengthen the King's hands in his war against the Parliament. The reader must take notice however, that the honour of the King in sending this commission, depends on the situation of things at that time, and of which a view hath been given already: if he thinks this was distressful enough to require such a cessation, as the Parliament had neglected sending any relief, the King will be justified in taking this step. The view that is now to be given, is in order to judge of the expedience or inexpedience of the cessation when it was concluded, which was near six months after the date of the commission; and will rather vindicate the honour, or confirm the disgrace, of Lord ORMONDE, and his friends, than of the King.

The miserable condition of affairs then at Dublin, and the extremity to which the army there had been reduced, have been already mentioned; though not in that forcible and pathetic manner, in which they were set forth in the letter of the Lords Justices to the English Parliament. In the province of Leinster, which was under their own care, PRESTON was not so defeated at the battle of Rosse, but that he was able soon to rally his forces, and to sit down before Ballynekill, with four hundred foot, and five hundred horse. It was a castle of considerable strength, within eight miles of Kilkenny; and the garrison annoyed the enemy very much, with their frequent excursions to the walls of that city. The inhabitants, being uneasy at their continual losses, pressed the siege might be undertaken; and offered a plentiful supply of bread. Colonel CRAWFORD was sent from Dublin, with about fifteen hundred men, to endeavour to raise the siege. This is CARTE's account; but Lord CASTLEHAVEN says, that he was besieging a castle of Lord CLAMNALEER, and that his Lordship himself was sent by PRESTON to dislodge him; but they both agree that the Colonel was grievously wounded in his retreat, and that Ballynekill was surrendered. A small quantity of provisions being secured, SR. MICH. ERNLY was sent afterwards on the same service, with a stronger party; but found the

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the place had been given up, and PRESTON marched with his army to Westmeath. Lord ORMONDE, upon receiving advice of this, sent a reinforcement to ERNLY; and ordered him, in case PRESTON besieged any garrison, to watch his best opportunity to distress him, with as little hazard as possible: but if he should retire, ERNLY was to prepare for the taking of Ballysonan; for which the Marquis promised to send him ammunition, and all other necessaries. However upon examining the stores, there was so little powder left, and it being considered that there was not then a great deal of forage on the ground for the horse, the orders for the attack were countermanded, till they had received a supply of powder, and the grass was more grown. The orders were then renewed; and an addition made to them, to keep the army abroad as long as possible. But instead of this, ERNLY in a week's time brought them back to Dublin; alledging that he could not undertake such services with soldiers in such a condition; many of them without shoes, the others so disabled with fatigues that they could not march in their ranks, and all, from their distresses, were not to be commanded. Another part of the army there had been sent out under Lord MOORE; but they had met with so little success in getting prey for their subsistence, that he was obliged to return soon into garrison, for want of forage, and bread. Lord LAMBERT had marched, at the end of May, for the same purpose into Wicklow; and having traversed thirty miles of the country, returned with seven hundred cows, and fifteen hundred sheep. Colonel WILLOUGHBY made another inroad into the same county, with good success: but these actions distressed friends as well as enemies; and served only to keep the army in and about Dublin a little longer alive, and to defer their disbanding for want of food.

The state of the province of Munster to the end of April, hath been already given. In the beginning of May, Lord INCHQUIN drew his forces out of the garrisons, where they were on the point of starving, to see if he could get subsistence for them in the field. Fourteen hundred were sent into the county of Kerry, where they subsisted very well, and made great preys of cattle. SR. C. VAVASOUR was sent with a like number into the county of Waterford; whilst Lord INCHQUIN himself, in order to divert the enemy from attacking those detachments, made a feint of besieging Kill-

Killmallock, a place of great consequence in the county of Limerick. SR. CHARLES I.
A. 1643. CHARLES, disdaining to act with his army the party only of freebooters, attacked, and took several castles. From the last which surrendered, the garrison were sent away under a convoy; but by the disorderliness of an unpaid soldiery, they were almost all of them plundered, or murdered on the way. The quarter that had been given being thus wickedly violated, SR. CHARLES resolved to hang the officer who commanded the party: but he was attacked in his march by Lord CASTLEHAVEN, in the middle of June, with two hundred and fifty horse, almost half of them Gentlemen; who charged the English in a plain with so much resolution, and being favoured by the rain, that their horse fled on the first attack, and breaking in upon the foot, the whole body was routed, six hundred men were killed on the spot, SR. CHARLES, and many other Officers made prisoners, and their cannon, baggage, and seven hundred arms were taken. This was the greatest defeat the English had sustained during the war, and the first time their horse had ever fled; to whose cowardice, and not to any want of conduct in the commander, the defeat was owing: but it was a great discouragement to the army in that province, that were before discouraged enough by the wants they were reduced to, and by the utter neglect of the English Parliament.

The Scotch forces in Ulster, had done nothing becoming an army, for several months: but in May, General MONROE thought proper to stir, and with great secrecy, and expedition, marched into the county of Ardmagh; in order to surprise O NEIL in his quarters. O NEIL himself was the first that discovered them, as he was hunting, at two miles distance; and retiring immediately to his forces, which were not above four hundred, after an hour's dispute with MONROE's army, in a lane inclosed with hedges, leading to Charlemont, very dexterously made his retreat thither without any loss. The Scotch General seized the passes about that fortress, with an intention to make what prey he could in the country; but one of his parties being defeated the next day, with the loss of a prey they had taken, he returned with all his forces into Antrim. On his return thither, Lord MONTGOMERY, and Colonel CHICHESTER, with two thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse, made another irruption into Ardmagh; and
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being joined by Lord MOORE from Dundalk, whose garrison was almost starving, they wasted all that county; and ranging over Monaghan, and Cavan, without seeing an enemy for three weeks together, they took considerable preys of cattle. O NEIL, knowing they could not undertake a siege, resolved to avoid, rather than to oppose them: and driving all the cattle away that he could, and escorting the women and children towards the county of Leitrim, he retreated thither with his forces till he could get an army together sufficient to face the enemy. But in his march, he was attacked by SR. R. STEWART on the borders of Fermanagh, with about four thousand men. The encounter of the horse was extremely fierce for some time; in which O NEIL himself was in great danger: nor was that of the foot less hot for half an hour, till the second division of the English could come to engage; and then the Irish retired in great disorder, both horse and foot running away. Good execution was done in the pursuit for several miles: and the rebels suffered a greater loss in this action, than they had ever done before in Ulster; most of their arms being taken, and the greatest part of the foreign Officers, who came over with O NEIL, being killed or taken prisoners. But though the loss on the side of the English was very inconsiderable, yet SR. R. STEWART was in no condition to do any thing more, than to make preys of cattle, to waste the country, and return to his quarters. O NEIL, after his defeat, retreated to Charlemont, but in a few days pursued his intended march into Leitrim; where he recruited his forces, and received such a supply of arms and ammunition from the Supreme Council, as enabled him in a short time to appear as strong in the field as ever.

We left the rebels in Conaght, in possession of all the towns and castles in that province, except two of Lord CLANRICARDE's, and the castles in the county of Roscommon. Soon after Midsummer, having got PRESTON's engineer, and the cannon of the fort of Galway, they laid siege to Castle-Coote, commanded by SR. CHARLES's brother, which their General BOURKE expected would be an easy conquest. But he was entirely disappointed, notwithstanding he attacked it with a numerous army, and with great skill, and courage. The garrison in the castle defended themselves with the utmost bravery, and resolution; and being well supported by the neighbouring garrisons, they repulsed the rebels several times, with great advantage,

advantage, till the treaty of cessation put an end to the dispute. Having taken this view of the provinces till the time of harvest, we must return again to Dublin; the centre of all public business relating to the rebellion.

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The new Ministry were very sensible of the distressed condition of the whole kingdom: and though they had applied again, in the middle of May, to the English Parliament for relief, yet fearing they might be as unsuccessful as they had been before, they sent SR. THO. WHARTON, a man very acceptable to them, to solicit them more powerfully than they could do by letter. That I may finish his embassy at once, though out of time, I must inform the reader, that after a continual application for twenty weeks, the whole relief that he could procure, was a small supply of provisions; and all the promises he could obtain in future, was a thousand pounds in money. As soon as SR. THOMAS was sent away from Dublin, no great hopes having been formed of speedy succour from England, the Council endeavoured to provide as well as they could for themselves. To this end they published a proclamation to restore the confidence of the Merchants; who, by having had their goods seized by force without payment, had been discouraged from any traffick; assuring them on the word of the State, that they should receive ready money for all the provisions and ammunition they should bring to Dublin. But, in order to raise the money to fulfil this contract, they were obliged to have recourse to an expedient, not known in these dominions till the English Parliament had then set it on foot, to carry on their war against the King; which was an EXCISE.

One cannot mention this subject without being put in mind of the great dissentions it hath occasioned here, and stopping a little to consider it. Abundance of pains hath been taken to enflame the passions, and to impose on the understandings of the people of England upon this method of taxation; and a man must be wholly regardless of popular clamour, that shall dare to avow his approbation of it in this country, where it is said to be inconsistent with our liberty. But a wise man will never suffer his understanding to be run away with by the sound of words: we have lived to see the time, when this word LIBERTY is most egregiously and scandalously abused: and if we go on at the rate we have done for some time past, it doth

CHARLES I. not require a great deal of sagacity to foresee, that our Liberty will prove
 A. 1643. our Ruin. Every good Englishman is a great friend to just and honest Liberty; but there are bounds to be observed, beyond which it becomes Licentiousness. All Government is more or less a restraint upon Liberty; but unless we recur to a state of Nature, that restraint must be submitted to. No Government can be supported without expence; and whosoever receives the benefit and protection of Government, should, according to that benefit, and his own ability, contribute to such expence. The more equal the taxation to it is, the more reasonable it becomes; and in this sense no taxation is preferable, none is so eligible as an Excise. For if all, or the greatest part, however, of our Customs were converted into Excises, there is no doubt but it would be beneficial in general to our commerce, as well as less inconvenient and expensive to the Merchant. There is no reason therefore why we should be frightened by the word EXCISE, from changing the method of raising the taxes we now pay, for one which is more convenient to the trading part of the nation. It is the very method by which most of the taxes are raised in Holland, where trade is understood as well, if not better, than in any country in Europe, and where I presume it will be allowed that the people are as jealous of their liberties as any people ought to be. But our misfortune is, that every individual here, in every rank of life, would make all things center in themselves: and yet no individual can be happy abstracted from the general good of the whole nation. To think otherwise than this, is one of the greatest deceptions imaginable: and yet it is this narrow selfish mode of thinking, that in the end, if it is persevered in, will make us a wretched people. An Excise is only a word for a tax raised in a particular manner: and if it doth not give liberty to an English subject to plunder and defraud the publick of its revenue, hath an honest man any room to complain of this restraint upon English Liberty?

When so much noise hath been made against it in this country, it may be thought madness in any one perhaps to assert this doctrine: but the madness lies in those who are misled by words, without soberly stopping to consider their sense, or the intention of those who make a bustle with them: and in this respect we have seen our countrymen made very mad, with the
 words

words CHURCH, EXCISE, MILITIA, and even PATRIOT. But though the writer of this history is no enemy to an Excise, yet he is so true a friend to Liberty as to disapprove of the mode of regulation of it now in use; in which alone it appears to be inconsistent with the proper freedom of an English subject: and in order to reconcile the reader to this measure, or at least to engage his candour, the following is an alteration of it, which is submitted to his consideration. Let the commission of appeals be quite abolished; and let all disputes about Excise, within the bills of mortality, be settled as small debts are, by the Courts of Conscience, with an appeal to three of the Judges, one from each Court, in a summary way without expence; and from the Justices in the country, where there are no such Courts, to the Judge of Assize. An Excise under this regulation, it must be owned, is no greater restraint upon English liberty, than in the circumstances we are in should be submitted to without repining: and the fault would then only be, in excising the necessaries, and not confining it to the luxuries of life. The great importance of the subject, it is to be hoped, will warrant this digression; and I shall now return to the history.

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Had this method of raising money for the occasions of the State in Ireland been more unjustifiable than it was, yet the necessity was so extreme, that all law, and order, was obliged to be overruled, in other cases, as well as this. The worst of it was, that tho' the duty was so high, as to amount to half the value of the commodity, yet thro' the poverty of the city of Dublin, where it was set on foot, and where trade had been so much ruined, the money raised by it was inconsiderable, and the wants of the army were still pressing. In a short time after the turning out of SR. W. PARSONS, one day at a full Council, when sixteen Members were present, SR. F. BUTLER, and Major WARREN, brought an accusation against him of high crimes and misdemeanors; and requested that he might be secluded, and his papers, and goods secured. A great debate arose upon this application: some of the Council were for securing his person, of which number was his former colleague, one only for seizing his goods, others for taking sureties of him; but the majority inclined to give him his liberty, without any security, and his papers were left untouched. It hath been observed that Lord ORMONDE had received a commission from

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the King, to treat of a cessation with the rebels. After observing the great extremities, to which the army, and his good subjects in Ireland were reduced, thro' the neglect of the two Houses of Parliament here, the King informs him, that he had resumed the care of them again to himself; and therefore commends him, with all secrecy and expedition, to treat with those that had taken up arms, and to agree with them for a cessation; leaving the terms of such treaty entirely to his Lordship: his Majesty not being well informed—as he said—of the true state of his own, or their army, or of the condition of the country, or any other thing whereon to fix a judgment. In a letter from the King himself to the Marquis, which accompanied this commission, his Majesty desired him earnestly to execute this command; and, as soon as that is done, to bring over the Irish army to Chester.

If a commission for such a treaty only had been sent, without the King's acknowledgment of his ignorance of the state of things, and without any order for the army there to be sent to England, it might have been supposed to take its rise only from the ill condition of affairs there, which made it absolutely necessary. But this the reader sees was not the case; and one of the King's motives was evidently to have the assistance of that army, in order to strengthen himself here against the Parliament. Whether the King was more blameable in this respect than the Parliament, who had made use of the money, and the troops raised for Ireland, to carry on the war against the King, shall be left to the reader's determination. Notwithstanding Lord ORMONDE had received the commission, and the letter above mentioned, yet he thought it an indignity to the King, that the first overture for a cessation should come from him. Lord TAAFE, a Roman Catholick, who had been in the army here a volunteer, was sent over by his Majesty at this time, in order to induce the rebels to accept of reasonable conditions. To him therefore Lord ORMONDE granted a pass to the General Assembly, then about to meet at Kilkenny, and joined with him in it Colonel J. BARRY; a Catholick also, but an intimate friend of the Marquis's, who had served under him in all his expeditions, was a man of very good understanding, and much beloved by all who knew him.

The rebels could not, consistently with their former measures, refuse to move for a cessation; but yet this negotiation met with many difficulties.

There

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There were so many people concerned, and these had so many different views, and sentiments, many of them incapable of judging of their true interest, others full of distrust and seeing no further than the outside of things, and all of them too much influenced by ambitious covetous ecclesiasticks, that it was not without many interruptions and long debates, that it was carried to agree to a treaty for a cessation with Lord ORMONDE. As soon as the Marquis knew this, he sent to Colonel BARRY to inform the Assembly, that in order for him to consent to a treaty, it must be settled as a preliminary, that they should contribute a proportion to the supply of the royal army; since by their disturbance his Majesty had been deprived of his subsidies, and revenue, which would have supported it. This was a condition so necessary to the subsistence of the forces during a cessation, that if the Assembly rejected it, he ordered the Colonel to leave the place, and return to Dublin. This preliminary occasioned many other debates: but at last the general condition was agreed to, leaving the particular sum to be settled between the Marquis and their agents; to whom they gave a commission with full powers, about the middle of June.

The Marquis, who had communicated this business from the first to SR. H. TITCHBORN, and his friends in the Council, when he found the rebels had agreed to a treaty, acquainted the whole board with his commission. Those amongst them who had been attached to the republican party in England, expressed their dislike of it: but none of them had offered to suggest a method of subsisting the army, and carrying on the war: and as the Marquis, who was extremely jealous of his honour, was determined that his conduct in so nice and important a point should be clear of all reproach, he delivered in writing at the Council board a motion to the following effect, "that if any of the Members were of opinion a cessation was either dishonourable to the King, unsafe to the Protestants, or dangerous to his Majesty's armies, that they would signify as much by their letters to him, and propose some other more certain, honourable, and available way, for the preservation of the kingdom, the safety of the Protestants, and the subsistence of the armies; in which case he undertook to proceed no farther in the cessation, but would immediately, at his own peril, break off the treaty." His Lordship desired this motion might be entered in the Council

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Council books; the order for which was signed by PARSONS, and the others that were averse to the cessation. But the Marquis, fearing this was not sufficient to silence the clamour that he foresaw would be made about it, the next day made another motion; "that if ten thousand pounds could be raised, the one half in money, and the other in victuals, to be brought in within a fortnight, he would in that case proceed in the war, endeavour to take Wexford, and do nothing in the intended treaty for a cessation." Upon this the Lord Mayor, and the most substantial citizens of Dublin, were summoned to attend; who being examined about such a supply, it was found to be impossible to procure it. This motion was also entered in the books, and signed by a full board: and as neither of these motions had produced any effect, nor any other method was proposed of subsisting the army, and saving the kingdom from desolation, the Marquis set out the next morning, to meet the Irish agents at Castle-Martin in the county of Kildare; accompanied by some of the Council, and the chief officers in the army, to assist him in the treaty. We will also take our leave of Dublin for the present; and cast an eye upon England, for the transactions that were carrying on there, relating to the war in Ireland.

These transactions have been traced to the close of the last year; and the first thing that we meet with in this, was the commission sent by the King to conclude the cessation above mentioned. If Lord CLARENDON hath represented this affair, in a light too favourable on the side of the King, which he certainly hath, by ascribing it to the negotiations of the Parliament with the Scots, and their resolution to levy an army for the assistance of the two houses—which negotiations were not till long after—it is as certain that RAPIN, who hath criticised upon this, is not free from censure. For tho' it is true, that one design of the King in making a truce with the Irish rebels, was to employ the English forces in that kingdom against the Parliament here, yet it doth not appear that this was his only design; nor is it true—what this Historian hath added—"that in order to avoid the reproach which might be cast on him for making this truce, he resolved to manage so, as that it should appear to be done by the Lords Justices, and the rest of the Council. The design was not so much as communicated to the Marquis of ORMONDE, till the commission was sent to him to conclude such

such a treaty; and tho' the King wrote a letter of the same date with it to the Lords Justices, it was only to acquaint them, that he had sent such a commission to his Lordship, and to order them to give their most effectual assistance to advance the cessation.

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In a few days after the King had sent this commission, he received a letter from the Irish Ministry, which he sent to the two Houses; at which they were not a little discomposed. For in this letter the Justices inform his Majesty, "that his army there were in unspeakable extremities of want of all things necessary, for the support of their persons, or maintenance of the war; and that there were no visible means, by sea or land, of their being able to preserve that kingdom, and to deliver his good subjects there from utter destruction. Notwithstanding their repeated advertisements sent into England of their distress, they had received no supplies of money from the English Parliament for six months, nor any other provisions than a mean inconsiderable quantity, sufficient only for the army in and about Dublin for eight days." The Parliament thought it necessary to do something in order to wipe off the just reproaches which were cast upon them in this letter: and having appointed a committee to think of ways to raise money for Ireland—as they had made use of the adventurers money for their own purposes—they resolved it should be raised by voluntary contributions.

Either the Parliament themselves, or the Publick, not being thoroughly satisfied with the legality of their ordinances, they had sent a bill to the King, entitled "an act for the speedy payment of moneys, subscribed towards reducing the rebels in Ireland, which yet remained unpaid." To this his Majesty answered, "that though he might well deny to consent to any new act of Parliament, when the Majority of both Houses were driven away by violence, and He himself not suffered to be present, yet such was his compassion of soul towards his poor Protestant subjects of that kingdom, he would gladly entertain any expedient, whereby the condition of it might be relieved, and the distractions of this in no danger to be increased. He desired therefore to know first, how the vast sums of money, already raised for the relief of Ireland, and which ought not to be employed to any

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other

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other purpose, had been expended. He desired further to be made sure, that the money, which, by his consent to this act, was to be raised for the support of the army there, should not be diverted to any other purpose." Some observations were also made on several clauses of this bill; "and if the two Houses would give his Majesty satisfaction in all those particulars, then all the world, he said, should know, how sensible he was of the misery of Ireland, and how desirous to embrace any way for its relief." The two Houses, not being able to give the King the satisfaction he desired, consistently with their own intentions of misapplying this money, were caught in the snare they had laid for his Majesty; and their giving no answer at all, to demands so reasonable, brought that discredit upon the Parliament, which they meant to throw upon the King, if he refused to pass the act.

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Finding this scheme defeated, they published a declaration, setting forth "their compassionate sense of the miseries of the army, and their Protestant brethren in Ireland, and recommending their relief by way of adventure, loan, or weekly contribution, in such manner as they should approve; of which both Houses intended to shew a good example." But this declaration being without effect, in a month after, they issued an ordinance for the encouragement of adventurers to make new subscriptions, for towns, cities, and lands in Ireland. In ten days after—the twenty fifth of July—they published another declaration, "concerning the rise and progress of the grand rebellion in Ireland, with several examinations of persons of quality, and other passages of consequence;" and this declaration was ordered to be read in the several churches and chapels, on the next fast day after it was received. When the reader knows that that paper takes up above twenty pages in close print in folio of HUSBAND's collections, he will not be surprised that it is not recited here. It is astonishing to posterity, to what a length of malice, and want of candour, the disease of those times did lead men. Nothing less than this surely could induce so great a body of men, to publish such a tedious narrative; wherein many things were greatly exaggerated, others absolutely false, and a good deal of what was strictly true very little to the purpose. But the chief managers and conductors of the counsels of the Parliament—says Lord CLARENDON—
"found

“ found it necessary to aver many things of fact upon their own knowledge, by which they saw the understanding of men liable to be captivated, which in truth were not so; as he himself found by some sober men, at such times as there was occasion of intercourse with them, that they did upon such assurance believe the King had done somewhat in that business of Ireland—some having avowed that they had seen his hand to such and such letters and instructions—which, upon as much knowledge as any man can morally have of a negative, his Lordship was sure the King never did.”

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Nevertheless there were some facts relating to the Papists in this declaration, to which the King made no reply: too true to be denied, and too reprehensible to be excused. Nothing more having passed in England this summer, concerning the Irish war, we must now return to Dublin, in order to give an account of the Marquis of ORMONDE's proceedings in the treaty with the rebels for a cessation.

The King, in his commission to him, had ordered it to be managed with all secrecy; but it was one of the common circumstances attending the councils of this Monarch—uncommon to every other—that nothing was kept a secret in them; and Lord ORMONDE wrote him word, “ that by the time his Majesty's letters about it reached him, the city of Dublin was full of that business, and it was the common discourse of every one.” It required all his Lordship's good management to prevent very disagreeable consequences, in the Council, and the army, from this imprudence or treachery of his Majesty's Court. On the twenty third of June, the Commissioners from the rebels presented themselves to the Marquis, in his tent near Castle-Martin, having some of the Council and several officers of the army with him; his Lordship sitting in his chair covered, and the Irish Commissioners standing bare headed before him. They delivered their propositions in writing; and the Marquis pressed to know, what supply they would give to his Majesty for the maintenance of his army: but they absolutely refused to treat of that particular, till the cessation was agreed upon. His Lordship took three or four days to consider of their propositions; and then returned them an answer. To some of these he consented with restrictions, to others he declined giving any answer at that time, and the

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rest he flatly refused. As this treaty was ineffectual, it doth not seem necessary to trouble the reader with these particulars. The Commissioners, two days after receiving his Lordship's answer, pretending that it required a serious consideration, desired the meeting might be adjourned for a fortnight; when they would wait upon him, and endeavour to bring the treaty to a conclusion. When that day came, they made no reply to the alterations the Marquis had made in their propositions; but though his demand of a supply was not warranted by the King's letters, and so no answer, they said, was necessary, "yet to shew their duty and affections, on the conclusion of the cessation they would grant such a supply as should be then agreed on."

The Marquis being extremely dissatisfied with this answer, resolved to break off the treaty, and try the fate of a battle, if he could, with PRESTON. Accordingly the next day, he wrote to Lord GORMANSTON, "that the necessity of his attendance otherwise on the public service, did not permit his meeting with them at that time; but as soon as the occasion was over, he would appoint another day to proceed on the treaty, of which they should have timely notice." The truth was, the rebels were so elated with the prosperous situation of their affairs, upon finding themselves in a condition to secure the harvest, that they thought of starving the Protestants into their own terms; and with this view, PRESTON was marched into the King's county with a great army, and O NEIL was advanced into West-Meath. The Commissioners took upon them to resent this delay of the treaty, and to demand what the service was that occasioned it; arrogantly threatening to add it to their other grievances. The Marquis replied, "that he was not to acquaint them with any of the King's services, being accountable for them only to his Majesty and the State, to whom he doubted not he should acquit himself as became him; that however they might guess at one of the reasons of his delay, when they knew that PRESTON had had the boldness to advance with his army so near the place of meeting; and that when the occasions of the King's service were over, he would appoint another time to resume the treaty." As soon as Lord ORMONDE returned to Dublin, he did all that he could to procure provisions,

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in order to enable the army to march. MONCK was prevailed upon, with great difficulty, to command the party against PRESTON; who lay with seven thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, within two miles of Castle-Jordan. MONCK, having only two thousand foot, and half the number of the rebels horse, finding no cattle in the field, and wanting supplies of bread and shoes, returned to Dublin in ten days; without giving the enemy any disturbance in his conquest of that county. Upon this, the Marquis summoning all the forces he could raise, and making up a body of five thousand, in a few days after, marched at the head of them himself, and soon retook some of the castles that PRESTON had got possession of. But as that General still retired before him, and would not hazard a battle, and the royal army was ready to starve for want of provisions, about the latter end of July, the Marquis brought it back again to Dublin; convinced by this experiment, that there was no other way to preserve the forces, and the Protestant subjects, but by a cessation.

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On the first of August, the Lords Justices received an order from the King, to secure the persons of SR. W. PARSONS, SR. J. TEMPLE, SR. AD. LOFTUS, and SR. R. MEREDITH, on an accusation brought against them in England, by the Lords DILLON, and WILMOT, SR. FA. FORTESCUE, and BRIAN and D. O NEIL. Another order came also to issue out a commission, empowering the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of ORMONDE, the Earl of ROSCOMMON, and SR. MAU. EUSTACE, to examine into the articles of accusation, and to make a report of them to the King. Besides the business of JEROME, and of the Parliament commissioners already mentioned, it was charged upon them all in general, that they had abused his Majesty's trust in their several offices and employments; that they had endeavoured to draw the army from his obedience, and to side with the English Parliament, which they by all means countenanced and upheld against him; that they had taken and published scandalous examinations, with intent to asperse the King as authorising the rebellion; and had at several times uttered dishonourable speeches about him. Against PARSONS in particular it was objected, that he had often repeated the report, with an appearance of great pleasure, that his Majesty was killed at the battle of

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Edge-hill: against LOFTUS, that he had defrauded the army of their pay by changing the coin: and against TEMPLE, that he had written two scandalous letters to the Parliament commissioners, which had been made use of in England to asperse the King. It was urged further against them all, that they had committed a man to the castle, and imprisoned him several weeks, for saying only that the Earl of ESSEX was a traitor, and justifying his words by the King's proclamation. Other matter than was contained in this accusation, or than hath yet appeared in this history, was to be found against them then at Dublin. The commissioners, who had been appointed to enquire into the grievances of the army, made a report against the custodium of the mills of Kilmainham by SR. J. TEMPLE; who had made a prodigious gain by the toll of all the corn that was ground there for the forces, in and about Dublin, to the very great prejudice of that army. In several letters to England, intercepted at that time, both he and PARSONS inveighed against the cessation, with many unbecoming reflections upon the Council, and false representations of the state of Ireland. These might serve to prejudice the English, who knew no better, and to furnish the Parliament with pretences to declare against an event which affected their private system; and with this view no doubt they were all written. But whatever was the demerit of these men, when the examinations were sent into England, taken by virtue of the commission above mentioned, the King's learned Counsel in the law were of opinion, that though the proofs were very sufficient to convict them of high misdemeanors, yet not of capital crimes; and therefore an order was received to admit them to bail.

Whilst these examinations were carrying on, the Justices received a warrant from the King, to issue out a commission under the great seal of Ireland, in order to authorize the Marquis of ORMONDE to treat and conclude a cessation of arms, for one year, upon such articles as he should judge necessary, or otherwise to break off such treaty: and in case it were already concluded, to pass letters patents for the confirmation of it, and for justifying and indemnifying the Marquis, and all other persons attending and assisting in it, from all manner of trouble, vexation, or damage on that account.

account. In obedience to this order, notice was sent to the Commissioners of the rebels, to meet the Marquis of ORMONDE, on the seventeenth of August, at Sigginstown near Naas, to renew the treaty. But Lord GORMANSTON dying a few days before, Lord MUSKERY being in Munster, and only three of the Commissioners remaining at Kilkenny, the meeting was desired to be put off to the end of the month, that they might be all together. This was a very inconvenient delay, on account of the distress of the King's forces, particularly of those under Lord INCHQUIN; who pressed the Marquis to hasten the meeting, "which he durst undertake, would conduce to the preservation of a part of the kingdom, if not the whole: so that if the Marquis did not know some reason of more weight than the loss of the army in Munster, and the province depending on it, he desired his advice to be followed." Wherefore the Council sent him authority, to conclude a particular cessation, till the general one could be settled; to which Lord MUSKERY, and the other rebel Officers there, agreed.

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But new difficulties were now arisen in the way of the treaty. Lord CASTLEHAVEN had taken several castles in the county of Carlow, and the Queen's county; PRESTON was advanced into Meath, and O NEIL into West-meath; both employed in getting in the harvest. Lord MOORE was sent against the former, but could neither subsist his army, nor secure the harvest for want of ammunition. The soldiers were in all places ready to mutiny; and so disorderly through defect of pay, that the country people, who used to live under their protection, fled away for fear of being ill treated. The garrisons of Drogheda, Dundalk, and the neighbouring castles, were ready to be deserted through want; O NEIL having carried away all the corn of the countries intended for their subsistence. The State had not strength to oppose such a numerous army, which could easily too be joined by PRESTON. They sent into Ulster to MONROE for his assistance; but he denied to march himself, or to send them any succour. This obliged them to recal MONCK from Wicklow, with intent that he should go with Lord MOORE to oppose O NEIL. In a vain attack against one of his parties, his Lordship was killed by a cannon ball; and the army the next day, for want of bread, returned to Dublin. During their absence,

PRESTON

CHARLES I. PRESTON made incursions within two miles of the city; and Lord CASTLE-
 A. 1643. HAVEN took the places which MONCK had quitted, and reduced all the castles between the Barrow and the Liffy.

These advantages however, on the side of the rebels, were not the only difficulties which stood in the way of the cessation. About the middle of July, Father SCARAMP, a Minister from the Pope, arrived with large supplies of money, and ammunition, at Kilkenny. With these he brought letters from his Holiness, to the Generals of the provinces, the Supreme Council, and the Prelates; and what was more valuable than these, a bull, in which he granted a general jubilee, and an absolution to all, who were concerned in that insurrection for religion, of all crimes, and sins, how enormous or damnable soever. There are copies of all these letters, and of the Pope's Bull, in the Memoirs of RINUCCINI, his Holiness's Nuncio afterwards in Ireland, mentioned in the Preface: but there is nothing curious or material enough in them to deserve a place. They are such as the reader may easily enough imagine from a Pope of Rome upon such a subject: and the Bull is in the usual form of all absolutions of that nature.—Strange that men of sense can suffer their understandings to be so far captivated, as to believe that it is in the power of any man, or of any number of men whatever, to turn guilt into innocence with a word, and to put the sinner and the saint upon an equal level!—The coming of this Minister gave new life to the opposition of the clergy, and old Irish, to the cessation; of which he assured them the Court of Rome would not approve, without the free and splendid exercise of their religion, and the confinement of all places of trust, and power, to the Catholics. This party insisted strongly on the great distresses of the English, the flourishing condition of their own affairs, their prospect of greater successes, and of the assistance of foreign princes which would be lost by a cessation: They remonstrated against giving the King any supply, that should maintain an army which would be employed against them; and moved that the treaty might be deferred, at least till the Pope had been consulted, and given his direction in it. These were the sentiments of men bigotted to the catholic religion, or who had nothing to get, but a great deal to lose, by a peace
 with

with the King. But the men of sense and moderation, who saw the plain absurdity of standing out against the King, after so many protestations of loyalty, and that they could no longer subsist than whilst his difference lasted with the Parliament, they considered that an accommodation was necessary, in order to wipe off the calumny raised against them, and that the supply would be compensated by saving the country from the ravages of war: and by the joint endeavours of the Lords CLANRICARDE, CASTLEHAVEN, MUSKERY, TAAFE, and other leading men, who had possessions and estates to lose, and nothing to get, by the rebellion, they carried it to renew the treaty for a cessation, in hopes it would produce a peace. But on this occasion the ancient animosities were revived, between the old English, who were for maintaining the English government, and the native Irish, who joined with the Clergy in opposing any accommodation, but such as would leave them masters of the kingdom.

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On the twenty-sixth of August, the Commissioners met the Marquis of ORMONDE, and the Council, and Officers whom he had associated with him. His Lordship sounded the Catholics upon a temporary cessation during the treaty, to which they were not inclined: but more time being taken up in disputes about quarters than they expected, they proposed a particular cessation for the provinces of Leinster, which was rejected; and that refusal enabled them to extend their quarters in it very considerably, to the great annoyance of the Protestant subjects. The articles of cessation, and limitation of quarters, are too long, and immaterial, to be inserted here: the supply they granted to the King was thirty thousand pounds, to be paid half in money, and half in beeves, in five several payments, before the end of May; and eight hundred pounds, within two months after the cessation, in lieu of corn due to some English garrisons. When all the articles were settled, the Marquis laid them before such of the Council and General Officers as were with him: and they “ considering the insupportable wants and miseries of the army, the great distress of many of his Majesty’s principal forts, the imminent danger of the whole kingdom, and the impossibility of prosecuting the war without such large supplies of which they had no hope, did for those reasons conceive it necessary for his Majesty’s honour

CHARLES I. honour and service, that the cessation should be agreed to upon the articles
A. 1643. then drawn up and perfected." This opinion being subscribed by them, to the number of seventeen, the Marquis of ORMONDE, on the fifteenth of September, signed the instrument of cessation with the Catholic Commissioners; which, being ratified by the Lords Justices and Council, was notified by a public proclamation in every part of the kingdom. A respite being thus given to all hostilities for a twelvemonth, it will be proper to relieve the reader by putting a period to this book.



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H I S T O R Y
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R E B E L L I O N and C I V I L - W A R
I N
I R E L A N D.

B O O K V.

WHETHER the cessation made with the rebels in Ireland for a year, was really necessary for the preservation of his Majesty's Protestant subjects and his interest in that kingdom, or whether it was made with no other view, than to enable the King to bring over that army to subdue the Parliament in England, is a question, which, agitated as much as it was at that time, the reader, who hath no self interest nor prejudice to corrupt his judgment, will from the preceding account be able to determine very clearly. Without this account, even the great clamour against it by the two opposite factions, who had each their particular interests with which it clashed, shews the measure to have been a right

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CARTE.
COX.
BORLASE.
CLAREND.
CASTLEHA.
Inquiry, &c.
Nuncio's M.

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one. The Romish Clergy, the old Irish, and the necessitous English Papists there, who could get nothing but by the confusions of the kingdom, these on one side were vehement against the cessation; as what broke the union of the confederates, divided them into parties, stopped the career of their successes, and would cool the zeal of foreign powers in supporting what they had believed to be a war of religion. On the other side, those who had entertained views of encreasing, or raising a fortune, upon the ruin of others, and the English Parliament-party, whose interest it was to improve and continue this rebellion, in order to prevent the King's receiving any aid from Ireland, these exclaimed against the cessation, as what would lay a foundation for a peace with the rebels; "with whom it was best to be in perpetual defiance." Now if the consequences thus urged on both sides, or on either of them, were likely to follow from the cessation, I presume to say that it was a step from thence alone very defensible. But necessity is a motive not to be resisted; and the Marquis of ORMONDE had this unanswerable plea.

That the King, who had another motive, which was that he might avail himself of the Irish army, was glad there was such a plea to make, is very probable; because he certainly did intend to make a peace with the Irish rebels, before any such necessity took place; not however out of any favour, or to shew countenance to them—as some of his enemies suggested, and others believed—but to strengthen himself against the Parliament with the Irish army. Neither do I mean that there was no necessity to be pleaded, at the latter end of April, when he sent his first public order for a treaty of cessation. But in CARTE's appendix, there is a private letter from the King, dated on the twelfth of January—before he knew that the armies were formed under O NEIL, and PRESTON, and when very few of the castles and none of the towns were in their hands, except Kilkenny—in which his Majesty gives the Marquis of ORMONDE instructions, to treat of a peace with the Irish rebels. In another letter of the second of February, he "earnestly desires his Lordship to send him word with all speed the particulars of this business, as how, when, and in what measure it will be done; assuring him it should not be hindered by the arrival of a more powerful head:" and in a letter of the eighth of February, he "commands him

him to slacken nothing in that business, whatsoever the Justices may say, or do; not that he doubts the Marquis's diligence in obeying his commands, but that he finds, towards the conclusion of his Lordship's letter, that the Justices intend to desire some stop of the execution of that commission, and he knows that he need not bid his Lordship hinder, as much as he might, the concurrence of his Majesty's Protestant subjects in that desire." From hence it is plain that the King, "though he was not ignorant how tender an argument the business of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to pervert what he did or said in it," did not—as Lord CLARENDON says he did—"proceed with that caution, that whatsoever was done in it should be by the Council of that State, who were understood to be most skilful in those affairs." But this transaction was a secret between the King and the Marquis of ORMONDE; who appears to have had more regard to his Majesty's honour in this whole business of Ireland, than from this time the King himself had.

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The cessation being concluded, the Marquis's next business was to consider of the number of forces that were necessary to be kept in Ireland, and the means of their subsistence, and then to transport the rest of that army into England to assist the King. It was left entirely to his Lordship, whether to remain in his post at Dublin, or to go over as Commander of those forces; neither his Majesty, nor his Council, being able to determine which of those measures were best: but his Lordship waving the choice, it was resolved at last that he should remain in Ireland. Several difficulties arose in the business of transporting the army, for want of vessels to carry the men, and of money to supply the Officers that were to command them: the Irish, who were to have made the first payment of five thousand pounds in the middle of October, not having paid two thousand in the beginning of November, when some ships arrived from Bristol to transport the army. But the Marquis employed his credit in procuring some money, that the embarkation might not be hindered. He was not only very careful in the choice of the Officers to be sent over with this army, that they might be well affected to the King, but he framed a protestation to be taken by the whole army, before they went out of the harbour, of which he himself was an example; "that they would defend the religion established in the

CHARLES I. Church of England, the King's person and prerogative against all the forces raised against him, and that they would not communicate any thing that should prejudice his designs in the conduct of his army."

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The soldiers were glad to leave a country where they had been in continual danger of starving, and chearfully took the protestation: neither did any of the Officers refuse it, but CRAWFORD a Scotchman who pretended conscience, and Colonel MONCK; whose reasons so far satisfied the Marquis, that he gave him a pass to go into England, with a restriction of being detained, with all civility, for some time in custody. The first embarkation was not much above two thousand effective men: and it was the middle of November before they sailed from the bay of Dublin. In the beginning of December, the Marquis sent over fifteen hundred more; and at the end of that month, four troops of horse, and nine hundred foot. It is not the business of this history to accompany these forces and recount their actions in England: and therefore I shall only say, that after some successes, which gave them a mean opinion of the enemy, they were attacked in Cheshire by FAIRFAX; where above twelve hundred common soldiers, and almost all their principal Officers, were taken prisoners, with the loss of all the baggage, artillery, and ammunition of the army.

The Irish had pretended, in their remonstrance at Trim, that they were ready to send ten thousand men to be employed in defending the rights and prerogative of the King; and several Catholic Noblemen, and Gentlemen of that nation, then in England, undertook to bring over some Irish regiments for his service. But none of these propositions took any effect; not from the King's unwillingness to employ the Irish Papists in his army, but from the unwillingness of the Supreme Council to send over small parties under private persons, which they thought would not be looked upon by the King as an obligation from the body of Catholics; and they were determined to make their own advantages from his distresses. This was the real motive, notwithstanding all their professions of loyalty and allegiance, from whence springs all their double dealings, their tricks, and their obstinacy, till his Majesty's affairs were ruined, and their own party was involved in that destruction. I have said that the King was not unwilling to employ

employ Irish Papists in his army; because several such, as Officers and Volunteers especially, were so employed; and because the Marquis of ORMONDE, after the cessation, solicited the Supreme Council very strongly, by his Majesty's orders, not to protract their assistance. It is said in excuse for this, that the Parliament had a troop of Walloon horse in their service, who had their Romish Priests with them to say mass wherever they marched; and therefore the King might certainly, with as little offence, employ a body of his own Catholic subjects. MR. Secretary NICHOLAS affirms, in a letter to Lord ORMONDE, in August, that this circumstance of the "Walloon troop of Papists is a most certain truth;" which is all the authority that I can find for that improbable fact. It is true, however, that several of the rebel Irish Papists were listed by the Scots, and sent with their army into England for the service of the Parliament; as we shall presently see.

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Lord INCHQUIN had not so many difficulties to encounter in the province of Munster, as the Marquis of ORMONDE had, in transporting the forces under him into England; on account of the number of sea ports, and trading towns, with which his province abounded, and the sea there being open. The want of provisions however, and money to supply his Officers, was full as great; and though he sent two regiments in the middle of October, it was near Christmas before he could send over the three regiments more, that were to be spared from the Munster army. Very little advantage accrued to the King from any of the forces brought from Ireland: and considering the suspicions which he lay under with most of the people, about favouring the Irish Papists, it is certain that the weakening of the army there, notwithstanding a cessation, which it was thought they would not observe, did him a great disservice.

It is very certain also that the cessation was not observed, on either side, as it ought to have been. The Scots in Ulster, who acknowledged no other authority over their army than their General's, refused to obey it till they knew his pleasure; and would admit it no further than as they thought it beneficial to the views of the English Parliament. On the other hand, the Irish Catholics neglected to make their payments for support of the
King's

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King's army, according to their agreement; and committed divers acts of hostility, upon the cattle and houses of some of the Protestants. Great sums of money were also extorted from them, for licence to pass through the Irish quarters; and what was worst of all, they published a prohibition to all their party not to sell provisions to the English for their money. Many of the garrisons were obliged to be abandoned by this contrivance; the county Councils in Conaght having issued out warrants, with intent to seize the goods and estates of such Catholicks, as should buy, or sell, or use any traffick with the English. Lord INCHQUIN sent a remonstrance to the Justices, charging the confederates with a breach of the cessation in Munster, in no less than eleven articles: "which had begotten so many complaints from the poor English, and such vexation of spirit, as made them weary of their lives, and him of the sad and perplexed condition to which these affronts and difficulties had reduced him."

M. S.

The reader hath been informed in the third book, that two commissions under the great seal were issued out by the Justices, to the Dean of Kilmore, and seven other clergymen; one within two months after the breaking out of the rebellion, and the other in the January following: the first of these was to enquire into all the robberies that had been committed, with the particulars of the value, time, and place, and of all traitorous and disloyal speeches: the other to enquire what lands had been seized, and what murders committed by the rebels, what numbers of British people had perished in their flight from them, and how many had turned Papists since the twenty-second of October. In the June following, another commission — not mentioned by any historian — passed the great seal, in the same words with the last, and directed to the same persons except one: the reason of which I take to be, that one of the commissioners was then dead, and another named in his room. A copy of this commission is at the head of the manuscript in my possession, already mentioned; a duplicate of which book is among the Harleian manuscripts in the Museum. It hath also been taken notice of, that the examinations, by virtue of these commissions, are in two and thirty large volumes in folio deposited in the College library at Dublin; besides one which contains the examinations that were taken by Archdeacon Byss for the province of Munster; and which

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BORLASE—among his other falsehoods—says, was smothered with great artifice. In these books, besides the original examinations signed by the Commissioners, there are several copies of others, said to be taken before them, which are therefore of no authority; and there are many taken ten years after, before Justices of peace appointed by the Commissioners of the English Parliament. As a great stress hath been laid upon this collection, in print, and conversation, among the Protestants of that kingdom, and the whole evidence of the massacre turns upon it, I took a great deal of pains, and spent a great deal of time, in examining these books: and I am sorry to say, that they have been made the foundation of much more clamour and resentment, than can be warranted by truth and reason.

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There is one circumstance in these books—not taken notice of as I perceived by any body before me—that though all the examinations signed by the Commissioners are said to be upon oath, yet in infinitely the greatest number of them, the words “BEING DULY SWORN” have the pen drawn through them, with the same ink with which the examinations are written; and in several of those where such words remain, many parts of the examinations are crossed out. This is a circumstance which shews, that the bulk of this immense collection is parole evidence, and upon report of common fame: and what sort of evidence that is, may be easily learnt by those who are conversant with the common people of any country; especially when their imaginations are terrified with cruelties, and their passions heated by sufferings. Of what credit are even depositions worthy—and several such there are—that many of the Protestants that were drowned, were often seen in erect postures in the river, and shrieking out “Revenge,” to the terror of the whole country, even of the murderers themselves? But what will put the matter out of all doubt with impartial people, that no other examinations in these volumes are to be depended on, than what are sworn, is that no other are to be found in the manuscript collection in my possession, and its duplicate in the Museum; signed with the same signatures of the Commissioners, which I saw so often repeated in those two and thirty volumes, and which is therefore as much an original as that collection. The commission was finished in July this year; but there was one examination added in October; and on the eighth of November they attested,

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tested, "that they have examined and compared the above extracts with the original examinations with which they find them to agree." Here then it is only that we can expect the most authentic account of the Irish Massacre; and I conceive the reason for making a duplicate of this collection, was to send one copy to the King and Council, and the other to the English Parliament.

Having thus established the authority from which I write of this tragical event, I must now endeavour to ascertain from it, as near as may be, the number of British and Protestants that were destroyed, OUT OF WAR, by the Irish in this rebellion. Though it is impossible, even from this authentic evidence of the murders, to come at any certainty and exactness as to their number, from the uncertainty itself of some of the accounts that are given in, yet it is easy enough from hence to demonstrate, the falshood of the relation of every Protestant historian of this rebellion. Indeed to any one who considers how thinly Ireland was at that time peopled by Protestants, and the province of Ulster particularly, where was the chief scene of the Massacre, those relations, upon the face of them, appear incredible. It is very observable that Lord CLARENDON, when he mentions this Massacre in his history of the rebellion in England, says "that there were forty or fifty thousand of the English Protestants murdered, before they suspected themselves to be in any danger, or could provide for their defence." But in his vindication of the Marquis of ORMONDE, written at Cologne, if not under the inspection, yet with the help of memoirs given him by the Marquis, he wisely avoids naming any number; and says "that in the space of less than ten days, the Irish murdered an incredible number of Protestants, without distinction of age, or sex; and that many thousands perished by cold, and hunger." Had no writer gone beyond this last account, which may be called the Marquis of ORMONDE's—the best judge in the world of that event—I presume it would never have occasioned any dispute. But when this number hath been extended by some to "above an hundred and fifty thousand," by others to two, and even to "three hundred thousand," at a time when there were not so many more British in the whole kingdom, it made the relation impossible to be credited by men of sense. Lord CASTLEHAVEN hath assured us, that SR. J. TEMPLE mentioned hun-

dreds,

dreds, as then murdered, that lived many years after; nay, some were even alive when he wrote his memoirs: and his Lordship observes further, that not a tenth part of the British natives reported to have been thus murdered, lived then in that kingdom out of cities and walled towns, in which no such massacre was committed. Father WALSH, who is allowed to have been "honest and loyal," hath affirmed that after a regular and exact enquiry, he computed the number might be about eight thousand.

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But setting aside all opinions and calculations in this affair—which, besides their uncertainty, are without any precision as to the space of time in which the murders were committed—the evidence from the depositions in the manuscript above-mentioned stands thus. The number of people killed, upon positive evidence collected in two years after the insurrection broke out, adding them all together, amounts only to two thousand one hundred and nine; on the report of other Protestants, one thousand six hundred and nineteen more; and on the report of some of the rebels themselves, a further number of three hundred; the whole making FOUR THOUSAND and TWENTY-EIGHT. Besides these Murders, there is in the same collection, evidence, on the report of others, of EIGHT THOUSAND killed by ill usage: and if we should allow that the cruelties of the Irish, out of war, extended to these numbers—which, considering the nature of several of the depositions, I think in my conscience we cannot—yet to be impartial we must allow, that there is no pretence for laying a greater number to their charge. This account is also corroborated by a letter, which I copied out of the Council books at Dublin, written on the fifth of May sixteen hundred and fifty-two—ten years after the beginning of the rebellion—from the Parliament-commissioners in Ireland, to the English Parliament. After exciting them to further severity against the Irish, as being afraid "their behaviour towards this people may never sufficiently avenge their murders and massacres, and lest the Parliament might shortly be in pursuance of a speedy settlement of this nation, and thereby some tender concessions might be concluded," the Commissioners tell them that it appears, "besides eight hundred forty-eight families, there were killed, hanged, burned, and drowned, SIX THOUSAND and SIXTY-TWO.

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The number given in these accounts—small as it is, compared with what hath been given by other Protestant writers—yet is surely great enough to give a horrible idea of the fierce and savage cruelty which was at that time exercised by the Irish. But in abatement of these examinations it must be observed, besides what I have already hinted appears upon the face of them, that soon after the restoration, when the claims in favour of innocents were canvassed, and the House of Commons desired that none of those whose names could be found in that collection might be heard relating to such claims, the Duke of ORMONDE, then Lord Lieutenant and no friend to the Irish for good reasons, rejected the proposal. His Grace, it is probable, knew too much of those examinations, or the methods used in procuring them, to give them such a stamp of authority; or otherwise, it would have been the clearest and shortest proof of the guilt of such as were named in them. The truth is, the soldiers and common people were very savage on both sides: and one would hope for the sake of humanity, that the enemies of each side have greatly aggravated the others cruelty. I have however been of opinion, since my knowledge of this part of Irish history, that these extravagant reports have been owing also to the friends of each side; who have been bigotted enough to think, that they did God service in such barbarities, and have therefore assumed a merit to their party beyond the measures of truth.

Hence it was, no doubt, that the Priests made a report, when DR. MAXWELL was prisoner amongst them—as he said in his deposition—that the persons slaughtered in the first six months, amounted to one Hundred Fifty four Thousand: and to this wicked zeal, and not to the reality of the fact, I hope, is to be attributed, DR. BORLASE's account of the services performed by SR. W. COLE's regiment in the first year of the rebellion, and almost all in the province of Ulster. He says, that besides two thousand four hundred and seventeen rebels killed in several engagements, there were “starved and famished of the vulgar sort, whose goods were seized on by this regiment, SEVEN THOUSAND.” If this is true, the Irish, though the first aggressors, have but too much reason to recriminate: and both sides will do well to guard against or to extinguish those unchristian animosities, which led the way to every species of barbarity, and ended in desolation, pestilence,

lence, and famine. Whether the account which I have given above of this great event in the Irish history, will satisfy the reader of either party, I don't know: but I have taken great care and pains in the enquiry, and I write, not to please, but to inform; not to irritate parties, but to unite them in the exercise of civil social duties.

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About the time when this collection of the Irish cruelties was attested by the Commissioners, the Lords Justices and Council received a reprimand from the English Parliament, for declaring in the preamble of an act of state, "that their present difficulties were occasioned through the failure of the Houses of Parliament in England, who undertook the charge of this war." After threatening the Ministry there for executing the King's orders, the Speakers conclude their letter with telling them, "that they are forbidden to inform them what supplies of money, victuals, ammunition, and other necessaries, are in good forwardness to be sent over, and by whose incessant care, lest they should seem to answer that scandal by excuse, which deserves an high resentment." To this letter, the Justices and fourteen Privy-Councillors returned an answer; in which they recapitulated the several applications made from that board to the English Parliament for relief, and the supplies that had been sent them; by which the truth of their declaration in the preamble was manifested in so strong a light, that neither of the Houses thought fit to expose themselves by offering at any reply. They knew indeed that it was too true; and they must also know, that there was a necessity—not a feigned, but eminent, real, and extreme necessity, said SR. P. PERCIVAL—for the cessation; but yet they thought it for their interest to clamour against it in a declaration, and to protest against all peace with the rebels upon any terms; a measure which must have entailed perpetual war upon that kingdom till it was in a manner depopulated: for the Protestants then, by PETTY's calculation, were to the Papists as two only to eleven. But it was necessary to impose on the people of England, with a shew of zeal for the Protestant religion; and they found their account in it very effectually.

It was no less necessary for the King to undeceive the people, by publishing the motives which induced him to agree to this cessation: but Lord

CHARLES I. CLARENDON hath told us upon this occasion, "that it was one of the instances of the strange and fatal misunderstanding which possessed this time, that the calumnies and slanders raised to his Majesty's disservice and dishonour about Ireland, made a more than ordinary impression on the minds of men; and not only of vulgar spirited people, but of those who resisted all other insinuations and infections." The English historians to this day—RAPIN especially—have represented the complaints of the Council and of the officers of the army in Ireland, as a contrivance of the King's, who had a mind to make use of them for a pretence to this cessation. But the falsehood of this assertion must have appeared from what hath been related already, upon the unexceptionable evidence of such of the Council in Ireland, as were ill enough affected to the King. It is very certain that the cessation was a measure to be fully justified; though when his Majesty first sent orders for such a treaty, the necessity for it was not so pressing; and his directing the troops that could be spared in Ireland, to be sent for his assistance against the Parliament, induced those who were ignorant of the state of Ireland, to conclude he had no other motive for ordering this truce. The King thought it necessary at this time to put the Government of Ireland entirely into the hands of the Marquis of ORMONDE, by making him Lord Lieutenant; as the only way to contain the Irish in their obedience, and to keep the cessation from being violated. Nothing more having passed in England relating to this unhappy country before the end of the year, we must now return thither again, and begin the next year with the Marquis of ORMONDE's taking the sword.

A. 1644. Had the commission, and the powers, which that Lord now received, been sent to him at the execution of the Earl of STRAFFORD, the miseries of his country by this rebellion would have been prevented. But that time was over: the rebellion was now at its height; the Scots were masters of Ulster, and the rebels of the greatest part of the other provinces; the one refusing to obey the orders of the Government, and the other having formed a government of their own in opposition to it. "In such a confluence of difficulties"—as he expressed it—"which must apparently be strived with in that service," a man of less loyalty than the Marquis of ORMONDE would never have undertaken it; a man of less integrity and abilities could

not

not have conducted it. The Earl of LEICESTER having been prevailed with to resign, on receiving a warrant for all his arrears, the Marquis was sworn Lord Lieutenant on the twenty first of January. There were four things recommended principally to his care by the King and Council in England: the first, was to prevent any hostility during the cessation; the second, to prevent the Scots from drawing their army out of Ireland, that they might not be in a condition to invade England; the third, was to persuade the Irish Catholicks to send some forces into England, or Scotland, as should be most for the King's service; and the last, to procure all the arms, and ammunition, that he possibly could from the Irish, out of which he was to furnish his Majesty's forts and garrisons there.

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The first of these instructions was certainly very right, for the safety of the Protestants, and to prevent any scandal to the King from this cessation. But the keeping of the Scots in Ireland had not only an appearance of present danger to that kingdom, but seemed not very consistent with the third instruction, of sending some Irish forces into England, or Scotland. But there was a great difficulty in the way of this, and of the last instruction about arms and ammunition, which was the want of money. Nor was this all. For the Supreme Council seem to have laid it down as a rule, to make advantage of the King's necessities, and to permit nothing to be done by the Irish for his service, but by the joint act of their whole body, upon the grant of such conditions as they should think fit to insist on. Hence when Prince RUPERT, who commanded the King's forces in Cheshire, desired them at this time to supply him with five thousand arms, three hundred barrels of powder, and a due proportion of match, for which he promised ready payment, they excused themselves from complying with his request, under a pretence that they had not enough to spare, besides what they had engaged to the Earl of ANTRIM. The same answer was then also given to Lord ORMONDE; who offered to accept of arms, and ammunition, in lieu of their value in the money which was to be paid upon the cessation: and to this blind zeal, after so many professions of loyalty, their own subsequent ruin must be attributed. This, in short, was the original fountain, from whence flowed all those waters of bitterness, of which so many thousands of unhappy people tasted.

Having

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Having mentioned their engagement to the Earl of ANTRIM, I must now explain to the reader what it meant. It is no wonder that a man so immoderately vain and ambitious, and withal so weak, as the Earl of ANTRIM, should form projects of dignity above his merit, and of power beyond his abilities. He was originally of the clan of MACDONNEL in the highlands of Scotland, that were well affected to the King, and with whom he had always kept a correspondence; and being a very bigotted Papist, he did not doubt but the Irish Catholicks would make him Generalissimo of their army. He had been confined by MONROE eight months; but making his escape, and going away to the King, he proposed taking over three thousand Irish, and with these, and his clan in the highlands, to make a diversion in Scotland, in order to prevent their assisting the Parliament in England. He went further: he proposed, by the influence that he pretended he had over the Irish, to bring ten thousand of them into England, with an intent to assist the King against the Parliament. Weak as this man was, and wild and improbable as were his projects, he made such an impression upon the Queen, who had the talent of making herself believe every thing that she wished, and whose power over the King was absolute, that for these intended services he was made a Marquis; and an order was sent to the Lord Lieutenant, to furnish him with all possible credit, for arms, ammunition, and provision, either by mortgaging the customs, or any other way that the kingdom of Ireland could afford. It was not at all to the King's honour to confer that dignity upon such a bigotted Papist, and to direct such ways of supplying a Popish army under him, that were to invade his subjects in Scotland, as he had never made use of to relieve his Protestant army, when they were ready to perish. But the Queen was now at Court; a woman of a very intriguing temper, zealous for her religion, and whose counsels in favour of it were too much submitted to: and as to the judgment that might be made of such a step by the English Parliament, Lord DIGBY told the Marquis of ORMONDE in one of his letters, they were past those scruples, and must not be diverted by them from what might conduce to his Majesty's service.

With Lord ANTRIM was sent over DAN. O'NEIL, a great friend of Lord DIGBY's, in order to keep Lord ANTRIM, upon whom he had an influence,

fluence, steady in his resolution, and to prevent his falling into those imprudent measures which might be expected from him. For notwithstanding the credit, and power, which the King had given him, his projects were so ridiculous, and he was so unfit an instrument to be employed in the wisest, that Lord DIGBY told Lord ORMONDE, when he first mentioned the Marquis of ANTRIM's commission, "that he went upon two grounds very contrary to his Majesty's service, which the Lord Lieutenant must either persuade him from, or prevent him in." Could any thing but an infatuation in the councils of the King, permit such a trust to be put into such hands? But what shews the favour that this man was in at Court, is Lord DIGBY's addition to the direction just mentioned, that Lord ORMONDE must manage so, "as to avoid disobliging my Lord of ANTRIM:" and the Queen herself wrote a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, to pray him to favour Lord ANTRIM in every thing that was in his power, being a person she very much esteemed, and as what would extremely oblige her. For amidst his boasts of the great interest he had among the Irish Papists, he owned that he could not answer for the Supreme Council, without the assistance of Lord ORMONDE, but with that he could do every thing.

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There is nothing more certain in this history, than that the Queen and her Popish counsellors had too much ascendancy in the Court at Oxford. The Queen, in a drawing-room, was one of the liveliest women of the age; and the vivacity of her imagination, which surprised every body, made a great impression on the King. But though her temper led her to be always meddling in his counsels, yet she had no solid judgment; nor was so secret, as such times, and such affairs required. The Marquis of ORMONDE complained often that his own dispatches thither were known to the Irish, as well as the directions that were sent to him from thence: And though he had expressly desired that no countenance might be given there, to any who might pretend to be powerful with the Irish, and promise to work them to great matters for the King, the consequence of which he plainly shewed, yet the reader hath seen the contrary advice followed with respect to Lord ANTRIM; and Lord DIGBY writes to him in answer to that advice, "that if his reason had been as prevalent with others, as it was peremptory with him in the point, there had no such thing been done
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CHARLES I. at all." Notwithstanding this negotiation in the Court at Oxford, of which
 A. 1644. the reader hath had but a small part, MR. HUME hath passed it over entirely, and talks only "of MONTROSS's stipulating with ANTRIM for some supply of men from Ireland."

As soon as ANTRIM arrived thither he repaired to the Supreme Council at Kilkenny; to whom he made his proposals for sending ten thousand men into England, the arms and ammunition for Prince RUPERT, and three thousand men to be employed in Scotland. The Supreme Council took five day's time to consider of them; and then the first was absolutely rejected; the second was put on such conditions as could not be complied with without starving the King's forces in Ulster; and with respect to the last, they agreed, if Lord ANTRIM would raise the men, to assist him with a certain portion of arms, ammunition, and oatmeal; provided that a safe and convenient port in Ulster, to be commanded by Colonel BAGNAL, was assigned for receiving them. The Lord Lieutenant had a just objection to this restriction; and therefore when it was made known to him, his answer was, that when he had advice that this assistance of men was ready, there should not want a convenient place to receive and secure them to their satisfaction. The Marquis of ANTRIM being resolved to carry his point, so, that he might ingratiate himself with the Irish, he took the oath of association, and was sworn one of their Council: and tho' he had a commission from the King to raise men for the service he had undertaken, yet he took another from the Supreme Council, to be Lieutenant General of all their forces in the kingdom; professing when he received it, that he would never make use of any other commission, nor transport men abroad without their consent. This was the loyal subject whom the King had just made a Marquis, who pretended he could govern the Irish Catholics, and who had really such an influence with the Queen and her Popish council, as was very prejudicial to the King's affairs. But we must leave his Lordship for the present in the execution of his project, and turn to see what was doing in consequence of the cessation.

One of the first things the Marquis of ORMONDE did, after he was made Lord Lieutenant, was to provide for the peace of the kingdom, and to prevent

vent the Irish, as well as he could, from renewing the war. There were some disputes about the extent of the quarters, and some depredations committed on both sides, through the habit of rapine which the English soldiers for want of pay, and the Irish through common practice, had contracted: but these at last were settled by commissioners, and in general all was quiet, except in the county of Roscommon, and some parts of Ulster. Orders had been sent to MONROE to break the cessation; and he publicly declared his resolution of carrying on the war against the Irish. For the English Parliament having taken the Covenant—so well known in all our histories—they dispatched O CONOLLY with letters to all the British Colonels in Ulster, desiring them to take the Covenant, and carry on the war; and assuring them of sufficient supplies for their maintenance on those conditions. Letters of the same import were at the same time sent by an agent from the London adventurers; and these were very welcome to the Scotch officers, who had lived much at their ease, being employed about little else than taking preys of cattle, and who did not care to leave the country. But the English regiments in that province were in a very distressful situation: they had received no pay from the beginning of the war, their commanders had exhausted their own fortunes in maintaining their men, and by the cessation they were become less able to support them. Both officers and soldiers were generally well affected to the King; and they had no hopes of supplies, unless they joined the Scots, and obeyed the orders of the English Parliament. The Marquis of ORMONDE had sent directions to all the officers in those parts, under his command, not to take the covenant; shewing the iniquity of the oath, and advising them, if they could not oppose MONROE's power, to follow his example and desire time to receive directions. At the same time an order was sent to MONROE, not to suffer the covenant to be taken by any officers or soldiers under his command; and lest this should not be sufficient, it was followed by a proclamation forbidding all persons to take or tender it, as it was contrary to the municipal laws of the kingdom, destructive of the church established, inconsistent with liberty, and a seditious combination against the King.

But all this reasoning and authority was too weak, to oppose the passion with which the covenant was received, by the new Scotch officers, and inhabitants of the North of Ireland. The Colonels of the regiments, un-

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der the command of Lord ORMONDE, were all averse to it; but durst not publish the proclamation against it, for fear of irritating MONROE, who had not offered to press it upon them. At a general meeting at Belfast, they agreed to remain in their allegiance to the King, to obey the orders of the Marquis, and not to accept the covenant. But in the beginning of February, orders came from Scotland to recall their army, which was wanted at home to replace or reinforce that which was sent into England. But they were so unwilling to go, and were so long in getting ready, that the Chancellor of Scotland wrote to MONROE to stay the army till further orders; giving him hopes, that the clothes, provision, and money that had been promised, should be with them soon. The General gave directions accordingly to his officers, to settle every thing in its former order: but some of them who were embarked, and were provoked at the delay of their supplies, sailed away. With the first orders some men were sent over, to lift all they could, for the reinforcement of their army: upon which, many of the country people, who were Scots by original, and covenanters by principle, many of the English regiments in hopes of better pay and maintenance, and even abundance of the Ulster rebels, who had embrued their hands the deepest in the Protestant blood, were taken into their service, and sent into England to fight under the Parliament.

To remove the jealousies and fears of the Protestant country people, who apprehended that as soon as the Scotch army was sent away, they should be left without defence against the Irish, and an oath contrary to the covenant would be imposed, another meeting of the Colonels, and chief officers, of the old Scotch and English regiments, was appointed at Newtown; to which deputies were to be sent out of each parish. At this meeting they were assured, that an application should be made to the English Parliament, and the Adventurers, for continuing the army there; that their men should be disciplined, and furnished with arms and ammunition for their defence; that all the forts in their several quarters should be secured, and new ones raised on the frontiers, if they would furnish men and tools; so that they had no cause to fear that any oath would be pressed upon them against their conscience. With these assurances the minds of the country people were quieted; and the soldiers were prevailed upon to promise,

mise, that they would remain in the service as long as they could be subsisted, tho' it was very sorrily. In this situation things continued in Ulster, to the beginning of April; till which time we shall leave it, in order to look into affairs in other parts.

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There were evidently at this time three Parties in Ireland, and the difficulties upon the Lord Lieutenant were much increased. Besides the Papists that were abundantly most numerous, and the Protestants who were for the King, there was now a third Party formed, who took the covenant, and openly sided with the Parliament. The whole strength of the Protestants—strictly united, as they were at first—was not sufficient to resist the Papists; and therefore if the former had been governed by a due sense of religion, or of their own interest, they would not have given such an advantage to the enemy as to divide, and to obstruct the measures of those who were labouring for their defence. The public quiet in and about Dublin being pretty well established by the cessation, the Lord Lieutenant reduced the Leinster army, at that time much distressed through want of pay, and other necessaries, to two thousand foot, and one hundred and fifty horse: and in order to subsist these, he raised money as before by an excise, by a tax upon the town, and by three pence an acre on the land inhabited within the Pale. Having thus raised a sum weekly for the support of the army, and some other exigences, they were kept to proper musters and discipline, and all robberies and murders by the soldiers, of such as brought provisions to the markets, strictly prohibited under the severest penalties of martial law. The two Houses of the Irish Parliament met in the beginning of April; but little more was done by them, that I can find, besides issuing out a declaration against the covenant, and directing a joint letter to be sent by the two Speakers to the several officers and commanders of the army, enjoining them to render a due obedience to the proclamation which had been published.

Whilst these things passed in Ireland, a treaty was carrying on in the Court at Oxford, for settling all the differences, and for restoring the peace of that unhappy kingdom. By the articles of the cessation, the Catholics were allowed to send agents to his Majesty to represent their grievances;

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and the King had directed his Irish Ministers, to provide some able persons, on whose knowledge in their affairs he could depend, to assist in the treaty. BORLASE says, and so does Lord CLARENDON, that several others were authorised by the Irish Parliament, then sitting, to repair to the King with the complaints of his Protestant subjects, and to prevent any thing from being granted in the treaty to their prejudice. The Commons might give them some authority perhaps, though no such thing appears; but they were nominated, long before the Parliament met, in a petition to the King for his leave to send them, signed by the Earl of KILDARE, the Lords MONTGOMERY, and BLANEY, and many others: and when they understood that a committee of the Council were to go over, they were entirely satisfied. But some of the republican party in and about Dublin, enemies to any peace, taking advantage of the licence that had been given to send over some Protestant agents, sent two of those that had been named in the petition, and added two others whom they knew to be attached to the English Parliament, SR. C. COOTE and Captain PARSONS.

That there was a party in the King's Court, in the interest of the Catholics, though against the interest of his Majesty—and which I call the Queen's party—is evident from many circumstances; but particularly from a passage in a private letter of SR. G. RADCLIFFE's to the Lord Lieutenant, a little before the several agents went from Ireland. The passage is this: "I must tell you the advice of a very good friend, MR. Secretary NICHOLAS, that dares not write so himself. You will have many things recommended from the King, and others; do not just the contrary, but forbear a little till you have returned a civil answer, and then do what you will; but let no letters put you from your own way." The honest Secretary, it is plain, saw that the King was overruled, to direct measures which it would become a Minister of the Marquis of ORMONDE's integrity to disobey: and if the Queen and her party could have condescended to use moderation, the King was so much under her influence, and the assistance of the Irish was so necessary to him in his war with the Parliament, that their counsel in all probability, would have been fatal to the Protestants in Ireland. But the Catholics, one would think, were under an infatuation from the beginning to the end of this whole business.

On the twenty-eighth of March, the Irish agents, at Oxford presented their propositions; which were so very extravagant, that it was thought scandalous to treat about them, and that the best way would be to break off the treaty at once without entering into particulars. Wherefore, to prevent that consequence, the agents agreed to suppress them, and on the second of April, presented others; which they thought so moderate, "as that they did not know how the nation could subsist in the condition of free subjects, if their desires were not gratified." These very moderate demands, were the freedom of their religion, and the repeal of the penal laws against Papists; the calling a free Parliament, and the suspension of POYNING'S act whilst they were sitting; the annulling all acts and ordinances of the Irish Parliament, since the beginning of the rebellion; the vacating of all indictments, attainders, outlawries, and grants, in prejudice of the Irish Catholics, and a general act of oblivion extended to all persons and goods; an act of limitation for security of estates; an Inn of Court erected, and the Schools and University to be free; that places of power, trust, and profit, be equally and indifferently conferred on Roman Catholic natives; that no person, not estated, nor resident, be allowed to vote in either House of Parliament; that an act be passed, declaring the independency of the kingdom and Parliament upon those of England; that the jurisdiction of the Council-board be limited to matters of State; that no Governor should continue above three years, and during his government should be disabled from purchasing lands, except from the King: and to manifest their desire that the inhuman cruelties which had been committed might be punished, and the offenders brought to justice, they proposed that all notorious murders, breaches of quarter, and barbarities on either side, might be questioned in the next Parliament, and such as should appear to be guilty excepted out of the act of oblivion, and punished according to their deserts.

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These, with two or three immaterial things, were the propositions of the Irish Catholics to the King; which the reader sees were little short of a total alteration of the government in church and state. These propositions were given by his Majesty to the Committee sent by the disaffected Protestants: who gave in an answer to them severally to the King and Council,

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as they were required. When this was read, his Majesty asked whether they had answered them, "as they were to be granted by him in law and justice, and fit for the security of the Protestants of Ireland," or prudentially as the times were?" To which the Committee replied, that they looked upon the propositions of the rebels as destructive to his Majesty's laws, government, and Protestant subjects of Ireland. The Earl of BRISTOL, thinking this answer not explicit enough, said, that according to what was due from the rebels by law and justice, the answers which the Committee had given to their propositions were full: but the King expected that they should declare, what was prudentially fit for him to do; seeing the Protestants were not in a condition to defend themselves, and he would not allow them to join with the new Scots, or any others that had taken the covenant. But they avoided giving any other judgment, than what was to be found in their own propositions, and their answers to those of the rebels.

If the propositions of the Catholics, were like those of men, who thought themselves possessed of the whole strength and power of Ireland, and that the King's condition was so weak as would incline him to buy their assistance at any rate, it must be confessed that the propositions of the Protestant Committee, were like those of men, who, to the smart and anguish of their late sufferings, had added an utter contempt of the power, and an hatred of the persons of the Irish; and who would be content with nothing less than what those who could contend would never submit to. They required that the penal laws should continue in force, and be put in execution; that no person should be a Magistrate in a corporation, a Sheriff of a county, a Justice of peace, or a practising Lawyer, who did not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; that nothing might be done derogatory in any respect to POYNING's law; that the present Parliament might be continued, and the assumed government of the Catholics immediately dissolved; that all those that had been legally indicted might be proceeded against, and if convicted or attainted might be punished accordingly; that the attainders already incurred by outlawry might be confirmed by act of Parliament; that such rebels as were not already indicted or attainted, might upon proof of their offences be in like manner convicted

viſted and attainted, and their eſtates forfeited; that the Proteſtants ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates, and have all the mean profits made good to them; that the rebels ſhould rebuild all the plantation-houſes and caſtles they had deſtroyed, and reſtore all the money, plate, goods, and chattels, or the value thereof, which they had taken; that no act of oblivion might be paſſed, for the release of any actions which the Proteſtants might have by law, for any wrongs done to them or their families in this rebellion; that all churches, and chapels, and forts deſtroyed, ſhould be re-edified at the charge of the Catholicks, and Proteſtants put into the poſſeſſion of them; that all the arms and ammunition of the Confederates, ſhould be immediately delivered into his Maſteſty's ſtores, and the arrears of the army paid by them; that Popery, and Popiſh Recuſants, ſhould be ſuppreſſed; that all Popiſh Priests ſhould be baniſhed out of Ireland; that no Popiſh Recuſant ſhould ſit or vote in Parliament; and that the King ſhould take all forfeited eſtates into his hands, and after making ſatiſfaction to ſuch as had any claim by acts of Parliament, diſpoſe of the reſt to Britiſh and Proteſtants, in order to be planted, upon reaſonable terms. Though ſome of theſe propoſitions were juſt and neceſſary, if the Proteſtants had been in a condition to enforce them, yet others were impracticable, and even contradictory to each other. The eſtates of the rebels were all to be forfeited; and yet they were to re-edify the houſes, churches, chapels, forts, and caſtles, that had been deſtroyed, and to make good all the arrears of rent to the Proteſtants, and of pay to the army. In ſhort, theſe propoſitions ſeem calculated entirely to prevent any peace with the Iriſh: and if they do not expreſſy mention the extirpation of their nation and religion, they mean but little ſhort of it.

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It is no wonder that thoſe who came from the Council-board in Ireland, who perfectly underſtood the ſtate of affairs in that kingdom, were confounded at the propoſitions which had been given in, being on each ſide equally extravagant and unreaſonable; and therefore they deſired the Proteſtant agents to withdraw their propoſitions; or to propoſe ſome way how their deſires might be effected by force or treaty. But the firſt they would not, and the laſt they could not do. Hence it was plain to the King's
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English Ministers, that these demands were made with no other view, than to throw a scandal upon the King and them, if they made a peace with the Catholicks upon conditions very remote from those; which, if any peace at all was made, must certainly be the case. The Marquis of ORMONDE was therefore directed to find out, as well as he could, how far these propositions agreed with the general sense of the Irish Protestants; and as to the propositions of the rebels, the Ministry did not choose to deliver any opinion. They saw that the King's affairs in England, and the preservation of the Protestants in Ireland, equally required a peace: but they likewise saw the scandal and prejudice that would ensue to his Majesty, if he granted the rebels almost any thing more than private promises.

The difficulty of advising under this dilemma, was added to by the Committee from the Dublin Council; who insisted, as a necessary security of the Protestant Interest and Religion, that the Irish should be disarmed, that all the damages sustained by the war should be paid by them, that the penal laws against recusants, particularly the Clergy, might be put in execution, and that those who had been most guilty of the massacres and barbarities at the beginning of the rebellion might be excepted from pardon. The first of these propositions was not unreasonable to ask, if the King had been in a condition to compel it; but he was in no such condition; and the Catholicks, who had been made jealous that their extirpation was designed, would not submit to it. The second was impracticable in its nature, and was never attempted by the English Parliament when they had entirely subdued the Irish. The Papists were not unwilling to admit of some relaxation as to the freedom of their religion; but they would not consent to the execution of the penal laws, which would in the end oblige them to renounce their country, or their religion. To the last they had no objection, provided the Protestants, who had been concerned in the like massacres and cruelties, might undergo the same fate.

It must be owned that the King and his Council were in a very critical situation; neither able to maintain a war in Ireland against the rebels, nor to make a peace which could be justified to the Protestants. It was neces-

fary however to give some answer to the Irish agents; and such as could be given, consistently with the King's honour and justice, was delivered to them: but it came far short of their propositions, and producing no effect need not be related. The most material part was that concerning religion; and the answer on this was, "that as the penal laws had never been executed with rigour, so if his recusant subjects should, by returning to their duty and loyalty, merit his favour and protection, they should not for the future have cause to complain, that less moderation was used to them than had been in the most favourable times of Queen ELIZABETH, and King JAMES, provided they lived quietly and peaceably according to their allegiance; and such of them as manifested their duty and affection to his Majesty, should receive such marks of his favour, in offices, and places of trust, as should plainly shew his good acceptance and regard of them."

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When the King delivered his answer, he admonished them to consider his circumstances, and their own; "and if upon those conditions which he might grant, without prejudice to himself, and which were very sufficient for the security of their religion, lives, and fortunes, they made haste to assist him, whereby he might be enabled to suppress the rebellion of his Parliament, he would never forget the merit of such a service; and it would then be absolutely in his power to vouchsafe graces to them to complete their happiness, and which—he gave them his royal word—he would then dispense in such manner, as should not leave them disappointed of any of their just and full expectations. But if by insisting on such particulars as he could not in conscience consent to, and which would do him more disservice than all their assistance would countervail, they should delay their joining with him till his party was suppressed, it would then be too late to give him help; and they would find their strength in Ireland but an imaginary support for his or their own interest, and that those who had with difficulty destroyed him, would without any considerable opposition ruin them, and root out their nation and religion." This was certainly true, and very prophetically spoken, as they afterwards found by sad experience; and the agents confessed, that the demands which they were ordered to insist on, were such as his Majesty could not consent to, in the then condition of his affairs: they promised therefore to use their endeavours

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at their return, with an intention to procure the full submission and obedience of the confederate Catholicks, upon such conditions as his goodness would consent to for their security.

If Lord CLARENDON had not given us this admonition from the King, it might have been suspected; because it is certainly not to his honour. If he was sincere in intending to vouchsafe the Catholicks such graces as should complete their happiness, and not leave them disappointed of any of their full expectations—which were the free exercise, and splendour of their religion—he then broke his word which he had given the Parliament, “that he would never consent, upon any pretence, to a toleration of the Popish profession in Ireland, or the abolition of the laws now in force against Popish recusants in that kingdom:” And if this promise to the Catholicks had no other meaning, than thereby to procure their assistance to subdue the Parliament, then it is a proof of that dissimulation which was so often charged upon him. The agents however were dismissed with this admonition; and the King sent orders to the Marquis of ORMONDE, to renew the cessation with the rebels for another year; and a commission under the great seal of England, “to make such a full peace and union with them, upon conditions which he found agreeable to the public welfare, as would enable that kingdom to assist him in suppressing the English and Scotch rebels.” This was so much at his Majesty’s heart, that all the Letters from his Secretaries of State to Lord ORMONDE, about that time, relate to little else, than to sending over arms, ammunition, and men from Ireland.

The truth is, “that things were so unfixed in the Court at Oxford, and the King was so obnoxious to be shaken and removed by variety of Counsels,” that the Ministers were glad to shift off the burden and odium of giving any advice in the business of Ireland upon the Lord Lieutenant. The necessity of the supplies from Ireland to the King, seemed to require peace; but if they advised one favourable to the Irish, they dreaded the resentment of the Parliament, and the people: if they spoke against shewing them any favour, or for insisting on such terms as the Irish would not comply with, the Ministry were afraid of disobliging the King and Queen:
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and every body—to use an expression of Lord DIGBY's to the Lord Lieutenant on this subject—was seeking, as the ape did to pull the chesnut out of the fire with the puppy's foot, to cast off the counsel to his neighbour of granting any thing to the Irish. But the Lord Lieutenant was already involved in difficulties, great and numerous enough to confound the best capacity, and had too much reason to complain of this additional hardship. He found himself almost ready to be devoured by want at Dublin, without much hope of relief; blocked up at sea by the ships of the English Parliament; encompassed with powerful armies of Scots, and Irish, and having no strength to oppose them but a small indigent unsatisfied army;—some of which had already joined the Scots in breaking the cessation—towns unfortified; the inhabitants for the most part unfaithful; and the magazines and stores in a manner empty. Under all these disadvantages, he was continually solicited by the English Ministers, to send them over arms, ammunition, and levies of men; though he had no money to purchase the former, nor provisions, nor shipping by which to send the latter. But setting all these things aside, if the King, assisted with his English Council and some from the State of Ireland, found it too difficult a matter to settle a peace with the Irish, how could the Marquis undertake it with any hopes of succeeding, whose conduct, on account of his numerous relations and friends among the Irish, and his estate lying there, would be more liable to misconstruction than that of any other person? On the other hand the Irish, probably for these reasons, would expect greater favours from him than from a stranger, and would be more apt to resent a refusal. Besides, he knew their temper, maxims, and situation, too well to believe it would be an easy work; and it was not without foreseeing the danger, if not the ruin, it would bring on himself and his family, that he engaged in this arduous task. But before we enter upon this treaty, it will be proper to see what was done by Lord ANTRIM, and how the cessation was preserved or broken in Ireland; for the English Parliament were too full of their own business then to think of any thing else.

Before the end of April, Lord ANTRIM had raised with a good deal of expedition two thousand men, among his own tenants and neighbours who had been in the Irish army, and who were commanded by Officers that had

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been disbanded at the cessation. But there was still a want of the arms, ammunition, and provision, promised by the Supreme Council; and for which the Lord Lieutenant was ready to give them acquittances for the value of them, out of the money due by the cessation. He pressed them in the most earnest manner, by all the arguments which he thought likely to move them; but they still proceeded in it so slowly, that Lord ANTRIM grew disgusted at the charge of maintaining the men, and declared he would lay aside the expedition. The Marquis of ORMONDE had done every thing on his part to set it forward. He had provided ships for the transportation, by giving his own security for the payment; but before the arms, and ammunition, and provision were ready, some of the Parliament ships arrived, and blocked up the harbour. No importunities from the State in their distress, before the cessation, could prevail for these ships to guard the coasts; but now they committed ravages upon all the trading vessels about Dublin, and the parts that were for the King, whilst they left those that were in the hands of the rebels unmolested. What by this obstruction, and the delays of the Supreme Council, it was the end of June before the men sailed for Scotland. The reader will not expect to accompany them in their expedition; and therefore I shall only say, that they enabled the Marquis of MONTROSSE to prevent the Scots from sending any further supplies of men into Ireland; and obliged them to recal some of their forces out of England, to defend themselves in their own country.

It had been recommended to the Lord Lieutenant, as we may remember, to prevent as much as possible the renewing any hostilities: and to this end he desired a power, to receive to pardon for life and lands, such of the rebels as should return to the King's service and their duty. This advice was complied with; but like the other secrets of the King, was divulged to those who ought to know the least of it. The Irish agents at Oxford wrote word of this to the Supreme Council, as a dangerous way to break their association; and they were in the right of it. It was the very way, by which that great statesman, HENRY the Fourth of France, broke the "Holy League;" and by which the Marquis no doubt intended to break the confederacy of the Catholic Irish: And though the Supreme Council were thus forewarned, and his measures were always known, yet he found

found means very ably to divide them, and to break the force of that power, which, united, was sufficient in a few weeks to have crushed the Protestants, and to have driven all the friends of his Majesty out of the kingdom.

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The matter of religion was the grievance which swayed most with the common people; but the Marquis had perceived, that what principally induced the Irish Nobility and chief Gentry among the Catholics to take up arms, was their exclusion from all places of trust and honour; and unless this was removed it would be the point on which they would break in a treaty of peace, notwithstanding religion would be the pretence. But though nothing therefore was more proper, than to give, as he had desired, the principal leaders of the Irish some hopes in this respect, and there were many considerable posts at this time either vacant, or likely soon to be so, yet these were already devoured by the locusts which swarm in every Court. The disposal of Irish places and posts to strangers in their country, who had no affection to it, nor any concern about its welfare, gave fresh occasion to that complaint of excluding the natives from their own emoluments: and which will ever be made, it is to be feared, and with too much reason by that unhappy people. The filling all places there with Irish Protestants, was the likeliest method of giving content to both sides; or at least it was such a measure as could not be justly excepted against by either. Had this advice been followed, the Marquis of ORMONDE would have been enabled to serve the King with more effect than he did, as well as more agreeably to his own disposition. Under all the disadvantages however under which he laboured, he preserved the peace of the kingdom, and prevented the Irish from renewing the war, much better than could be expected.

Had the Scots in Ulster been as much under the command of the Lord Lieutenant as they ought to have been, he would probably have kept all Ireland quiet; but they disowned his authority, and by taking the covenant revolted against the King. In the beginning of April, they received a supply of clothes, provision, and money from Scotland, together with four Kirk Ministers to press and tender the covenant: and two ships load-
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ing of provisions, which were the charitable contributions of some people in Holland, for the relief of the Protestants in Ireland, were seized by MONROE for his soldiers, and those who opposed the cessation; alledging that they were the most distressed. The four itinerant preachers of the covenant, divided themselves about the country, and met with astonishing success; the common people, as well as the soldiers, taking it with as much zeal, as if it were the only means of preserving both their souls and bodies. Even the Officers of the old Scotch regiments took it privately, without the knowledge of their Colonels, who had declared against it. When these proceedings were notified to the State at Dublin, they thought that the readiness which had been shown in taking the covenant, was in a great measure owing to the delay of publishing the proclamation against it, already mentioned. Wherefore an order was sent by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to all the Colonels in Ulster, and the Mayors of Derry, and Carrickfergus, to publish the proclamation against the covenant, at the head of their regiments, and in the most public places of the towns and garrisons, without any more delay. The Colonels, who had acted according to the best of their judgments in that delay, and who found that almost all their Officers had taken the covenant, were in no small perplexity at this order. Several of them however obeyed it, at the hazard of their lives. Their case indeed was very hard; and had MONROE acted in this affair with the same violence as the Kirkmen, who made it as necessary to salvation as the sacrament, the Colonels must have been ruined; for all their provisions came through the hands of the Scots. Colonel AUDLEY MERVIN, who for his zeal against the covenant and the English Parliament, had been made Governor of Derry by the Lord Lieutenant, soon after took it himself; because, as he wrote to his Lordship, he was convinced that those who took it had really good intentions to the honour and happiness of the King, as well as the peace and safety of the three kingdoms, and that it was conceived in very innocent terms." When we see how ingenious people are at deluding themselves, in cases where their interests or their passions are concerned, we cannot withhold the conviction, that men do not act in general upon principle, except in cases, which are but few and unimportant, where neither interest nor passion have any share.

It was the way of the world, at that time, among Protestants and Papists, to be full of professions of loyalty and duty to the King, when they entered into associations and appeared in arms against him. The Scotch General MONROE, tho' he had taken the covenant, which his Majesty had declared in a proclamation to be a traiterous and seditious combination against him, was yet very loud in his pretences of a desire to serve him. It must be owned that he had not offered to use any force against the English who refused the covenant; but receiving a commission, at the end of April, from the Parliament in England under their new great seal, to command all the forces in Ulster, his moderation against the interest of the King was at an end. The Colonels of the old Scotch and English regiments in that country, having received intelligence of this commission, appointed a meeting at Belfast, in the middle of May, to consider of an unanimous answer to be returned to him, when he should require them to submit to his command. Nine of them met accordingly: and after they had retired to their lodgings in order to go to bed, a soldier brought advice, that MONROE had given orders for the garrison of Carrickfergus, and the Scotch regiments, to be ready to march at two o'clock the next morning to Belfast. The guards of the place, upon this intelligence, were strengthened, and every officer ordered upon duty. Some horse were also sent abroad, as scouts, to make discoveries; and meeting with MONROE, who ordered them to report that no forces were to be seen, they returned about six in the morning with that false information; which occasioned the guards, except the ordinary watch, to be discharged, and the officers to leave their posts. In about an hour after, the Scots were discovered within half a mile of the town, advancing with great speed to one of the gates, which, before the garrison could be alarmed, was opened to them by the guard; and marching orderly thro' the place till they came to the opposite gate, MONROE ordered them to possess the bulwarks, cannon, and guard house. Colonel CHICHESTER, the Governour, went with the other Colonels to demand of him what he meant by surprising the town. He said that as Colonel CHICHESTER had published a proclamation against the covenant, by which such as had taken it conceived themselves to be declared traitors, had also discountenanced those who had offered to take it,

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As soon as Belfast was thus treacherously occupied, MONROE marched with four regiments to Lisburn, in order to possess himself of that town. But Colonel Jones repairing thither to his command, upon the first news at Belfast of the march of the Scots, the garrison were all under arms ready to receive them: and MONROE finding in a conference with JONES that he could not be admitted without force, drew off his men, and returned again to Belfast. Colonel CHICHESTER's regiment being ordered to quit the place, he himself went to England to complain of this treachery; and his Lieutenant Colonel, and Major, under colour of leading the men to the quarters assigned them by MONROE, marched with a party to Newry, with intent to strengthen the garrison there against any such attempts. This insidious conduct of the Scotch General was the more inexcusable, because the officers of the English regiments, not knowing how to subsist without the help of his provisions, had assured him, that whenever he marched against the Irish they would be ready to join him. But the surprise of Belfast had destroyed all confidence in the Scots among the English forces. MONROE had sense enough to discern the evil consequence of this disunion: and finding that the Marquis of ORMONDE, had through his own private credit supplied the garrisons in those parts, with provisions, and money, he signed a formal stipulation with the officers of three English regiments; in which the latter engaged, if they were not forced to take any oath contrary to the laws of Ireland, and were furnished with provisions, quarters, and other accommodations, as the Scotch forces were, that then they would join with them in the vigorous prosecution of the war against the Irish, unless prohibited by the King's command. In order to content the State of Scotland, which expected something should be done in return for the supplies they had sent him, and to make an experiment whether the English would effectually join him, MONROE not long after drew out his army, and appointed a general rendezvous at Ardmagh.

The Irish, whose forces were all dispersed in country villages, at a distance from their commanders, as well as from one another, were in no condition

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condition to oppose them. They determined however to set out six thousand foot, and six hundred horse, under Lord CASTLEHAVEN; to which O NEIL promised to add four thousand foot, and as many hundred horse, in Ulster. They did not expect that the old Scots, and the English, subject to the orders of the Marquis of ORMONDE, would march against them in breach of the cessation, which O NEIL had punctually observed. But tho' this great army advanced into the county of Cavan, from whence some parties were sent into Longford, and Westmeath, which burnt the country and put the poor people to the sword, yet being a great way from home, and their provisions falling off, nothing more than some little skirmishes passed between the two armies. The Scotch General, passing by Dundalk in his way home, desired leave to pass through it with his forces, but was refused. The next day he marched to Newry; and drawing them up within musket shot of the town, he went to it with Lord MONTGOMERY, and some of the other officers, not doubting but he should be admitted. Lieutenant Colonel MATHEWS, who commanded in the place, seeing him come in that manner, ordered the gate to be opened to him and his company. MONROE found him on the parade at the head of the garrison under arms; and demanding a passage with his army through the town, was told there was a high road full as convenient by the side of it.

The General being irritated with this answer, asked him how he durst deny him a passage through his own garrison, as lying in the province of Ulster? and putting his hand upon his pistol, rode up to the Musketeers and ordered them off their duty. MATHEWS, without the least hesitation, commanded them to cock their matches, and present; and the Captain at the head of the line drew his sword, and gave orders to fire. MONROE cooled in a moment; and very calmly desired leave to draw his artillery through the place, on account of the waters which were so high that they could not pass. The Colonel, ordering his men to return their matches, told him the fate of Belfast had given him sufficient warning, and he would neither suffer the artillery, nor any thing else to enter: but notwithstanding the affront which MONROE had so indiscreetly offered him in his command, he would not be so rash as to imitate him, and would give him liberty to go out as freely as he had admitted him into the town. Upon this the

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General withdrew to his army, and in an hour after sent a drum to MATHEWS to bid him consult with his officers; and if they did not allow him a passage the next morning, he would force his way. The Colonel, and his officers, being unanimous in defence of the place, they sent him a flat denial; and put up their colours by way of defiance. Lord BLANEY, and some other English officers, were sent in to persuade MATHEWS, but in vain; he told them that the garrison were all of them, to a man, determined to lose their lives, rather than hazard such an affront as had been given at Belfast: and MONROE, finding nothing was to be done, decamped the next morning very peaceably, but not without threatening to return in a fortnight, and to fetch down their colours.

If the forces against the rebels were thus disunited, the affairs of the Irish themselves were in no small distraction. A great competition had arisen, between the Lords ANTRIM and CASTLEHAVEN, about the supreme command of their army; the first having a commission to that effect, which he desired to execute and was refused, and the other having one controllable only by the Supreme Council, of which he was in possession, as we have seen above. Three troops of O NEIL's horse, posted at a pass on the Blackwater, had been attacked and beaten in the fight of Colonel FENNEL, who with a strong squadron of the rebel Leinster horse flatly refused to assist them; which greatly offended O NEIL who was then sick, and seems to have paved the way for that jealousy, between the Ulster Irish and those of the other provinces, which proved afterwards so detrimental to the rebels. O NEIL was also disgusted that the Assembly chose Lord CASTLEHAVEN to command the army against the Scots; and for that reason did not afford the assistance which had been promised. The competition for generalship however would have been at an end, if the Marquis of ORMONDE could have been prevailed with to take the command of all the Irish forces. There were some specious reasons to be given for his accepting it; and which imposed upon half fought people so far as to commend the acceptance of it to him. But the Marquis had too good an understanding not to perceive, that amidst the advantages that might attend it there, the King's honour must suffer every where, by his Lordship's mixing his legal power and forces with the treasonable authority and arms of

of the rebels, and that it would be a step which must give offence to all his Protestant subjects.

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The same motives which withheld Lord ORMONDE from accepting this command, in some measure influenced him to decline proclaiming the Scots to be rebels, and declaring war against them, as the Irish had desired. But yet so great was the distress of the army, and the Protestants, in and about Dublin, by the failure of the excise, by the Parliament-ships blocking up the harbour, and by the utter exhausting of all credit, that he did not think it prudent, as the Catholics were preparing to supply him with corn, and cattle, and could starve him by stopping the market, to provoke them by a flat denial. In this situation, he chose to amuse them with a treaty that might answer the end which they intended, till he could receive the King's directions. He proposed to them therefore as a preliminary, that they should supply the armies under his command, to the number of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse; and the times, and manner of payment being settled, he would undertake to keep the Scots, and all the garrisons, from annoying the provinces, and breaking the cessation. This proposal Lord ORMONDE made the ground of a treaty: but the more the Council at Kilkenny avoided entering upon it, and persisted in a declaration against the Scots, the more resolved his Lordship grew, in refusing what he saw would be ruinous to the King's affairs, by making all the Protestants desert him. In this uneasy situation we must leave the Lord Lieutenant, in order to look a little into the other provinces, where the difficulties of the King's affairs were not much lighter.

It hath already been related, that upon the death of SR. W. ST. LEGER President of Munster, the command of all the forces, and the civil government in that province, had devolved on Lord INCHQUIN the Vice-president. As a native of Ireland of the ancient stock, and descended from the race of the great BRIAN BOROMY, the reader, who is acquainted with my former History of this country, will not be surprised to find Lord INCHQUIN, well affected to the King, zealous for the rights of Monarchy, of a vast ambition, and of a prodigious high spirit which disposed him to high resentments. He had been engaged in the whole war, and done many emi-

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ment services against the rebels: at the cessation he had sent over a considerable body of forces to his Majesty's assistance against the Parliament, to whose measures no man living was more averse; and in the beginning of this year, he had waited on the King at Oxford, not doubting but his own merit, and the Marquis of ORMONDE's recommendation, would gain him the presidency of Munster, which he passionately desired. It is certain that no one was so well entitled to it, or could serve the King in it so well: and though on his first coming over, his Majesty had consented to his Lordship's having it, yet it was soon found that Lord PORTLAND had some years before obtained a promise of it from the King, who had passed a fiat under the privy seal for a patent of the Presidency of Munster; and to him, and not to Lord MUSKERY an Irish rebel, as LUDLOW says, it was now given: and instead of using any means to content the Earl with something else, who had no connexions in Ireland, which no doubt might have been easy enough, Lord INCHQUIN was absolutely refused it; and even the survivance of it on the demise, or cession of the Earl of PORTLAND, was not granted him. Having met with this disappointment, his stay at Court was very short; and he returned into Ireland very justly sowered and piqued against it. As Friendship is a quality rarely known in Courts, there were more people ready to do him ill offices, in representing him as inclined to espouse the side of the Parliament, from the character of the persons to whom he had left the command of the army and the forts in Munster, than to explain those appearances against him by a true state of the case, which would have cleared him.

How easy soever it was for the King to make the Earl of PORTLAND President of Munster, and to send him over to take the command annexed to his post, yet his Majesty should have considered, that it was not an easy thing to take the charge from Lord INCHQUIN whom he had now offended, who had the power of the province in his hands, who would probably not serve under a rival, and, after so many proofs that he had given of merit and ability, be contented with the condition of a private officer. The Lord Lieutenant saw perfectly his Majesty's error, and the evil consequences of it; and endeavoured, but in vain, to allay the resentment of Lord INCHQUIN. The King himself had reason enough too, in a little time, to see and to repent it; and yet this did not deter him from engaging himself to
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other people for places and posts in Ireland, contrary to his interest, and even contrary to his promise to the Lord Lieutenant, that he would dispose of nothing there without him. But it appears as though the King had for some time made every thing in Ireland subservient to the Queen's humour, or to his views of gaining a victory over the English Parliament.

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Towards the end of July, Lord INCHQUIN made an open declaration of his intentions, by signing an address to his Majesty, in concert with his officers, to desire him to make a peace with the Parliament, and by applying to them for supplies to carry on the war against the Irish. The Parliament were too sensible of his Lordship's power, not to receive his application very joyfully, and to promise all he asked; especially as it came attended with an engagement, that his brother Colonel O BRIAN, then in England, should deliver Wareham into their hands, and bring his whole regiment back to Ireland. The same spirit and disposition which make a man a warm and zealous friend, will prompt him, upon ungrateful usage, to be as warm an enemy. The King's ingratitude had touched Lord INCHQUIN in a very tender point; and it required more loyalty than was fashionable at that time not to shew his resentment. His Lordship therefore not only performed what he had offered the Parliament, but he used all his endeavours to bring back the officers and soldiers whom he had sent to serve the King: and pretending that the Irish intended to surprise all his garrisons, he drove the Magistrates, and the Catholic inhabitants out of Youghall, Kinsale, and Cork, allowing them only to take their clothes, and seizing all the provisions and effects in their houses.

At the same time that Lord INCHQUIN thus violated a treaty which he had himself pressed exceedingly, with the same inconsistency he blamed his officers for taking the Covenant till the cessation was expired: and to be more inconsistent still, if it were possible, he caused an oath to be administered to all his army, that they would endeavour to extirpate Popery, to carry on the war against the Irish, notwithstanding any command, proclamation, or agreement to the contrary, and to submit to no peace nor conditions with them, without the consent and approbation of the King, and Parliament of England. The form of this oath he sent to Lord ES-
MOND, Governour of the important fort of Duncannon, pressing him to
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get it taken by his garrison, and to engage himself by it; and offering to send a Parliament ship to his assistance. The King, and Lord ORMONDE, had sent frequent supplies to this fort; and Lord ESMOND had made the strongest professions of duty and attachment to the King, and of obedience to the orders of the Lord Lieutenant. Wherefore he gave an answer to Lord INCHQUIN's messenger, in the presence of his Major who was next in command in the fort, and of whose loyalty he was well assured, that he would not enter into any measures, nor obey any orders, against the State; but he gave a private intimation to Lord INCHQUIN of the contrary, and desired some shipping to enable him to declare himself. A Parliament frigate was accordingly sent into the harbour, on board of which all his subalterns and soldiers immediately went, and took the covenant, though, as he pretended, against his will. On a complaint to Lord ORMONDE of this unruliness and disaffection of his garrison, and of a want of more power, and provisions, his Lordship sent him a commission to raise and command a troop of horse, which he had long solicited, and a ship with provisions, and two companies of soldiers whom he could depend on.

But Lord ESMOND having now gotten all he could expect from the King, and supposing he should be better paid by the Parliament, pretended that he could not command his men, and had not power to receive the two companies; though he soon after declared himself openly against his Majesty. The Parliament having failed in the great supplies which they had promised to Lord INCHQUIN, he applied to the State of Scotland, and the Scotch forces in Ulster; assuring them of his resolution to concur with them in carrying on the war against the Irish. The march of Lord CASTLEHAVEN into Ulster against the Scots, and some little skirmishes that passed between them, have been already mentioned. Except these bickerings, the two armies lay within three miles of each other for six weeks together without any action, neither of them being able to engage the other. At last Lord CASTLEHAVEN, being distressed for want of provisions, retired with his army to the county of Cavan, whither MONROE followed him; but not being able to draw him to an engagement, in the beginning of October, returned to his garrisons, and dispersed his army. This was the only attempt that the Scots made, towards doing any important service against

against the Irish, either in this, or the following year: and they complained heavily of not being supplied with necessaries by the English Parliament. Soon after his declaration against any peace with the rebels, Lord INCHQUIN had occasion for the same complaint; and finding no assistance was to be had from the Scots, was obliged, in order to preserve his forces, and the Protestants in Munster, to make a cessation with the Irish till the beginning of April.

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Whilst these things passed in the field, the treaty of peace, for which Lord ORMONDE had received a commission, was carrying on at Dublin. He had talked with several of those who had signed the instructions for the Protestant agents that went to Oxford; he had consulted the Council together, and apart; he had taken the judgment of every man of rank and ability that he met with; and he found all of them agreed in opinion, that the Protestants would not choose to continue the war, if all the propositions given in by those agents should not be assented to. At the end of July, he notified the commission to Lord MUSKERY; and the General Assembly being then sitting at Kilkenny, they appointed twelve commissioners to treat with the Lord Lieutenant, on a continuance of the cessation, and on a peace, for whom they desired a safe conduct. But the titular Archbishop of DUBLIN being one of the number, and Lord ORMONDE being determined to admit none of the Clergy to treat, he desired the Assembly to name another. There being no restriction of that sort in the commission, they justified their choice; but to remove the difficulty, they were content that the prelate should stay at home, with three others whom they had named, and asked only for a safe conduct for Lord MUSKERY, and the other seven; who, except one, were the same men that had been sent to the King at Oxford.

On their arrival at Dublin, which the Marquis had appointed for the place of the treaty, on account of his own convenience, and the King's honour, the cessation was readily renewed to December, and afterwards to a longer time; but the business of the peace was a work of great difficulty. The Lord Lieutenant, who was determined to do nothing without the Council, had taken the Chancellor, and SR. M. EUSTACE, with some others,

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to his assistance: and though the agents had promised the King, when they left Oxford, that they would endeavour to incline their assembly to return to their full submission, upon such conditions as his Majesty would consent to, and did indeed perform that promise, yet they found now to their sorrow, that it was a more easy matter to prevent, and mislead popular assemblies, than to reduce them; and that they could no more allay the spirits they had conjured up, than they could command the wind. The Nobility, and men of fortune, had lost their power; and the most factious, violent, and ignorant part of the Clergy, had so much influence over all the other people, that their dictates only were obeyed. In short, the same propositions which had been given in to the King were now offered again, and the same answers were returned. After a whole month had been spent in daily debates upon them, the commissioners not being able to settle the points relating to religion, and the act of oblivion, the treaty was adjourned to the tenth of January; till the Marquis could send three of the Council to the King, and receive his Majesty's answer on the articles which remained in dispute.

The Lord Lieutenant found in his treaty, what he had all along imagined, that the Irish would expect greater favours from him on account of his many relations, and the interest he had in a peace, than they could hope for from a stranger; and being disappointed of their wishes, for which he should be blamed, they would be less inclined to hearken to any motives and advices which he should offer, in order to engage them to lower their demands, and submit to the King's pleasure. For this reason, and from a foresight of the want of bread, or of becoming subject to the insolence either of the Catholics or the Puritans, he sent to desire the King would speedily appoint a fitter person for the government of that kingdom. The King, and every Minister he had, were but too well convinced of the impossibility of supporting his affairs in Ireland, by the credit or management of any other man in the world than the Marquis of ORMONDE: and though his Majesty would not therefore consent that he should quit that government, yet he sent him a licence to repair into England as often as he should think fit, leaving proper deputies in his absence. Moreover, considering the vast expence which he had been involved in to the great pre-
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judice of his fortune, the King ordered a commission for the stating his accounts, and effectual grants to be made to him out of the Crown lands for what should appear to be due to him. As a further encouragement for the continuance in his post, and to make it less disagreeable and difficult to him, his Majesty sent orders, that no wardship should be granted by the court of wards, but to such persons, and on such conditions, as the Lord Lieutenant should approve of; that he should proceed with the advice of the Judges against all absentees, according to the laws then in force, by seizing their estates for the public service; that he should determine the custodiams formerly granted, and apply the profits of them to the support of the army; that he should sequester all disaffected persons from the Council-board, and remove and change the governors of counties, cities, forts, and castles, at his pleasure: and in order that no inconvenience should arise, to any of the King's officers, or servants, for an obedience to his Majesty's commands, a warrant was sent for a general pardon under the great seal, to the chief Governour, Privy-counsellors, and all others that had been employed in the King's service.

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His Majesty having received, from the three Privy-counsellors above mentioned, a full account of the proceedings in the late treaty, sent his entire approbation of the conduct of Lord ORMONDE in it. But as it appeared from all accounts, that his good subjects in Ireland were not able to continue the war against the rebels, without such supplies from England as all the world knew he could not send, the King authorised his Lordship to conclude a peace with the Irish Catholics, upon such further concessions as he should find could not be denied without relapsing into a war; the repeal of the penal statutes against recusants, and the suspension of POYNING's act, only excepted: in the latter point however, if any expedient could be found to prevent the danger apprehended by the suspension, the Marquis was ordered rather to yield, than to fall back into the extremity of a war; wherein the King was not able to maintain his good subjects there. But fearing the unreasonableness of the Catholic party would frustrate the conclusion of a peace, his Majesty empowered him further to receive the submissions of such as were willing to accept a peace on the conditions that had been offered, and to restore them to their blood and

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 A. 1645. the present Parliament, from which all that refused the oath of supremacy were excluded by a vote only, in usurpation of the King's prerogative, and in violation of the laws, the Marquis was directed to have that vote or order vacated. But as the greatest obstruction to the peace would probably be the point of religion, upon which the King was not willing publicly to relax, so he gave his word to some of the agents from the Irish, that the penal statutes should not be executed against them, if the peace were made, and they continued in their due obedience. By these means his Majesty flattered himself that he should satisfy the moderate well affected party of the rebels; who would not only conclude a peace, but send him also a powerful succour against the Parliament, as they had always promised him. These however were not the only means which his Majesty made use of to this purpose. He used his power with Lord GLAMORGAN at this time, "to engage him in all possible ways to further the peace in Ireland; whom he recommended to Lord ORMONDE, as one whose honesty or affection to the King's service would not deceive him, though his Majesty would not answer for his judgment." But a further account will be given of his Majesty's commissions to this Earl, when we come to relate his negotiations.

Whilst the treaty of peace had been carrying on at Dublin, as before related, the Officers of some of the garrisons under the command of Lord ORMONDE, especially those at Drogheda, and Dundalk, being alarmed with false accounts of that treaty, and fearing they should have no satisfaction for their losses and arrears, entered into a conspiracy to surprise these places. A treaty was entered into by them with MONROE, to whom they promised for his assistance, half the plate, money, jewels, and goods, of which the Catholicks were to be plundered. But an information having been given of it to the Marquis, proper measures were taken to defeat the design, and the conspirators were seized without any disturbance. The plot upon Dublin did not go so far. For though Captain SWANLY, who commanded the Parliament-ships which blocked up the harbour, had formed a design to surprise that city, yet being obliged to apply to the Parliament for some more ships, and land-forces, the design became known to the King, who gave Lord ORMONDE immediate notice of it. But his Lordship, having
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received intimations of it before, from other people, had taken effectual care to prevent it.

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The defection of Lord ESMOND, in putting the fort of Duncannon into the hands of the English Parliament, hath been already mentioned: and as the Council at Kilkenny apprehended their trade would be ruined by the ships which that fort protected, and had been themselves insulted by excursions of the soldiers from it, they laid siege to it even in January, and in extreme bad weather: and in the middle of March—the Parliament neglecting to send any supplies—the fort surrendered. Lord ESMOND was in a manner worn out with age; but his death, in eight days after, was accelerated, by grief and vexation at the loss of his government, his breach of trust, and the ill treatment he had met with from the English Parliament, for whom he had prostituted his honour. The treaty of cessation between Lord INCHQUIN and the Irish, expiring at the beginning of April, Lord CASTLEHAVEN was sent with six thousand men into Munster, to oppose him. At the same time, they took care to apply to foreign States for succours, in order to enable them to maintain a war, or to procure a peace to their satisfaction. Though they had allowed two thousand of their men to be levied for the service of Spain, and at this time actually sent over eleven hundred into France, yet the Marquis of ORMONDE could not prevail with them to send any reinforcement into Scotland, which they knew was of the utmost consequence to the King's affairs, there, and in England. The truth of the matter was, they had resolved to give no assistance to the King, till such a peace was settled as would shew the world that they had taken up arms to restore their religion to its ancient splendour. All this while, Lord CASTLEHAVEN was reducing and destroying all the castles in Munster that did not submit to the cessation. For Lord INCHQUIN was so ill supplied by his new allies the English Parliament, that he could not make up an army strong enough to oppose him, nor subsist it for want of provisions: he had no part therefore left to take, but to shut himself up in Cork, whilst the Irish General wasted all the country up to the walls of that city; destroying all the harvest within the English quarters, and taking vast preys of cattle. We must now look a little into the other provinces.

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The Officers of the old Scots, and the English regiments in Ulster, who had refused the covenant, and even some others, such as Lord MONTGOMERY, and SR. A. MERVIN, who had taken it, remained hitherto well affected to the King: and even the subalterns, and soldiers of the old Scots, who had entered into the measures of the English Parliament with the greatest zeal, finding themselves disappointed, and in a manner neglected by them, began to cool apace, and to shew a great disposition to forsake their party. The chief Officers of those regiments had joined in a letter to the Parliament of England, in the beginning of March; representing their condition, and the treatment they had received, and expostulating the matter very freely. Fourteen hundred of the forces under MONROE had been recalled; and twelve hundred more were sent for, and did not care to go: nor were they without their discontent at the measures then pursued in England by the Parliament. SR. FRED. HAMILTON had been the principal instrument of propagating the covenant in those parts; but by his violence, cruelties, and insolence, he was grown odious to all the Protestant Gentlemen, and Officers in the North. He had long desired the government of Derry; and being defeated in his attempts to possess it, he applied himself to the English Parliament, vilifying all the British Officers in that province. But though he got Colonel CHICHESTER to be turned out of his regiment, and to be made Colonel of it himself, yet he could not get the government of Derry; which, the Parliament, by displacing SR. A. MERVIN, though he had taken the covenant, gave to Lord FOLIOT. They made also Lord BLANEY Colonel of Lord CONWAY's regiment, whom for some offence they had imprisoned; though like a modern patriot he had endeavoured to preserve his interest by complying with the higher powers.

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The Parliament were alarmed at the letters of the British Officers, and resolved to send over a committee to see what condition the forces were in, and to make some propositions to them for carrying on the war. But their own affairs took up almost their whole time and care. In the middle of July sixteen hundred and forty-two, Lord MACGUIRE, and MACMAHON, two of the first and principal conspirators in this rebellion, had been sent into

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into England, and committed prisoners to the Tower; where having lain above two years they made their escape. About three months afterwards, one of them, looking out of a window of the house in which they were concealed to call after a woman crying oysters, was known by a servant passing by; who giving information to the Lieutenant of the Tower, they were seized, and then brought immediately to their trial, at the latter end of the last year. MACMAHON was found guilty, received judgment of death, and was executed accordingly then at Tyburn: But MACGUIRE pleading his peerage, and that he ought to be tried in Ireland by his peers, it was argued several days in Westminster-hall; and in Hilary term following, Judge BACON over-ruled the plea, and delivered his judgment, that a Baron of Ireland is triable by a jury in this kingdom. The two Houses of Parliament confirmed this opinion, and ordered the judge to proceed in the trial. The prisoner challenged all that the law allowed him to challenge on his jury; but he was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Parliament rejected his petition to be beheaded; and he was drawn on a sledge, and executed at Tyburn.

The Parliament, as I said, had resolved to send over a committee, and clothes, provisions, and money, for the British forces in Ulster; and having made SR. CH. COOTE their President of Conaght, they ordered letters to be sent to all the British Colonels, desiring them to assist him in taking Sligo, and other places of strength in that province. The Officers met at Belfast to consider the letters; and returned answer at first that they could not comply with this request, till they received all the supplies that had been promised them. But lest this should be interpreted into an unwillingness to prosecute the war against the Irish, contrary to their declaration, they resolved to rendezvous in the county of Tyrone, and to march with an army of four thousand men against Sligo. This being done accordingly in the middle of June, and their artillery being sent by sea, after battering down three or four houses the castle surrendered. Meeting with this great success, and having no enemy to oppose them, the army advanced in different parties into the counties of Mayo and Galway, burning and destroying all before them, and taking vast droves of cattle. SR. ROB. STEWART, who commanded the old Scots and English of this army, leaving a Lieutenant

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nant Colonel and five hundred men at Sligo, returned with the remainder to his quarters; and SR. C. COOTE staid in his new government of Conaght; in order to raise a body of horse, as the Parliament had directed him, wherewith he might overrun that province. These calamities had been foreseen long before; and had the Marquis of ORMONDE's advice, either to the King, or to the Confederates been complied with, they might easily have been prevented. On the death of Lord RANELAGH some months ago, the Lord Lieutenant recommended Lord CLANRICARDE for the presidency of that province, as the fittest man in the world for it, notwithstanding his religion, on account of his great estate there, his numerous alliances, his great zeal and activity in the King's service, wherein no body had been more distinguished, and the losses and expences he had sustained. But the intrigues, and selfishness, of the King's friends, and in his court, disserved him as much as the opposition he had from his enemies. Lord WILMOT, and Lord DILLON, made pretensions to this post, though neither of them had a twentieth part of the merit of Lord CLANRICARDE; and in order to satisfy them both, they were made joint Presidents. This promotion was no sooner made, than the absurdity of it was seen; and that the service might not suffer, and to make Lord CLANRICARDE easy under this neglect of him, the military command of the whole province was offered him. But as he was to receive his orders from the President, his Lordship declined accepting it; yet still continued to serve with his wonted zeal and activity.

The Irish having complained that they were harrassed contrary to the cessation, by the excursions of some of the Scots, and of the garrisons in the county of Roscommon, the Marquis of ORMONDE made them the offer which hath been mentioned, and which would have prevented the calamities which they now endured. Something or other however was necessary now to be done: and in this exigence, the Marquis gave a commission to Lord TAAFE, to levy such a number of forces as should be necessary, in order to subdue those who had violated the cessation in Conaght, to the prejudice of the King's loyal subjects. The country had been much incensed against those garrisons, and hoping now to be delivered from their ravages, flocked in apace to Lord TAAFE; so that with five hundred foot,

and some horse, sent him by Lord CLANRICARDE, he soon made up an army of three thousand. With this army, which was supported by the Gentlemen of the country, he took the castle of Tulske by storm, which in defiance of the Lord Lieutenant's orders was held by Captain ORMSBY; a fiery, virulent man, who having made himself very odious by his ravages was intended to have been hanged. But the Marquis, who had been more disobliged by him than any body, from his wonted greatness of mind, sent an order to prevent his execution, and to deliver him safely into the custody of Lord CLANRICARDE. The Governors of all the other castles readily submitted to take an oath, to observe the cessation, and to obey the orders of the Lord Lieutenant; except Castle-coote, which surrendered without striking a stroke. The garrisons in Roscommon, which had been so very troublesome to the Gentlemen of the country, and their tenants, being thus reduced, the army was dispersed without any other attempt.

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In this situation affairs were in the provinces, whilst the treaty of peace, at the King's pressing command, was renewed, and carrying on at Dublin. The reader hath seen the full powers which his Majesty had given the Lord Lieutenant to conclude a peace; and a commission hath been mentioned to the Lord GLAMORGAN. There was however another pressing order of the King's to Lord ORMONDE for this purpose, not yet taken notice of, at the latter end of February; in which he "commands him to conclude a peace with the Irish whatever it cost, so that his Protestant subjects there might be secured, and his regal authority preserved: and though he leaves the management of this great and necessary work entirely to him, yet he cannot but tell him, that if the suspension of POYNING's act for such bills as may be agreed on, and the present taking away the penal laws against Papists by a law will do it, he shall not think it an hard bargain; so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in his assistance, against the rebels in England, and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience and honour." The reader will be pleased to remember, that in the former instructions to the Lord Lieutenant, these two points were limited: and though the last was consented to be yielded, if an expedient could be found to prevent the danger of it, yet the other, "the repeal of the penal statutes against Recusants, the King said, he could not,

CHARLES I. not, either with his own honour, or the safety of his Protestant subjects,
 A. 1645. consent to." But now his Majesty had either lost his notion of honour, or given orders contrary to it. He did not choose to speak more plainly to Lord ORMONDE, because he knew it would not be agreeable to him; and even thus far the Marquis did not go. It was this experience of his Lordship's integrity, and steadfastness in his religion, that no doubt induced the King, to give those strange commissions to Lord GLAMORGAN which will be recited, and to write a Letter to the Pope, as well as his Nuncio.

There is nothing in the whole history of his Majesty's reign, of a more curious texture, than this negotiation with the Nuncio, and Lord GLAMORGAN; and which will more clearly develope the real character of this King: and yet it is a point, on which all our Historians have been erroneous, or defective. General LUDLOW's account of it is comprised in a few lines: and Lord CLARENDON, who is so copious upon other subjects, and was then of the King's Council, has not taken the least notice of it, either in his history of the rebellion in England, or in Ireland. It made too much noise for him not to know it; and his silence therefore is a proof, that he thought this negotiation a blot in the King's character, that could not be covered over with any artifice. No other Historians, except CARTE, have had the means of acquiring a full and just information: and though he had access to the Nuncio's memoirs, already mentioned, yet he hath made but little use of them, in those parts which bear hard upon the conduct of the King. The Manuscript letters of his Majesty to Lord GLAMORGAN, in the Harleian collection, it is probable he did not see; and therefore in that respect he stands excused: but whether none of his Lordship's letters to the Marquis of ORMONDE, relating to this important transaction, were found in the collection of the Ormonde papers——though he hath neither mentioned, nor published such——may be justly doubted. The reader however shall have the best, and most impartial account, that I can meet with; and it will need no apology that I discuss it very fully.

In the first six months of this year, there are no less than eight letters from the King himself, besides those of the secretaries, pressing for a conclusion of the Irish peace, that he might have a timely and considerable
 assistance

assistance from them to subdue the Parliament; or, in his own words, "to persuade the English rebels to return to their wits." It is true, that in some of these, he mentions the impossibility of preserving his Protestant subjects in Ireland, by a continuation of the war: yet that that did not move him to press the peace, so often, and so warmly, and to give the extraordinary power, just mentioned, on the repeal of the penal laws, and the suspension of POYNING's act, is very evident from another letter in December following; in which he assures the Marquis of ORMONDE, that nothing can be of more prejudice to his affairs, than that the peace of Ireland should be concluded, without a most certain assurance of a timely, and considerable assistance. Wherefore as his Lordship is most earnestly to endeavour the conclusion of the peace, with positive assurance, that before April next, the King should have six thousand well armed foot from thence, so if the Marquis found that people, either not willing, or able, to give his Majesty this considerable assistance, before the beginning of April, his Lordship must upon no terms conclude the peace, without first advertising the King of it." The impossibility of carrying on the war, and to preserve his Protestant subjects, was here out of sight at least, if not overthrown; and that the assistance from Ireland, which was the "fine qua non" of the peace, was his Majesty's grand and primary motive for pressing it to be concluded, will appear still further as we go on.

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The author of the Nuncio's memoirs complains in several places of the Marquis of ORMONDE, for not obeying the King's orders in making peace with the Irish, tho' nothing but that peace could prevent his ruin. At last, he says, that the King, being tired out with his delays, deputed Lord GLAMORGAN, who had deserved more of him than any one, to make a peace. The truth is, that this Earl, who was a zealous, bigotted Roman Catholic, and had assisted the King at a vast expence, was favoured with a great share of his Majesty's confidence, and esteem. In the Harleian Manuscripts now deposited in the Museum, there are several original letters from the King to Lord GLAMORGAN, which abundantly prove this. Whatever were the motives which induced the King to employ this Nobleman apart from the Lord Lieutenant, in a treaty of peace with the Irish, it is said in the Nuncio's memoirs, that "being connected with the confederate Catholics,

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tholicks, by affinity, and religion, he was the most proper person to negotiate a peace with them; because the King, being in the hands of the Hereticks, could employ none but a Roman Catholick to grant the Irish their own terms with regard to religion; which were not fit to be known publicly, till his Majesty, having subdued the rebels in England, and Scotland, should be in a condition to avow, and ratify those concessions." It is true, that in a letter of the latter end of December preceding, the King mentioned to Lord ORMONDE his having engaged the Earl to further the peace in Ireland; as it hath been related. But neither his Majesty, nor his Secretaries, in their frequent correspondence with the Lord Lieutenant, have ever dropped a word of any commission, warrant, or instruction, given to Lord GLAMORGAN; and the first time he is at all mentioned is not till May, and then by the Marquis; to whom it seems the Earl had intimated in a letter from Wales, that he was bound for Ireland. But though this great Minister was thus kept in the dark about the embassy—which, it must be owned, hath a bad aspect—yet the Irish had notice of it, and depended much upon his advices and undertakings when the Earl should come.

According to the Nuncio's memoirs, the King had given Lord GLAMORGAN, on the sixth of January, a commission under the great seal, to levy any number of men in Ireland, and other parts beyond the sea, to command, and to put Officers over them, to make governors of forts, and towns, and to receive the King's rents, &c. On the twelfth of the same month, his Majesty gave him another commission under his sign manual and private signet; in which it is said, that "whatsoever he should perform, as warranted under the sign manual, pocket signet, or private mark, or even by word of mouth, without further ceremony, his Majesty did, in the word of a King, and a Christian, promise to make good to all intents and purposes, as effectually as if his authority had been under the great seal of England." On the twelfth of March, another warrant was given to the Earl, as follows:

CHARLES R.

CHARLES, by the grace of GOD, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. to our trusty and right well beloved

loved 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 Catholicks in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity any be to be condescended unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at present publickly to own. 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, upon 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 Catholicks having by their supplies testified their zeal to our service: and this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Oxford, under our signet and royal signature, the twelfth of March, in the twentieth year of our reign sixteen hundred forty five.

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There is a latin translation of all the three commissions in the Nuncio's Memoirs; and of the last there is a copy in RUSHWORTH, from which it was transcribed. The King, in his declaration to the two Houses of Parliament on the negotiation of Lord GLAMORGAN, acknowledges "that he having made an offer to his Majesty to raise forces in Ireland, and to conduct them into England for his Majesty's service, had a commission to that purpose; but then the King affirms it was to that purpose only, and not to treat of any thing else without the privity and direction of the Lord Lieutenant." His Majesty doth not deny that the commission above recited, and which had been made public, was that commission; nor doth he own it. But if the commission given to him was to no other purpose than is above mentioned, why was his embassy into Ireland never mentioned by the King and his Secretaries in all their letters to the Lord Lieutenant, and what occasion was there for his executing this commission, without the privity and directions of the Marquis? His Majesty owns that he had no commission at all to treat of any thing else, without his privity and direction; which is owning also that this was so to be treated of. But who can credit

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CHARLES I. this, who hath seen the many directions to the Marquis himself, to treat
 A. 1645. for Irish forces to be sent to England?

The reader may make his own reflexions on this passage; but MR. HUME's reflexions in his history require some notice. He says, * though this declaration seems to be agreeable to truth, it gave no satisfaction to the Parliament; and some historians even at present, when the ancient bigotry is universally abated, are desirous of representing this very innocent transaction, in which the King was engaged by the most violent necessity, as a stain on the memory of that unfortunate Prince." At the end of this passage, he subjoins a note, in which he mentions DR. BIRCH's treatise on this subject; "any facts contained in which it is not his business to oppose. He should only produce arguments which prove that GLAMORGAN, when he received his private commission, had injunctions from the King "to act altogether in concert with ORMONDE." The reader doubtless imagines, that these arguments relate to the commission which the King owns in the above declaration he had given Lord GLAMORGAN to raise forces in Ireland, and avows also in it to be to that purpose only: it is natural the reader should imagine so, else why are they produced? But though the King had declared that the Earl had no other commission, and MR. HUME mentions no other, yet all his arguments do relate to another, very wide of the purpose of raising forces in Ireland. If his Majesty did give no other commission to the Earl, why all his parade of arguing to shew, "that he had injunctions from the King to act altogether in concert with ORMONDE;" which by the way would convict the King of a falsehood, in saying, "that he had no commission at all to treat of any thing else, without the privity and direction of the Lord Lieutenant?" Because that is owning, as I said before, that this was to be so treated of. But if the King did give another commission to Lord GLAMORGAN, where was his Majesty's veracity when he declared, "that he had a commission to that purpose—raising forces in Ireland—and to that purpose only," and which this writer says seems to be agreeable to truth? In the first case, if MR. HUME is sincere, his vindi-

* Edit. Oct. 1763. Vol. 7. p. 68.

cation of the Monarch is extremely weak; if he is not sincere, it is extremely fallacious. In the last case, the King, who, he says in another place, "was candid sincere and upright as much almost as any man whom we meet with in history," is convicted of a wilful public falshood. But I shall have an occasion presently to make some further observations on his defence of his Majesty's conduct in this "very innocent transaction."

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On the thirtieth of April, the King wrote a letter to RINUCCINI, an Italian prelate and the Pope's Nuncio into Ireland, which was to be delivered by Lord GLAMORGAN, as a credential for what the Earl should negotiate with him. In the memoirs so often mentioned, there is a copy of that letter transcribed from the original, which the writer saith was then extant, and sealed with the King's privy seal in red wax; and it may be thus literally translated:

SIR,

Hearing of your resolution for Ireland we do not doubt but things will go well, and that the good intentions began by means of the last Pope, will be accomplished by the present, by your means in our kingdoms of Ireland and England, you joining with our dear cousin the Earl of GLAMORGAN; with whom whatever you shall resolve, we shall think ourselves obliged to, and perform it at his return. His great merits oblige us to this confidence, which we repose in him above all, having known him above twenty years; during which time, he hath always signally advanced himself in our good esteem, and by all kind of means carried the prize above all our subjects. This being joined to the consideration of his blood, you may well judge of the passion which we have particularly for him, and that nothing shall be wanting on our part to perfect what he shall oblige himself to in our name, in consideration of the favours received by your means. Confide therefore in him: but in the mean while according to the directions that we have given him, how important it is that the affair should be kept secret, there is no occasion to persuade you, nor to recommend it to you, since you see that the necessity of the thing itself requires it. This is the first letter which we have ever wrote immediately to any Minister of State of the Pope, hoping that it will not be the last; but that after the said Earl
and

CHARLES I. and you shall have concerted your measures, we shall openly shew ourself,
 A. 1645. as we have assured him,

Your Friend

CHARLES, R.

From our Court at Oxford 30th April, 1645.

I shall make no other reflections upon this letter, which the writer hath said is given with the utmost exactness, than that it certainly adds a credit and authenticity to the commissions, however extraordinary, that were produced by Lord GLAMORGAN; and which CARTE, and other writers after him, have pronounced to be forgeries. But more of this in the sequel. —When the Nuncio arrived at Paris in his way to Ireland, the Queen of England, who—to use his expression—was Queen not so much of the nation as of the King himself, had been there for some time to solicit assistance for her husband. It is beside the purpose of this history to give a minute detail of the Nuncio's secret negotiation with the Queen; to whom he was charged with a Brief from the Pope, and a letter from Cardinal PAMPHILIO the Pope's nephew. It shall suffice only to say, that as the Queen durst not admit the Nuncio's visit in form, for fear of the prejudice it might do to the King's affairs, and as the Nuncio was too full of his high character to submit to a private audience, the business was managed by the Queen's confessor, and the Nuncio's secretary. She assured him by the former, that she was very sorry that the laws of England did not permit her to see him, and that she approved of the reasons he had given why he could not visit her, unless in a manner suitable to the dignity of the Prince he represented. On the other hand, the Nuncio sent his secretary to the Queen with the brief and letter above mentioned, to assure her of the Pope's and the Nuncio's zeal for her service, and to desire her Majesty's leave for him to go to Ireland. The Queen would have been glad to have detained him, at least till the peace was made; but that not being in her power, she declared her confidence in the Nuncio's good offices, and wished him a prosperous journey.

K. CH. Works

The Queen had been impowered, by a letter from the King in March,
 “ to promise to whom she thought fit, that he would take away all the
 penal

penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God should enable him to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, he might have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable him to do it." She resolved therefore to solicit the Pope for his assistance: and when she heard of the Nuncio's appointment to go to Ireland, she sent SR. KEN. DIGBY to Rome to that end, where he continued several months in his solicitations, and at last procured a subsidy from his Holiness. In the mean time, the Queen endeavoured to make a peace with the Irish, through the guaranty or mediation of the Queen regent of France: and Lord JERMYN, the King's Minister with her, said in a letter to Lord DIGBY, which was intercepted, that the only thing he feared in such a treaty was, "that the King's party in Ireland might possibly not acquiesce in such a peace as would be fit for the King to make; and then he would have the scandal of it—for it would be a scandalous one, that is unavoidable—without the benefit of an assistance from Ireland." But this proposal of a treaty, between the two Queens and the confederate Catholics, came to nothing. We shall now therefore return to Ireland, to see the progress that had been made in one there by the Lord Lieutenant.

The King's instructions, in answer to the state of the treaty when it was adjourned, and which had been given him by the three Counsellors sent to him, as above mentioned, for that purpose, had been delayed through the taking of those Ministers at sea by the ships of the Parliament. But as soon as Lord ORMONDE received them by another hand, he sent to have the treaty renewed on the tenth of April. The Irish, who wanted to know from their agents what foreign assistance they might expect, desired the meeting might be put off for a month longer: and though on the Lord Lieutenant's refusing this, their Commissioners came to Dublin, yet they declared that as their General Assembly was to meet on the fifteenth of May, they would not conclude any thing without their approbation. They were so full of the notions which their friends in England had instilled into them, that the King's necessities would compel him to grant them every thing they demanded, that Lord ORMONDE could bring them to nothing more, than to deliver their propositions and debate the matter of them; to which they desired the most favourable answers that could

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could be given. In these debates they were convinced, that there was no occasion for the suspension of POYNING's act: but in lieu of their conceding upon that point, they made a new and extravagant demand in the distribution of honours and places; and instead of being promoted to them indifferently as his other subjects, which was all that they had asked, they insisted now, that the King should oblige himself to employ an equal number, of Popish natives, and of Protestants. But this, they were told in plain terms, too nearly touched the King's prerogative, and the safety of the kingdom, to be granted.

The Marquis, finding that they would not conclude a peace at this meeting, and not knowing whether concessions in repealing the penal statutes would content them, did not think proper to mention his enlarged powers—above related—on that head; being in hopes, from some intelligence he had received, that a qualification of those statutes would be sufficient, and thinking it of dangerous consequence to intimate any thing further. In other articles he made some concessions, with the concurrence of the Privy Council; but in this he went no further than to give the security of the King's word, that the penal statutes should not be executed. Of how little credit his Majesty's word was with the Papists, as well as the Parliament, may be seen in a memorial sent at this time to Rome by the English Catholics, recited in the Nuncio's memoirs; wherein they advise his Holiness to refuse the subsidies which they knew the Queen would ask of him, except upon this condition, that the King should grant before hand the just demands of the Irish with regard to religion; “since the King was not to be trusted when once his interest might tempt him to agree with his Parliament, to whom he had often solemnly declared his resolution to consent to any severities against the Catholics; and his word was not to be relied on, as appeared from the case of the Earl of STRAFFORD, and the Bishops, whom he sacrificed after he had sworn to protect them.”

The many concessions which the Lord Lieutenant had made at this meeting he was in hopes would produce a peace; and the agents departed from the conferences in all appearance well enough disposed to it. But they had to do with a body of men divided into various factions, which

worked

worked with incredible industry to oppose or divert a peace. To the men of desperate fortunes, who had nothing to get but in the confusions of their country, were added the Gentry in Ulster of the old Irish clans, whose hopes of retaining the plantations they had got possession of would be destroyed by a peace for ever: and as there were to be exceptions of some crimes in the act of oblivion, the guilty must suffer, or be in perpetual exile. But what above all things obstructed a peace, was the condition in which it would leave the Irish Clergy; to whom, by a fatal mistake in politicks thro' the blind zeal of their Gentry and Nobility, had been given the benefices and dignities of the Church. These Ecclesiasticks were generally men of mean original; and returning home full of the grandeur of the Popish Clergy abroad, with idle stories of which they amused their poor relations, they had an incredible influence with the common people. Before the rebellion, they had subsisted upon the charity of the Gentlemen who had received them into their houses; but having tasted the sweets of Church endowments, they had naturally no inclination to relapse into their former precarious mean subsistence. From their education and way of life they were necessarily but ill judges of public affairs; but from the same way of life they became busy and meddling in all; and filling every body's ears with their declamations on the splendour of religion, they made an astonishing interest to obstruct the peace.

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When the assembly met at Kilkenny, the report of the Marquis of ORMONDE's answer to their propositions seemed to give a tolerable satisfaction, except on the article of religion; wherein very few would be contented with any thing less than an absolute repeal of the penal laws for ever. Lord CLANRICARDE was of opinion, from some assurances he had received, that if a repeal of those laws had been then granted, a peace might suddenly have been concluded, to the satisfaction of the best of the nation. But he soon saw his mistake. For the Irish Clergy sitting at the same time in convocation, in which were present the four titular Archbishops, nine Bishops, and several Dignitaries, and some lay members of the assembly proposing a question to them about the oath of association, a debate of several days ensued. At length a solemn decree was made, and signed by two and thirty Ecclesiasticks, that by the tenour and meaning of

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the said oath of association, the confederate Catholicks were bound in conscience, absolutely, expressly, and clearly, to set down in the treaty of peace, a special article for keeping in their hands all such churches, abbeys, monasteries, and chapels, as were then in their possession." This synodical decision gave great uneasiness to those who desired a peace; and was the parent of great confusion in their Assembly. It was complained of by men of sense, as tending to stir up sedition, and to create dissensions, to deprive the laity of those graces which had been offered for their estates, and of their enjoyment of places of trust and power, from which all their party would derive a benefit. But as they had through their zeal admitted their titular Bishops to have votes in their Assembly, the decree was so strongly supported there, that those who most dreaded the consequence could only prevail for a middle way; "that as to the Marquis of ORMONDE's demand for restoring the churches to the Protestant Clergy, their agents should give an absolute denial to it."

On the other hand, the agents made great complaints against the decree, as charging them with the breach of their oath; and insisted it should be reversed. But they could get nothing but a declaration, that they did not mean that their agents had been guilty of perjury unless they had actually broken their oath. This did not satisfy them; and they protested, that if no other reparation of their honour was made, they would break off all communication with the Clergy, leave them to their own measures, and not trouble themselves any more about peace, or war. Upon this, a conference was ordered between some of the Assembly and some of the Convocation; and the Clergy added to their former explanation, "that they might make peace with a safe conscience, though a special condition for retaining the churches were not inserted in the articles; provided the effect thereof was obtained, and the Catholicks should actually keep their possession." But this did not give satisfaction to men of sense and candour, who saw that the King could not grant the churches and endowments to their party, either in honour or conscience; and yet they had a scruple to article for the restitution of them to the Protestant Clergy. In this exigence Lord CLANRICARDE proposed, that the Catholicks might retain their possession till the peace was confirmed by act of Parliament, and then the churches—there being

being no article at all relating to them—would be restored of course to the Protestants by the laws of the land. But as the Marquis of ORMONDE had made an express demand of the churches for the Protestant Clergy in the name of the King, he would not retract that article, which he thought would be to his Majesty's prejudice, and dishonour. This expedient however would not have been accepted.

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For about the middle of June, two of their agents were sent from the General Assembly to Dublin, to renew the treaty; the others being to follow at the breaking up of their Assembly. There is nothing more certain in this history, than that it was the fixed resolution of these people to take advantage of the King's necessities; though their own ruin, as well as his, were hazarded by it, and in the end, as it will be seen, it was the consequence: and who can pity them? As the King's necessities encreased, the Irish Catholicks rose in their demands; and the agents were sent with such new propositions, as though they imagined the game was in their own hands entirely. They required that the act of oblivion should be without exception of persons; that the planted lands in Wicklow, and Kilkenny, should be restored to the ancient owners by act of Parliament; that every one aggrieved by the old plantations in King JAMES's reign might be relieved by Parliament; that all the penal laws that were ever made against Roman Catholicks, and the statutes of provisors and premunire, should be repealed; that all Catholicks should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy; that all their titular Bishops and Prelates should exercise their jurisdiction upon those of their religion without controul; that a further act should be made to exempt the Catholicks from all penalties whatever on account of the exercise of their religion; that the churches, which were in their possession, should neither be demanded, nor expected from them, for they might not restore them; that not only all their cities, forts, and places in their hands should remain so, but that they should continue to exercise their new form of government, till every thing was settled by act of Parliament according to the articles of the peace; that they should not only have an equality of numbers, and of eminence of places, in all civil and military offices, in the privy council, in courts of law, and of magistracy, and profit, throughout the kingdom, but that his Majesty's

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favour in this respect should be made certain, by particular instances at present; that this condition should be expressed in the articles of peace, and extend to future times in like manner; that they might erect universities, and free schools; that POYNING's act should be suspended, and all impediments to that suspension, and their own sitting in Parliament, might be removed; that all their debts to the Protestants might be compounded by Commissioners; that all who did not submit to the peace should be declared traitors, and be attainted in Parliament; that all Privy-counsellors, Judges, and Magistrates, before they executed their offices, should be sworn to observe the articles of pacification; and that an act of Parliament should be passed, that neither those articles, nor any part of them, should ever be repealed.

The reader will easily imagine that these propositions were not assented to; but I have given them at length, in order to shew to what a monstrous height of arrogance the Irish Catholicks were now arrived. The Lord Lieutenant was justly incensed at these new demands, so unreasonable in them to ask, and impossible for the King to grant: and though the agents had made them, in obedience to the instructions of the Assembly, yet being some of the wisest and most moderate men among them, they saw how impracticable it would be to treat of them; and were well enough inclined to accept the concessions which Lord ORMONDE was willing to make. Of these his Lordship drew up a brief, and delivered to Lord MUSKERY, to be laid before the General Assembly, which was to meet at Kilkenny in the beginning of August. Whilst they were tediously debating upon them, the Marquis sent the King a detail of all the transactions, and copies of all the papers that passed in the treaty; and had his Majesty's entire approbation. The Earl of GLAMORGAN, who arrived at Dublin at the time when the last conference was held with the Irish agents, was present and assisting at it; and he either went with them, or immediately followed them to Kilkenny. For on the eleventh of that month, the Marquis of ORMONDE wrote a letter to Lord MUSKERY; in which after observing that the importance of the timely execution of the business was twice as great as it was before, on account of some late incidents in England, and that he had expressed a desire that the Marquis should act in concert with Lord

GLAMORGAN, the Marquis thought it necessary to acquaint Lord MUSKERY, "that he knew no subject in England, upon whose favour and authority with his Majesty, and real and innate nobility, he could better rely than upon Lord GLAMORGAN's; nor any person whom the Marquis would more endeavour to serve, in those things which that Lord should undertake for the service of his Majesty, or with whom the Marquis should sooner agree for the benefit of the kingdom." This letter is given in the Nuncio's memoirs; and it is very observable that it is not in CARTE's collection. But there is a letter there from the Marquis to Lord CLANRICARDE ten days after, in which he says, "I did not intend that letter of mine to my Lord MUSKERY should have been made use of as a public dispatch; and herein I hope your Lordship is satisfied, by a letter of mine sent in answer to their offer upon my heedless motion;—for so indeed it was—insomuch that I kept not a copy of it." What that offer and answer were, doth not appear; but the Marquis's letter above-mentioned was some months after delivered to the Nuncio by the Supreme Council, as a proof that the Lord Lieutenant would support the agreement that had been, or should be, made with the Earl of GLAMORGAN. The Confederates accordingly proceeded immediately to prosecute the treaty with that Earl; who shewed a readiness to consent to those articles which the Marquis of ORMONDE had refused; And though the Pope's agent then in Ireland delivered a remonstrance against their scheme, of making a public peace with the Lord Lieutenant and a private one with the Earl of GLAMORGAN, and disjoining the religious from the political articles, yet in the latter end of August, they concluded the treaty.

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The preamble set forth the difficulties which had retarded the conclusion of a peace with the Lord Lieutenant, and the authority which was intrusted with Lord GLAMORGAN, to assure further grace and favours to the Catholics than the Lord Lieutenant had granted them; and the substance of the treaty was as follows: That all the Catholics in Ireland should enjoy the free and public exercise of their religion, and all the churches which were not then actually enjoyed by the Protestants; that all the Catholics should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy, and the Popish Clergy not be punished for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their re-

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spective.

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spective flocks; that an act of Parliament should pass to secure the King's concessions to them, — the form of which act was inserted; — that no body should disturb the Catholicks in possession of the articles above specified, of which the Earl engaged the King's word for the performance; that the public faith of the kingdom should be engaged to him, for sending ten thousand men armed, by order of the General Assembly, to serve the King in England, Scotland, or Wales, under command of the said Earl; the Officers of which army to be named by the Supreme Council, or the General Assembly. Besides these articles, there was a stipulation to employ two thirds of the revenue of the Clergy for three years towards the maintenance of the army; and an explanation of the article concerning the church livings, that at present they should not be secured by act of Parliament, as prejudicial to the King, but in some other way which Lord GLAMORGAN engaged for, till a fit opportunity offered to do it by act of Parliament. It was also declared to be further intended, that the Catholic Clergy should not be interrupted in any way, as to the said livings, contrary to the meaning of these articles. When these were signed, the Earl added a protestation or oath, "to acquaint the King with these proceedings, and the punctual performance of what he had, as authorised by his Majesty, obliged himself to see performed; and in default, not to permit the army intrusted to his charge, nor any part of it, to adventure itself till conditions from and by the King are performed." The General Assembly suspecting that the Lord Lieutenant might oppose the execution of this peace, in three days after made an order, "that their union and oath of association should remain firm, and inviolable, and in full strength, in all points, and to all purposes, till the articles of the intended peace should be ratified in Parliament, notwithstanding any proclamation of the peace."

The Catholicks had thus settled every part of their secret treaty to their satisfaction; and in the beginning of September, their agents returned to Dublin, in order to renew their public treaty with the Lord Lieutenant. But his Lordship desired, before he entered upon it, that they would express in writing with what concessions of his they were satisfied, and all the demands they intended to make, that their time and trouble might be shortened. This request was complied with; and most of their former
extravagant

extravagant propositions were now omitted. They moved for the suspension of POYNNING's act, restoring the planted lands in Wicklow, and Kilkenny, to the old proprietors, relief of the sufferers through the Ulster plantation by Parliament, and an act to assert the independency of the kingdom; but when these were refused, they seemed to acquiesce. A general pardon to them, and the heirs of such of their party as were dead, was granted; with an exception of the authors, and procurers of murder. They were gratified in the ascertaining of some few instances of offices, and commands, to be conferred on such of their party as the King should choose. They fixed the assistance they would give the King at ten thousand foot; and it was agreed to give a commission to persons of their naming, to applot money on their quarters for paying and subsisting the men, and settling all disputes in them for any thing under ten pounds value till the peace was perfected: provided that nothing was done, but under the authority, and with the concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant. In short nothing seemed now to obstruct a peace but the article of religion; the agents requiring that the Catholics might be exempted by act of Parliament from the oath of supremacy, the book of Common Prayer, and all penalties and incapacities imposed on them in vertue of any statute since the reformation. But the Marquis apprehending that this was intended to qualify the Popish Clergy to hold their livings, without the oath of supremacy, or using the English liturgy, insisted on the restriction, that this exemption should not extend to the statutes of provision and premunire, nor to any other laws in force, which concerned the jurisdiction or prerogative of the Crown, nor to that statute of Queen ELIZABETH which related to Ecclesiasticks, and the Common Prayer. The agents used all their endeavours to prevail on the Marquis to withdraw his restrictions; and declared they had a power to conclude a peace, if their exemption might stand without them. But he would not yield: and after many debates upon it in vain, the agents left Dublin, on the twelfth of November, to report their proceedings to the Assembly.

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The Lord Lieutenant had very wisely taken the advice and approbation of the Council in all his proceedings on this treaty; and he had very freely and plainly informed Lord DIGBY, that if it was possible, it would be dangerous

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gerous to conclude a peace without, or against the advice of the Council of that kingdom. But he supposed, he said, that it was not at all to be done without them; as the essential part must be drawn into acts to be passed in Parliament, but which could not be transmitted according to law without the consent of the Council, unless POYNING's act were suspended, which must also pass their votes: and he found by experience, that further than they saw the King's directions for it, they would not consent to any thing of favour for the Irish. The King however was then so much distressed by the ill run of his affairs in England, that though he had all along protested to the Parliament against granting any toleration of Popery in Ireland, as inconsistent with his honour and conscience, and but three months before had assured the Marquis, "that he would rather leave it to the chance of war, than to give his consent to any such allowance of Popery, as must evidently bring destruction to that profession, which by the grace of God he should ever maintain through all extremities," yet all this was now laid aside; and on the twenty-second of October, he wrote Lord ORMONDE the following letter.

ORMONDE,

I find by yours to DIGBY, that you are somewhat cautious not to conclude the peace without at least the concurrence of the Council there; which if you could procure, I confess it would be so much the better.— But the Irish peace is of such absolute necessity, that no compliments or particular respects whatsoever must hinder it. Wherefore I absolutely command you, and without reply, to execute the directions I sent you the twenty-seventh of February last; giving you leave to get the approbation of the Council, so as, and no otherwise, that by seeking it you do not hazard the peace, or so much as an affront, by their foolish refusing to concur with you; promising upon the word of a King, if God prosper me, you shall be so far from receiving any prejudice by doing this so necessary work, though alone, that I will account it as one of the chiefest of your great services to me, and accordingly you shall be thought on by

Your, &c.

CHARLES R.

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I have given the reader this letter in the King's own words, that I may not be suspected of misrepresenting him. For when we consider that the directions in February, to which he refers, were to consent to the suspension of POYNING's act for such bills as might be agreed on, and the repeal of the penal statutes against Papists by a law—which, in a former letter he had said, “he could not either with his own honour, or the safety of his Protestant subjects, consent to”—it must be allowed that this command to Lord ORMONDE, to conclude a peace upon those conditions, even against the opinion, if it should be so, of the Council, throws an indelible blemish upon the character of this King. The Marquis, who was more jealous of the King's honour than the King himself, in conjunction with the Council, sent DAN. O NEIL to Kilkenny, with an answer to a paper the agents had delivered at parting, for an explanation of some general answers to their articles; and with a proposal, that if the Assembly did not agree to the restrictions he had insisted upon—above mentioned—the whole article might be left to his Majesty's determination. Thus the Marquis was endeavouring to save the King's honour, if he could, by concluding a peace without a flagrant violation of it; but if that could not be done, he was determined to save his own. In a few days after, Lord DIGBY made his escape from a defeat in Yorkshire, and arrived at Dublin; of whose assistance the Marquis was very glad: he was known to be the chief Minister, and favourite of the King; and he sent a letter to Kilkenny to press for a speedy resolution, in answer to the proposal of the Lord Lieutenant.

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But the Nuncio was now arrived; and his authority and counsels were to be considered. The Pope having resolved to assist the Catholics in Ireland, and to send as a Nuncio to them a man of dignity and spirit, RINUCCINI Archbishop of Fermo, descended of a noble family at Florence, and of long experience in the Court of Rome, was appointed for that service. As soon as he arrived, the Supreme Council gave him a full account of their proceedings, both with the Lord Lieutenant, and the Earl of GLAMORGAN; and it was referred to his consideration what further steps were to be taken, in order to preserve the Catholic religion, and to support the King's authority. The Earl of GLAMORGAN communicated to him also the King's commissions, by virtue of which he had made the treaty; and

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shewing him a letter sealed and directed to the Pope, delivered him that to himself from the King, above recited. MR. CARTE, according to his usual unfairness, says, that the Nuncio refused to receive the letter to the Pope; whereas the truth is, according to the memoirs, that it was offered him only to look at. "*Spectandum quoque mihi dedit regis epistolam directam ad suam sanctitatem.*" At the same time the Earl presented to him a paper in Italian, containing not only the heads of the commissions already specified, but of some much larger; amongst which was a patent granted him from the King, on the first of April sixteen hundred forty four, and a commission to make concessions in point of religion in Ireland, by way of supplement to the authority of the Lord Lieutenant. Whatever objections are made to the authenticity of the commissions, or powers assumed by the Earl, from the extraordinary nature of those powers, they seem to be fully answered by this patent, not only related in these memoirs, but published in both the editions of COLLINS's peerage of England, and never contraverted.

After reciting his several titles—among the rest that of Earl of GLAMORGAN—he is appointed Generalissimo of three armies, English, Irish, and foreign, and Admiral of a fleet at sea, with a power to recommend his Lieutenant General, and to name and commission all his other officers; to contract with any subjects in England, Ireland, or Wales, for wardships, customs, woods, or any of the King's rights or prerogatives, in order to raise money for so chargeable an employment: and for persons of generosity for whom titles of honour are most desirable, he was intrusted with several patents under the great seal of England from a Marquis to a Baronet, which he had full power and authority to date and dispose of, without knowing the King's further pleasure: and then it follows, "so great is our trust and confidence in you, as that whatsoever you do contract for, or promise, we will make good the same accordingly from the date of this our commission forwards; which, for the better satisfaction, we give you leave to give them, or any of them, copies thereof attested under your hand and seal of arms: and for your own encouragement, and in token of our gratitude, we give and allow you henceforward, such fees, titles, pre-eminences and privileges, as do and may belong unto your place

place and command above mentioned, with promise of our dear daughter ELIZABETH to your son PLANTAGINET in marriage, with three hundred thousand pounds in dower or portion, most part whereof we acknowledge spent and disbursed by your father and you in our service, and the title of Duke of Somerset to you and your heirs male for ever; and from henceforward to give the garter to your arms, and at your pleasure to put on the George and blue ribband: and for your greater honour, and in testimony of our reality, we have with our own hand affixed the great seal of England unto these our commission and letters, making them patents. Witness ourself at Oxford, the first day of April in the twentieth year of our reign, and the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and forty four.

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This was probably the same patent which was the subject of an enquiry in the House of Lords soon after the restoration, as being granted—with respect to the Dukedom of Somerset—in prejudice to other peers: on which Lord GLAMORGAN confessed that he had such a patent, of which he had made no use, and was willing to deliver up to his Majesty; which he did accordingly. There is however no doubt to be made that this was a genuine patent; and this being granted, it is a very corroborating proof at least of the authenticity of the several powers, and blanks, which he produced to the Nuncio. If the King himself put the great seal to this commission, and these letters—as in this patent he owns he did—the reasoning of the Secretaries of State against their genuineness, as being issued without their countersigning, and intervention, is entirely overthrown. MR. CARTE hath also accused the Earl of forging these powers, not only without any proof, but in direct contradiction to the authority given him, in the Nuncio's memoirs, and in this patent. MR. HUME, in the first edition of his history, declared for the supposition of the forgery of the Earl's commissions. But in the late edition and place before mentioned, having acknowledged that a note he had just made was somewhat different from that published in the first edition, he adds, that “on a review he does not find that the King ever positively affirmed that GLAMORGAN's powers were forgeries. He says not so in his declaration to the Parliament above cited. In his letter to ORMONDE, and the Irish Council, he seems

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even to acknowledge their reality." But his Majesty's contradiction to himself, in that declaration, and in that letter hath been already observed: and if we should go so far as to say with this writer, that it was "a very innocent transaction"—which from what hath been related under the King's own hand doth not appear so—yet surely his Majesty's falsehood in vindication of it, is very inconsistent with the character given of him by MR. HUME, "that he was as candid, sincere, and upright, as any man almost to be met with in history."

The Nuncio being thoroughly informed of the proceedings on all sides, delivered his own opinion in a latin speech in December to the Council at Kilkenny, which was against keeping secret the religious articles of their peace made with the Earl, and publishing only the political ones made with the Lord Lieutenant; of some of which he made great complaint. The Supreme Council drew up a reply to his objections, in a manner which made him suspect, that the peace with Lord ORMONDE was concluded before his arrival, though it was not thought proper then to publish it. But in this he was mistaken. They agreed however to the proposal last made by the Marquis; and on the twelfth of December, sent MR. J. WALSH to Dublin to settle what remained, and particularly the clause, "that nothing in the articles should be construed to hinder the benefit of his Majesty's concessions, to whom the rest were referred." But now a new scene was discovered. An attempt having been made by the Irish upon Sligo at the end of October, in which the titular Archbishop of TUAM had a command, the rebels were beaten, and the Prelate killed; in whose baggage was found a copy of the treaty with Lord GLAMORGAN. These papers having been transmitted to the English Parliament, were published by them with great pleasure; and with no less dispersed in Ireland. As soon as they were received by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to whom Lord DIGBY was now joined, they judged it necessary to do something to vindicate the King's honour, and justice, so deeply wounded by this treaty; and to prevent as much as possible any further prejudice to his affairs. The Earl had been sent for by Lord DIGBY to explain his letter by WALSH, in which he said that three thousand men were ready to embark in order to relieve Chester; about which WALSH, who was well instructed in every thing else,

else, could give no satisfaction. The Earl came up accordingly late on Christmas eve; but in the interim, a copy of his treaty had been received. Wherefore when the Council were met on the twenty sixth, Lord DIGBY came to the board, and charging the Earl of GLAMORGAN with a suspicion of high treason, moved that his person might be secured: after this he produced the treaty, which being read, he declaimed against it with great warmth; assuring them "that he was confident, that the King, to redeem his crown, his life, and the lives of his Queen and children, would not grant to the confederates the least piece of concessions so destructive to his regality, and religion." But it is plain that he did not know—nor to speak impartially, the King himself—what he would do when he came to be pushed to extremities.—I mean no reflection upon the King at all in this. Human nature is too frail, and the powers of the human mind are too feeble, for any man to know certainly how far his fortitude may be depended upon when he shall be pushed to such extremities.—It is certain that the report of this secret treaty with Lord GLAMORGAN, attested by so many copies that had got abroad, afforded an occasion of great clamour to his enemies, and to his most faithful Protestant subjects uneasiness and discontent.

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On the next day after his commitment, the Earl was examined by a committee of the Council, to whom he owned the whole transaction, and that he had consulted with no body in it but the parties with whom he made the agreement; and what he did therein, was not as he conceived obligatory to his Majesty. But two days afterwards, he desired that to his confession might be added the following words, "and yet without any just blemish of my honour, honesty, or conscience." He sent for the original counterpart of the articles, and the copy of his oath; and delivering them to the Council he was enlarged from his imprisonment, but still confined to the castle. To shew that the King was not obliged by his agreement, he produced a defeazance which he had signed, expressing that he did not intend to oblige his Majesty otherwise than he himself should please; but at the same time promising upon his word and honour not to acquaint the King with this defeazance, till he had endeavoured all he could to induce

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A. 1646. to discharge his engagement to them.

When the Marquis of ORMONDE urged the Earl in private some days after to shew him his authority, he produced the warrant mentioned of the twelfth of January—having deposited the other with the Supreme Council—and at the Marquis's request, sent him a copy of it the next day written with his own hand, and attested with his name in form; which the Marquis sent to the King, as the other of the twelfth of March had been before. We have already seen what the King said, in his printed declaration, of the commission given to Lord GLAMORGAN; that it was to treat of nothing, except the sending forces out of Ireland, without the privity and directions of the Lord Lieutenant; to which shall now be added, that his Majesty also says in the same paper, "that he hath given directions to the Lord Lieutenant and the Council there to proceed against the said Earl." In his letter to them about this transaction, he says "it is possible he might have thought fit to have given the Earl of GLAMORGAN such a credential as might give him credit with the Roman Catholicks, in case the Marquis should find occasion to make use of him, either as a further assurance to them of what he should privately promise, or in case he should judge it necessary to manage those matters for their greater confidence apart by the Earl, of whom they might be less jealous." This, says he, "is all, and the very bottom of what we might have possibly entrusted to the Earl of GLAMORGAN." But this the reader sees is another, and a very different purpose, from that which he affirms, two days before, in his declaration to the Parliament, "was the purpose, and the only purpose:" and though it is true that his Majesty in the above letter, did order the charge to be diligently and thoroughly prosecuted against the Earl, yet in a private letter to the Lord Lieutenant by the same dispatch, the King said, "though he had too just cause for the clearing of his honour, to command, as he had done, the prosecuting GLAMORGAN in a legal way, yet he would have the Marquis suspend the execution of any sentence against him, until the King was informed fully of all the proceedings."

If there are any reflections to be made upon these counter orders and declarations, they certainly do not tend to the honour of King CHARLES. He had declared to the Parliament that the Earl had a commission to raise forces in Ireland, and to that purpose only: and here he tells the Council, that he had given the Earl another commission to a very different purpose, and which is also "all and the very bottom of what he might possibly have entrusted him with." MR. HUME, I must own, is an artful writer; but it will be too hard for all his sophistry to clear the Monarch of a wilful falsehood, in one or the other of these assertions. But this is not the whole. To the Parliament he declared that GLAMORGAN had no commission to treat of any thing else, except raising forces in Ireland without the privity of the Lord Lieutenant; which is the same as saying this was to be so treated of: but in a letter to Lord ORMONDE, he declared "on the word of a Christian, he never intended GLAMORGAN should treat of any thing without his approbation, much less without his knowledge." These assertions are so manifestly contradictory, that it is impossible they should both be true. The last is brought by MR. HUME, as one of his arguments to prove, "that the Earl had injunctions from the King to act altogether in concert with ORMONDE;" a point, which no one hath contradicted on the only commission this writer mentions, except the King himself, as we have just now seen. To such miserable shifts are able men reduced, when they write to please a party, or to support a character without regard to truth! It is but very little that MR. HUME hath said on this critical part of King CHARLES's reign: but unless he could have said something much more to the purpose than he hath said, he had better have taken the way that Lord CLARENDON did, and have said nothing at all.—But what must put his Majesty's duplicity in this affair beyond all doubt, are two letters from him to the Earl himself, the one three days after that above mentioned to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and the other within a month; both which are in the Harleian collection of manuscripts in the Museum, from whence I copied them. The first, as it was to pass thro' the hands of the Marquis of ORMONDE and the Lord DIGBY, and to be therefore probably seen by them, is plainly of the ostensible kind, and is as follows:

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GLAMORGAN,

CHARLES I.

GLAMORGAN,

A. 1646.

I must clearly tell you, both you and I have been abused in this business; for you have been drawn to consent to conditions much beyond your instructions, and your treaty hath been divulged to all the world. If you had advised with my Lord Lieutenant, as you promised me, all this had been helped. But we must look forward. Wherefore in a word, I have commanded as much favour to be shewn to you, as may possibly stand with my service or safety: and if you will yet trust my advice---which I have commanded DIGBY to give you freely—I will bring you so off that you may be still useful to me, and I shall be able to recompence you for your affection; if not, I cannot tell what to say. But I will not doubt your compliance in this, since it so highly concerns the good of all my Crowns, my own particular, and to make me have still means to shew myself

Your most assured Friend

Oxford Feb. 3,

1745-6.

CHARLES R.

The sollicitude expressed in this letter shews the distress of the King's mind, lest the ill usage that had been given the Earl should incline him to be refractory, and perhaps discover the whole secret; for nothing less could surely concern the good of all his Crowns. The other letter was written, when his Majesty knew that the Earl either was, or would be soon at liberty; and was sent by SR. J. WINTER, his Lordship's cousin german, a Roman Catholick, a great confident of the Queen's, and one who had been her secretary.

HERBERT,

I am confident that this honest trusty bearer will give you good satisfaction why I have not in every thing done as you desired; the want of confidence in you being so far from being the cause thereof, that I am every day more and more confirmed in the trust that I have of you. For believe me, it is not in the power of any to make you suffer in my opinion by ill offices.

offices. But of this, and divers other things, I have given SR. J. WINTER
so full instructions, that I will say no more but that I am

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Your most assured constant Friend

Oxford Feb. 28,
1745-6.

CHARLES R.

No future historian surely will be hardy enough, after all this evidence, to charge Lord GLAMORGAN with forgery in this transaction, and to lay none of the crime of this treaty at his Majesty's door. Nor will another SMOLLETT, it is to be hoped arise, and tell us that "the King was incapable of dissimulation." MR. CARTE hath been abominably, and if I had said most scandalously partial in this affair, I should do him no injustice. He reasons from the first commission as tho' it was the last, and he confidently denies the King's giving him any commission at all; though his Majesty himself—as we have seen—owned in his message to the Parliament about him, that he had given him a commission to raise and transport some forces; and in his letter to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, "that he might possibly have given Lord GLAMORGAN such a credential, as might give him credit with the Roman Catholicks, in case the Marquis should judge it necessary to manage those matters for their greater confidence apart by the Earl; of whom, in regard of his religion and interest, they might be the less jealous:" and though the King had never said any thing of the several blank powers which he had given the Earl—and his not denying them in this case, was owning them—yet CARTE saw them mentioned more than once in the Nuncio's memoirs, as having been produced to him under the real signature of the King. He carps at his assuming the title of Earl of GLAMORGAN, for which he had as yet no patent; and makes it an objection to the authenticity of the commission. But the King, not only in the letters above recited to the Marquis of ORMONDE, and the Council, and to the Earl himself, hath given him that title, but also in the patent under the great seal, and in the declaration which he made to the Parliament on that affair: and though his Majesty thought fit to order Secretary NICHOLAS to acquaint the Marquis, that the patent for making Lord HERBERT Earl of Glamorgan had not passed the great seal,

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yet SANDFORD in his genealogical history hath said, "that there now remains in the signet office a bill, under the royal sign manual at Oxford, if a patent did not thereupon pass the great seal, in order to his creation into the honour of Earl of Glamorgan." It is therefore little short of equivocation in the King, to make this declaration; and it would have puzzled his Majesty to have assigned a reason, why he himself gave his Lordship the title of Glamorgan, without he made use of a mean evasion very unbecoming a man of honour, and much more a King. All the artful reasoning which CARTE hath employed, in order to defame the memory of the Earl of GLAMORGAN, or rather to clear that of his Majesty, if it was not overturned by the patent above mentioned given by COLLINS, which hath never been questioned, and to which the King put the great seal with his own hand, yet is undeniably confuted by several passages in the Nuncio's memoirs, and by the letters of the King himself which have been already, and will be hereafter recited. Father LEYBURN, Chaplain to the Queen, hath said in the preface to his memoirs, that both the Nuncio and the titular Bishop of FERNES had told him, "that no man could doubt but the Earl's commissions were real, all signed with the King's hand and seal, in which he promised to make good upon the word of a King whatsoever he should conclude; and that his Lordship was ready to justify that he had exactly followed his instructions." Many other proofs might be produced, were this a place for them, besides what will necessarily follow, that the King had given authority to Lord GLAMORGAN, to grant such concessions to the Irish Papists on the article of religion, as his Majesty knew the Lord Lieutenant had too much honour to be concerned in.

When the news of Lord GLAMORGAN's imprisonment reached Kilkenny, where the Supreme Council resided, the Catholics were thrown into a prodigious consternation; and some insisted on their taking arms, and besieging Dublin, in order to release him. The friends of the Marquis of ORMONDE endeavoured to moderate this violence; but they were obliged to consent to the calling of a General Assembly, and to proceed to an open rupture if they could find means to support a war. The General Assembly being met, they wrote to the Marquis to press him to the release of Lord GLAMORGAN, as absolutely necessary to the relief of Chester then besieged;
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for which three thousand men were ready to embark, and nothing wanting but the ships, for which the Earl had contracted, to transport them: but that neither that expedition nor the treaty of peace could go on till he was set at liberty. The treaty was so near concluded with WALSH, before that accident, who left Dublin immediately upon it, that the Marquis wrote to Lord MOUNTGARRET, and the other agents, that little time was wanting to the conclusion if he could have been persuaded to a longer stay, and further proceeding in the business; and therefore desired them to come, or send with all speed, to finish the treaty. The Lord Lieutenant and Council, considering the inconvenience to the King's affairs from Lord GLAMORGAN's imprisonment, and that his offence arose from an injudicious zeal—if we may not suppose that he had convinced them of having done nothing beyond his instructions, as he constantly insisted—on the twenty second of January, admitted him to bail on his own security, and the Earl of CLANRICARDE's and KILDARE's, to appear in thirty days notice at the board. As soon as Lord GLAMORGAN was released, he repaired to Kilkenny; in order to expedite the transportation of the three thousand men for the relief of Chester, to procure some money of the Confederates for the supply of the King's army, and to hasten the agents to conclude a peace. In the two first points his Lordship failed of success; in the third he succeeded better; and by the beginning of February, every thing was made ready for the approbation of the General Assembly.

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But the approbation of that body, through the publishing of Lord GLAMORGAN's articles, through the King's disavowing his authority, and more than all through the intrigues and influence of the Nuncio, was become more difficult to obtain than ever. There was also another remora, which had never been foreseen; arising from some overtures for a treaty with the Pope by the English Catholics. SR. K. DIGBY had been sent to his Holiness by the Queen, as above mentioned, to solicit some assistance for her husband, and to give him hopes of favour to the Catholics of both kingdoms in return. The Pope was so pleased with some proposals from the Catholics in England, that he offered them to DIGBY as the foundation of a treaty to be concluded between Rome and the English Court; and in the mean time presented him with twenty thousand crowns for the Queen.

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This treaty tended to nothing less, on the article of religion, than putting Ireland on the same footing it was before the reformation, and making it an entire Popish country. The Queen was bigot enough in all conscience to approve of such a treaty, without the conditions mentioned in it of a hundred thousand crowns from Rome, and twelve thousand men from Ireland, for the King's assistance; but with these conditions, and with all her influence over the King, this was too bold a stroke for her to strike. Though DIGBY only took this treaty to lay before the Queen, which she rejected, and the articles were sent to the Nuncio, "to add to them—says PAMPHILIO—or take from them, as need should be," yet he represented them to the General Assembly, as a formed treaty, assented to by the Queen, and stipulated by her Minister.

With this representation the Nuncio prevailed upon the Bishops, whom he took from the Assembly to his house, to sign a protestation in favour of these articles; but to keep them secret till it was necessary to produce them. At the same time, he used all his influence with Lord GLAMORGAN, to pursue no further the peace he had made; but to insist on this new treaty, which he called the Pope's peace, and which would procure greater advantages, he said, to the Catholics, as well as larger supplies to the King. Lord GLAMORGAN was impatient at this delay, and pressed extremely the sending the forces to the King's assistance into England. But finding the Nuncio was not to be diverted from his resolution, and despairing to carry any thing in the Assembly against his consent, he acquiesced in the proposal. He even went so far as to write to the Marquis of ORMONDE, "that the expectation of a more advantageous peace, wrought by the powerful hand of her Majesty, had wiped out the effects of his several endeavours to serve the nation; that if the supplies were expected in England, it was necessary not to disgust the Nuncio, without whose concurrence the King could not be served;" and therefore he advised, that himself, and some more of his excellency's friends, might be employed to treat and settle matters with the Nuncio. The Lord Lieutenant could not comprehend the meaning of what was written about the Queen; and resolving to have nothing to do with the Nuncio, returned for answer "that his Lordship might securely go on in his own ways of serving the King, without fear of interruption from him,

or so much as enquiring into the means by which he proposed to work his ends." The Marquis would scarcely have made use of these very extraordinary expressions, in less than six weeks after the Earl was committed to prison, if he had not been satisfied in his own mind, that his authorities from the King were real.

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The General Assembly having taken into consideration the articles lately settled with the Lord Lieutenant, and the majority appearing plainly in their favour, the Nuncio came again into the Assembly, and made a vehement harangue against them: he pressed very earnestly the Pope's peace, in which he said, there was honour on account of the person, and security as it was managed by a great Prince; and he even affirmed that the original instrument was on the road from Rome by SR. K. DIGBY, whom he expected. It must be observed however that there is nothing in Cardinal PAMPHILIO's letters to him to warrant such an assertion: and Lord DIGBY assured the Marquis of ORMONDE afterwards from Paris, "that so far from entering into any treaty with the Pope about Ireland, notwithstanding what the Nuncio had impudently published at Kilkenny, the Queen would never suffer SR. KENELM to hearken to any thing on that subject; and though she had received some propositions from the Pope, her answer still was, that the business of that kingdom was already in those hands which were best able to manage it." Whether the General Assembly gave entire credit to this intelligence about a treaty with the Pope or not, it is certain that it did not abate the eagerness which the majority had shewed for the peace at Dublin. They acknowledged the King had granted them all their temporal conditions, and in spirituals their liberty of conscience, with every thing that was necessary to the exercise of their religion: and as to pomp and ostentation, they ought to trust to better times, and his Majesty's inclinations towards them, already manifested. It was even intimated by some of them, that they had good reason to believe the Pope himself would approve the treaty; his Holiness having told their agent in the audience which he granted him, "that it was no wonder if the King thought it unsafe to grant the Irish publicly the conditions they demanded, lest it might disoblige his Protestant subjects; and therefore a connivance ought to content them for the present." Moreover, it is said in the Nuncio's memoirs, "that he had reason
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to conclude from the boldness with which some of the ORMONDE party talked, that though the King should consent to the Pope's peace, yet the Marquis would refuse to submit to it."

The affair of the peace of Dublin was debated with great warmth for four days; when Lord GLAMORGAN being afraid that the succours for the King would be too long delayed, made a speech to the Assembly to compose their differences: and having proposed a deputation of some of the principal members to the Nuncio in order to remove mistakes, some deputies were sent, who laboured the point with him for several days; his Lordship mediating between them, till he had made himself suspected by both parties. To remove the Nuncio's suspicions, his Lordship wrote him a letter; in which he promised and swore, "that he would obey all the Nuncio's commands without any reluctance, heartily, and with pleasure, that he would be as sollicitous for his honour as for his own, and that he would propose nothing but what was proper, nor do any thing contrary to his inclination." But lest this should not be sufficient to win the Nuncio, and to procure assistance for the King, in two days after he sent him another letter, with an engagement to ratify the articles between the Pope and the Queen, and that they should be ratified by his Majesty; provided, that if the original treaty arrived by the first of May, his instrument was to be void, and in the mean time to be kept secret, unless the political peace with the Lord Lieutenant should be published. The Nuncio being at last prevailed upon by the entreaties and protestations of Lord GLAMORGAN, a convention was signed between them and the deputies; in which it was stipulated, "that the cessation should be continued till the first of May, at which time, if the Nuncio did not produce the original agreement between the Pope and the Queen signed and sealed, he should ratify whatever was just and proper on the part of the Pope, as the Earl would on the part of the King, that so an honourable and desirable peace might be no longer delayed; that this should not obstruct the treaty with the Lord Lieutenant on the political points, provided there was no conclusion nor publication of the articles, nor any alteration of the civil government, nor any thing done in prejudice of the transaction between the Nuncio and Lord GLAMORGAN; but that both treaties should be concluded and published together." But they were
neither

neither of them without their jealousies, that the Marquis of ORMONDE would never yield to what was called the Pope's treaty; and the Earl, in order to take off any suspicion of himself from the mind of the Nuncio, on the day when the convention above was signed, took an oath or protestation, "that he would adhere to the Nuncio's party, not only against the Marquis of ORMONDE, his relations, and favourers, but against all others who should oppose the Pope's treaty, and the Nuncio's measures for the good of the catholic religion, and the King's service." In short the Earl of GLAMORGAN, who to his great vanity and weakness had added an inviolable attachment to the King, made no difficulty in promising vast supplies to the Nuncio, of money, arms, ammunition, and a fleet over which he should name an admiral; and to fill up some of his blank commissions with creating an Earl, two Viscounts, and three Barons, at the Nuncio's nomination.

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In two days after the Lord GLAMORGAN had made the protestation above-mentioned, the Nuncio, being satisfied, went to the General Assembly; and exhorting them to go on with their business, pressed the immediate embarkation of the three thousand men for the relief of Chester. To this purpose the Earl repaired directly to Waterford, from whence he wrote a letter to the King; informing him that his Lordship was providing shipping for the immediate transportation of six thousand foot, and four thousand more were by May to follow them; "that what had been the occasion of so long delays, and yet suffered not his Majesty's service therein to proceed with that advantage it might do, he conceived not so fit to commit to paper; that he hoped his further services intended for the King, would without further crosses be suffered to go on, though strange was the industry used by many seeming friends to hinder him therein; but he was confident it should not lie in their power, his Majesty remaining still constant." I presume to think that this is not the language of a man, who but two months before was committed to prison for forging authorities from the King, if he had not been conscious that he was innocent of that charge. But the Irish troops intended for the relief of Chester were disappointed of that service, by the surrender of the place to the Parliament after a long siege:

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siege: and the King's message to the Parliament disavowing Lord GLAMORGAN's authority being brought to Kilkenny, the Catholicks were struck with surprise and consternation. His Lordship however, with his usual vanity, conceived great hopes of procuring vast assistance for the King, by a journey to France, and Rome; being persuaded that his Majesty had done this unwillingly, and through the violent impulse of others; and proposing that General PRESTON should march his troops into Munster to compose the commotions there, so that when he returned with the subsidies he might find an army ready. But the Supreme Council were too much affected with the King's message to pay any regard to this proposal.

The Marquis of ORMONDE was all this time expecting the return of the commissioners to put the last hand to the treaty, and wondered at such a delay when so little remained to be settled. It hath been observed that by the convention between the Nuncio and the deputies, it was agreed that no peace should be concluded with the Marquis till the first of May. But when the articles that had been settled with him were laid before the Assembly, they were so much approved that they passed by an unanimous decree, even the Bishops concurring in the vote. Wherefore on March the sixth, they granted a new commission to their former agents, or any four of them, to treat and conclude a peace with the Lord Lieutenant; against which the Nuncio protested in a letter to the Assembly. He knew nothing then of the King's having disowned the Earl of GLAMORGAN's powers; but that declaration having been communicated to him in a day or two after, he wrote another letter to the Supreme Council containing some wild proposals that were worthy of such a Zealot. But on the twenty-eighth of March, the articles of the peace,—the same in substance which have been already related—were signed and sealed by the Lord Lieutenant on the part of the King, and by Lord MUSKERY, and four other agents, in behalf of the Confederates. With these articles there was also signed a conditional obligation or defeazance, importing “ that the Irish were to send six thousand foot, well armed and provided, into England, or Wales, by the first of April, and four thousand more by the first of May, to be mustered, viewed, and allowed, by such as the Marquis of ORMONDE should appoint; that

that till the said forces were shipped away, the articles were to be deposited as an escroll in the hands of Lord CLANRICARDE, and neither taken to be concluded, perfected, or of force, nor to be published, till the said first of May, nor then, unless upon sending the said forces; and then, and not before, the same should become of effect, be mutually delivered to the respective parties, fully concluded, and perfected, and published with all requisite ceremonies. But in case the said forces were not sent by the times appointed——unless hindered by the blocking up of harbours, contrary winds, or other reasonable cause allowed as such by the Marquis of ORMONDE——these articles were to be of no effect, each party be disengaged, as if they had never been agreed upon and signed, and the counterparts thereof to be mutually restored to the respective parties.”

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Thus at last, after a treaty of three years, the peace was brought to a conclusion; all affairs of religion submitted to the King, his royal power preserved in other points, and nothing to take effect unless he was assisted at the time and in the manner he required. Hence the reader will no doubt expect to find a quiet settlement of the nation, and the forces of it sent to England to make a powerful effort for his Majesty. But nothing like it. The peace was kept a secret from the Nuncio till the first of May was over; and as soon as he found it out, he wrote to the Supreme Council, that if the political peace was published without the ecclesiastical, or the ecclesiastical without the free and public exercise of their religion, and without waiting for the treaty from Rome, he would not consent to the peace. He had been positive that this treaty would arrive before the first of May; though he hath furnished no reasons in his memoirs, but his own sanguine credulous temper, for any such expectation: and DR. BIRCH in his inquiry takes the Nuncio's own word for such a treaty, without the least proof, and in my opinion against very sufficient evidence that no such treaty had ever been entered into. Neither the King, the Queen, SR. K. DIGBY, nor any other person, had in all this time either by word or writing signified to the Pope, to PAMPHILIO, or the Nuncio, that such a treaty would be accepted, or assented to; yet this did not cure the latter of his delusion. He still affected to expect the Pope's peace, and made many conjectures why it was not yet concluded. He sent a protestation to the Supreme

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Council against that concluded with the Marquis of ORMONDE, signed by two titular archbishops, six bishops, and himself: and as it was then known in Ireland that the King had delivered himself into the hands of the Scots in their army before Newark, on the tenth of June the Nuncio wrote another letter to the Supreme Council; importing that as the King was not master of his own actions, and they could have no authority from him for the security of their religion, so no peace could be made at that time, much less that of which he had heard. The Supreme Council declared in answer to him, that they were compelled by the necessity of their affairs to make a peace, but they should consider the articles of the Earl of GLAMORGAN as ratified: and if it should happen that the peace should be immediately published without at the same time publishing those concessions, they desired the Nuncio to believe that this was necessary, and for the advantage of religion. We shall leave them in these altercations, to look into other affairs in consequence of the peace.

The treaty had been so protracted, and the supplies from Ireland to the King so long delayed, that he had not the face of an army left in England. The Marquis of ORMONDE, not knowing then the King's condition, as soon as the peace was concluded, used his utmost endeavours to avail himself of it for his Majesty's service. He pressed the sending some succours to the Marquis of MONTROSSE in Scotland, and he appointed commissioners to view and muster the forces that were to be sent to England; but his endeavours were fruitless. The Supreme Council alledged the difficulties and dangers of an English expedition, being uncertain where to land, assured of no horse to cover or support them, and ignorant of the condition in which the King's affairs then were. Besides this, they wanted transports for the men, which Lord GLAMORGAN had promised them from France, and which were not arrived; and they apprehended it was of greater consequence to his Majesty's service to clear one of his kingdoms, than to attempt to assist him in England under such difficulties and hazards. Wherefore Lord INCHQUIN having seized Bonratty, a castle belonging to Lord THOMOND in the county of Clare, they had sent some of the forces intended for England to recover that place by a siege. They supplied the Marquis of ORMONDE however with three thousand pounds for the relief
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of his army in and about Dublin; and they furnished Lord DIGBY with three hundred men as a guard for the Prince of Wales; who, upon the reduction of his father's army in the West, was retired to Scilly. His Lordship went himself with these forces, in the hope and expectation of prevailing on the Prince to come to Ireland: and though the Council put about him by the King were incurably averse to that project, yet it was much desired by the well affected Irish, as a thing that would enable them to defeat the Nuncio's measures, and to unite all their party in the King's obedience. I know that Lord CLARENDON—then SR. ED. HYDE, and one of the Prince's Council—hath put reasons in the Prince's mouth against this expedient; which he hath treated as one of Lord DIGBY's visions: but these reasons in my opinion are neither solid, nor satisfactory; and it seems a sufficient vindication of this project, that the Marquis of ORMONDE not only concurred in it, but declared “that upon that depended all his hopes, that this kingdom could then be useful to the Crown of England.”

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The English Parliament had been so much occupied in their war against the King, and in answering his messages and declarations, that they had left Ireland to its fate for above a twelvemonth. But in the beginning of this year, being almost assured that they should get the better of the contest, they turned their thoughts again upon that country; and after a debate about its government, it was voted by the Commons, that a new Governor should be chosen every year; that Lord LISLE should be their present Governor, under the title of Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, with a power to command all the forces raised or to be raised, for reducing that kingdom to the obedience of the Parliament in England; that the ordinance for raising a weekly assessment for the maintenance of the forces of Ireland should be continued for six months longer; that no forces should be raised in the province of Ulster, or brought in thither, without their warrant; that no Governor should be placed in Ireland but by the consent of both Houses of Parliament; that the prosecution of the war against the rebels there should be managed by the two Houses; and that all treaties with them, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, should be annulled. In consequence of these resolutions, the same part which Lord INCHQUIN was playing in Munster, by burning, plundering, and destroying the country,

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even to the gates of Limerick, was acted by SR. C. COOTE in Conaght, with a design, as it was supposed, to relieve Bonratty: but he contented himself with wasting and burning the estates of Lord CLANRICARDE—about this time made a Marquis, for his eminent sufferings, and fidelity—to whose care and activity in the first year of this rebellion, he confessed that he owed his own, and his garrison's preservation.

These outrages had induced the Supreme Council to send MR. PLUNKET to the Lord Lieutenant, in order to declare the necessity of a present union in the nation; but to shew him that if the publication of the articles of the peace should be thought necessary for this purpose, that they could not avoid publishing those with Lord GLAMORGAN, for fear of a rupture among themselves, and of losing their foreign friends. Should his excellency be of opinion, that it was not proper to publish the articles at present, he was desired to join his forces immediately with theirs, and to declare against the common enemy. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE, incensed at the injuries that had been done him, called likewise upon the Lord Lieutenant and the State, in the King's behalf, and for the sake of justice, that SR. C. COOTE and his adherents should immediately be proclaimed rebels and traitors. But this was an affair attended with so many difficulties, as the Lord Lieutenant thought required too much consideration to be instantly determined; especially as he had just then received the news of the King's delivering himself up to the Scots. The Marquis waved therefore giving an answer to MR. PLUNKET; and in a few days after sent SR. G. HAMILTON and Colonel BARRY to Limerick, where the Supreme Council sat, to acquaint them that he understood the necessity of an union, though he could not join with any party not deriving authority from the King; but in whatever condition his Majesty was, or should be, his Lordship would readily make use of the assistance of such of his subjects, as would endeavour to maintain his authority, and preserve the kingdom for him; that it was not fit to say more to this proposition, nor could any thing further be done towards an union till the articles of peace were published, about which he had not yet received his Majesty's pleasure; that they had not performed the conditions agreed upon at signing the articles, neither in respect of the forces to be sent to England, which they alledged to be impossible, nor to the money
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which they were to advance, and was doubtless in their power, for want of which very dangerous inconveniences were brought on the King's affairs: In relation to Lord GLAMORGAN's articles, the Lord Lieutenant could not admit of them, consistently with his own honour, or the duty which he owed the King; for which reasons he expected their resolution not to publish them. To these instructions the Marquis added a declaration, that if they did not determine a speedy publication of the peace, and to send the money which remained unpaid, the condition of his Majesty's affairs at Dublin was such, as he should very soon be under a necessity to seek some other way of recovering the King's rights, and of preserving his authority in that kingdom.

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The Earl of GLAMORGAN was all this while busied in forming projects, though without any effect, for the King's service; of which his Majesty was so sensible, that just before he left Oxford, he wrote his Lordship the two following letters.

Oxford 5th April 1646.

GLAMORGAN,

I have no time, nor do you expect, that I shall make unnecessary repetitions to you. Wherefore referring you to DIGBY for business, this is only to give you assurance of my constant friendship to you; which, considering the general defection of common honesty, is in a sort requisite. Howbeit, I know you cannot but be confident of my making good all instructions and promises to you and the Nuncio.

Your most assured constant friend,

CHARLES R.

The last words " my making good, &c." are written in a cypher; which, with the alphabetical key, all in the King's own hand, signed C. R. and sealed with his seal, is extant in the collection of Harleian Manuscripts in the

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HERBERT,

As I doubt not but you have too much courage to be dismayed or discouraged at the usage you have had, so I assure you that my estimation of you is nothing diminished by it, but rather begets in me a desire of revenge and reparation to us both; for in this I hold myself equally interested with you. Wherefore not doubting of your accustomed care and industry in my service, I assure you of the continuance of my favour and protection to you, and that in deeds more than in words I shall shew myself to be

Your most assured constant friend,

Oxford 6th April
 1646.

CHARLES R.

These letters are not only another proof of the King's insincerity in disavowing some of the powers he had given Lord GLAMORGAN to negotiate for him with the Irish, but they also shew that he still continued to employ the Earl with the strongest expressions of confidence and favour; that he kept a secret correspondence with him unknown to the Lord Lieutenant; and that he was privy to his Lordship's transactions with the Nuncio in his name: And it is very observable that Lord DIGBY, who had charged him in so vehement a manner with a suspicion of high treason, wrote word at this time to the Marquis of ORMONDE from Waterford, "that he had met there with Lord GLAMORGAN, whom he found, as he had reason, a very sad man, and withal highly incensed by some about him against himself. But for this latter part, says he, I believe his good nature and the reasons which I have given him, have well settled him in a good measure of kindness."

When the committee of the Supreme Council at Limerick had received the Lord Lieutenant's spirited answer above recited, they sent an excuse to
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him for the failures which he had charged upon them, protested that they were willing to perform their engagements, resolved to omit the publication of Lord GLAMORGAN's articles, and expressed a great desire that the articles of the peace should be published, as they were already settled. But before the Marquis, who had heard nothing from the King, could determine upon it, a sudden turn in their affairs made them more cool and indifferent about the peace. O NEIL having been with the Nuncio in the spring and received some supplies for his army, at the latter end of May, assembled a body of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, with which he advanced towards Ardmagh. MONROE having drawn out above six thousand to oppose him, and having received intelligence that the enemies design was to possess themselves of that city, he caused his army to march thither, with hopes of finding O NEIL there and surprising him in his quarters. But the Irish were encamped at Benburb seven miles further, strongly posted between two hills; having a wood behind them, and the Blackwater, which was thought difficult to be passed, on their right. But MONROE finding a ford in the river, unexpectedly passed over, and advanced to meet the Irish. O NEIL amused them with little skirmishes for four hours till he had got the sun on his back, and till a detachment which he had sent off in the morning had returned. The Scots, who had stood all that time in order of battle without advancing, being much surprised to see such a body join the Irish, began to make their retreat. O NEIL then attacked them in earnest; and having ordered his men not to fire till they were within a pike's length of the enemy they did incredible execution. The English regiment commanded by Lord BLANEY maintained their ground, till he, and most of his men were cut to pieces; and the Scotch horse being pushed, and falling in disorder upon the foot, a general rout ensued. Above three thousand were slain on the field of battle, with inconsiderable loss on the side of the Irish; who took the Scotch artillery, most of their arms, colours, tents, and baggage, fifteen hundred draught horses, and two months provision. MONROE himself fled without his hat and coat to Lisburn, and ordered the whole country to rise, which caused a general consternation. His ammunition was blown up, when the battle was lost, either by accident or design; and the counties of Down and Antrim must have been ruined, if the Nuncio, as soon as he heard of the victory, had not sent an express

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express to desire O NEIL to march to him with his army in order to oppose the peace: but the Nuncio was obeyed, and the country saved.

When the Marquis of ORMONDE was considering of the proposal of the Supreme Council to publish the peace, he received an order from the King, —not as LUDLOW says, with his usual inaccuracy, to lay down his arms —but to proceed no further in treaty with the Irish rebels, nor to engage his Majesty upon conditions with them after sight of that order. An order so explicit, though it did not supersede what was already done, yet seemed directly to inhibit the publication of the peace. Every thing therefore was at a stand; and the Irish commissioners returned to Limerick for fresh instructions: and notwithstanding the Marquis was convinced that the King was still desirous of a peace, yet it was difficult to persuade his Council of that truth against this express declaration; and without their concurrence he could not proclaim it, nor would it be of any effect if he did. Whilst the Marquis of ORMONDE was labouring under this difficulty, Lord DIGBY arrived from France, with an account that the Scots had broken all their engagements to the King. He said his Majesty had with much skill and difficulty found the secret means of sending word to Paris, that he could no more express his mind in any way but what the Scots should force from him, and that they were to understand that as the last free direction; and therefore that the Queen, the Prince, and all his faithful Ministers to whom it was to be imparted, should in all things steadily pursue those orders which he had given before the time of his unfree condition." The Marquis of ORMONDE was particularly required "to give no interruption to any thing which he was pursuing for the King's service; unless he was assured, under his Majesty's own hand in cypher, that it was his own free direction." Upon this intelligence from Lord DIGBY, and on receiving an assurance from the Prince of Wales, that if any accident should happen to hinder the King's confirmation of the peace which had been concluded in Ireland, the Prince would adhere to him in it with constancy and affection, the Marquis called a Council. At this meeting Lord DIGBY repeated his intelligence; and for their further satisfaction drew up and signed a declaration in the council-book, "that the King's letter, forbidding any further proceedings

ceedings in the Irish treaty, was surreptitious, or forced from his Majesty, and contrary to what he knew to be the King's pleasure and resolution; that he would freely take the whole of this matter upon himself, to answer to his Majesty, as Secretary of State, with his life for this declaration." On the next day the Lord Lieutenant signed another declaration, "that he was satisfied he had full authority and command from his Majesty to conclude the peace on the articles deposited with Lord CLANRICARDE, and took upon himself the sole judging thereof; expecting only the assistance of the Council in causing it to be published and observed." These two declarations being thought sufficient, on the twenty ninth of July, the articles were interchangeably delivered by the respective parties; and the Council joined in a proclamation ratifying and confirming the articles of peace, and enjoining all persons to observe and pay due obedience to it. This event, which is called the "Peace of Forty six," having made a great alteration in the affairs which are the subject of this history, very naturally puts a period to this book.

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But before I close it, I shall observe, that if the Nobility and Gentry of the Irish Catholicks had not been infatuated with a blind zeal for their religion, they would not have delayed this peace, through the influence of the Nuncio and their Clergy, after such concessions had been granted for the security of every thing that was valuable, till the King was ruined, and they must lose all they had: and if their Clergy had not been given up to a strong delusion, they must have seen that they had no chance for power and splendour but by keeping up the King; that if he sunk under the Parliament they were undone; or if he agreed with them—which was the thing to be expected—it would be impossible for the Irish to hold out, or to hope for the least degree of mercy. But the obstinate bigotry of the Ecclesiasticks made them determined either to carry their point, or perish; and they had such a dominion over the consciences and understandings of their votaries, as that nothing could withstand their power. The world however now is a little more enlightened; and Popery, in the present age, hath in a great measure lost its hold on the minds of men in this respect, except with the ignorant vulgar, even in countries that are Catholic: for the absurdity of resigning up their interests and their reason to their Priests

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—for which there is no foundation in scripture, or common sense—is now pretty well understood. This gives us reason to hope—and to their honour it must be said, that the experience of our times confirms it—that none of the Irish Catholicks who have any thing to lose will tread in the steps of their fore fathers; but live quietly under a government which tolerates the exercise of their religion, and which can never be overturned without a general wreck.



T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

R E B E L L I O N and C I V I L - W A R

I N

I R E L A N D.

B O O K VI.

THOUGH the peace which had been concluded was necessary to all parties, and was submitted to with great alacrity by every one who owned the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, yet it met with great opposition from the generality of the Irish. The Nuncio, ever since his coming into the island, had professed in publick a great regard to the King's interest, at the same time that he wrote his opinion to Cardinal PAMPHILIO—as it appears from his memoirs—"that the King's destruction would be of most advantage to the Irish, and his wishes that the Parliament might get the better of him, and make themselves masters of England." No wonder therefore that he should press the Irish, to decline all measures

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CARTE.
BORLASE.
CLAREND.
CASTLEHA.
COX.
Inquiry,
Nuncio's M.

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with the Lord Lieutenant, and not to think of any peace till they had made an union among all the Catholicks, and the King was restored to his power: no wonder that he should advise them, to put themselves under the protection of a foreign power, and should recommend the Pope to be their Protector. In short it is no wonder, that a weak and furious bigot, fiery and haughty in his temper, without any connections in the country, and without any knowledge of its strength or weakness, should pay no regard to the interest or the welfare of its inhabitants, and should involve them in the most violent and destructive measures. He had all imaginable influence over the whole Catholic Clergy, except a few old Bishops, and some Regulars who were not subordinate to his authority: and the Clergy united under such a head were a very powerful body; their dominion over the ignorant superstitious multitude, from which the common soldiers of their armies were drawn, being little less than absolute. It appears indeed from what follows, that all the Catholicks of that kingdom, except very few, were priest-ridden; and to the slavish submission which they paid to their Ecclesiasticks, their own entire ruin, if not that of the King, was owing.

It hath already been observed, that the Nuncio had sent for O NEIL's army to assist him in opposing the peace when it should be published; as knowing that whatsoever noise he should make about it, he could not prevent its taking effect without an army to support him; and suspecting that PRESTON, the Leinster General, would execute the orders of the Supreme Council. In that suspicion he was not mistaken; for the peace was proclaimed in PRESTON's camp. O NEIL's army was made up principally of Creaghts; a tartar like people, who not being able to subsist in their own country, through the waste that had been made in it, roved up and down with their cattle without any settled abode, harrassing the people, friends and foes alike. These were the forces fittest for the purposes of the Nuncio: they had nothing to get or save by the peace; they had a prospect of thriving by the ravages of war; and by a proper application of the money and succours which the Nuncio brought over, and a promise of much more, they engaged themselves to support him. He did not trust however entirely to them. For though as soon as it was known that the peace was made, he sent O NEIL four thousand pounds and a supply of powder,

powder, yet having an army of Clergy also at his command, in the beginning of August, he called a synod at Waterford. Ten Bishops, and several inferior Ecclesiasticks entirely devoted to him, accordingly met: but instead of employing themselves in spiritual affairs, they spent all their time in debating measures and making decrees not at all becoming their character. They decreed all those who adhered to the peace, to have broken the oath of association, and to have been guilty of perjury: they excommunicated the Commissioners, and all who had been instrumental in bringing about the peace: they interdicted all the churches, and forbade divine service to be celebrated in any cities or towns which should admit it: in short they suspended all the Clergy, seculars and regulars, who preached or spoke in favour of it, from the exercise of their function, together with all the confessors, who should absolve the instruments or the favourers of the peace. But all this did not content them. Lest the Supreme Council should find some means of maintaining the peace they had made, and seemed determined to support, they denounced an excommunication against all those who should receive or pay any money, or assessment by their orders, and against all the soldiers that should attempt to execute them by force: and to tie their own party by a still firmer union, a new oath of association was drawn up; whereby they engaged "not to adhere to any peace, but to such as should be honourable in the view of the world, secure to their conscience according to the oath of association, and so approved by the congregation of the Clergy of Ireland."

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These violent measures dictated by the Nuncio, and adopted by the Ecclesiasticks devoted to him, were not more opposite to their characters as the ministers of peace, and to their own acts and determinations, than they were to the instructions which the Nuncio had from Rome. His orders were very explicit, in case a peace were made, to do nothing either by word or deed to shew that he approved of, or disliked it: and notwithstanding the authority which he had assumed, and the promises and threats and other artifices which he had used, to make the body of Papists subservient to his views, yet he represents himself to the Pope, as merely passive in the affair, as not leading the Ecclesiasticks, and acquiescing only in their determinations. The success of his measures in
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opposing the peace, made his excuse for the violence of them easily pass at Rome: but in another point he met with some difficulty. He had exhorted the Council at Kilkenny in a speech, of which he had given them a copy, to be faithful to God and religion, and then to the King. Having transmitted another copy to Rome, Cardinal PAMPHILIO was ordered to reprimand him for exhorting them to be faithful to an heretical Prince, to direct him to get back the copy of his speech, and never to indulge such a way of talking in public conferences. His Eminence told him that that See would never approve, by any positive act, the civil allegiance which any Catholic subjects pay to an heretical Prince. This reprimand however had not restrained the Nuncio, in his furious zeal against the peace, from signing the protestation made against it in the synod above mentioned; wherein it was declared, that no peace should be accepted without secure conditions for religion, King, and country. It will be out of the order of time, but it is scarcely material enough to reserve it for its proper place, and therefore the reader shall now be told, that this drew another reprimand upon him from Rome; in which the Cardinal again informed him, that it had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of that See, never to allow her Ministers to make, or consent to public edicts of Catholic subjects, for the defence of the crown and person of an heretical Prince: he adds, that as the Pope knew how difficult it was in public assemblies, to separate the rights of religion from those which relate to the obedience professed by Catholics to the King, so he would be satisfied if the Nuncio did not shew by any public act, that he either knew, or consented to such public professions of allegiance, as for political considerations the Catholics were either forced or willing to make. If the reader makes a proper reflection upon these declarations from the Cardinal, they must convince him that there can be no dependance on the allegiance of a Papist to a Prince of another communion, if the State of Rome requires it to be broken, and if the Papist will act up to his principles. But the Papists are men; and their interest in a Protestant country being opposite to their principles of religion, it may be supposed that they will commonly act like the generality of men in this age, and, where interest and principle interfere, that the first will get the better.

The decrees of the synod above mentioned were no sooner published, which they were with great diligence throughout the kingdom, than their effect upon the people was very visible. The Council at Kilkenny drew up an appeal from those censures; but they neither exhibited it to the synod in form, nor published it to the world. Whether their judgment failed them on this occasion, or whether through the want of money, through the bigotry and disobedience of the soldiers, or through the terror which the magistrates were under from the Clergy, they really were not able to exert themselves vigorously against those who opposed the peace, one cannot say: but it is certain that they made no attempt to shew a resolution that it should be obeyed. Instead of crushing an opposition to it in the bud, they allowed it time to gather strength. They sent deputies indeed to Waterford to court the Clergy to an accommodation; which not only possessed the Clergy themselves with a high notion of their power, but the people were induced by it to stand in awe of a body of men, to which the Supreme Council themselves paid so much submission as to justify their conduct to them. One of the consequences of this tameness in the Supreme Council was, that the King at Arms could not proclaim the peace at Waterford, and Clonmell: and when he came to Limerick, and was attended by the Mayor and Corporation in their formalities, a mob was prepared to oppose it; the Mayor, and King at arms were wounded in several places, and narrowly escaped being killed; the Mayor and some of the Aldermen were turned out; the Corporation was new modelled by the Clergy in the city, creatures of the Nuncio, and the ringleader of the insurrection was made Mayor, as his reward. Another consequence of the want of spirit in the Supreme Council was, that it produced a set of insolent propositions from the Nuncio and the Synod; the chief end of which was to prevent a peace till the pleasure of the Pope was further known. To these propositions the Supreme Council returned no answer; but sent to desire the Clergy would recal their excommunication. To this petition the Clergy in their turn refused to make any reply, till they should receive an answer to their propositions. The Supreme Council finding there were no hopes of an accommodation with the Nuncio, and that he would put all their affairs into confusion, sent to desire the Lord Lieutenant would repair directly to Kilkenny and give them his assistance.

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They saw very little reason to depend on their own party, or on the obedience of the officers and the soldiers of their army. O NEIL had long ago slighted their orders; and being disgusted at their neglect of him in their choice of Generals upon the peace, it was probable that he, and the Ulster Irish, would adhere to the Nuncio. The Marquis of ORMONDE had sent his nephew DAN. O NEIL to persuade him into the King's service, and to support the peace, with very advantageous offers: but he had engaged himself to the Nuncio, and rejected them. The inclinations of PRESTON had been tried on all sides; and his answers to them all were so ambiguous, that none of them thought they could be assured of him. At the end of August, the Lord Lieutenant, accompanied with the Marquis of CLANRICARDE and Lord DIGBY, marched from Dublin with fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse; and when he arrived at Kilkenny, he was received with all imaginable joy and respect. As he passed by Naas, he borrowed eight barrels of powder of SR. J. SHERLOCK the Governour. He left his foot near Gowran, under the command of SR. F. WILLOUGHBY who kept a very strict guard; but the horse he took with him to Kilkenny, not suspecting any treachery. Making several excursions into the country, in order to conciliate the affections of the people to a peace, and to stop the disorders occasioned by the violent proceedings of the Nuncio, the Mayor of Cashell informed him by a letter, that the town was threatned with destruction if they admitted him, and that O NEIL was marching that way with all his army. Other letters, one particularly from D. O NEIL, assured him that a rendezvous was appointed in the county of Cavan; whither all the regiments of O NEIL's army were on their march from their respective quarters, with fifteen days provision. The Council also at Dublin, amongst other intelligence of this sort, informed the Marquis, that though the General himself was very reserved, and his officers declared that they did not know what he designed, yet his Priests had given out that he intended to march to Kilkenny; and if his Excellency would not admit of GLAMORGAN's peace, they would treat him in a manner too scandalous to be mentioned, and prevent his return to Dublin.

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So many advices on the back of one another concurring to the same effect, unwilling as the Marquis was to suspect the Irish could be guilty of so much perfidy, made him apprehensive of a treacherous design against him. Full of irresolution however what course to take, Lord CASTLEHAVEN fixed him with an account of the imminent danger he was in; as both the armies of PRESTON and O NEIL were on the march to cut off his retreat. He told the Marquis that not a moment was to be lost, but that he should instantly march to Leighlin bridge; and having there passed the Barrow, and gotten that river between him and the enemy, endeavour by long marches to reach Dublin. No time was left now for reproaches or dispute; and leaving Lord DIGBY to carry on the negotiation at Kilkenny, and sending orders to SR. F. WILLOUGHBY to march off with the foot as fast as possible to the bridge of Leighlin, the Marquis joined his horse at Callan: but the Irish plundered his waggon at Kilkenny of all the plate, linen, clothes, and every thing which they contained; his haste not permitting him to secure them. When his forces came into their own quarters, some of the soldiers clearing their muskets, the powder made no report, and on several trials it was found to be stark naught. The clerk of the stores being examined about it, said it was the powder brought from Dublin, and furnished by the rebels in lieu of its value in money; as part of the thirty thousand pounds which by the articles of cessation they were to pay to the King. The Major General ordered it to be returned into the barrels, and the men to be furnished with that which had been borrowed of SR. J. SHERLOCK; which was found to be very good. The Lord Lieutenant overtook the foot in their march; and when they arrived at Dublin, whither intelligence had been brought that they were all cut off, they were received with the greatest joy; the whole people of the city almost coming out to meet them. Besides receiving some of his rents, which was of great use to him to support his forces, and to make some provision for the defence of Dublin, the Marquis reaped no other fruit from this expedition, than to be convinced of the treachery of the Irish; of the vanity of trusting to the assistance of the confederates; and of the necessity of applying for it somewhere else. He had a little before employed Lord CASTLEHAVEN to try to persuade the Nuncio not to oppose the peace: but

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Lord DIGBY being left behind at Kilkenny, and knowing how ill the Marquis of ORMONDE was provided for any defence, so, that he might prevent the King's interest from being entirely destroyed in Ireland, he ventured to make an offer, that if the Nuncio and some of his Prelates would give it under their hands that they would not oppose the peace, and would join under the Lord Lieutenant against the Republicans, they should have a private but authentic assurance, as a collateral security severed from the articles—to which Lord ORMONDE's commission being determined he could not add—that the penal laws should be repealed, and that their Clergy should not be put out of their ecclesiastical possessions before a new Parliament was called. But this did not satisfy. They not only insisted on all the articles agreed to by Lord GLAMORGAN, but on some of those also contained in the Pope's peace, as the Nuncio called it; neither of which could be granted. The Catholics indeed were so infatuated with a blind zeal for their religion, and with an absolute submission to their Ecclesiasticks, that when the Nuncio made his entry into Kilkenny, in a few days after they had driven the Lord Lieutenant from it, he was received with all the pomp of a triumph; and an entire command in all affairs secular and ecclesiastical was committed to him. The vanity of this man was to be equalled by nothing but his insolence. He had now the two armies of O NEIL and PRESTON at his devotion, and both in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny: and the first thing he did in concert with these Generals, was to imprison the Supreme Council, and other leading men of the Confederates within their reach, who had been zealous for the peace. His next step was to issue out an excommunication against all such as should defend or approve the justice of the late peace; which in a manner comprehended all the Nobility and Gentry of the nation, and even many of the most learned and pious Catholic Clergy. Notwithstanding the infinite scandal of this proceeding to the faith and honour of the nation, and to their religion itself, yet it had such an effect upon the minds of the people in general,

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in spite of the utmost efforts of the principal persons, as is at this day CHARLES I.
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The Nuncio and his Prelates, intoxicated with the power which through an invincible delusion they were possessed of, appointed a new Council, of which his Grace was president; consisting of four Bishops, and eight Laymen, to which the General officers were to be subject, and which were to have the same authority as the late Supreme Council had been invested with. The Nuncio's vanity was so flattered by this event, that in a letter to the Pope, which is in his own memoirs, he says, "this age hath never seen so unexpected and wonderful a change; and if I was writing not a relation, but an history to your Holiness, I should compare it to the most famous successes in Europe. The Clergy of Ireland, so much despised by the Ormondists, were in the twinkling of an eye masters of the kingdom. Soldiers, Officers, and Generals, strove who should fight for the Clergy; and at last the Supreme Council being deprived of all authority, and confounded with amazement to see obedience denied to their orders, the power of the Confederates was devolved upon the Clergy." But elated as he was with his power, the Nuncio did not forget his great friend the Earl of GLAMORGAN; to whose violent bigotry in a great measure he owed his influence. He made the Earl General of Munster, in the room of Lord MUSKERY whom he had confined; and the Assembly of the Province confirmed his nomination. But this was only an earnest of the favours he intended to shew him; having promised to make him Lord Lieutenant, if the Marquis of ORMONDE was drove from Dublin: and his Lordship well deserved these great things at the hands of the Nuncio. For, a short time before, the Earl had taken a sort of oath of allegiance to him; in which he swore to do nothing of any moment without the consent and approbation of the Nuncio; that if by chance he should do any thing that was disliked, he would upon the first signification correct his error; and that he would resign the Lieutenantcy whenever the Nuncio should require it, and in all things would be obedient to the Holy See. The Earl however did not deserve the favour of the Nuncio on his own account only, but also for the trust and confidence which was put in him by the King; who still kept up a secret correspondence with him, as appears by the following letter in the

CHARLES I. Nuncio's memoirs; a copy of which, it seems, was published in an Italian
 A. 1646. Mercury of that time, by VITTORIO SIRI.

GLAMORGAN,

I am not so strictly guarded but that if you send to me a prudent and secret person I can receive a letter, and you may signify to me your mind; I having always loved your person and conversation, which I ardently wish for at present more than ever, if it could be had without prejudice to you, whose safety is as dear to me as my own. If you can raise a large sum of money by pawning my kingdoms for that purpose, I am content you should do it, and if I recover them I will fully repay that money: and tell the Nuncio, that if once I can come into his and your hands, which ought extremely to be wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it: and if I do not say this from my heart, or if in any future time I fail you in this, may God never restore me to my kingdoms in this world nor give me eternal happiness in the next; to which I hope this tribulation will conduct me at last, after I have satisfied my obligations to my friends; to none of whom I am so much obliged as to yourself, whose merits towards me exceed all expressions that can be used by

Your constant Friend

Newcastle July 20,
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Of this extraordinary letter, which MR. CARTE must have seen in the Nuncio's memoirs, he takes not the least notice, and no wonder: for it is itself enough to confute his assertion that the commissions produced by Lord GLAMORGAN were forgeries. I have said that he must have seen this letter, because he hath quoted the page before, and the page after it, in the Nuncio's memoirs. In answer to this letter, Lord GLAMORGAN drew up a paper with the assistance of the Nuncio, inviting his Majesty into Ireland; in which the objections to that measure, and the answers to them, are set down. There is nothing particular enough in either to entertain the reader; and in conclusion his Lordship tells the King, that his duty and affection

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affection to him were such, as that he could not but regard his Majesty's safety, without calling to mind past injuries, or considering the dangers he had undergone, or the money he had expended; since he did not think that what he had suffered arose from his Majesty, or was willingly permitted by him. The King, it is well known, was very soon too closely guarded to make his escape into Ireland, to the Earl or to the Nuncio; and so that correspondence was at an end. We must now return to the history.

As soon as the Lord Lieutenant returned to Dublin, the best endeavours were used to put the place into a posture of defence: the townsmen were formed into companies; and to give encouragement to the common people, the Marchioness of ORMONDE, and other ladies of the first quality in the city, carried baskets of earth for repairing the fortifications. But if the place had been ever so tenable against an attack, it could not hold out for want of provisions: the soldiers were in want of all things necessary for defence; nor was there more than fourteen barrels of powder in the magazine; and yet as their distresses, so their danger was increasing every hour. When O NEIL found himself disappointed in his design of cutting off the Marquis in his retreat, he marched his army into the Queen's county, and committed all acts of cruelty and outrage that can be imagined; putting all those who resisted to the sword. The Nuncio, and PRESTON having joined him at Athy, the former, as Generalissimo, led the two armies towards Dublin. The Marquis in this extremity consulted with Lord CASTLEHAVEN, who had stuck firmly to him ever since the peace; and who advised, in order to prevent their coming too near, to destroy the quarters; his forces not being sufficient to oppose them in the field. Lord ORMONDE himself was of the same opinion; and therefore orders were sent immediately to all people within eight miles of the town, to bring in whatever they had; and whatever could not be brought in within three days, particularly forage and mills, several parties were sent to burn and to destroy. The army however marched notwithstanding; PRESTON and O NEIL fixing their head quarters within six miles of Dublin, and three from one another; and the Nuncio and his Council remaining at Sigginstown, about six miles further.

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In a situation of so much distress as this, what had the Lord Lieutenant to do, without men, without money, without provisions, and without the hopes of either, but to seek the readiest help that he could obtain? No choice was left to him in this extremity, but to put himself into the hands of the Irish, or the English and Scots under the Parliament. He had just had too recent a proof of the treachery and breach of faith of the former, to think of placing any confidence in them: and to prevent their shaking off the government of the Crown of England, putting the nation under a foreign power, and extirpating the Protestant religion, which had been the sole object of the war, he was under a necessity of applying to the Parliament of England for relief. Some of their ships were then riding in the bay of Dublin; the commanders of which he desired to transport some commissioners which he was sending to England to treat about the surrender of that city, and the other garrisons under his command—which they readily undertook—and in the mean time, that he might preserve it from falling into the hands of the Irish rebels, to furnish him with thirty barrels of powder. This request was also instantly complied with: and this application was sufficient of itself, if the zeal of the Irish had not consumed every grain of sense among them, to convince them that if they continued to push the Lord Lieutenant to extremities, he had a resource to deliver himself, and to put Dublin and the other places under a power, both able and willing to take revenge of them for their treachery. But the awe in which the people stood of their Ecclesiasticks permitted them to see nothing but the terrors of excommunication for their disobedience: the Ecclesiasticks saw nothing but thro' the eye of interest; and the Nuncio, who cared for nothing but the supreme command of the nation, would hear no proposals that were likely to diminish it. He had set his heart upon taking Dublin from the Marquis of ORMONDE with an army under his own command: and yet his passion, and want of judgment, had broken that army into jealousies and discontent with him, which was before but too ready to quarrel among themselves. He had made a very foolish and unnecessary distinction between the two Generals, both in his confidence and the supply which he gave their forces; which, of all things in the world, he should have avoided: and the Leinster Gentry were so provoked at the insolence of O NEIL, and the depredations which he had committed in their country,

try, that they flocked to PRESTON, the General of the province, in such numbers, as soon made him equal if not superior in forces to O NEIL.

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Lord DIGBY seeing the extremity to which the Marquis of ORMONDE had been reduced, and suspecting the Parliament might not yield to the terms which his Excellency had sent over, resolved to go to France; either to endeavour to procure supplies for carrying on the war, or a declaration from that Court which should oblige the Irish to drop their opposition to the peace which had been concluded. Whilst he was applying for a pass to this purpose, he discovered the animosity between the officers of the Leinster and Ulster armies: and as he knew of the hatred between the Generals, he from thence formed a project to separate PRESTON from the Nuncio, and to divert him from the siege of Dublin then preparing for. In answer to this proposal, that General sent him word, that if he might have any reasonable assurance for the security of religion, he would obey the Marquis of ORMONDE entirely, and join all his forces against O NEIL. PRESTON was well enough affected to the peace of his country, and the service of the Crown; but he was such a bigot in his religion, and so irresolute in his temper, that the Marquis could not confide in him: nor had he any power to do more on the point proposed than he had already done. At the same time Lord TAAFE was trying what he could do with the Lord Lieutenant, in order to get him to relax a little on the article of religion, and by that means preserve the city of Dublin. But his Excellency was so justly filled with indignation at their infamous and perfidious treatment of him, that if it had not been to preserve some of his friends, he would never have condescended to hear another word from them; and as it was, he would never be forced from the grounds he had laid to himself.

These schemes proving abortive through the steadiness of the Lord Lieutenant, they were determined to attempt the siege of Dublin. At the latter end of October, SR. F. WILLOUGHBY, and the other commissioners whom his Excellency had sent to the Parliament, arrived from England. They had instructions to require an immediate supply of three thousand foot and five hundred horse; and that all the Protestants, and others who had adhered to them from the first day of the insurrection, all such as had been detained

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detained by force in the rebels quarters but had never joined them, and even all such of the rebels as the Lord Lieutenant and Council, with the consent of the English Parliament, might accept as adherents to the King's Protestant subjects, should be preserved in their persons and estates. On these conditions, the Marquis of ORMONDE undertook to prosecute the war against the rebels; and that none of the forces under him already there, or to be sent thither, should be employed, nor any treaty of peace or cessation with the Irish be entered into or concluded, but by express direction of the English Parliament. They were instructed moreover to insist, that the Covenant should not be imposed, nor the Common Prayer suppressed at present; and nothing done in relation to either but by act of Parliament: and though they were to represent that the Lord Lieutenant, and the Council and Officers already employed, would be more serviceable than others, yet in case this overture should be rejected, and their continuance should be the only impediment to a relief, the commissioners were authorised to offer a resignation of their patents and commissions—with his Majesty's consent and direction—provided they were secured in their persons and estates, indemnified from all public engagements, repaid their disbursements for the publick, protected for six months from private debts, and allowed to transport themselves and their effects whither they pleased. The Parliament appeared ready to enter into the treaty; ordered two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, to be sent immediately from Chester as a present relief; and as they would not consent to continue the Marquis of ORMONDE, and those who adhered to him in the Government, they gave a commission to four of their members to go over, and to treat with him for the surrender of the sword, and of the garrisons under him.

In the mean time the Catholic army, making sixteen thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, advanced to Dublin; and the two Generals joined in a paper of propositions which they signed and sent on the second of November to the Lord Lieutenant. When the reader knows that the first of these demanded that the exercise of the Romish religion in all the kingdom of Ireland, should be as free and public as it was then in France or the Low-countries, he will not think it necessary to produce the rest, in order to be convinced that they were of too extravagant a nature, as much as he wanted

wanted to gain time, for the Lord Lieutenant to treat about. As he did not therefore vouchsafe to give any answer to these proposals, the siege of Dublin was determined. But the Generals could not agree in their measures for carrying it on; and the bad weather, with a flood in the Liffy that had forced away some bridges over which they received their chief support, made their forces already labour under a scarcity of provisions. The Nuncio used his utmost endeavours to reconcile the Generals, but without success; and having a suspicion of PRESTON, he consulted with his Council whether it were not best to imprison him. The Nuncio and his zealots were for that violent measure; as thinking all that was dear to their religion and to their interests was at stake. But there were others who had not drunk quite so deep of the cup of zeal, and whose understandings were less corrupted; who saw the ruin this would instantly bring upon them by turning the whole Leinster army against them; and that it was better to put up with a suspicion of their General, than to raise a flame by such a violence, in which they should not improbably be all consumed. This opinion at last prevailed: and whilst PRESTON was in this real danger, O NEIL imagined there was a design to cut off him and his army; and each of them was more vigilant in guarding against a surprise from the other than in carrying on the siege.

As the Marquis of CLANRICARDE was a Catholick, and the Leinster General bore him an extreme respect, Lord DIGBY thought it expedient to desire his Lordship to try his influence. The Marquis joined the armies accordingly, and laboured very assiduously to persuade the Nuncio and his Council to submit to the peace, upon a reasonable security for their religion. To this purpose he undertook for the repeal of the penal laws, for their possession of the churches till the King's pleasure were known in a settlement of the nation, and for the confirmation of these articles by the Queen and the Prince; for the performance of which the Crown of France should be guarantee. The Nuncio and the Prelates were not satisfied with these concessions; but whilst they were debating upon them, intelligence was brought that the forces from England were landed, and received into Dublin. The debate closed in a moment. O NEIL and the rest started up out of their seats, and made the best of their way: he called all his men to their

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posts by the signal of a cannon shot, and having made a bridge of trees over the Liffy, decamped in the night with his army into Meath, and thence into the Queen's county. The new Council also hastened away that night, and got to Kilkenny the next day, but the Nuncio staid a day longer; and was waited upon by the Earls of WESTMEATH, and FINGALL, with letters signed by PRESTON and the Lords and principal Gentry of the Pale, pressing him to agree to the concessions and offers made by Lord CLANRICARDE. He was too full of himself, however, and of his project of extirpating the Hereticks out of Ireland, to consent to any thing else; and finding they were bent upon obtaining a peace without it, he followed the Council to Kilkenny. Lord CLANRICARDE having undertaken, by the advice of Lord DIGBY, for the performance of the conditions which he had proposed, a solemn engagement was entred into by PRESTON and his Officers to observe the late peace, with the additional securities and concessions offered by Lord CLANRICARDE; to be thenceforth obedient to the King's authority, and to join with the Marquis of ORMONDE against all his Majesty's enemies, or such as should not submit to the peace upon the same terms.

Whilst this negotiation was carrying on with the Irish rebels, the Lord Lieutenant was engaged in a treaty with the Commissioners of the English Parliament. The forces which they brought with them were left on ship-board, and they landed themselves on the fourteenth of November. When they saw the weakness of the place besieged by such an army, and knew his Excellency stood in need of every thing necessary for his defence, they made no doubt of his receiving the supplies which they had brought, upon any terms; at least that the clamour of the soldiers and inhabitants, with the assistance of their party within the city, would enable them to make themselves masters of the place, and to compel the Marquis to quit the Government. The Marquis was not without a suspicion of their design: and therefore though he could not resist the importunities of the inhabitants to permit the forces to land, yet he would not admit them into the city; but assigned them quarters in the environs, on a promise from the Commissioners that they should do nothing prejudicial to the present Government under his command. The Lord Lieutenant expected that the Commis-

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sioners had brought specific answers to the propositions which he had sent to England; but they had brought no such answers, nor any instructions about them: and when he offered them a copy of the propositions, they would not receive it, nor enter into any debate upon the subject. Their instructions confined them to treat only for the surrender of the sword and garrisons; for which they offered to take the Protestants of Ireland under their protection, and to allow the Marquis his estate, or two thousand a year for five years if he did not receive so much out of his own rents. Though their offer of taking the Protestants under their protection, was expressed in such loose and equivocal terms as that a good deal of time was spent in clearing up their meaning, yet the Marquis was allowed but four days, from the opening of the treaty, to give in his answer. The only overture on which they would treat, was on the delivery of the sword and garrisons; and though the proposal of resigning was made expressly on the condition of the King's consent and direction, to whom the Marquis had sent a copy of the propositions for the Parliament to transmit to him for his direction, yet they would not allow it to be sent. This was a condition from which his Excellency could not well recede, on account of his oath when he took the sword; and if he surrendered the Government, the Irish Parliament would be dissolved, and the best security of the Protestants would be thereby destroyed. The Marquis therefore having no orders from the King, and the Commissioners having no instructions about his propositions for the security of the Protestant Clergy, of the civil and military Officers, and of the loyal Roman Catholicks who had never been concerned in the rebellion, and had many of them served against the rebels though of their own religion, he told the Commissioners, that he could not, consistent with his duty, part with so great a trust in such a manner, without the King's command. But till this could be procured, and their instructions from the Parliament could be enlarged, the Marquis proposed to distribute their forces into his garrisons, if they should submit to his orders and to martial law, and if they would lend him three thousand pounds to support the army. These proposals were refused; and in a few days, they embarked on board their ships with all their men, which they carried into Ulster, where they met with a reception from the Scots that was not at all agreeable.

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The solemn engagement entered into with Lord CLANRICARDE by PRESTON and his Officers hath been already mentioned: and though his Lordship and Lord DIGBY, who was his assistant in this treaty, were fully persuaded of the General's good faith and clear intentions to observe it, yet the Marquis of ORMONDE had a jealousy of him, which all their importunity and Lord DIGBY's positiveness could not cure. Full of this suspicion, his Excellency could not approve of an article in that treaty to which his two friends had consented; which was, that a considerable number of the Irish forces were to be admitted into the chief garrisons that were under the King's obedience. They had indeed been cautious in avoiding to name any number or proportion of such forces; and Lord CLANRICARDE was to command their army as Lieutenant General, with PRESTON under him as Major General, by commissions from the Lord Lieutenant. There were several other things in the engagement of less importance, to which the Marquis of ORMONDE made strong objections; as being very unseasonable, and too prejudicial to his interests with his party for his Lordship publicly to approve of. But Lord DIGBY, who was violent in all his motions and sanguine about their success, became so importunate with the Lord Lieutenant, and both he and the Marquis of CLANRICARDE were so confident of the zeal and affection to the King's service of PRESTON and his Officers, that at last they got the better so far of his Excellency, as to persuade him to write a letter to that General. In this it appears to me, from his answer to them, that he acted against his judgment: but be this as it might. His Lordship assures him, "that if he makes a public declaration of his submission to the peace, and of his prosecution of those who shall not join with them in that submission—whereby his Excellency may be justified to his Majesty, and his own party, for the confidence and trust he meant to repose in him—he and his Officers should find all the encouragement of security and satisfaction in their submission, that they could expect, or that should lie in his Excellency's power to afford them."

This was as far as the two noble friends could bring Lord ORMONDE to by their letters: but this not being far enough to fulfil their injudicious undertakings, they repaired instantly to Dublin; when Lord DIGBY's impetuosity, and the known zeal of both for the King's service—which they represented

represented to be at stake, as well as their own honour—prevailed on his Excellency's good nature to give them a further satisfaction. He wrote another letter to PRESTON, to assure him, and his officers, and his army, that his Lordship had so full a confidence in their integrity and affection to the King's service, and to the peace of the kingdom, that he should rely as much upon their fidelity, and employ them in all trusts in the field, and in his garrisons, as he should any troops whatsoever. He therefore desired a conference with the General the next day, in order to take the best resolutions for the settlement of the kingdom; and in the mean time, he tells him, that he was taking care to supply the army with provisions. But even this letter did not fully come up to the wild engagements in which Lord DIGBY had embarked the Marquis of CLANRICARDE; and which the latter thought he was bound in honour to get Lord ORMONDE to support. To this purpose they prevailed upon him to write an ostensible letter to Lord CLANRICARDE of the same date; in which his Excellency assures him, "that he would carefully obey all such commands as he should receive from the King, to the advantage of the Roman Catholic subjects of that kingdom; or during his Majesty's want of freedom, from the Queen and Prince of Wales; or such as should be signified to be the King's will and pleasure by Lord DIGBY as Secretary of State; and that he would not execute any command to their prejudice, which should be procured from the King through his want of freedom." But though the Marquis of ORMONDE complied thus far to get rid of Lord DIGBY's warmth and impetuosity, yet in a month after this, when his Lordship was going to France upon one of his visions, the Marquis desired him in a letter "to be very careful, that the commands which should be directed to him touching the Irish—if any were sent from the Queen, or Prince—did not thwart the grounds he had laid to himself in point of religion; for in that, and that only, he should resort to the liberty left to a subject to obey by suffering:" and that his Lordship might not forget, or mistake his meaning upon that point, his Excellency adds, "it is in what concerns any concession that may seem to perpetuate to the Roman Catholics either churches or church livings, or that may essentially take from ours, or give to their Clergy, ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

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When the negotiation with PRESTON and his Officers was finished to the satisfaction of all parties, the Lord Lieutenant and Lord DIGBY sent a long dispatch to the King with the state of public affairs. This letter is not inserted in CARTE's collection; but it appears to have been then sent, by an answer from his Majesty to the Marquis of ORMONDE, which will be recited in its proper place. At present we must turn to see what was doing in consequence of the agreement made with PRESTON and his Officers; who had "engaged themselves by the honour and reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and by the sacred protestation on the faith of Catholicks in the presence of God, to conform themselves entirely to the peace, and that they should not think themselves disobliged from this engagement by any authority or power whatsoever; provided there was no hindrance of any further grace or benefit by it from his Majesty, which he might be pleased to concede on the Queen's mediation, or any other treaty abroad." It is certain that this army was full of the highest resentment against O NEIL and the Ulster forces; who being all of the old Irish race, had at the time of their lying before Dublin expressed an inveterate hatred of the old English, and their hopes that the whole kingdom would be soon all their own. O NEIL himself had been very haughty, and discovered too much of his pretensions with regard to Ulster, and the power of the great O NEIL; which had not only incensed the Leinster forces, but had discontented SR. PHELM, and MACDONEL, who were ready to desert from him with their regiments.

It was the latter end of November when the treaty with PRESTON was concluded: and the Nuncio and his Council, as well as the congregation of the Clergy, being then assembled at Kilkenny, they proceeded immediately to condemn it. The first operations intended with PRESTON's army by the Lord Lieutenant, was to secure Waterford and Kilkenny. To this purpose, his Excellency gave them orders to march with as strong a body as he could draw out of his garrisons to the latter place, where the Marquis promised to meet him with Lord CLANRICARDE and the royal army; that so being united they might compel the rest to observe the peace. PRESTON accordingly began his march; but when the Nuncio and his Clergy heard of it,

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on the fifth of December, they sent him an order to stop; to disperse his army into the quarters they had assigned them; and in case of his disobedience they declared him excommunicate. The Nuncio knew him to be a thorough bigot, and full of scruples and tenderness on the point of religion: he therefore wrote to him in such a manner as he thought would prove effectual; and on the tenth of December, an agreement, by the mediation of F. DARCY, was made between them. PRESTON promised on his part to do nothing, without the consent of the Nuncio and the Clergy; and the Nuncio undertook on his, that no stain should be thrown on the General's honour; that none who had joined with him should suffer in their honour, persons, or fortune; and that he should be restored to his government of Duncannon. The next day, the Nuncio sent him an indemnity in form for what had passed; which as soon as he received, he repaired to the Council at Kilkenny, and there like a true penitent confessed all his designs.

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The Marquis of ORMONDE having received a very pressing letter, written by PRESTON's order, to hasten his march, and to assure him of the firm resolution of that army to join with him against O NEIL, on the ninth of December he left Dublin with eight hundred foot and the same number of horse, accompanied by Lord CLANRICARDE, in order to join the Leinster army for that purpose. But when they were come within less than a day's march of the place which PRESTON had appointed for their meeting, Lord CLANRICARDE, who had answered to the Marquis of ORMONDE for his integrity, received a letter from him to this effect: that his Officers, not being excommunication proof, were fallen from him to the Nuncio's party; and therefore he wished the Lord Lieutenant would proceed no further, but expect the issue of a General Assembly at Kilkenny. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE was like one thunder-struck, and the first word he uttered was TRAITOR; but the Lord Lieutenant, though disappointed of his aim, was very little surpris'd. This new violation of faith obliged him however to alter his measures, and to march his forces into the county of Westmeath; in hopes of subsisting them there till he should see the result of this Assembly. He was not in a condition to make head against O NEIL, who continually alarmed them by some of his parties; and all that he could do was to raise a thousand pounds from the Gentlemen of the county, and

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It hath been observed that a long dispatch had been sent to the King by the Marquis of ORMONDE and Lord DIGBY, after the treaty with the Parliament Commissioners had been ineffectual, and that with PRESTON had been concluded; as we may learn by the following letter given by CARTE in his Appendix.

ORMONDE,

The large dispatch from you and DIGBY, of the second and third of December, with the full account of your London treaty, I have received by several messengers; thereby finding with great contentment that I am no ways deceived in my confidence of you. For I really and heartily approve of all that you have done hitherto, and in particular concerning Colonel PRESTON: but for further directions, I can only say that upon no terms you must submit to the cw ik, and that you endeavour what you can to repiece your breach with the Irish, in case you can do it with honour and a good conscience; both which are so rightly understood by you, that I will neither trouble myself nor you with more particulars. I command you to follow such orders as the Queen and my Son shall send you: and so desiring to hear often from you, I rest

Your most assured, real, faithful,

constant friend,

Newcastle 5th January
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Though one cannot be positive that the words in cypher in this letter must necessarily be understood to mean the English Parliament, yet they certainly may be so understood without any forced interpretation; and considering what went before and what followed, the cypher does not seem to be capable of any other. But if this was the King's meaning, the Marquis was obliged to act a part opposite to it. When he returned with his army to
 Dublin,

Dublin, the inhabitants were some of them so discontented at refusing the succours sent from England, others were so exasperated at the repeated treachery of the Irish, and all of them were so impoverished by the decay of traffick, that they refused to contribute any longer to the maintenance of his forces. He was obliged therefore to draw them forth again in the midst of a cold and wet winter—half starved and half naked as they were—to subsist in the enemies quarters; where he suffered no act of hostility to be committed, nor any thing to be taken but provisions. In this uneasy situation, he continued to expect the result of the General Assembly, called to meet in the beginning of January. For he supposed it impossible to be so constituted, but that it would abhor the violation of their former treaty, and the unwarrantable presumption of the congregation of the Clergy at Waterford: in short he expected that it would vindicate the faith of their nation and religion from the reproaches it lay under, and from the extravagant jurisdiction which the Nuncio had assumed to himself over the kingdom. Let us see how it answered his expectations.

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In a short time after the Assembly met, they set at liberty the members of the late Supreme Council, and the agents who had concluded the peace, who had been imprisoned by the Nuncio and his Council: declaring “that they had faithfully and sincerely carried and demeaned themselves in the said negotiation, pursuant and according to the trust reposed in them.” The debate however upon this declaration was carried on with great heat for three weeks together. The Nuncio insisted on the censure of the Commissioners with so much bitterness, that he had like to have lost it upon the question. At last it was settled, to add to the declaration above-mentioned—though it justified two actions contradictory to each other—“that they might not accept of, or submit to the said peace, and did thereby protest against it, and declare it invalid and of no force; and moreover that the nation would not accept of any peace not containing a sufficient satisfactory security of the religion, lives, estates, and liberties of the said confederate Catholics.” That the meaning of this security might not remain vague or uncertain, the Clergy, who were at the same time convened in Synod by the Nuncio, presented to the Assembly these propositions: That Popery should be established throughout the kingdom, not only in their own but

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the Protestant quarters; that they should retain the possession of all churches, benefices, and dignities; that the common law, which gave the Crown any ecclesiastical power, should be repealed; that they should erect schools and universities under their own regulations; that they should appoint provisions to bishopricks, dignities, and livings, and exercise their ecclesiastical jurisdiction in its full extent. The substance of these propositions, after many debates, was agreed to by the Assembly. But the point which occasioned the greatest altercation was a new oath of association, to be taken by all persons for the continuance of their union, till all these propositions, which were to be annexed to it, were obtained and secured to their party. With some explanations, however, it was approved, annexed to the propositions, and taken by all the members of the Assembly.

The Marquis of ORMONDE had waited thus long, amidst the greatest difficulties and dangers, in expectation of the issue of this Assembly; and he now saw all the hopes, which his charity and compassion had hitherto kept up against his experience, entirely blasted. The men, whose natures, interests, and dispositions, made them most averse to the English Parliament, grew more affrighted at the thoughts of falling under the power of the perfidious Irish. In short the people of all humours and inclinations, who lived under his government, and had dislike and jealousies enough against each other, were yet united and reconciled in their opinions against the Confederates; who had not only despoiled them of their fortunes, and prosecuted them with cruelty, but who had made it evident by their late notorious perfidy, in breaking the treaty of peace, in their treacherous design against the Marquis at Kilkenny, and the like treachery intended by PRESTON and his party, that there was no security to be had under them. The distresses of the State and army, without provisions, without stores, without money to procure them, and without credit, were further motives to induce the Lord Lieutenant to apply for succours from some other quarter. But what among other important considerations made a great impression upon his Excellency, was the knowledge of a design to alienate the kingdom from the Crown of England, and to extirpate the Protestants, and all the Catholicks of English race.

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Upon all these considerations, the Marquis of ORMONDE thought it best to deposite the rights of the Crown of England, and the interests of the King and his Protestant subjects with the English Parliament; and it was accordingly unanimously resolved in Council to apply to them for succour. As soon as this application was known to the General Assembly, a proposal was made by some of the members to treat of a peace, or an accommodation. The Nuncio opposed it: but the majority thinking it proper to excuse themselves from the charge of imposing a necessity on the Lord Lieutenant to agree with the English Parliament, two agents were sent to him with some overtures, which the Nuncio took care should be inadmissible: And yet insolent as they were—being an abstract of such as we have just seen—the agents refused to put them in writing; and when the Marquis had taken them down as they dictated them they refused to sign them. To these therefore the Marquis made no other reply, than that he would consider them, and send an answer by messengers of his own; and being in no haste to do this, they sent another agent to press him on that subject; to whom he only said, that he could not assent to the propositions in the manner they were formed. In a short time after he had sent an offer to the Parliament Commissioners, to deliver up the sword and garrisons under his command, on the conditions they had lately settled, the Parliament of Ireland met; and the two Houses joined in an address of thanks to him, “for his pious care and providence in preserving them at the hazard of his life, and the expence of his fortune; and when he could no longer resist a perfidious and bloody enemy, for transferring them into other hands that could preserve them.” To perpetuate his merit and their own gratitude to posterity, this address was ordered to be entered in the journals, and to be presented by the Speakers of both Houses. The Marquis received this honourable testimony of the wisdom and integrity of his administration with his usual modesty; and in return assured them, that he had never received any other command from the King, but such as bespoke him to be a pious, wise, and Protestant Prince.

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Lord CLARENDON in his vindication of the Marquis of ORMONDE, mentioned in the preface, and all the writers from him, have assigned as another reason for his Lordship's agreement with the Parliament, his having received

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a private verbal direction from the King, that if there was a necessity for his giving up Dublin and the other garrisons, he should rather put them into the hands of the English than the Irish. It is not impossible that young SR. G. HAMILTON, who is said to bring this message, might take upon him to affirm, that he knew the King's mind well enough to know that such a step would be most agreeable to him. But that the Marquis of ORMONDE thought it to be no authentic signification of his Majesty's pleasure, is very certain from the apologies that he makes for his conduct in this particular, in two letters to the King, in another to the Queen, and above all in a paper containing a summary relation of the affairs of Ireland, which he delivered to the King after his return to England; in which he sets forth at large the reasons which had determined him to make his agreement with the Parliament. Had he received such a direction as these writers affirm, there would have been no occasion for these apologies: nay if he had not believed that this part of his conduct was rather displeasing to the King—and which confirms the interpretation of the cypher in the last recited letter—his Lordship would not have thought it necessary to labour his vindication of it in the paper above referred to, published in CARTE's collection.

As soon as the application to the English Parliament was known, Lord INCHQUIN, to whom the Marquis had applied, sent him a small cargo of powder for the defence of Dublin, and with the army which he had in Munster gave a powerful diversion to PRESTON's forces. Lord LISLE had for some time been arrived in the province of MUNSTER as the Parliament's Lord Lieutenant, but we hear nothing of what he did there: he might perhaps direct, but every thing was acted by the President. To stop his Lordship's progress, and to put Waterford out of danger, PRESTON was recalled by the Supreme Council: for O NEIL would obey no orders, not even those of the Nuncio, though his troops called themselves the Pope's army and the defenders of the Clergy; whom their continual depredations rendered odious. The success of Lord INCHQUIN had struck such a terror in the new Council, the Assembly being broken up, that they thought it advisable to renew their overtures in the beginning of May for an accommodation: for a submission to the peace, and the King's authority, were now out of the question. Father LEYBOURN chaplain to the Queen, was at this time

time arrived in Ireland under the name of WINTER GRANT, with letters from her Majesty and the Prince, as well as blank powers signed by them separately and jointly for the Lord Lieutenant; in order to establish the peace, and then to assist the King. The Supreme Council had a little before refused a cessation proposed by the Marquis of ORMONDE: but now being alarmed at the progress which Lord INCHQUIN had made, and to clear themselves to the Queen of the odium of driving the Marquis to submit to the English Parliament, they employed GRANT to negotiate an accommodation with him.

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As nothing had yet been done in consequence of the Marquis's offer to the Parliament Commissioners, he had it still in his power to comply with the Irish; if they were reasonable enough to consent to what would justify such an agreement. But they sent him a written message, that they must insist on the propositions of the Clergy agreed at Waterford—above mentioned—to which they had sworn; and that if he would have a cessation with them, he must promise not to receive any force from the two Houses of Parliament in six or seven months. The Marquis was persuaded by Lord DIGBY—though not without more dispute than had ever arisen between them, as he tells GRANT in his letter—to send an answer to this overture; in which he offered not to receive any force from the two Houses for the space of three weeks, if during that time they would submit to a cessation in which a full peace might be concluded; and to this he never received any reply. But O NEIL, foreseeing the consequence of compelling the Lord Lieutenant to leave the kingdom, and to put Dublin and the other garrisons into the hands of the Parliament, sent his nephew DANIEL to him with this message, “that if the Marquis would accept of a cessation for two months, which he believed the Supreme Council would propose, he would engage himself to continue it for a year, and in that time he would use his utmost power to procure a peace.” To this the Marquis replied by another message, that if O NEIL would give his word for a cessation for a year, he would accept it, and wave any further treaty with the English Parliament; provided that he received—and not otherwise—such a positive effect of his overture as he expected within fourteen days. O NEIL accepted the conditions; and instantly dispatched his nephew to the Supreme Council with

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a letter of advice, and another to his chief confident the Popish Bishop of CLOGHER, with the reasons at large which ought to induce the Nuncio to desire such a cessation. But the measure of their iniquity was not yet full. The Supreme Council, instead of taking this advice, or making any reply, perceiving the Marquis had limited O NEIL to fourteen days, imprisoned his nephew till the time was expired; and then released him on condition that he should no more return to his uncle's quarters. In this manner ended all negotiations with the Irish Catholics: let us now turn to the treaty with the English Parliament.

The committee for the affairs of Ireland did not hesitate a moment in accepting the offer of the Lord Lieutenant; but there was a greater delay in sending a relief to him than he required, or was consistent with his distresses. This was partly owing to the divisions in the Parliament itself, and partly to a diffidence lest the treaty now proposed should be as ineffectual as the former. Therefore to remove the last difficulty, the Parliament proposed that the Marquis should send over one of his sons, and three other persons of quality or distinction, as hostages for his performance of the articles; which being done, they would order their forces now in Ireland, and some additional regiments to be sent over, to be under his command till their commissioners should arrive at Dublin, and the treaty should be concluded. Lord R. BUTLER the Marquis's second son, and three other hostages were sent accordingly; the first remaining at Chester, and the others going to London with instructions from the Lord Lieutenant. The hostages being sent, the English forces marched to Dublin; and soon after, three or four thousand more, with the Commissioners, arrived from England. On the nineteenth of June, the treaty was perfected and signed; by which the Lord Lieutenant was to deliver up the sword on the twenty eighth of July, or sooner if required on four days notice. The Protestants were all to be secured in their estates; those who had paid contributions to support the Government to be protected in their estates and persons; the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers who desired to accompany the Marquis of ORMONDE out of Ireland, to have passes; and the Popish recusants who had not assisted nor adhered to the rebels were encouraged to continue in their houses and estates; in confidence of the favour of the

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Parliament, according as they should demean themselves in the present service.

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The Marquis of ORMONDE having taken up above thirteen thousand pounds on his credit, in order to supply the wants and compose the murmurings of the army, which he had promised to repay before he quitted the Government, a certificate from the Council of this disbursement was sent over with the Commissioners, who went on the first overture to the Parliament, in order to stipulate for their payment of this sum. The Council indeed would have persuaded him to demand what was due to him for his appointments and commissions, and his rents which the Parliament officers had received; and there is no doubt but these sums so justly due would have been allowed him. But the Marquis was too jealous of his honour, and had too great a mind, to mix any thing of himself in this transaction. For this reason he demanded only the sum that had been certified, and for which he stood engaged; three thousand of which were to be paid in money before he left Dublin, and the rest in accepted bills of exchange on France or Holland, one half at fifteen days sight, and the other at six months. But the Commissioners did not fulfil their conditions honourably: the three thousand pounds were not brought; and the Marquis was obliged to leave his Lady behind him to receive it, and discharge the debts which that money was intended to pay. The bills were brought for the remainder, but not accepted: and though he was told that he might depend on the honour and faith of the Parliament, yet the bill for the last sum was returned protested, and above fifteen hundred pounds were never paid at all.

But notwithstanding the Commissioners were thus scandalously wanting on their part of the treaty, yet they were very pressing with the Marquis to perform what he had stipulated; and having gotten the power into their hands, they lost no time to convince the world that they were possessed of it. The English Liturgy was then established by law, the act of uniformity was still in force in Ireland, and even no ordinance had passed in England for its suspension. But these Commissioners, within four days after the treaty was signed, trampling the law under their own authority as their

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their Masters had done before them, published an order to discontinue the use of the Common Prayer, and for all ministers of churches and chapels in the city to use the Directory. The Clergy represented to them the obligation they were under, by the only law then in force in that kingdom against Popish recusants, to use the Liturgy; the pleasure it would give the Papists to see them denied the liberty of their consciences in divine worship; the offence it would give the Protestants who had little or nothing else now left them to enjoy; and the door which it would open for the Papists to enter into their pulpits and seduce the people. But this sensible remonstrance was all in vain; and those hypocritical pretenders to religious liberty directed their order to be executed with great rigour. Hence the Clergy ceased to officiate, and the Liturgy was left off in all the churches of Dublin. The Bishop of MEATH however, who was Provost of the College, persisted in using it in the College chapel: where he preached with a true apostolical freedom against the errors of the times, and where he was always attended with a very crowded audience. For people never feel so much zeal, and so thorough a sense of religion, as in times of calamity and persecution. The Marquis of ORMONDE had put off the delivery of the Regalia till the latter end of July; in hopes of obtaining leave from England to carry some men into foreign service, and to take measures for their levy and transportation. But this was denied him: neither did the Commissioners at Dublin keep within the bounds of common decency, and such as their articles required. When he complained of this breach of honour, they did not pretend to assign a reason for their proceedings, but told him plainly that they were competent judges themselves, and would not allow others to direct their actions. On the next day, they gave him notice to remove with his family from the Castle, and to deliver the Regalia within four days according to his stipulation. But it being inconvenient to him to embark so soon as they had fixed, and being not willing to stay after he had delivered up the sword, he compromised the matter with them by quitting the Castle immediately, and deferring the ceremonial of the sword till the day first agreed on. Upon that day, the Marquis, having left the Regalia to be delivered to the Commissioners, went on board a frigate, attended by many of the distressed Clergy with their prayers; whose families had been kept from perishing by want through his own and his Lady's bounty,

bounty, and failed for England. In this manner ended the first administration of the Marquis of ORMONDE; an administration attended with more difficulties and dangers, more distresses and opposition, than perhaps ever fell to the lot of any other Minister in the world: and yet no Minister ever acquitted himself with more wisdom and integrity, and, notwithstanding his ill success, ever acquired a reputation of truer glory.

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No sooner had the Irish rebels compelled the Lord Lieutenant to leave the kingdom, than those of the old English, and of PRESTON's party, were in a terrible consternation; fearing the good men of the nation, well affected to the King and the peace of the country, would be sacrificed with the bad who had no regard to either. O NEIL had been made by the new Supreme Council General of Conaght, and had a strong party for him in that province. All that part of Ulster which belonged to the Confederates was absolutely in his power; and he was in possession of three or four counties in Leinster, upon which he quartered his forces which increased every day. Hence he was grown very obnoxious to the old English, who apprehended that he designed their extirpation. The Earl of GLAMORGAN, who was no longer capable of serving the King by his airy projects, and contented himself with being a creature of the Nuncio's, had been made—as already mentioned—General of Munster by his interest. But the Gentry of the province considered this as an affront, to have a stranger put upon them: and either for this reason, or because they thought he would join with O NEIL and the Ulster forces to support the Nuncio's measures, of whom they began to be weary, they did not care to serve under his Lordship. Lord INCHQUIN, as we have seen, was wasting the province with his forces, and had laid the greatest part of it under contribution: but the common danger could not unite them. GLAMORGAN complained of the collectors of the money, who were combined against him by the artifices of Lord MUSKERY; and some of his Officers complained to the Council of the behaviour of that Nobleman and his friends. In the mean time he repaired to the army, where he had great interest; and in an hour's time they declared for him, and turned Lord GLAMORGAN out of his command. The Nuncio, being made acquainted with this ill treatment of his favourite, went to the Council at Clonmell, insisted on his

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being restored, and threatened Lord MUSKERY, if he did not resign, with the censures of the Church. The Council sent to know of his Lordship by what authority he had turned out the former General. He sent them word that he had done it to preserve his life against those who aimed at it; and that being safe, he would take care that the orders of the Council should be obeyed, which others flighted. Having secured this point, his Lordship and the Munster Gentry presented a remonstrance against O NEIL; in which having set forth the grievances which the Council and the country had suffered from him and from his ambitious views, they declared themselves obedient sons of the Church, and sworn Confederates of the Catholic cause; but yet that they would join ORMONDE, INCHQUIN, or the Turk, rather than expose themselves to be enslaved by O NEIL and his army. At last the matter was compromised: the Council interposed with the Nuncio to stop the proceedings of O NEIL; Lord GLAMORGAN, as a salvo to his honour was restored in form to the command of the Munster army for a few days, and then quitted it entirely to Lord MUSKERY.

The province of Leinster had actually suffered more from the depredations of O NEIL, than the people of Munster had any reason to fear. He lay in the heart of that province with twelve thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, and was able to reduce it all under his power. For this reason, PRESTON and his Officers held a consultation with Lord MUSKERY and the Gentry of Munster; in order to take proper measures for their security, both against O NEIL, and against the forces of the Parliament under Colonel JONES, the Governour of Dublin and the General of those forces there: and that they might beget a greater confidence and union between the armies of the two provinces, it was agreed that Lord TAAFE, of whom the Leinster forces had a great opinion, and who was a particular friend of Lord MUSKERY's, should have the command of the Munster army in the room of the latter, that he might be at leisure to attend and execute their measures in the Supreme Council. TAAFE was a man of parts, and of invincible courage; a Catholick, but zealously affected to the King, and strongly attached to the peace, and the Marquis of ORMONDE. PRESTON had seen the mistake of driving away the Marquis, when it was too late; and was willing to enter into any measures that were

were likely to lay a foundation for his return. The measures just mentioned were concerted chiefly by the advice of Lord DIGBY, who had not yet got away into France: and if they had preserved with as much care as they had encreased their forces, the advice would have proved very effectual.

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PRESTON was now at the head of eight thousand men well appointed and well disciplined, called the Leinster army; and it was necessary to enlarge their quarters in that province. He went therefore at the head of a considerable party for this purpose, and JONES marched out of Dublin to oppose him. But the former, having secured the advantage ground, soon routed the English, killing many, and taking several prisoners; JONES himself escaping narrowly to Dublin. Encouraged by this success, PRESTON continued advancing with his army; possessed himself of most part of the out-garrisons till he came within eight miles of the capital; and after taking in Trim, to which he laid siege, intended to invest that city. This occasioned another skirmish, in which the Irish had the advantage: and these successes, with an army that had been always beaten, or had always fled before the Marquis of ORMONDE, added a great deal to the dissatisfaction of the forces at Dublin, already enough uneasy at the want of money and other necessaries. Amidst this discontent, JONES was obliged to draw out above four thousand men, and to march with some artillery to the relief of Trim; being joined with two thousand more from other garrisons. On the approach of this army, PRESTON raised the siege; intending to get the start of them and to make an attempt on Dublin. But JONES, having received intelligence of his motion and guessing at his design, marched with so much expedition that he overtook him the next day at Dungan-hill; where though PRESTON had the advantages of the ground and sun and wind, and the English forces were in no order, yet his cavalry giving way at the first charge and breaking in upon his foot, the rout soon became so general, that above three thousand—BORLASE says above five—were put to the sword, and all their cannon, arms, and baggage taken. The English could not improve their victory for want of provisions; and the Irish General in his retreat burnt the places he had lately taken, and retired into Carlow to recruit his army. The Supreme Council, being alarmed with this great defeat, sent for O NEIL from Conaght, whither he had marched to

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take Sligo, and had not succeeded; but who laughed at PRESTON for being drawn to an engagement against his will. He therefore lay still, till JONES, finding he could not force him to a battle, had dismissed his troops to their former garrisons; and then he advanced towards Dublin, burning all the country up almost to the walls of the city. Having done this service, which put the inhabitants and the army there into the utmost difficulties, he retreated without any other action.

The cause of the Confederates was not more successful in the province of Munster. For tho' the republican Lord Lieutenant seems to have been quite inactive, at least in military matters, yet Lord INCHQUIN who had laid the counties of Clare and Limerick under contribution, already mentioned, had now treated Tipperary in the same manner without opposition. He had no artillery, nor any more bread than the soldiers carried in their knapsacks; but he was so alert, that after taking ten or twelve little castles and passing the river Sure, he took by stratagem the impregnable fort of Cahir, which had formerly held out for two months against twenty thousand men. It was the most important place in the whole province; commanding a pass over the river, and opening a way into Tipperary, which had always furnished the principal contributions to the Munster army of the rebels. But Lord INCHQUIN drew another important advantage from this acquisition: his army had nothing before to live upon but roots which they got out of the ground, and growing corn; for all the cattle had been driven away as they advanced: but now they ranged over the finest country in the kingdom, took great preys of cattle, and burnt above twenty thousand pounds worth of corn, whereof no use could be made, all the mills in the country being destroyed or burnt. The sudden reduction of the fort of Cahir, too strong to be retaken, struck all the neighbouring country with amazement and terror. Lord TAAFE, who commanded the rebel Munster army, withdrew from Cashell as Lord INCHQUIN approached it: and the inhabitants leaving the gates open and deserting their houses retired to the Cathedral. This was a strong and spacious building seated upon a rock near the walls of the city; which had of late been very well fortified, and provided by Lord TAAFE with a good garrison. It was no easy matter therefore to reduce it: and INCHQUIN offered before he attacked it to give

give leave for the garrison and inhabitants to depart, on condition they would advance three thousand pounds and a month's pay for his army. This proposal was rejected, and the place taken by storm: where a prodigious booty was found, and a most horrible carnage of the citizens and garrison ensued before his Lordship entered; who put a stop to it immediately. He might have made a further progress; for TAAFE all this while lay still, either not to hazard his forces, as Lord DIGBY had advised him, or for want of money to draw them together: but Lord INCHQUIN wanting provisions distributed his army into garrisons. A great quarrel had arisen between him and the other Generals in Munster about the right of command, when Lord LISLE as Lord Lieutenant was to depart. It could not be settled by the Commissioners from the Parliament; and the Parliament was too much engaged in their own disputes at that time to attend to any thing else. Though Lord INCHQUIN was therefore left in the military as well as civil command of the province—which as President from the Parliament he had a right to be—yet many suspicions of him were entertained.

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The inactivity of Lord TAAFE, whilst Lord INCHQUIN was making such an amazing progress, created a jealousy in the Nuncio that it was owing to a concert between them. This jealousy, and the clamour which the slaughter of near twenty Priests in the cathedral of Cashell had made amongst the Irish, obliged TAAFE to assemble his army, at a time when the approach of winter seemed to forbid any further action. Lord INCHQUIN being well informed of their motions drew his men out of their garrisons in order to oppose him; and in the middle of November, at a place called Knocknones, the two armies met and engaged. The left wing of the English was broke, and pursued with great slaughter; and their cannon and carriages possessed by the enemy. But the right wing commanded by Lord INCHQUIN, opposed the right wing of the Irish, led by TAAFE, with so much courage, that the Munster regiments of the Catholics, after a single fire, threw down their arms and ran away: nor could the General stop their flight though he slew several of them with his own hand. The right wing being thus victorious, the Commander hastened to assist and rally the left; where he recovered his artillery, killed seven hundred brave Highlanders who had possessed it and stood their ground without an Officer, and

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and gave quarter to the rest. The Irish lost all their arms, ammunition, and baggage, and about three thousand men slain in the action; wherein the flower of the rebel Munster army was cut in pieces. Colonel MONCK having been sent over to be Governour of Ulster for the Parliament, as JONES had been of Leinster, they joined their forces about this time, and took several castles and garrisons in the hands of the Irish, without opposition; and having secured great preys of cattle and other pillage, the former took his party back to Ulster, and the latter returned to Dublin. When the English Parliament were informed of the defeat of the two armies under TAAFE and PRESTON, they ordered a thousand pounds to JONES, the same sum with a letter of thanks to Lord INCHQUIN, and ten thousand pounds for the province of Munster. No other action happening for the remainder of this year in the field, we must turn to see what was done in the several Councils.

At Dublin, where the sovereign authority used to reside, there was not so much as the face of a State to be seen; but every body said what they thought, and did what they pleased. The Marquis of ORMONDE had not landed in England before the soldiers grew unruly, threatened the Parliament-commissioners, plundered the inhabitants promiscuously, and beat their officers, if they pretended to reprimand them. JONES finding himself unequal to the difficulties of his post, desired the Parliament to ease him of the burden of the Government, and to employ a person of quality and of honour to command in chief; as, he said, it must be the work of Nobles to reduce and settle the kingdom. The time indeed then was favourable for that work: the leading men of the Pale had offered JONES to make their submission, if they might enjoy the benefit of the late peace. The chief Nobility, Gentry, and Officers of Leinster and Munster, were ready to come in upon the same terms, if they might be allowed a moderate exercise of their religion: and even many of the Clergy, and all the cities and corporations in their quarters, were ready to join with them. All this on the part of the Catholics. The Protestants, except a few Sectaries, even those who had shewed the greatest aversion to the peace, being amazed and confounded with the strange turns they had seen in the religious and civil Government, and dreading from a little what a great deal would produce,

duce, above all things desired the return of the Marquis of ORMONDE, with the same power and authority that he had enjoyed before.

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The General Assembly met about the middle of November according to their adjournment. The nation had been so much devastated with the shocking depredations of the forces under O NEIL, and through the violent measures of the Nuncio and his Prelates, and their cause had suffered so much for their notorious breach of faith, and been so visibly punished in the opinion of many by the defeat of their two armies, that the members generally wished for peace, to put an end to their miseries, and to the apprehensions they had of greater. It was the resolution of many of the best and wisest of them to meddle no more in public affairs: but at the earnest entreaty of Lord MUSKERY and some others, they were persuaded to make one push more to save the nation from utter ruin; which could only be saved by getting a majority in the Assembly. To this purpose they were so assiduous, that notwithstanding the Supreme Council were for the most part the Nuncio's creatures, yet they succeeded in their design: but to balance this interest, he prevailed with the Council to summon by writs to the Assembly eleven Bishops, whom he had recommended to Rome; tho' none of them were consecrated, nor their Bulls come from thence. The Lawyers contended against their admission; alledging that by the law of the land, no Bishop, till he was consecrated and possessed of the temporalities of his see, could sit and vote in Parliament. The Nuncio pretended their Bulls were past, and threatened to consecrate them himself; but fearing this would not be approved at Rome, he ordered the Bishops elect to go and take their places in the Assembly, as having no doubt of their right, and see who would dare to turn them out. The Assembly, dreading the consequences of such a step, with men under the influence of a Papal Nuncio capable of every violence, acquiesced in their sitting; from whence he derived great advantage.

When the state of the nation came to be considered, it was soon perceived by every one and admitted by most, that there was no way of saving it but by a peace. The difficulty was how to treat of that affair, since there was no body in the kingdom, now the Lord Lieutenant was gone, who had

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had any power to treat with them on that subject. It was therefore resolved to send agents into France, and to the Queen and Prince of Wales for that purpose: but the Nuncio being afraid that such a deputation would end in bringing over the Prince and the Marquis of ORMONDE, which would blast all his measures, opposed it with all his might. Some of his party proposed the putting themselves under the protection of a foreign power, and the Nuncio pressed their choosing the Pope; though expressly contrary to the orders he had received from Rome. This motion however was strongly combated by the Nobility; and it was concluded to send agents to Rome, and Spain, as well as France. The Nuncio laboured hard to defer all the embassies except that to Rome; and when he could not carry the point, he insisted that the agents to Rome should depart first, and that those sent to France should remain there till they heard from the others at Rome. In this respect he was complied with: but still he had his terrors about the French negotiation; and what to do he could not tell. At last he thought of this device to frustrate it: he got the Prelates and Ecclesiasticks to his house, and engaged them to sign the following declaration; "that they would never consent that either the Queen or the Prince of Wales should be invited over, till the Pope's articles about religion should be secured to them; or that any one but a Roman Catholick should be Lord Lieutenant; or that the forts and armies of the Confederates should be delivered up to Hereticks; or that any peace should be made to lessen the present state and public exercise of their religion, let the Majority of the General Assembly determine on those points what they pleased." That so weak a man as the Nuncio, who was a stranger and had no connections in the country, should push the Irish to their destruction, in order to gratify his zeal and passion is no great wonder: religious zeal in the hands of a madman is a terrible engine: but that a set of Ecclesiasticks should avow more attachment to a foreign power than their rightful Prince, that they should have no feelings of humanity for their native country, and should resolve to deluge it in blood, in despite of that authority—the General Assembly—which they had themselves created, is such a stain upon their character as no time will efface: and if it were owing to principle, and not to wickedness, who would be of such a religion?

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When the agents on the several embassies were to be named, the titular Bishop of CLOGHER, a man of great influence among the Irish, was appointed to go with Lord MUSKERY and J. BROWN into France. The Bishop excused himself from the employment, as being particularly obnoxious to the Queen, and understanding neither French nor English: but the Assembly upon the question resolved that he should be sent: he then rose up in his place, and with an air of contempt told them positively that he would not go. This insult on the Assembly caused a great confusion; the Bishop was admonished not to stir out of the city; the Lawyers moved for his imprisonment; the Nuncio took fire at the breach of the immunities of the Clergy; PRESTON went to join his army for the support of the civil power, and O NEIL was sent for to assist the Bishop. At last the affair was compromised, and the Marquis of ANTRIM appointed to go in his room. A draught of the instructions for the agents being presented to the Assembly, the Clergy openly protested, that unless they might add to or expunge any of them, as they should think most serviceable to their religion, they would not consent to them. The session was just then concluding; and as the discussion of every article would take up too much time, it was referred to the Clergy and the Supreme Council to settle them. The party that laboured for peace did not trouble themselves so much about these instructions, as about the choice of the members of the Council which was to govern in the intervals of the Assembly. They proposed the same persons who had made the peace, and whom the Nuncio had imprisoned; and the Clergy absolutely excluded them. It was then proposed that an equal number should be taken out of the two parties that had been for and against the peace: and this appearing equitable without any inconvenience, as eight out of the twelve were necessary to make any order valid, the proposal was on both sides assented to. But as several of the members might be absent occasionally, and so there might not be a sufficient number to do any business, Lord MUSKERY proposed with great art, just as the Assembly was rising, that some supernumeraries might be appointed to supply the place of such as might be absent; upon which in a great hurry they named eight and forty, all of his own party. The Nuncio reproached the titular Bishop of FERN'S very severely for suffering himself to be over-reached in this regulation;

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The agents to Rome were charged with particular instructions from the Nuncio, and a joint petition signed by eight of their Bishops, as well as a letter from O NEIL to the Pope, to make RINUCCINI a Cardinal. The chief articles of their instructions were to insist on having always Catholic Lord Lieutenants and Generals, the continuance of their present Government till a peace was settled, and in case no such settlement could be procured, nor the nation preserved without a protector, to solicit his Holiness to accept the office. Besides the first part of these instructions, the agents to the Queen and Prince, by the management of the Nuncio, were charged with others: they were not to invite the Prince over to Ireland till all the articles of the peace were settled and received; neither were they to settle those relating to religion till they had heard the sentiments of the Pope about them from the agents that went to Rome. The Marquis of ANTRIM having different views from his colleagues chose to go to Paris by himself; full of hopes, from his own natural confidence and vanity, and from the favour he stood in with the Nuncio and the Clergy, that he should be made the Catholic Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But the Nuncio being determined to insist upon such an appointment, had recommended his thorough friend the Earl of GLAMORGAN for that post, and had sent him some time before to Paris to solicit it. We must now leave the agents to pursue their journey; and turn to the affairs which were carrying on in the mean time in Ireland.

The quarrel between Lord INCHQUIN, and Lord BROGHILL and other Parliament Generals, about the right of command in Munster, hath been already mentioned: and the Parliament not having supported him in his right, and having sent over but a small part of the sum that had been voted for his province, confirmed that dislike which he had long entertained of their proceedings. Indeed to say the truth, he had never liked them from the beginning. For though his ill treatment at Oxford about the Presidency had disgusted him with the Court, and the infidelity of the Irish in break-
 ing

ing the cessation in Munster, had driven him into the party of the Parliament, as we have seen, yet he was always strong in principle for the Monarchy, and the English constitution. When he found therefore that the Independents were attempting to destroy both, to dethrone the King, to level the Nobility, to extirpate the established Church, and to confound all orders and ranks of men, his principles got the better of his resentment, and he determined at all hazards to serve the King again. The Parliament had long entertained a suspicion of his disaffection, from the many free remonstrances he had made against their neglect of the Irish war and of his own army in particular; and this suspicion induced them probably to send Lord LISLE over for a year to reside as Lord Lieutenant in Munster. But when Lord INCHQUIN saw that the army in England had invaded the freedom and openly disobeyed the authority of the Parliament, he published a declaration against their proceedings; copies of which he sent to MONROE in Ulster, and to the State in Scotland, with letters proposing an union, and informing them of his resolution to obey no orders from the Parliament, as long as it continued to be overawed by the Army. With this view he had corresponded with the Marquis of ORMONDE whilst he was in England; and the Marquis at this time sent Colonel Barry over to him to concert measures with him, and to recommend his making a cessation with the Irish for some months, that he might be at leisure to advance his Majesty's service wherever it might be necessary. Besides the defeat he had given them under TAAFE, already mentioned, he had just now taken several castles and forts, laid great part of the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny under contribution, and had made incursions up to the very walls of the latter; which had put the Supreme Council in such a fright that they had thoughts of quitting it: And though the approach of their own armies under TAAFE and PRESTON had made them lay aside that design, yet they were terrified enough by their late danger to be willing to prevent the like again by a cessation; and even the Nuncio thought it necessary to make one, either with JONES, or INCHQUIN. The well affected part of the Council were for making it with the latter, as most likely to be serviceable to the King; and his Lordship had no other objection but to the time: because such a step would be an open breach with the Parliament, from whom he still expected supplies, and would discover his design too early.

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LORD INCHQUIN however had consented that Colonel BARRY should enter on the negotiation, when he received an account from the Marquis of ORMONDE that he was going to France: that he had concerted some measures with the Scots and the King's friends in England; and that he should repair again to Ireland, as soon as he had made a provision in France for the expedition. The Marquis had waited on his Majesty several times at Hampton Court; in one of which he tendered the King his commission of Lord Lieutenant, which had succeeded so unhappily in his hands: but the King refusing it, said, that either the Marquis himself, or no body, should use it hereafter with better success. In these conferences, he received a direction from his Majesty, in case the Independents should proceed to extremities with him, in what manner his Excellency should behave himself, and comply with the Irish; if he could dispose them to be instrumental in the King's delivery from his enemies. To that purpose he was also ordered to confer with the Scotch Commissioners then at London, to try if he could reduce that kingdom also to his Majesty's obedience, and by their joint assistance establish the tranquillity of his dominions. The Marquis staid in London upon the last design, till directions were given by the ruling powers to apprehend him; and then he secretly transported himself into France, where resolutions of the utmost importance to the King's service were to be taken. When Lord INCHQUIN received the account above-mentioned from him, he dispatched one of his Officers to Edinburgh to attend the resolutions of the Scotch Parliament, and to settle their joint concurrence in promoting his Majesty's service. But an accident prevented his waiting for their resolution, and obliged him to declare himself much sooner than he desired. Some of his officers suspecting his design, or hoping to recommend themselves to the republican governors, formed a plot to seize Corke, and Youghall, whilst the President was abroad with the army. With this view they had sent a ship to England for supplies, which were to be landed at Youghall; on the arrival of which they did not doubt to persuade the greatest part of his army to desert him. But the conspiracy was discovered and prevented; the conspirators were imprisoned, and the Parliament ships in those parts stood out to sea, and blocked up some of his harbours.

Though this proceeding against the imprisoned Officers was necessary to his security, yet it obliged him to discover himself before he was ready to execute his design. Matters being thus unavoidably precipitated, he gave immediate notice of it to the Marquis of ORMONDE; advising his landing between Kinsale and Limerick, and earnestly pressing his coming over with a supply of money, if he could, but if not, without it. Having dispatched this express, the next care of Lord INCHQUIN was to secure a cessation with the Irish for six months; for which he had before consented that Colonel BARRY should treat. The Colonel attended the Supreme Council with propositions upon that subject for a week; but did not find that readiness to it in them which he had expected. This was owing to the Nuncio; who but three weeks before advised the making a cessation with JONES, or INCHQUIN. But since he found that the latter had declared himself for the King, he opposed a cessation with him in the most violent manner; declaring it to be against his conscience, now his Lordship was returned to his loyalty. BARRY pressed the two Generals, Lord TAAFE and PRESTON, to settle the cessation by their own authority; but fearing their armies would not be proof against the excommunication which would be denounced, those Generals durst not attempt it without the concurrence of their Council. The Supreme Council were so pressed by them, and by the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, to promote it, that they agreed to treat: and in order to give the greater weight to their proceedings, they summoned the provincial Assemblies of Leinster and Munster, and the supernumerary members added to the Supreme Council in case of absence, to give their opinion on this subject. These bodies, having considered the present state of their affairs, and the condition of the two provinces above-mentioned, resolved unanimously that they were too weak to oppose JONES, and INCHQUIN; and therefore that a cessation with the latter was necessary; especially since he had declared for the King, as he was a native, and had an estate in the kingdom, and consequently was better disposed than JONES to consult its interest.

No sooner was the Nuncio informed of this resolution, than he posted away to Kilkenny to argue against it. But he was driven to such shifts to make an opposition to it, that he was obliged to forget that he had himself recommended

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CHARLES I. recommended a cessation to them just before; and so now argued that it was unlawful to make truces with Hereticks, and to leave any churches in the hands of Protestants. But this was not all: he was more ridiculous yet than this. He had before made Lord INCHQUIN's return to his loyalty the only objection to a cessation with him; and now his other reason for opposing it, besides what hath been mentioned, was, that the Marquis of ORMONDE, INCHQUIN, and Colonel BARRY, were secretly in the interest of the Parliament, though they appeared so zealous for the King. He then appealed to the two Generals whether there was any necessity for a truce; and they both giving it against him, and their Council sending agents to Lord INCHQUIN to conclude it, the Nuncio had recourse to his usual practice. He got the Catholic Bishops to his house: and undertaking to pay O NEIL's army out of the Pope's money, which army, he said, was able to destroy both INCHQUIN's, and JONES's, and that he would himself bear the burden of the Munster war, he prevailed with them to sign a remonstrance against the cessation. Five of these, with two others, signed another paper; delegating their power to the Nuncio and four Prelates more, to do in their absence what they themselves might do in matters of religion, in the declaration against the cessation, and in confirming the declaration by ecclesiastical censures.

The agents which had been sent to Lord INCHQUIN returned without concluding the treaty, not being able to adjust the quarters for both parties: but TAAFE made a truce with him for fourteen days; and the Munster Assembly then sitting wrote a letter to their Council, insisting on the cessations being no longer delayed on a trifling dispute of two baronies. The Supreme Council were apprehensive from this letter, that if the cessation was delayed the Munster Gentlemen would immediately make a private agreement with INCHQUIN, which would ruin the confederacy. On this apprehension they consulted their Bishops; who had no expedient to offer but making a cessation with JONES, and calling O NEIL into Munster to oppose Lord INCHQUIN. The first part had been obviated already in answer to the Nuncio; and O NEIL had made such havock in Leinster, that the people of Munster would as soon have admitted a body of Tartars as his army. However if the Clergy could shew any way how an offensive war

war could be carried on in one province, and a defensive in the other, their Council offered to decline the cessation: but the Bishops confessing themselves unable to shew any such way, the Council sent their agents again to renew the treaty. The Nuncio, finding this resolution taken, stole privately from Kilkenny, and went to O NEIL. The Supreme Council sent two deputies to invite him back; and to propose to him, if he would lend them ten thousand pounds, to break off the treaty, and lay siege to Dublin. But he had no money, nor expectation of any; and yet he insisted that Lord TAAFE and PRESTON should be displaced, and the Ulster army regularly paid, and be assigned good quarters. Other extravagant propositions of submitting every transaction civil and military to the Clergy, convincing the Supreme Council that he was obstinately determined to go on in his own way, they confirmed the articles of the cessation agreed on by their agents on the twentieth of May, with a clause of mutual assistance against all such as should oppose it by force of arms; by that limitation not including the Clergy. For nothing could bring these people yet from the slavish submission of all that is dear to men, which they paid to their Ecclesiasticks.

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The Nuncio pursued his usual methods: he caused the declaration which the Bishops had signed against the cessation to be fixed on the doors of the Cathedral at Kilkenny; from whence it was pulled down by DR. FENNEL. He summoned the four Prelates on whom the others had delegated their power; but three of them excused their coming, and recommended pacific measures; declaring for the cessation, of which he had imposed upon them a false account. Failing of this support, he called three others to him in their stead, and issued out an excommunication against all that adhered to or favoured the cessation: and interdicting all cities, towns, and places which had received it, forbade all divine offices to be performed in them. The man was weak and vain enough to expect, that these censures would have produced the same effect as those against the peace two years before: but the times, and circumstances were altered; and he had not sense or temper enough to consider this difference, before he took a step which exposed him to contempt, and though it contradicted the instructions he had received from Rome. He had thundered out his censures on such trifling occasions,

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occasions, in civil and private concerns relating only to himself, that he had made them so cheap as they were but little regarded. Besides, in the former interdict and excommunication he was joined by several in a public congregation: he had now but four to support him, called privately together; and eight others had signed a paper justifying the cessation. On the thirty first of May, the Supreme Council appealed in form against his censures; and were joined by two titular Archbishops, twelve Bishops, and all the secular Clergy in their dioceses, by all the Jesuits, Carmelites, and five hundred of the Franciscans: the number, learning, zeal, and diligence of these Religious, in preaching and other applications, in a great measure defeated the Nuncio's measures, and brought his party into discredit. It was likewise of some consequence that he had no money left; and he did not know how to raise any. But in truth, the whole nation had suffered so much by the divisions and miseries, which a breach of the peace, and the violent arbitrary measures of the Nuncio, had occasioned, that the people were generally disposed to pacific counsels. Lord TAAFE had so modelled his army, that all his Officers were excommunication proof. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE had a body of three thousand of the same temper: and if PRESTON and his Officers were not so hardened, they were better united than they had been, and were resolved to carry their point. They were encamped at Roscrea when the censures were published; and might easily have taken the Nuncio, and O NEIL, who were at Maryborough with only eight hundred men. But they contented themselves, in answer to his solicitations of standing by him, to desire he would not trouble them with any more letters, because they were determined to observe no orders but what came from the Supreme Council, whom they were sworn to obey; and then marched to Kilkenny. In this situation we must leave the affairs of Ireland for the present, in order to look into the negotiations which were carrying on by the agents in France, with the Queen, and the Prince of Wales.

It was the latter end of March when they arrived at the Court at St. Germans; and besides the public instructions which have been mentioned, Lord MUSKERY and MR. BROWN had some private directions signed by Lord TAAFE, and PRESTON; to assure her Majesty and the Prince, of their unalterable fidelity and attachment to the Crown, and of their power, if they were properly

properly supported by the royal authority, to destroy the party that endeavoured to introduce a foreign jurisdiction: but as there was no way so likely to reduce their country under the King's obedience, and to make it useful to him, as the Prince's coming over with money, and arms, and a resolution to gratify the moderate men of their party, so if his Royal Highness would condescend to take that measure, the Generals engaged to put such a body of forces under his command, as would not only settle Ireland, but afford such assistance also to England as might help to restore his Majesty to his rights. These were the instructions which the two agents just mentioned had most at heart: but they were obliged to join with the Marquis of ANTRIM in presenting the public propositions to the Queen, with which they were charged. They were to make no demand about religion till they heard from Rome; and their other propositions were wild and extravagant, but had nothing new in them. The Queen received the propositions very graciously, and desired time to consider them. The Marquis of ORMONDE was very luckily arrived at Paris a little before the agents; to whom she communicated their propositions, and by whose advice she determined to give her answer; so that what the King had absolutely refused, she might not be drawn in to grant. The advice given by the Marquis, was to express in strong general terms the King's gracious inclinations to the settlement of that kingdom, on such conditions civil and religious as should satisfy those who desired a peace. A more particular answer, till the success of other negotiations with the Scots and INCHQUIN were known, his Lordship thought very improper. For it was not only uncertain, whether any concessions in answer to their propositions would satisfy, and whether they would be of any use, but it was also certain that they would be canvassed in their General Assembly, and be objected to by those whose ambitions were not gratified. To such a general answer there could be no exception taken by the agents; who had declared they were not ready to make their demands on the point of religion, till they had heard from Rome; though the point of the greatest difficulty of all, and on account of which, they said, the late peace was broken. The Marquis thought it expedient however to let them know, that the King would not admit of the Pope's interposition in reconciling the difference between his Majesty and his subjects; lest no objection being made to it, the disaffected might have a

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plausible excuse for their delay, when any concessions should be made them. But it is probable that this last advice, which was so much for the King's honour to be taken, did not suit with the Queen's bigotry, and her reverence for the Holy See; which had always been such a dead weight in his Majesty's counsels against his interest. For the advice was not pursued.

On the tenth of May, the Irish agents had an audience of the Queen; in which she desired to know, whether they were ready to make their proposals about religion, and whether they had power to alter, or recede from the propositions they had given in, or could conclude upon them. The Marquis of ANTRIM answered in the name of the rest, that they were not ready to propose any certainty about religion, being directed in their instructions to be guided in that particular by the Pope: but that they expected to hear very speedily from their agents at Rome upon that point; and if her Majesty would be pleased to declare what she would grant in that particular, they were in hopes to make use of that concession for the King's service. As to the other propositions they were ready to proceed upon them whenever they were required. In three days after, the Queen dismissed them with an answer in writing, signed at the top by herself, and at the bottom by the Prince of Wales. In this paper, after reminding them very gently of their former infidelity in breaking the late peace, to which if the Catholics had submitted according to their duty, it would have put them by this time in a happy state, "there was an assurance of great readiness to give them all the satisfaction in the power of the Queen, and Prince, upon their propositions, consistently with the honour and interest of his Majesty: but as the agents were neither ready to make their proposals about religion, nor had such powers to alter, recede, or conclude upon the other points, as were necessary for a final settlement of their business, a more particular and conclusive answer could not be given. Nothing more could reasonably be expected now, but to assure them that the Queen and Prince would speedily give a power to such as they should approve of, to receive upon the place the full propositions of the Confederates, as well concerning religion and other public interests, as private grievances; who should be instructed to condescend to whatever might consist with justice, and the King's honour and interest, and thereupon to conclude finally with them."

It

It was obvious to common sense that the person to be empowered could be no other than the Marquis of ORMONDE; who was still Lord Lieutenant by the King's commission, and had authority under his Majesty's hand in his letters, though not in form under the great seal, to obey any directions he should receive from the Queen, and Prince of Wales, relating to Ireland; and which indeed was the only power which either of them had to give any directions. But it was thought prudential not to declare this, and to leave a door open for the Marquis of ANTRIM's imagination, to conceive from the favour he was in with the Queen—who had too good an opinion of him, says Lord CLARENDON—that he should be the great personage thus to be empowered. The two other Commissioners pressed privately, it being contrary to their instructions, for the Prince's going over; in order to make good Lord CLANRICARDE's engagement—already mentioned—and to reside among the Confederates as their Governour, till every thing could be settled by Parliament. They did not fail to set out the happy success which must attend this measure, in breaking all the factions, and uniting the whole nation in his Majesty's interest. But if this request was not complied with, which they thought necessary to prevent the country from being wasted in the summer by war, and by famine in the winter, it was then desired, that some eminent person acceptable to the nation might be deputed to command in chief, and make a peace. The Marquis of ORMONDE being brother in law to one of the agents, and highly esteemed by the other, they were let into the secret that he was the person intended to be sent: and being assured that he should go over as soon as they could procure aids from the Court of France, the agents left Paris very well satisfied with their negotiation. We must now turn to other affairs.

The King was at this time under confinement in the isle of Wight; the Parliament was governed entirely by the army; and no care was taken by either for the relief of Ireland. Whilst the Parliament of Scotland were debating whether they should enter into the engagement, which their Commissioners at London had made with the Marquis of ORMONDE for the King's service, his Lordship was endeavouring to procure supplies of arms and money from MAZARIN, in order to return to Ireland, where his presence was so much called for. The Cardinal was ready at the first

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instance to make ample promises of every thing he desired: and the Marquis, who did not know him, and was himself free from all dissimulation, thought he had nothing to do but to appoint a place for his embarkation where those supplies might be sent to meet him. In this sanguine expectation, he gave notice to Lord INCHQUIN and his other friends, that he should soon be with them in Ireland, with a notable supply of money, arms, ammunition, and some good officers; and accordingly prepared his own accommodations. But he had cause soon to find that there were but little hopes to be entertained of assistance from that quarter. When he informed Lord INCHQUIN of his disappointment, upon whom his greatest dependance was in Ireland, his Lordship pressed him very earnestly to come over, though without any assistance; and in the mean time that his Excellency should inform his friends among the Irish, who disliked the Nuncio, to consult secretly with his Lordship for the King's service, to which they did not know that he was now inclined. Though he was at this time so solicitous for the Lord Lieutenant's coming over, even without assistance, yet he had at first insisted on his Excellency's bringing six thousand pounds; as the lowest sum that was necessary to provide for his forces, and to preserve their affections entire for his Majesty's interest. In order therefore that these forces should not be disappointed of their relief, the Marquis of ORMONDE, besides his application to the French Minister, moved the Court of S. Germain's to furnish the necessary supplies, as well as the instructions for his expedition to Ireland. The little money the Queen had at command was in the hands of Lord JERMYN, who, let what would happen, was always determined not to want himself; and was averse therefore to part with any sums that might expose the Queen's Court to difficulties, no matter what were the distresses of the public service. It was for this reason the beginning of August, before the Marquis could receive any money to begin his journey: even then the whole sum that was promised, for it was not all then paid, was only three thousand six hundred pistoles; and he was obliged to leave SR. G. HAMILTON behind to receive the remainder. We must leave him under the mortification of being obliged to stay some weeks at Havre-de-Grace, and attend to what had passed in Ireland.

The Nuncio, and O NEIL, having been in some danger, as it hath been said, of a surprise at Maryborough, the latter retired into Conaght and Ulster, where most of his forces were then quartered, in order to strengthen his army. The Nuncio made his retreat first to Athlone, and thence to Galway; where the Mayor had attempted to proclaim the cessation, but was hindered by the mob. All the other great towns however in the Irish quarters, except Wexford which was presently reduced, received it very readily. The Nuncio, seeing those censures now despised which had formerly carried all before them, endeavoured to make them more effectual by engaging the Clergy to confirm them in a body. With this view, he called a synod to meet at Galway in the middle of August; but the Supreme Council forbidding the Clergy to repair thither, and ordering all civil and military officers to stop their passage, he could not get a sufficient number of them together. This step enraged him: and finding the inhabitants for the most part approving the cessation, he put an interdict on the churches and chapels there, causing the doors to be shut up: but the titular Archbishop of Tuam procured them to be opened by force, which created such a bustle that one or two people were killed. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE made a paper war upon the Nuncio, in remonstrances, and admonitions; but these being ineffectual to convince him, though he could not answer them, his Lordship shut him up in Galway, by besieging it. Besides his own forces, the Marquis had the command of all the confederate army in Conaght conferred upon him; and, being joined by some of Lord INCHQUIN's army, had lately taken the castle of Athlone. Having afterwards recovered some other castles which O NEIL had taken, he drew his forces about Galway, hindering all access of provisions by land and water; so that the besieged were forced to proclaim the cessation, to pay a considerable sum of money, and to renounce the Nuncio and his adherents.

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In the beginning of September, the General Assembly of the Catholics met at Kilkenny; and consisted mostly of Members that were well disposed to a peace. They had readily approved a cessation with Lord INCHQUIN as absolutely necessary to their safety; and returned the Supreme Council thanks for their conduct in that affair. They had invited the Nuncio and his adherents to pacific measures; but he still exerted himself at Galway

and

CHARLES I. and other places to raise new disturbances. He published a declaration,
A. 1648. "that it was a mortal sin and perjury to suffer the cessation to be proclaimed, and that all persons were obliged to lose both lives, goods, liberties, and every thing that was dear to them in this world, rather than obey it." In answer to this, the Assembly published a counter declaration; in which they unanimously condemned the Nuncio's, "as wicked, malicious, traiterous, repugnant to all laws divine and human, and tending to the utter subversion of the Government in church and state." On the last day of September, they publicly proclaimed O NEIL a rebel and traitor; and yet they were still afraid of his power, and desirous to keep measures with the Clergy. For after this proclamation, he and his principal officers joined in a letter to the Assembly, desiring a safe conduct for a certain number of them to lay their grievances before the Assembly, and to impeach some of the members of the Supreme Council: and notwithstanding the insolence of this application, it was with the utmost difficulty that Lord TAAFE could prevent their receiving into their protection a proclaimed traitor; and tho' by remonstrating against him freely, he succeeded so far as to get O NEIL himself, and such as had been proclaimed rebels, excluded out of the safe conduct, yet it was granted to any other four of his officers.

It is pretty clear from this proceeding of the Assembly, if they had not been supported by the additional forces of Lord INCHQUIN and the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, that O NEIL, and the Nuncio would have carried their point, as they did before. But the Lord Lieutenant's arrival at this time, and some successes in Wexford, gave the Assembly fresh courage. The Marquis of ANTRIM was returned from the negotiation in France, highly piqued and disappointed at not being made Lord Lieutenant; of which his vanity had led him to be very desirous, and his own conceit, and the Nuncio's flattery, very confident. In resentment of this neglect, he set himself to oppose the cessation with a regiment of Highlanders which he had brought the year before from Scotland, and with the Cavenaghs, and Byrnes, in the county of Wexford. But they were totally routed by some of the forces of the Confederates; and ANTRIM himself went to Dublin, and entered into measures with JONES, who escorted him into Ulster. The Catholics in that province chose him for their General in chief; and O
 NEIL

NEIL submitted to act under him as his Lieutenant: but not performing the mighty promises he had made to bring all the Gentlemen of the North into their party, the good understanding between him and O NEIL was soon at an end; he was turned out of his command, despised by all the world, and found incapable of doing either good or harm but in the odious way of treachery. The Assembly had broke the ice with O NEIL, as we have seen; and they now assumed courage enough, upon the Marquis of ORMONDE's arrival, to draw up a charge against the Nuncio, for "the manifold oppressions, transcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had been continually for three years past acting within the kingdom, to the unspeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the See of Rome." With this charge, SR. R. BLAKE the chairman of the Assembly, a man of great activity, prudence, and integrity, sent him an admonition to repair to Rome for his defence against it, and to intermeddle no more in the affairs of Ireland. Copies of these papers were at the same time sent to the Mayor of Galway; with express directions on pain of high treason to hold no correspondence with, nor to favour nor obey any censures, decrees, or public acts of the Nuncio, and his adherents.

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Colonel JONES having intelligence of these distractions among the rebels, thought it time to be stirring out; and therefore sent some of his forces to recover a few small garrisons which had formerly been surprised by the Irish. But he was afraid to stir himself, lest some of his principal officers, who had served under the Marquis of ORMONDE, and still retained their affection to him, should deliver up Dublin to his Excellency, then every day expected. Wherefore JONES, for the better security of the place when he should be absent, seized the principal officers whom he suspected, and sent them prisoners into England; upon no other grounds than his own jealousy and misrule; securing several others in the castle. The Scots, having weakened the garrisons of Belfast, Colerain, and Carrickfergus, in order to join their national troops that were sent into England, MONCK, who had been made Governour of Ulster by the Parliament, formed a scheme to surprise those towns: indeed he surprised Carrickfergus so effectually, that coming to it before break of day, and finding the gates open, he entered without resistance,

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resistance, and seized Major General MONROE, whom he sent prisoner into England, and whom the Parliament shut up in the Tower. The other two towns surrendered without any trouble. At the same time, he established garrisons on the frontiers of Ulster, to prevent the incursions of the Irish; and gave the quarters the Scots had, to such of the old British as he found well affected to the English Parliament. For these services they sent him five hundred pounds, made him Governour of Carrickfergus, and remitted five thousand pounds to be equally distributed to the forces in Conaght and Ulster.

In the mean time O NEIL assembled his army, and made an offer to agree with Lord INCHQUIN to leave all Munster to him, if his Lordship would not disturb him in the other provinces; but his offer was rejected. He then made a cessation with JONES; who was not so sure of his own army as he wished, and was willing enough to encourage the Irish to destroy one another. O NEIL was enabled by this cessation to secure the families and herds of his Creaghts, and to march again with all his forces into Leinster. But being disappointed of his design to surprise Kilkenny and to seize the Supreme Council, which some had undertaken to betray to him and were discovered, he wasted the lands of Lord MOUNTGARRET, took the castle of Nenagh, and found means to surprise fort Falkland on the side of the Shannon. From thence he marched to the relief of Athy, then distressed by PRESTON, who on his approach raised the siege. He was intending to prosecute the war on that side, in order to favour JONES's reduction of Ballysonan and other places; when an express brought him word that Lord INCHQUIN had recovered Nenagh, and blocked up fort Falkland. Upon this advice, he marched back with all expedition to Bal-laghmore—since called OWEN ROE's pass—and there encamped, with a design to cut off Lord INCHQUIN's provisions, and to starve his army. In this manner they lay near one another without any action for a fortnight; when O NEIL was caught in the snare he had laid for another. For the Marquis of CLANRICARDE coming up to the assistance of Lord INCHQUIN, O NEIL was streightened to such a degree, that his army must literally have been famished, if they had not met with some green corn to subsist on, and which was their only sustenance. Lord INCHQUIN offered him battle; but

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but notwithstanding his distress he refused it, being much weaker in horse than his enemy, and in great want of powder. Whilst the two armies were facing one another, a party of four hundred horse fell upon his camp, and was near bringing off his artillery. Upon this Lord INCHQUIN formed a design to attack his camp before day; but O NEIL having notice of it marched off in the night, leaving an empty camp, and with a considerable loss retired into the county of Cavan; where he continued till the spring without any action, except laying part of Westmeath under contribution.

In this situation of affairs, on the last day of September, the Marquis of ORMONDE returned to Ireland, and landed at Cork; where he was received with all the respect due to the dignity of a Lord Lieutenant, by the Major General, and the officers left there by Lord INCHQUIN, who was not then returned from his expedition against O NEIL. Of the money which he had received in France, to prepare ships, and ammunition, and arms for this expedition, he had but thirty pistoles when he landed left in his pocket. Unqualified to answer the expectation of a needy army, or to remove their wants, he was forced to pay them with promises, and by pretending to have bills of exchange on merchants at other ports—a stratagem suggested by Lord INCHQUIN—till he could raise some money on his own credit to satisfy them. A part of the English fleet had revolted from the Parliament; and the Prince of Wales, to whom they had surrendered, had assured the Marquis of their being sent to some of the ports of Munster, victualled and paid for four months; and that they should convoy a number of merchant ships laden with corn, under a dearth of which the province and the army suffered extremely. The fleet would not only have given a great countenance to the service, but by bringing in of prizes continually would have contributed also to the relief of a wasted country.

The King was engaged at this time in the treaty with the Parliament in the isle of Wight; and on the ninth day of October, the Commissioners had desired his Majesty to give his assent to the propositions concerning Ireland: particularly that an act of Parliament should be passed, “to declare and make void the cessation of Ireland, and all treaties and conclusions of peace, or any articles thereupon with the rebels, without the consent of

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both

CHARLES I. both Houses of Parliament; and to settle the prosecution of the war in Ireland in both Houses of Parliament in England to be managed by them; and his Majesty to assist, and to do no act to discountenance or molest them therein:" to which proposition his Majesty gave his consent as desired. But on the next day after presenting this proposition, and his consenting to it, the King wrote the following letter to the Marquis of ORMONDE; to be found in CARTE's collection.

ORMONDE,

Left you might be misled by false rumors, I have thought fit by this to tell you my true condition. I am here in a treaty, but such a one, as if I yield not to all that is proposed to me, I must be a close prisoner, being still under restraint. Wherefore I must command you two things: first to obey all my wife's commands; then not to obey any public command of mine until I send you word I am free from restraint. Lastly be not startled at my great concessions concerning Ireland; for that they will come to nothing. This is all at this time from

Your most real, faithful, constant friend,

Newport in the isle of Wight,
Oct. 10, 1648.

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Though this letter may seem a contradiction to the proposition which the King had agreed to the day before, yet it must be observed in his favour, that he had stipulated with the Parliament at the entering of this treaty, that nothing should be binding upon him or made use of to his prejudice, unless all was concluded; and it was easy enough for him to see by this time, that nothing was less intended by the Parliament than a peace. Here was a fresh authority however for the Marquis of ORMONDE to obey the directions he should receive from the Queen; which, upon his reassuming his post of Lord Lieutenant, and his power of making a treaty with the Irish being dissolved by the late peace, seemed to be necessary: for this power therefore he had applied to the King, by letter; but his Majesty had not received the application when he wrote the Marquis the letter above. The only possible means of extricating the King out of his present difficulties—and they

they seem not to have been very probable—was uniting all Ireland under his obedience. To this end the Marquis of ORMONDE returned thither; after having settled with the Scotch Commissioners and some of his Majesty's friends in England, a conjunction of their forces when the army from Scotland for the King's service should arrive in England. In a few days after the Marquis landed, he published a declaration, in order to satisfy the army under Lord INCHQUIN, and the Protestants in the province of Munster. After mentioning his delivering up Dublin to the Parliament, in hopes that upon a happy composition of affairs then expected it might revert to his Majesty, but was now unhappily devolved on those who intended to subvert the monarchy, the Marquis then proceeds to mention in the declaration, the sense he had of the merit of that army in disclaiming all obedience to those usurped powers, and the King's gracious acceptance of their fidelity to him. Out of a special regard therefore to their integrity and to their former sufferings, and out of a desire to prevent all distrust from former differences of judgment, his Excellency thought himself obliged thus publicly to declare, that he was qualified with special authority from his Majesty to assure them, that no distinction should be made on any such account, but that all persons now engaged in the cause should be treated with equal regard and favour. Moreover, he assured them on his own part, that no past difference of action or opinion should be remembered by him to the prejudice of any member of the army; but that he would do to every one of them all the good that was in his power, use his utmost diligence to provide comfortably for their subsistence, and in return expected nothing but an honest perseverance in their present engagement to serve the King with alacrity and affection.

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Having published this declaration, the Marquis signified to the General Assembly—sitting then, as we have seen, at Kilkenny—that he was arrived with power to treat and conclude a peace with the Confederate Catholics; and pursuant to the paper delivered to their agents at S. Germain's, that he expected to receive deputies and propositions from them at his house at Carrick. This place lying nearer to Kilkenny, than Corke where he had landed, and the King's service requiring the greatest dispatch possible, his Excellency thought to be fitter for the place of treaty; his late experience

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rience having convinced him, that he could not conclude it effectually with any other power than the representative body of the Confederates. On the eighteenth of September, they appointed their Commissioners: though the Marquis had always objected against treating with Ecclesiasticks, and had obliged them before to recede in that point, yet they named a Bishop in the commission; and the Marquis, being determined to comply with them in what he could, hoping to make them moderate on their side with him, consented. But instead of this moderation, they were resolved to proceed upon the plan of former Assemblies, and insisted on the same propositions that had been sent by their agents to France and Rome; that if they were rejected they might at least say they had endeavoured to obtain them.

The stiffness of the General Assembly in returning the same propositions that had been offered and refused, was no good presage to the Lord Lieutenant that he should be able to conclude such a treaty with them on the article of religion, as would give them contentment, and not disgust the Protestants: and yet such was the situation of public affairs, that without an union of both these, nothing could be done for the King's service. The insurrections raised in his favour in England since his confinement were all quelled; and the army and Independents were absolute masters of the kingdom. The forces that had marched from Scotland under Duke HAMILTON, were either cut off, or sold to serve abroad. Colonel MONCK had got possession of all the North of Ireland, and of all the forts in Ulster that were in Protestant hands; and the Munster forces under Lord INCHQUIN were far from being all of them thoroughly pleased. Among the Officers of his horse indeed there were great caballing and disaffection; intending to march in a body into Leinster to join with JONES, and if they could not make their way to his quarters, to go to O NEIL. But Lord INCHQUIN having discovered the plot, and sent notice of it to the Marquis of ORMONDE, care was taken to stop their passage; and finding then that their scheme was frustrated, the Officers thought it the best way to submit, to profess a repentance for their past unsteadiness, and promise future constancy. Lord INCHQUIN thought it improper to use severity towards them at that juncture, whilst there was a general uneasiness in his forces, on account of some unfavourable reports about the terms of the peace: wherefore he pressed the

the Marquis of ORMONDE in the strongest manner to repair immediately to his assistance, either to quiet the distraction of his forces, or to enable him to secure the heads of the faction against the peace.

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The Marquis of ORMONDE was at that time at Kilkenny, whither the Assembly had invited him for the quicker dispatch of the treaty; and was debating and adjusting the propositions of the Irish with great hopes of success. This importunity therefore of Lord INCHQUIN threw him into great perplexity. If he did not go to satisfy the officers, that the terms of the peace in agitation were honourable to the King, and safe for his Protestant subjects, that army might be lost, or thrown into a confusion that would be irretrievable. On the other hand, if he put such a sudden delay to the treaty when the Assembly were in so good a temper, the Confederates might imagine there was no intention of concluding any agreement with them, or that it was to give way to contenting the army, which might incline them to dissolve the Assembly; and then all thoughts of coming to a peace with the Irish must be laid aside for ever. On a thorough deliberation within himself, he determined to risk the delay of the treaty, rather than the army should be lost: and till he could get to Corke, he advised Lord INCHQUIN to provide for the removal of those Officers who had occasioned the late disturbance, that they might not have it in their power to make another; for which no doubt they were watching a more convenient opportunity. This removal, he said, would facilitate the satisfaction of the well disposed; and was necessary for their own security, as well as to convince the Confederates of the sincerity of their proceedings with them. To these the Marquis represented the necessity of giving contentment to the army: and such were his admirable talents of persuasion, and so great was the credit which the steadiness and fidelity of his transactions with them had gained him with the principal persons of that body, as that he prevailed with them to consent to the delay of the treaty for fourteen days.

Conformably to this agreement the Assembly engaged to continue sitting during the recess; and ordered that no member should depart out of the city without leave of the chairman, nor any leave be given but on a promise in writing to return by the end of that time. At this juncture, arrived the
titular

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A. 1648. sent from Rome, with an account of their negotiation at that court. Little more was contained in it, than that having represented to his Holiness the deplorable condition of their kingdom, the little hopes they had of preserving either their religion or their nation without good supplies, and the reason they had to expect them from him, according to his Nuncio's engagement to their Assembly, they waited four months before they could get any answer at all. At last upon their importunity, they were told that the Pope had as yet received no account how the money was disposed of that he had already sent; that there was a great dearth of corn about Rome which he must supply; that the treasury was empty, the See in debt, and the Cardinals scarce able to maintain their families; therefore no supply could be expected there: that if the Nuncio had engaged for any such thing, he had done it without any commission, his Holiness being resolved to give no money on the event of war; and that, as it was not proper for him to appear in expressing his sense of the conditions fit to be demanded for their religion, so he left them at liberty to proceed as best suited the good of the kingdom. This account putting an end to all expectations of foreign succours, occasioned very serious reflexions on their condition; and disposed every one to moderate their propositions for a peace so necessary to their preservation.

When the Marquis of ORMONDE got to Corke, he used his endeavours so successfully in conjunction with Lord INCHQUIN, that they quieted entirely the distractions of the army. What facilitated their work, was the arrival of instructions and dispatches from the Prince of Wales; in which there was an assurance that the fleet was coming into those parts with supplies of ammunition and provision for the forces there. This of itself was sufficient to raise the spirits of the soldiery: but when it was added, that the Duke of YORK would come with the fleet, and the Prince himself probably after as soon as he had recovered strength enough from the small pox, there was no more fear of a mutiny or disaffection among the forces. The coming of the Prince was on many accounts of so much advantage, that the Marquis of ORMONDE thought it his duty to press it at this time very warmly; but, as the reader will find, it did not take place. His Excellency

cellency leaving the Munster army very well pacified, returned within the time he had appointed to Kilkenny. But he was immediately taken so ill, that he could not give in his answer to the propositions that had been delivered till the nineteenth of December. In the interim he received an answer to the application he had made to the King for a fresh authority, in the following letter, in CARTE's collection.

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ORMONDE,

I hope before this, mine of the tenth of this month will have come to your hands. I sent it by the way of France. This is not only to confirm the contents of that, but also to approve of certain commands to you: likewise to command you to prosecute certain instructions, until I shall under my own hand give you other commands: And though you will hear that this treaty is near, or at least most likely to be concluded, yet believe it not; but pursue the way you are in with all possible vigour. Deliver also that my command to all your friends, but not in a public way, because otherwise it may be inconvenient to me, and particularly to INCHQUIN. So being confident of your punctual observance of these my directions, I rest

Your most real, faithful, constant friend,

Newport Saturday
28th Oct. 1648.

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When the Parliament had received intelligence, that the Marquis of ORMONDE was arrived in Ireland with a power to treat and conclude a peace with the Irish rebels, the Commissioners attending the King desired his Majesty's public declaration against any such power, and against the proceedings of the said Lord ORMONDE. To this the King replied, "that since the first votes passed for the treaty—in August—he had not transacted any affairs concerning Ireland, but with you the Commissioners in relation to the treaty itself." If this is not a contradiction to the letter above, and to the other of the tenth of the same month before recited, it is surely a very deceitful equivocation unworthy of a King, and inconsistent with the character

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Among these propositions there were some that were new — such as insisting that the succeeding Lieutenants should be Roman Catholics — others that were impossible to be assented to, and a great many that were unreasonable. This was owing to the different passions, humours, interests, and designs of the several persons who composed the Assembly: and though the majority were well enough inclined to peace, yet there were several who endeavoured all they could to obstruct it; and therefore got such propositions to be inserted as they knew would not be granted. But the report made by the agents of the negotiation at Rome had contributed very much to lower the pretensions of the Confederates. The Marquis of ORMONDE, when he gave his answer, agreed to repeal the penal statutes which restrained the Papists from the free exercise of their religion, and to exempt them from the oath of supremacy: And though he did not consent to grant them the churches and benefices of which they were in possession, yet he assured them that they should not be molested, nor the exercise of their jurisdiction restrained, till his Majesty, upon a full consideration of their desires in a free Parliament in that kingdom, should declare his further pleasure. The Assembly voted this answer unsatisfactory; and it was debated several days between the Lord Lieutenant and the Commissioners, with so much obstinacy on their side, that he almost despaired of any success. This led him to remonstrate with them very freely on their desperate situation, without any visible human means, except by a peace, of being saved from

from utter destruction; and that whosoever retarded or opposed it upon any pretence, contributed as much as in them lay, if not maliciously, yet for selfish and ambitious ends, to the subversion of monarchy, the extirpation of Popery, and the slavery of the kingdom to an usurped power.

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It may be doubted whether this representation from the Marquis, which contained some remembrance also of their past behaviour, and which he pressed home upon their consciences, would have had the effect which he desired: but the remonstrance of the English army about a month before, which had been reprinted and sent by Lord INCHQUIN to Kilkenny, and which required the Parliament to bring the King to justice, and to establish anarchy, had opened their eyes; and they began then to see their ruin in the destruction of the King. A remonstrance, so openly avowing the subversion of every thing that had been known for government in these nations, raised the utmost abhorrence in all parties. Its effect in Ireland was very considerable: it not only silenced all complaints in the Protestant army, but it removed most of the difficulties, which the Papists, in their zeal and bigotry for their religion, had thrown in the way of peace. The Assembly therefore “in consideration of his Majesty’s present condition, and their own hearty desires of spending their lives and fortunes in maintaining his rights and interest, resolved unanimously to accept of the Marquis of ORMONDE’s answer to their propositions for religion.” The Bishops however made a difficulty of approving it; but when they saw the Assembly were determined to rest satisfied with it, in whatever manner they might declare themselves, they thought it best for them to concur in the approbation of it. Another difficulty arose about the interval government—as it was called—till a full settlement in Parliament: and as it was necessary to establish some course for the assistance of the forces, the Marquis of ORMONDE called Lord INCHQUIN to his assistance upon that, and all the other articles.

As they take up seventeen pages in folio they could not be adjusted very speedily; and as they were but little or not at all carried into execution, the reader will not expect to find them here. The Lord Lieutenant had no doubt an instruction from the Queen and Prince, with his Majesty’s know-

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ledge and consent,—of which a hint is given in the last recited letter—to conclude a treaty with the Irish Catholics upon these conditions: but they were so much to their advantage, and to the dissatisfaction of the Protestants, that they were very near as obnoxious as the Earl of GLAMORGAN's treaty. The famous MILTON published very severe observations on these articles of peace; and even in the preamble to the act of settlement by CHARLES the Second, the conditions are stiled difficult. In short they give so much power to Papists who had been rebels, in the civil and military branches of Government in a Protestant State, that no commands of the King himself, nor any other circumstance whatever, could excuse the Marquis of ORMONDE for consenting to them, but a conviction that a peace in Ireland at that juncture, was the only possible means of preventing the subversion of the whole frame of Government. Indeed he owns himself in a letter to the Prince, “that for want of force to keep any dependant on the King's authority only, and for obtaining such a peace as might reduce the army and the Confederates under the King's obedience, he had been constrained to subject his Majesty's power, against his will and not without some violence to his own nature, to compliances agreeable with neither.” Among these articles, which were of such serious consequence to the Protestants, there was one of a very ludicrous nature, which shewed the strong propensity of the Irish to retain their old barbarous customs. As nothing could bring them to break these customs but acts of Parliament, so now that they might return to them, it was agreed by one of the articles of this treaty, that the acts which had prohibited the ploughing with horses by the tail, and the burning of oats in the straw instead of threshing them out, should be repealed. The great point proposed by the Marquis of ORMONDE in this peace, was to send an army of above twenty thousand men immediately into England, in order to prevent the impending fate of his Royal Master. This was certainly the Marquis's motive in concluding a treaty so dishonourable to the King, and of such disadvantage to his Protestant subjects; and in this view we must acquit him of all ill intention to his country, or his religion. But in my opinion there is not such another instance to be given of the weakness or the want of discernment in his Excellency, as to depend upon a people who had so often failed him; and not to see that the terms which he had granted them, and the scheme which

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he proposed, would much rather hasten than prevent his Majesty's ruin. No wonder that he was therefore disappointed in his expectation. The Irish had delayed the conclusion of the peace too long to render it of any service to the King, now brought to his trial; and they were extremely deficient in their promised proportions of men and money.

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The articles having been read thrice, and fully debated, on the sixteenth of January it was resolved, "nemine contradicente," that they should be established and confirmed by the Assembly. The next day they repaired in a body to the Lord Lieutenant in his castle of Kilkenny; where sitting on a throne of State, the articles of peace were presented to him by SR. R. BLAKE, the Chairman, with all imaginable solemnity, and in an elegant and loyal address. The Marquis then ratified them on his Majesty's behalf, and dismissed the Assembly with a long and excellent speech, full of good advice and instruction, and of that temper and moderation, of that loyalty to the King and of affection to his country, which so eminently distinguished him throughout his life. The peace being thus concluded, which is called "the peace of forty-eight," was immediately proclaimed at Kilkenny with great joy, and in other places that were under the obedience of the King, and the Confederates. On one side, nine of the Irish Bishops joined in a circular letter to all the cities and corporations of their party; exhorting them to receive and obey the peace now concluded. On the other side, and on the same day the instruments were exchanged, the Marquis of ORMONDE published a declaration to vindicate the conditions granted to the Catholics; none of whom, that had any hand in the barbarous and inhuman crimes which were committed in the beginning or course of the rebellion, were included in the act of oblivion that was to be passed: And as to those, to whom any peace at all with the Irish, or the terms of this peace might be distasteful, the Marquis added, "that he should call upon them to testify hereafter, that as the full benefits of it could not without great injustice, and somewhat of ingratitude—considering the greater the King's necessity was, the more seasonable was their submission—be denied them, so any blame of it ought to be laid upon those alone who have imposed the said necessity, the saddest to which any King was ever reduced." Another part of the declaration was calculated to shew the iniquity of the late re-

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monstrance of the English army; which plainly discovered the design of the Independents to blow up the constitution, and to bury the King, episcopacy, and presbyterianism in its ruins. But the height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained: and we must leave Ireland for a while, and turn to the public trial and execution of their Sovereign. Nothing could be found in the common or statute law which could direct or warrant this proceeding: they were therefore to make a new form; and a new form they did make never heard of before, “an high Court of Justice to try his Majesty for high treason in levying war against his Parliament.” The rest is too well known: I shall therefore drop the curtain, and conclude the book with a character of this unhappy Prince: and as I see no reason in this history to alter my opinion in his favour, I shall give the same character which I have given of him in another work already*.

RAPIN hath observed, and I believe very justly, that there is not a fair and impartial English historian on this subject; at least I have never seen one. I am sensible therefore of the delicacy of the task I have undertaken; and that our attachment to party in this country, though very absurd, is yet so violent, that in giving a character of CHARLES the first, I shall be more likely to displease all, than to gratify any one denomination of English readers. But I am too far embarked on this sea already, and have proceeded with too much integrity and regard to truth in this history, to be terrified now with the apprehension of censure from party spleen: and yet I freely own, that I am not insensible to the conflict of the mind which every writer must feel, between the desire of pleasing, and the fear of offending by adhering strictly to the truth. Wherever I differ from other historians in the character of King CHARLES, as differ I do from every one that I have seen, I do it on a calm and candid examination of all the facts in his reign from which his character may be known, and not from the principles of government which he might practise, and of which I may disapprove: and if I had not known myself to be free from any of those attachments, which transport men with prejudice towards the persons they have occasion to mention, and whose actions they are at liberty to condemn, I would never have engaged in this undertaking. The temper of

* Ecclesiast. Hist. of England, Vol. II. A. 1757.

King CHARLES, is one of the few particulars relating to him, in which almost all historians are agreed: and if there are some inconsistencies in this temper they are not peculiar to this monarch, but such as are always to be met with in the human mind. He was very grave without any moroseness, stately without pride, patient in debate and yet hasty in determination, compassionate but not bountiful, condescending and yet inflexible, courageous but not enterprising, chearful without gaiety, and of the same even disposition in all turns of fortune. He was unquestionably endowed with very good natural parts; and neither wanted a quick apprehension, a just discernment of men and things, nor a very solid judgment. But he had such a diffidence of his own abilities—and it was the leading step to his ruin—that he constantly submitted to the direction of those about him, though he had seldom any Minister to whom he was not superior in parts and knowledge. As his diversions were few, he applied himself much to study, and had a good taste of learning: but his skill in the liberal arts, especially architecture and painting, was very extraordinary for a Prince. He was more a master of the essentials of divinity than his father had ever been; but without the allay of pedantry. He spoke several languages correctly, and with a singular good grace; and his style was easy, strong, and clear when it was not intended to be ambiguous and equivocal. His principles of government were not what he had assumed, but what he had been educated in by his father; and though these tended greatly to make him absolute, and to establish arbitrary power, in which he persisted for the first fifteen years of his reign, yet it must be considered in his favour, that the bounds of the prerogative were not so fixed and ascertained as they have been since; nor was the spirit of liberty in the Parliament so strong, and so general among the people. Here however was the great blemish of the life of CHARLES: and how criminal soever the Parliament were, when he had redressed the grievances they were oppressed with, and given all the security which he could give against any more, yet their opposition to him till that period, was the opposition of a brave people struggling for their rights and liberties against an arbitrary Prince, who made his will the law, and who intended to trample those rights and liberties under his feet. But as it often happens when we endeavour to get free from one extreme that we run into another, so the Parliament turned the tables upon the King: his

Majesty

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Majesty became as much too supple as he had been before too arbitrary; and the Commons exercised the tyranny they had been contending against in the person of their Sovereign. The sincerity of King CHARLES's promises and declarations hath been called in question by many people; or as MR. HUME expresses it, "some historians have rashly questioned his good faith:" and notwithstanding that Gentleman's opinion, "that the most malignant scrutiny into his Majesty's conduct affords not any reasonable foundation for this reproach," yet with submission I apprehend that this charge is just. I do not say indeed, as many writers do, that the King always made use of doubtful and ambiguous terms, reserving the explication of them as it might best suit his purpose, which is not very consistent with good faith, but it appears to me, I must own, that he sometimes used that artifice with a studied intention to deceive the Parliament. But however this might be, which I am willing enough to leave rather probable than undoubted, yet it is notorious that he broke his faith, in denying to the Parliament his commission to Lord GLAMORGAN to treat of the article of religion in a peace with the Irish rebels, in consenting to the repeal of the penal statutes against Irish Papists, in protecting and employing Papists, in compounding with recusants, and dispensing with the penal laws against them in England. Nor is it less notorious, that his Majesty broke his faith to the Parliament in the petition of right; and notwithstanding his assurances to the Commons of his intention to maintain their privileges, that he violated them within a few days after. The King indeed seems to have learnt a lesson from his misfortunes; which, if ever he had been restored to his throne, would probably have prevented this stain upon his honour for the remaining part of his life: because in the last letter which he wrote to the Prince his son, he charged him very solemnly, among other excellent advices, "that if he should be restored to his right upon hard conditions, whatever he promises he should keep." His Majesty had such a violent attachment to his Queen, that he could refuse her nothing: and he suffered more by her counsels after the commencement of the long Parliament, than by any indiscretions or ill intentions of his own. The personal virtues of this Monarch were very extraordinary. His justice, temperance, humanity, and forgiveness, made him amiable even to those who disliked the measures of his government; and had he been a private Nobleman, they would

would have rendered him very deservedly the delight of all mankind. In truth the King had but one vice; and that I may not leave it to be guessed at, I shall make no scruple to say, after the instances I have given, and others that occur in this history, that he was not faithful to his word and promises. But this perhaps did not merit the appellation of vice in the Court of CHARLES; though it is scarce conceivable how a King can have a quality much more criminal and pernicious. The regularity and the constancy of his Majesty's devotion, were to be equalled by nothing but his zeal for religion as it was established in the Church of England. His inclination therefore to Popery, though charged upon him in his reign, and by many historians since his death, is a malicious groundless imputation: and there never was a man, I believe, more sincerely attached to the Protestant religion, with some mixtures of superstition, than this Monarch was. The Roman Catholics indeed, as I have said, out of a profound complaisance to his Queen whom he loved very passionately, and perhaps on some occasions from mistaken reasons of state, were not only screened from the rigour of the law, but encouraged and confided in. The King himself however was inflexible in his own religion: and this leads me to speak to that part of his character, in speaking of which I am sensible that the ground I tread on is extremely tender: but not to swerve from the rule of integrity which I have professed to observe in this work, I presume to say that I see no pretence at all for giving King CHARLES the title of a MARTYR. The Protestant religion in opposition to Popery was never the thing in question; and there was too great a complication of causes which brought him to the scaffold, to ascribe it solely, or principally to religion. But should it be allowed that religion was the only cause of his execution, we must then distinguish it away to episcopacy and the liturgy, and say that he died a martyr to the church of England: and yet at the treaty of Newport, he had reduced and suspended episcopacy and the liturgy for three years, and in a great degree given them up. If he was a martyr therefore to any thing, it was to monarchy, which is absurd: the truth is, properly speaking, he fell a sacrifice to the rage, ambition, and enthusiasm, of some fanatic leaders in the army; who, proceeding from one licentiousness to another, had arrived at an implacable, republican, virulent spirit, regardless of all laws divine and human. But tho' there is a manifest impropriety in calling King CHARLES

a martyr

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CHARLES I. a martyr—for he bore witness to no truth by his death—yet it is but justice to him to say, that he had not only many amiable endowments as a man, and many noble accomplishments as a Prince, but that he had also so much zeal for his religion as to have died a martyr, if he had been called upon, to the truth of it. In short, how much soever our indignation may be raised against him for his misconduct in the former part of his reign, yet our humanity is so much shocked at the ignominious treatment which he met with in the latter part, and especially in the last melancholy and unheard of scene, that we are ready to overlook and to forget all his faults, in order to indulge our commiseration that so many virtues in him as a man, had not a happier fate as he was a Prince. His character shall be concluded in the words of his great friend and servant the Earl of CLARENDON. “He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced: and if he was not the greatest King, if he was not possessed of some parts and qualities which have made some Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.”



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R E B E L L I O N and C I V I L - W A R
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B O O K VII.

THE proclamation of the peace, and the joy which it occasioned amongst the well affected was scarcely over, when Prince RUPERT came into Kinsale with sixteen men of war, which greatly heightened the general satisfaction. But this was soon clouded with an account of the ignominious death of the King. As soon as the Marquis of ORMONDE could recover from the concern into which it threw him, he caused the Prince of Wales to be proclaimed immediately by the style of CHARLES the second, in all the cities and towns that owned subjection to his authority. The Nuncio had hitherto lingered in the kingdom, waiting some favourable turn that might enable him to draw the nation once more into his

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measures; but he had failed in all his expectations. He had seen the peace concluded, recommended by the Prelates and most of the Clergy, submitted to by all the kingdom except O NEIL's and the Parliament's armies, and proclaimed in all the great towns, even before his eyes at Galway: And now he saw the execution of the King received with such detestation universally among the Irish, that he judged they would all come in, and submit to the Marquis of ORMONDE. Things being brought to this crisis, and no power now remaining in him, he thought it was high time for him to leave Ireland, till he could be fortified with new authorities from Rome, and there was a greater probability of raising a new flame in the nation. Having sent directions to O NEIL to stand firm for the defence of the Pope's authority, on the twenty-second of February, he went off at night in an obscure condition on board his frigate. In this manner was RINUCCINI, a Nuncio from the Pope, who had assumed to himself the supreme power over the Catholics of Ireland, in temporal and civil matters as well as ecclesiastical, who had held them in bondage for three years, who had been the cause of shedding the blood of many thousands slain in fighting his battles, who had put the whole kingdom into a flame, and who had been the principal occasion of the ruin of the King's, and even the Catholic interest there by his violence and superstition, compelled to seek his safety by stealing out of the kingdom: And all the satisfaction which the Papists received for these disorders, was this short reprimand from the Pope, "You have behaved yourself rashly," and the Nuncio's confinement to his archbishoprick for the rest of his life.

With what consent and amity soever the peace was made by those who had any pretence to trust or authority in the nation, yet O NEIL, who had the greatest influence on the old Irish, and who had still the best disciplined and the strongest army, refused absolutely to acknowledge it. The Lord Lieutenant was therefore to provide against him, as well as against the forces of the Commonwealth, who were possessed of Dublin and all the important places about it; and of whose supplies with men, and money, and ammunition, together with whatever else was necessary, there could not be any doubt. The Scots in Ulster, who abhorred the Republicans, and were not well with O NEIL, might give the Marquis some assistance, and

and they were numerous and well provided: but they were not inclined to the peace made with the Papists, nor to a full submission made to the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, as not being sanctified by the covenant. The Marquis of ORMONDE determined to try what he could do with all these several parties; and O NEIL had intimated obliquely to Lord CLANRICARDE, that he should not be displeased to be upon good terms with his Excellency. A treaty was therefore set on foot through his nephew DAN. O NEIL: but he insisted on such conditions for himself and his army, as those who were joined in authority with the Lord Lieutenant—called Commissioners of trust—who had always hated, and now began to despise O NEIL, were not willing to grant. The Marquis well knew the consequence of that General's agreement to the peace; that it would unite the whole nation in vigorous endeavours to promote it, and enable him without difficulty to drive the Commonwealth forces out of the kingdom. His Excellency therefore was for consenting to his conditions: but the Commissioners of trust—without whose concurrence by the articles of peace he could do nothing in it—were obstinate; and O NEIL's agents returned without any agreement. This was the first fruit of admitting the Confederates to a share of the Government with the Lord Lieutenant.

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The scheme of securing O NEIL to his Majesty's interest proving abortive, the Marquis of ORMONDE tried next what he could do with JONES, and SR. C. COOTE. He wrote himself a kind letter to JONES, inviting him and his forces to return to their duty, and to submit to the King's authority. But JONES being influenced by his intimacy with CROMWELL and the great promises he had given him, pretended he was obliged in honour to obey those who had entrusted him with the command he held, and refused the overture. SR. C. COOTE had often openly professed, that if at any time he should discover the least inclination in the Parliament of England to change the government, or to wrong the King either in his person or posterity, he would sooner beg his bread than be a minister to their proceedings. Some of those who had been witnesses of this declaration thought it a proper time now to remind him of it; and it was judged adviseable that the Marquis of ORMONDE should write him a letter on the subject. The Marquis knew him so well, that he did not believe SR. CHARLES was

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to be gained; or if he should seem to be so, that he was to be trusted. In compliance however with the desires of the old Scotch Officers in Ulster, and that he might leave no stone unturned for the King's service, the Marquis wrote to COOTE; but it had no other effect than to produce protestations that had no meaning. To make some little amends for this ill success, several Officers of the old Scotch regiments in the North sent to assure the Lord Lieutenant of their duty to the King, and of a powerful body of forces devoted to his service; if his Excellency would send them commissions to authorize, and a body of a thousand horse to support, their undertaking. the Marquis was very agreeably surprised with this engagement, sent the Commissions desired, and assured them that Lord INCHQUIN should be with four thousand foot at Athlone, in order to march to their assistance very speedily, but the horse could not join them for want of grass. This advice had scarce reached those Officers before they found themselves necessitated to take arms, and to block up SR. C. COOTE in Derry.

The difficulties which the Marquis of ORMONDE had to struggle with at this time are hardly to be conceived. The expectations and ambitions of different persons for commands in the army did not a little perplex him, and disturb the service. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE saw so much of this emulation and selfishness when he was at Kilkenny on the conclusion of the peace, that as soon as he returned home, with a noble disinterestedness and love of his country—in which few have ever equalled, none have ever exceeded him—he sent his commission of Lieutenant General to the Lord Lieutenant, that he might make a friend with it. The Generals of particular provinces were now suppressed; so that there were fewer posts of that nature to be disposed of, and consequently fewer persons could be gratified, and more would be disgusted. The last was the case of several persons of quality whose affections were not well settled: but the Marquis of ORMONDE, though he was not necessary to these discontents, yet did not know how to avoid them; unless there had been posts enow to satisfy the pretensions of all who had interest and ambition. To add to these difficulties, Lord INCHQUIN had been allowed to retain the sole command and ordering of the forces and garrisons which he brought with him to the King's obedience; and had almost the whole province of Munster assigned him

him for their maintenance: and though the Confederates had engaged to keep on foot an army of seventeen thousand five hundred men, yet pretending now that the provinces could not support them, a considerable number was disbanded, which joined O NEIL. The Commissioners of trust seemed more intent on getting honours, places, and employments, for themselves and their friends, than on the public service: they took but little care, either to raise the money apploited upon the counties, or to fill the magazines, which his Excellency proposed to be erected, with corn and provisions for the army. When the month of March came, in which he proposed to take the field, they pleaded that it would require a great deal of time to collect the money; and that it would be better to borrow it of particular persons, cities, and towns, by mortgaging to them the King's revenues. In short they were so dilatory in their proceedings, that at the end of March, when Lord INCHQUIN was to be with his forces at Athlone, scarce any provisions had been sent into that magazine.

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Nothing remained singly in the Lord Lieutenant's power but the private revenue of the Crown: with this the Commissioners of trust had nothing to do, and with this therefore, if with any thing, he was to make the best provision he could for an early campaign; on which the success of all his measures chiefly depended. With this view he went himself to Waterford, thence to Limerick, and thence to Galway; in which several places he procured a loan of more money, corn, and ammunition, than the Assembly had ever been able to do. But this cost him so much labour and time, and the supplies were so slowly advanced, that it was the beginning of May before he could draw his forces together. There was one remedy for all the inconveniences which he suffered, and he had pressed this on his first arrival, and again when the peace was finished, which was the King's repair into Ireland. If the reasons were good upon which he advised this before, when his Majesty was only Prince of Wales, they were much stronger now he had succeeded his father in the supreme authority. But the Scots having proclaimed him, and engaged to crown and receive him for their King, if he would come thither and take the Covenant, which they earnestly solicited, it was considered whether it would not be the best step his Majesty could take to go first and establish himself in Scotland.

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CHARLES II. One would have thought there had been such a recent proof of their ignominious treatment, and their treacherous dealing in the person of the father, as to have deterred the King and his Council from entertaining any thoughts of putting the Son into the hands of the Scots. As soon as the Marquis of ORMONDE was informed that such a step was under deliberation, he wrote his sentiments to the King, and SR. E. HYDE; and they are the sentiments of a wise and faithful Councillor. In the end he said, "as the Covenant was inconsistent with the peace he had concluded, it was expedient that the Government of Ireland — by what Governors, and by what Council the King sees fit — should be immediately settled: and if his Majesty went into Scotland with intention to consent to the Covenant, and to the imposing of it on all his subjects, he must desire that any thoughts of employing him might be laid aside."

The King, upon the news of his father's death, immediately renewed the Marquis of ORMONDE's commission, and confirmed all that he had done in virtue of it: and when he received the articles of the late peace in a few days after, he sent an entire approbation of all and every part, and an assurance that he would make all the haste he could into Ireland. The advantages indeed of that measure were too visible to be denied. The power of the Commissioners of trust, with which the Lord Lieutenant was cramped and shackled, at the instant of the King's landing was to be at an end; the disputes about commands in the army would be prevented, or removed; the forces under JONES which were already deserting every day, and perhaps JONES himself, would probably come over to him; but it was very certain that O NEIL and his army would immediately submit: nay, they had already sent letters of credence to his Majesty, to assure him of their submission upon the terms of being concluded in the act of oblivion, of enjoying liberty of conscience, of O NEIL's commanding an army under the King's authority provided for like the rest, and of his being advanced to the dignity of an Earl. The desire of the last condition was probably suggested to him, by PRESTON's having been made a Viscount, and by obtaining eight hundred a year in lands to support the honour. Why these terms which O NEIL proposed, which would have secured all his army, were not complied with, does not appear. After what had been already consented

to, there was nothing in them unreasonable, or improper: and if these terms had been granted, and the King had gone at this time to Ireland, he would probably in a few weeks have been master of the whole kingdom. But the King had not only factions in his Court to contend with—as all distressed, if not all other, Princes have—but also the want of money for procuring arms, and ammunition, and other necessities: and the jarring interests of these several factions, and the vain expectation of supplies in Holland where the King then was, proved of infinite detriment to his affairs.

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The reader hath been informed of the arrival of a fleet of sixteen ships in the ports of Munster soon after the death of the late King, under the command of Prince RUPERT; and he may wonder that he hath heard no more of it. The truth is, that as it was not subordinate to the Lord Lieutenant, nor subject to his orders, it was entirely useless as to any service he expected from it with respect to Ireland. The people who knew Prince RUPERT, and the fickle disposition of the Irish, knew this was a consequence to be expected. The Prince was very reserved and uncourtly in his temper; and ready to assume more authority than he had, or was consistent with the King's service: of a factious disposition himself, he encouraged it in his servants and officers under him; and they taking advantage of his rank, and thinking every thing was to give way to him, were careless in their behaviour, and unconcerned whether they pleased or displeased their superiors, though the best friends perhaps the King had. All this was visible in the late reign, when his Majesty had the authority of an uncle over him; and therefore the same, or much more, might be expected in the present reign, when the relation was lessened, and the King was very young. In a few days after the fleet came to an anchor, the Prince desired leave of the Lord Lieutenant to raise a thousand land-men for the better manning his ships: leave was granted immediately, the men were raised, and, contrary to the articles of peace, mass was said in the sea-ports: but this did not satisfy the Irish, nor the Prince's attendants: they behaved with such insolence to the Protestant soldiers and inhabitants, that it required all Lord INCHQUIN's prudence, application, and authority, to prevent great disturbance. The Prince himself held a correspondence with Lord ANTRIM,
O NEIL,

CHARLES II. O NEIL, and the discontented Irish, which encouraged them to persist in their rebellious measures: he went much further: he ordered one of his gentlemen to write to a German engineer at Galway, who had served the Irish, that the Prince desired an instrument might be drawn and signed by such Officers and cavaliers as would serve their country, religion, and king, in an opposite way to the Lord Lieutenant and the present government; and that upon the sight of such an authority from them, the Prince would furnish them with all necessaries by sea. Several Colonels, and other Officers, signed an instrument accordingly; and on the condition of being furnished with five hundred pounds, and the value of that sum in ammunition, undertook to bring five thousand men into the field. The Lord Lieutenant being informed of this combination, thought proper to write to the Prince upon it; but in a manner as though he did not believe it had any other foundation than a contrivance of the engineer's to get a little money: the engineer denied the fact, and the Prince detained him in his service.

Whatever were the views of Prince RUPERT, it was very hard upon the Marquis of ORMONDE, to be engaged in a work, which, with all the assistance that could be given, seemed impracticable, and to be traversed in his measures by those from whom he had reason to expect assistance. Be the occasion what it would, the fleet from which he had promised himself great advantages gave him none. The English frigates lay at this time in the bay of Dublin, which were of great use to JONES in furnishing him with provisions, of which he stood in the utmost need, and the frigates were easily to be surprised: but though Lord ORMONDE recommended this service to the Prince, yet it was not so much as attempted. When his Excellency drew out his army for the siege of Dublin, he sent two Officers to the Prince, desiring him to block up the harbour with his fleet in order to prevent its relief, as a service of the utmost importance to his Majesty's affairs in that kingdom. The forts of Derry and Culmore were then beleaguered so straitly, as that it was impossible they should hold out, if any ships were sent to lie in the river to intercept the supplies of all sorts that were coming from England. The Marquis sent an express with this advice; and acquainted the Prince that the reducing those places by means of some of his ships,

ships, would not only put all that side of the North into the King's hands, but enable his Excellency to procure a great assistance for reducing some other parts of the kingdom. The King had given directions to the Prince to furnish the Marquis of ORMONDE with some money for the public service, of which he put his Highness in mind; desiring if money could not be had, some goods might be assigned to that purpose, and sent to Waterford; and if part of them were in corn it would be as useful, in order to enable his army to take the field. But it was all in vain: neither money, nor goods were sent, nor a ship employed in either of these, or any other services, whilst the fleet lay on the coast, and was absolute master of the Irish channel. How extremely necessary therefore was it for the King to repair to Ireland for the advantage of his affairs there!

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The King had not only assured the Marquis of ORMONDE that he would speedily be with him, but before he left Holland, his heavy baggage and inferior servants, and those of his Ministers and Officers who were to accompany him, were sent away in two ships, and actually arrived in Ireland. But the Queen, who wanted to retain the same influence in this reign which she had fatally had in the last, having pressed the King by many letters and messages to go to her, it was resolved against the opinion of the wisest part of his Council, and very unhappily for Ireland, that he should take France in his way. Though the Queen could have no dislike of the resolution that had been taken for his Majesty's going to Ireland;—for in truth there was no other place for him to go to—yet she was exceedingly displeased that any resolution at all should have been taken before she was consulted. She was angry too that the Councillors had been chosen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in his affairs. The King however made no apologies to her as she expected; nor any professions of resigning himself up to her advice: on the contrary, he did as good as desire her not to trouble herself in his affairs. This, to a woman of high spirit who had absolutely governed his father, and had a strong passion for power, was a mortification she could not digest. After some time spent at Paris, the Queen being disappointed of the dominion she had expected, and consequently not solicitous for his stay, the King embarked for the isle of Jersey which still continued under

CHARLES II. his obedience; in order to transport himself from thence when it should be
A. 1649. seasonable into Ireland.

The reader who has seen how necessary the King's presence had been some time before in Ireland, will think it very odd to be told that it was now unseasonable. This will therefore require some explanation. Instead of coming to Ireland as the Marquis had advised, his Majesty went to France to see his mother; and while he staid at Paris a great revolution took place in Ireland, which it is our business now to relate. The gaining of the city of Dublin, which in effect was gaining the whole kingdom, was the enterprize therefore of all others to be first undertaken by the Lord Lieutenant: but the magazines of the Confederates were in a manner empty, without provision or ammunition, and the country was to the last degree impoverished. The applotment made by the Commissioners of trust had as yet brought in nothing to the public chest: there was no money to pay the soldiers, and no corn to sustain them in the field, till the season allowed the army to be supplied with cattle. It was the beginning of May before the Marquis could get two thousand foot and three hundred horse together: these were sent under Lord CASTLEHAVEN to reduce the forts held by O NEIL in Leinster, which it would be dangerous to leave behind them when the army should advance to Dublin. These troops, which for the most part were commanded by English officers that had always followed the fortune of the Marquis of ORMONDE, were during the expedition in great distress, being sometimes two or three days without eating; but they executed their orders and reduced the garrisons. His Excellency, in the mean time, was assembling all the forces he could raise in order to lay siege to Dublin; there not being ten days provisions in the place. Of this he gave notice to Prince RUPERT, and a second time desired him to block up the harbour, which would be a means of reducing the place immediately. But the Prince, though not then blocked up as he was afterwards by BLAKE, was not to be moved; and the Marquis had the mortification of seeing an enterprize of such consequence, so easy in the execution, and so sure of succeeding, lost for want of a small assistance which it was infamous to refuse. Cox has made an excuse for this inactivity of the Prince, by saying that he was not sure of his men which deserted from him, and that he

he was in want of necessaries. But if he had sent his ships to sea the men could not have deserted; and as they had taken many prizes and three corn ships they could be in no great want; neither doth any thing of this appear by any answer to the Marquis of ORMONDE.

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This however was not the only mortification which he met with in his command. It was impossible for him to keep the forces of the Confederates under any kind of discipline; and every fatigue, though but of common marches and duty, was thought insupportable by them if they were not fed with money, which was impracticable. The army under Lord INCHIQVIN, was no less pressing for money than the other: and though they were under more obedience, yet their mutiny or discontent were more to be apprehended, because they would desert to the English. It was his Excellency's business therefore to provide for both as well as he could, though every delay was fatal to the design on Dublin. Notwithstanding these difficulties, he mustered an army on the first of June, of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse near Carlow, but could not march a mile till he had borrowed eight hundred pounds, and got a little meal upon credit; which enabled him to move, and take three or four places. But even with this supply he was obliged to remain on the west side of the Liffy; and so could not engage JONES, who had marched with a force much inferior out of Dublin. All these difficulties however not being sufficient to wean the affections of the army from the Marquis, which had been tried at by some of PRESTON's officers, a design was formed with the concurrence of that General to assassinate the Lord Lieutenant. The history of all ages shew to what a length of wickedness the disappointments of pride and ambition will sometimes carry men; and numberless instances might be given of the fatal effects of such resentments in public affairs. But providence preserved him to execute designs, in which none but a man able, great, and good, as the Marquis of ORMONDE, could have succeeded.

Amidst all these difficulties and dangers, having been supplied with ten thousand pounds which Lord CASTLEHAVEN had collected, on his quitting the army till some dispute in his command had been adjusted, and with three thousand more which Lord TAAFE had brought him, in the middle

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of June, he moved with his army towards Dublin, and was joined with two thousand of Lord INCHQUIN's foot. In a Council of war held at Naas, which the Marquis had taken upon his march, it was debated whether the army should move directly to Dublin, or first take in Trim, and Drogheda, and some other garrisons. The opinion of the Generals was unanimous, to lose no time in attacking Dublin, before the supplies which were expected arrived from England. The army moved accordingly; and on the nineteenth of June in the morning, found itself at Castle-knock in view of the city. JONES had drawn out all his horse into the green not far from the walls; to face which the Marquis sent a party of horse and musketeers, and advanced with the rest of the army within cannon shot of the gates. Having spent part of the day in that posture, expecting the well affected within the town—of which he knew there were many—might raise some commotion that would be useful, after some slight skirmishes between the horse, he drew off and encamped at Finglas, two miles from the city. On this motion, JONES sent the greatest part of his horse to Drogheda; which the Marquis of ORMONDE no sooner knew, than he detached Lord INCHQUIN with a strong party to follow them. His Lordship followed them indeed with such success, that he surprised a whole troop, and then encountering Colonel COOTE at the head of three hundred more, he made a great slaughter, and those that could escape flew in great disorder into Drogheda. No time was lost in sending word to the Marquis of his success, and of his believing that if he pursued his advantage, and attempted the town before the enemy had recovered their consternation, it would make but little resistance. These advices occasioned another Council of war; in which the strength of Dublin being considered, it was thought a desperate action to hazard the army by an assault; that they had not forces enow to invest the place, especially while O NEIL, and MONCK, and the garrisons of Trim and Drogheda, lay so convenient to put them between two fires; and that the reduction of the latter would secure a correspondence with the North, and give great encouragement to the Scots in Ulster. Upon all these considerations it was resolved, that the Marquis of ORMONDE should continue in his camp, with five thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, to streighten Dublin and countenance any revolt in the city, and that Lord INCHQUIN, with the same number of horse, and two thou-

land foot, should block up Drogheda. But he chose rather to try to sur-
prise it; and he had so far succeeded, that he had one night fired two of
the gates, and got two hundred men into the town, but the horse of the
garrison drove them out. On the next day, the Lord Lieutenant sent him
two pieces of battery; but as soon as they were planted, the place surren-
dered. Such of the garrison as chose it had leave by the articles to march
to Dublin with the Governour: however no more than a hundred and
thirty five, out of a thousand, attended him thither; the rest taking on in
his Majesty's service.

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This great success at Drogheda encouraged Lord INCHQUIN to make an
attempt upon Dundalk; and receiving intelligence on his march thither,
that O NEIL had sent a Lieutenant General with five hundred foot and
three hundred horse to convoy some ammunition which MONCK had lent
him—which LUDLOW says falsely was lent to Lord INCHQUIN—his Lord-
ship sent six troops of horse to intercept them. They luckily met in a plain
open road; and the convoy was attacked with so much vigour and success,
that it was totally routed, not above forty of the foot escaping without be-
ing slain or taken prisoners. By a fate perhaps peculiar to that war, and to
that nation, and which was principally at first a war of religion, the armies
were now divided: in one place was to be seen still the Protestants fighting
against the Papists, and the Papists against the Protestants: in another,
both Papists and Protestants joining together under Popish and Protestant
Generals against Protestants only: in a third, an army under leaders of the
two religions fighting against Papists only: and what is yet more extraordi-
nary, some of the Protestant Chiefs, whose pretence was to subdue the
Papists, supplying the Popish General O NEIL with money, and ammuni-
tion, in order to enable him to subdue the principal Protestants in that
kingdom. In two days after Dundalk had been invested, the soldiers
obliged MONCK who commanded it to deliver it up to Lord INCHQUIN;
where he found a good magazine of ammunition, clothes, and other war-
like necessaries, and the greatest part of the garrison, officers and men, in-
clined to enter into the King's service. The lesser garrisons of Newry,
Trim, and other places, surrendered with little or no trouble; after which
Lord

CHARLES II. Lord INCHQUIN returned with his detachment to the Lord Lieutenant in his camp at Finglas.
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Notwithstanding the garrisons in the neighbourhood of Dublin were thus reduced, his Excellency was very doubtful of the issue of the enterprize against that city. For though JONES's horse were in a manner ruined, yet he was still too strong in foot for attempting it by assault; and as there was no other way of reducing it but by a blockade, little hopes of success that way could be entertained, whilst the sea remained open to bring the supplies, daily expected too, from England. He had for eight months together been pressing the King to repair to Ireland, whose presence there he thought absolutely necessary to the peace, and to establish his Majesty's authority in that kingdom. The reasons for his coming there still subsisted; but the situation of affairs was now much altered, by Prince RUPERT's fleet being blocked up, and by the vast preparations making then in England for supplies of all sorts, and a great army, to be sent to Ireland. The Marquis therefore altered his advice, which occasioned the King's going to Jersey, as above mentioned; and recommended his staying abroad at least till the fate of Dublin was decided, and the designs and motions of the Commonwealth in England were better known. Upon a review of the army at Lord INCHQUIN's return, it was found to consist of seven thousand foot and four thousand horse; which was not sufficient for a regular siege of so large a city as Dublin, and defended by such a numerous garrison. A good body of troops from the North might have been a reinforcement sufficient for that purpose: but the situation of affairs was much altered there. O NEIL upon the invitation of SR. C. COOTE, backed with five thousand pounds, had raised the siege of Derry. The old Scotch officers who had revolted, as was said before, and besieged that place, when they found that Lord ARDES, and SR. R. STEWART, and some others, had received Commissions from the King whom they had proclaimed in their camp, and that the covenant was likely to be overturned, deserted the service; and the people of that country as well as the army being bewitched by the covenant, every thing there was in confusion. No reinforcement therefore being to be had from thence, the Lord Lieutenant was compelled to

to do the best he could with the army which he had. In a Council of CHARLES II.
A. 1649. war at the latter end of July, it was resolved to encompass the city of Dublin on all sides; which had hitherto been streightened only towards the North. But as his Excellency was marching a part of the forces to encamp for that purpose at Rathmines, he heard that the Colonels REYNOLDS and VENABLES were arrived in the harbour with two thousand foot, and six hundred horse, together with supplies of money, and all other necessities of which the garrison stood in need. This, how discouraging soever, was not the worst part of the story. For the same ships which brought these succours to JONES, brought intelligence also from good hands to the Marquis, and Lord INCHQUIN, that this supply was deemed sufficient for the defence of Dublin; but that CROMWELL lay ready with a great army at Bristol to embark for some port in Munster, where it was known that the Republicans had many friends. We must leave Ireland therefore for the present to view the transactions in England relating to it.

There was no part of the conduct of the English Parliament, since the commencement of the war with the late King, which had made them more obnoxious to well disposed people, and the reproaches of which they could bear with less uneasiness, than their scandalous neglect of Ireland. Therefore when they had gotten rid of the King, and settled the form of their Commonwealth, it was thought necessary to take some care of the Protestant interest in Ireland; or to speak much more justly, to take care of their own interest there in opposition to the King's, which was in a fair way of succeeding. The government of Ireland was a post which CROMWELL thought not unworthy of his own acceptance: and though it had been intended for LAMBERT, whose nomination he had supported in the House, yet by his dexterity at intriguing he himself was unanimously chosen to fill the dignity of Lord Lieutenant. He was no sooner appointed to this post, than he bestirred himself with his usual diligence and adroitness, to prepare money, men, ammunition, provision, and every thing that was necessary to his wonted success, in great quantities: for how insufficient soever he let other people depart for their several commands, he took care to be always well furnished himself. But before we proceed to his operations we must return again to what preceded them in Ireland.

On

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On the arrival of the supplies and the intelligence before mentioned; the Marquis of ORMONDE called a Council of war; at which were present besides himself, the Lords INCHQUIN, CASTLEHAVEN, and TAAFE, PRESTON, and three Generals more. There was no doubt that CROMWELL had good intelligence from Munster, and that he knew that almost all the men who were fit for service in that province were drawn out of it for the army; which was his reason probably of going thither instead of coming to the relief of Dublin. For if he became master of that province, the best ports in the kingdom would fall into his hands; and the King's fleet blocked up by a superior force would not only be lost, but those parts of the country from whence the principal support of the army was taken would be in their possession. Should Dublin be taken, which was now extremely doubtful, and those places were lost, which, guarded as they now were, they certainly would be, it would prove but an ill exchange: and should they be lost, and the enterprize upon Dublin not succeed, the army must come to nothing, and the whole kingdom would be subdued. Upon these considerations, it was resolved to send Lord INCHQUIN with two regiments of horse, and his own guards—making up in all, says Lord CASTLEHAVEN, eleven hundred—to secure the province of Munster. To send off eleven hundred horse from the army, which was already not strong enough for the work they had in hand, was a strange measure: but to send eleven hundred horse only to secure a whole province, the security of which it had been owned was of infinite importance, and this against a numerous well appointed army under the command of CROMWELL, whose successes had given terror to his name, was stranger still. Such however was the resolution of the Council of war,

The next consideration, was whether they should continue the blockade of Dublin, or retire to Trim, and Drogheda, and the adjacent garrisons; and from thence either make an offensive or defensive war as occasions should be offered. There were several objections against retreating so far off; and it was resolved therefore that the army should continue in the present camp till Rathfarnham was taken, and should then remove to a securer quarter. Rathfarnham was the next day taken by storm; but not a man, woman, or child put to the sword. The army was then to have removed

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to Drumnagh, according to the resolution of the Council of war; but the officers and soldiers expressing uneasiness at retreating, and being confident that the town might be reduced with their present strength, that resolution was suspended. The enemies horse were now increased to twelve hundred; and they had no place to graze in but a meadow near the walls on that side, adjoining almost to which was a village called Baggatrath: if this little village could be possessed and fortified, it would deprive them of the only pasture they had, and in five days time the horses must be starved: besides it was easy from thence to approach to the river side, and by casting up a work on the shore to prevent any further succours from being thrown into the city. Lord CASTLEHAVEN, General PRESTON, PURCELL, and some others, were sent to view the place, in order to know whether it were capable of being so strengthened in one night, as to cover and secure the party to be posted in it. When they returned, they gave their opinion that it was a place very fit for the purpose, and with fifteen hundred men might be made tenable in one night's time. Hereupon orders were given to PURCELL to go thither in the beginning of the night with that number of men, and all the necessary materials to execute the work. As soon as it was dark, he marched accordingly; but though it was not a mile from the camp to Baggatrath, yet their guides had led them such a round-about way, that they did not arrive thither more than an hour before day.

The Marquis of ORMONDE had been up all night; as well to be ready in case the enemy made a sally, as to finish some dispatches he was sending off to the King. As soon as the day broke, he rode down to the place, which he found not so strong as he expected, and the work not at all advanced; but he saw some strong parties of the English, who had been alarmed, drawn out under their works, and hiding themselves the best they could in several places. Hereupon he considered whether it were best to go on with the work, or draw off the men: he thought neither could be done without danger, unless the whole army was drawn out to support them; and therefore that the work might as well be countenanced as their retreat. The Marquis's military conduct in this action hath been censured; and as no particulars have been named, I presume it must be here, in not retreating with his men when he found the intended work was not, and

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could not now be executed, since the enemy had discovered them; it being better to risk the loss of some of these, which at that early time of the day could not have been many, than to endanger his whole army. But be this as it might. The Marquis having rode about with PURCELL and VAUGHAN, the two Major Generals of horse and foot, and shewn them the places where he would have them drawn up—being confident that JONES would hazard all to interrupt their work—he went back to his tent, in order to refresh himself with a little sleep before the action began—for an action he was sure there would be—and in his way he ordered all the regiments to stand to their arms. As soon as JONES received intelligence of what was carrying forward, he drew out his twelve hundred horse and four thousand foot with all expedition possible, and attacked the Irish. The Marquis had not slept above an hour, when he was awakened with volleys of shot: and before he could get an hundred yards from his tent, all those whom he had left at work were beaten out of their posts, VAUGHAN was killed at the head of his men, and the right wing of the army was wholly defeated. The Marquis of ORMONDE did all that was in his power to do, to rally the horse, and recover the battle; but the Irish were seized with such a pannick, that he could get but two regiments to stand, with which he charged the enemy; and these being overpowered with numbers, and soon broken, he was obliged to quit the field. In this engagement, which is called the battle of Rathmines, three hundred officers and fifteen hundred soldiers were taken prisoners;—BORLASE, and Cox after him, say above two thousand five hundred—many of those belonging to Lord INCHQUIN enlisting under JONES. Not above six hundred, says CARTE, were slain—about four thousand say the two other historians—and of those, more than half were put to the sword, an hour after they had laid down their arms upon a promise of quarter; and some even after they were within the walls of the town. The defeat however was a thorough one: all the plunder of a well furnished camp, the artillery, tents, baggage, carriages—and LUDLOW says four thousand pounds in money—fell into the hands of the enemy. The Irish had the impudence to cast this miscarriage solely upon the Marquis; whereas so great a defeat could not have happened had their officers and men done their duty: and in all human probability, the undertaking would have succeeded, and Dublin must have surrendered,

surrendered, if the party had got in due time to Baggatrath, and had had the whole night to work in. But when REILY, the titular Primate, was prosecuted four years after by the Republicans, for burning the castle of Wicklow and murdering those that were in it during the cessation, he had the impudence and the profligacy to plead the merit of having ordered the guides to lead the detachment so much astray, as that it should not be able to reach the place of its destination time enough to do any good; and this plea of treachery to his country saved his life. It was however the first, and only loss, that ever fell upon any army or party of which the Marquis of ORMONDE had ever had the title of the chief commander; and of this he had little more.

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The consternation in his forces had been so great, and they were so much dispersed, that he sent orders to those on the side of Finglas who had not been in the action, to march part of them to Trim, and the other part to Drogheda, in order to strengthen those garrisons against any attack from JONES, whilst he went himself to Kilkenny. In his march thither the next day, which was the third of August, he made a halt with the few horse he had rallied together, and joining a party with which he had before blocked up the fort of Ballishannon, summoned the Governour to surrender. The Governour believing that the Marquis was returning from his success in the siege of Dublin, surrendered that important fort without hesitation. When his Excellency got to Kilkenny, he issued out the necessary orders to rally the scattered forces, to raise new levies, and to provide as well as he could for the defence of the places he had gained in the campaign. In a week after the defeat, he was able to get but three hundred horse to him; but having appointed a place for a rendezvous, he marched with them to Trim, in order to relieve Drogheda that was invested by JONES as he expected: and JONES, upon his approach, raised the siege and returned to Dublin. The loss of men was much easier to be supplied than the loss of arms and artillery, or than to find money to pay and support the army. The city of Limerick pleaded poverty, and offered only one hundred pounds: Wexford refused positively to furnish any: and Galway, which had not paid above half the loan which had been stipulated six months before, was visited by the plague, and could pay nothing. The same distemper had spread over

CHARLES II. a great part of Conaght; which had obliged the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, now the President of that province, to remain for a long time inactive.
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Amidst all these discouragements, the Lord Lieutenant had hopes, if any thing should interrupt the coming of the forces with CROMWELL into Ireland, to be able to make a second and a successful attempt against Dublin, if not to be master of the whole kingdom before the spring. O NEIL had made a cessation with MONCK, which was to expire on the eighth of August; at which the Council of State in England, as they called themselves, appeared to be much offended; and MONCK was recalled, and for some time laid aside. O NEIL, finding this cessation was not to be renewed, sent an agent to London; proposing a submission of his army to the Commonwealth of England, if they might obtain indemnity for what was passed, and an assurance of their religion and estates for the time to come. But his conditions were refused by the Council of State. It was necessary however to provide for himself and his forces by some means or other; and no other way being left but by the Lord Lieutenant, he sent his Excellency an intimation, just before the battle of Rathmines, that he was ready to renew the treaty. The Marquis was very uneasy at the first refusal of his demands by the Commissioners of trust; and was therefore as ready as O NEIL to try if they could be now complied with. But he was obliged to write to him—for he could get no body of consequence enough to go to the furthest part of Ulster to him—and to send powers to the Bishop of Rapho and Colonel MERVYN to settle the forms of his submission.

Whilst the Marquis of ORMONDE was pleasing himself with the hopes of this negotiation, he received intelligence that CROMWELL was landed at Dublin with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, two hundred thousand pounds in money, and a vast quantity of all kinds of ammunition and warlike necessaries. It was first intended that General IRETON his son in law should go with a party to Munster, and CROMWELL go with the rest to Dublin: but the wind blowing a strong gale from the South, the whole fleet was obliged to put into the bay of Dublin. CARTE alledges some

some other reasons for CROMWELL's not going to Munster, which are too improbable to be true; but I have given the account as LUDLOW gives it, who must certainly know the reason, and in this case may be believed, as it is a case quite indifferent. The hopes of the Marquis of ORMONDE were now blasted; and the scene was so much altered by this event, that he had no other chance for any thing better than a defensive war. His first care was to repair the fortifications at Drogheda, as the most exposed of any of the frontier towns, and which would probably be CROMWELL's first attempt, and to get as much provisions into the place as the time would allow. SR. A. ASTON a Catholick, and a soldier of great experience and reputation, was, with the approbation of the Commissioners of trust, appointed Governour: a garrison of two thousand foot and a good regiment of horse, all picked men, and many Gentlemen and Officers were sent into it, with as much ammunition as the Governour asked. Drogheda being thus provided for, the Marquis retired with his horse and the small remainder of his foot, in order to assemble his other forces at Tecroghan; whither Lord INCHQUIN was directed to bring all he could from Munster. The Bishop of Rapho had executed his commission with O NEIL; from whom, except civility, he could get nothing but an assurance, that he would enter into a treaty as soon as he should remove from thence, and in the mean time his forces should not commit any hostilities, nor do any thing to the prejudice of the King's service. But the Marquis thinking these delays almost as ruinous as hostilities, sent the nephew, D. O NEIL, to finish the treaty with his uncle, and to engage him to march immediately to the assistance of the Lord Lieutenant. The General was within twelve miles of Derry when DANIEL met him: and determined, with the consent of the chief officers of his army, which was six thousand foot and five hundred horse, to agree and join with the Marquis of ORMONDE. Even HEBER MAC MAHON, the titular Bishop of CLOGHER and fast friend of the Nuncio, had opened his eyes now to see—what indeed one would think, if “God had not sent them a strong delusion,” all the Catholicks must have seen from the beginning—that there was no chance for the existence of their religion in Ireland but in that conjunction; and became zealous for it. He found an expedient for taking off the Nuncio's excommunication, without any examination of the matter, for the better union of the Irish, and
for

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for healing those divisions which threatened the ruin of their country. But O NEEL was still detained in those parts: and to finish his story at once that it may give us no more interruption, though it is two months sooner than it should be, notwithstanding the treaty with him was concluded and he accordingly advanced with his army, yet being poisoned with a pair of boots which had been given him by one PLUNKET, he died on the sixth of November before he could join the Lord Lieutenant.

Some little time was necessary for CROMWELL to rest and refresh his army, and to settle the civil and military government at Dublin: and this being over, he marched on the thirtieth of August with ten thousand men for Drogheda, sending his provisions and artillery by sea. He lay before it above a week without doing any thing very material; and the Governour sent the Marquis word, "that he would find the enemy play, and therefore advised him to hazard nothing by precipitating to his relief." But on the ninth of September, the summons having been rejected, CROMWELL began to batter the place; and continuing to do so till the next day in the evening, the assault was made, and his men twice repulsed with great bravery: but in the third attack which he led himself, Colonel WALL being killed at the head of his regiment, his men were so dismayed, that they submitted to the enemy offering them quarter, sooner than they need to have done, and thereby betrayed themselves and their fellow soldiers to the slaughter. The place was immediately taken by storm: and though his officers and soldiers had promised quarter to all that would lay down their arms, yet CROMWELL ordered that no quarter should be given, and none was given accordingly. The slaughter continued all that day, and the next, and the Governour and four Colonels were killed in cool blood: "which extraordinary severity"—says LUDLOW with a coolness not becoming a man—"I presume was used to discourage others from making opposition." But are men to divest themselves of humanity, and to turn themselves into Devils, because policy may suggest that they will succeed better as devils than as men! Such is the spirit of religion, when it is deprived of truth and reason, and turned into zealous fury and enthusiasm! When CROMWELL had finished the carnage, by leaving only about thirty alive whom he sent away to Barbadoes, except a few that miraculously made

made their escape, he went on to Dundalk: And though the Marquis had given orders for that place, and Trim, to be dismantled and burnt, yet the garrisons of those towns were in such a terror with the news they heard from Drogheda, that they did not execute his orders; so that the enemy thought it worth their while to possess them and put garrisons into them.

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The Lord Lieutenant had not now with him above seven hundred horse, and fifteen hundred foot; some of which were of suspected faith, and many were new raised men: And though Lord INCHQUIN was preparing to march to his assistance with a good body of horse and foot from Munster, and Lord ARDES was in readiness with a considerable number of the Ulster Scots, yet the Marquis had neither money nor provisions for a single day to keep them together. The Commissioners of trust were dispersed; and their collectors not so diligent as they should have been in getting in corn or money. In this distress, the Lord Lieutenant issued out his own warrants for raising them: but this step, so absolutely necessary for their existence, was complained of by the Commissioners as a breach of the articles of the peace; and they even talked among themselves of treating with the enemy. Any other man in the world, but so good a man as the Marquis of ORMONDE, who had sacrificed his ease, his happiness, and fortune to the service of his country, and who had for several years hazarded his life almost daily in it, would have abandoned such a worthless, perfidious, ungrateful set of men to their own delusions: but his patience was invincible, and their punishment was not so soon to be at an end. The most advisable thing to be done in the present situation of their affairs, was to put their men into garrisons in the most considerable places; and as winter was approaching, to prosecute the levies of men, and train them to exercise and discipline. But his Excellency had not the power to make any new garrisons, nor to change the Governors of the old ones, without the consent of the Commissioners: and they had not influence enough with the chief cities and towns, which were the most likely to be attacked, to persuade them to receive garrisons. Limerick, Waterford, and Wexford, declared openly that they would not admit of any soldiers; nor would they obey any orders whatsoever that were sent them, of which they themselves did not approve.

To

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To remedy this confusion, and to prevent many other evils which it was easy to foresee, the Marquis of ORMONDE had again recourse to the expedient of his Majesty's repairing thither immediately. This would absolutely put an end to the power of the Commissioners, which had been such a clog upon his authority; and if any thing could, it would unite the nation in his Majesty's service. The King was ready, and waited only for the word from the Marquis to embark for Ireland. To this purpose he sent Colonel WARREN, and another Gentleman of his bed-chamber, to learn a true state of his affairs there from the Marquis; and by them the King sent him the George and Garter, having conferred that order upon him just at this time, together with the Prince Palatine, and Duke of BUCKINGHAM. The Marquis, and every body with whom he consulted, were clearly of opinion for the King's coming immediately with all the speed that was consistent with his safety: And as the fleet of the Common-wealth had quitted their station since their forces were landed in Ireland, a free passage by sea was now become open to Prince RUPERT. The Marquis of ORMONDE took great pains to fit out the Prince's Squadron, and to supply it with seamen and provisions, that it might sail to Jersey to bring over the King. But by the time that the advice which he had sent his Majesty arrived in that island, other measures were taken. The King, in his present situation, had nothing properly to lose but his reputation; which depending on his own conduct, could not be taken from him justly by any body but himself. He had determined to adhere to his father's principles and friends: he detested the Covenant, and all the ends for which it was calculated: but his old Councillors being all out of the way, and his new ones having no other project to propose than a retreat to Scotland, whither the Parliament of that kingdom had given him a strong invitation, with very flattering promises of the mighty things they would do for him, their former perfidy was forgotten, and he consented to meet their Commissioners at Breda; Jersey being judged by them unsafe, to enter upon a treaty: and thus all thoughts of Ireland were as fatally as absurdly laid aside.

That CROMWELL might lose no time in extending his conquests, being informed of the dissensions amongst the Ulster Scots, he sent VENABLES with two regiments of horse, two of foot, and two troops of dragoons into
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the North; the artillery and provisions being on board a frigate which was to attend upon the expedition. The first place they attacked was Carlingford; which beat a parley on the second day before the cannon were planted, and surrendered upon articles. The same thing was done at Newry: but in their march to Lisburn, success having made them careless against an enemy they despised, they were so roughly attacked by a good body of horse under Colonel TREVOR, that had his orders been observed the whole party would have been cut off. But several accidents saved them; and they marched the same day to Lisburn, and thence to Belfast, both which surrendered upon articles. Colerain had been betrayed to SR. C. COOTE; who had likewise made himself master of all that country, except the castle of Carrickfergus, which was besieged. Whilst these successes were carrying on with such great rapidity in Ulster, CROMWELL having been well informed of the fatal disagreement among his enemies, who seemed to conspire to bring on their own destruction, marched his army to Wexford. But to avoid all obstructions in his march, and to be well supplied with provisions, he took his way by the sea-side through the county of Wicklow, his fleet attending his motions all the way: and further to provide against accidents, and to engage the country people to supply him with necessaries, he published a proclamation at his leaving Dublin, forbidding his soldiers upon pain of death to hurt any of the inhabitants, or to take any thing from them without paying for it in ready money. This order being observed, and the people being assured that these forces were for the liberty of the commoners, that they should all enjoy their religion, and that those who served the camp should pay no contribution, the country people flocked in vast crowds to his army with all sorts of provisions. Three or four places surrendered to him on his march; and on the first of October, he sat down before Wexford with nine thousand men. It is hardly to be supposed that CROMWELL would have exposed his army, which was much weakened by sickness, in a siege at such a season, if he had not had intelligence that the place would be given up to him.

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There was all the reason in the world for the Marquis of ORMONDE to believe that this was intended. He had sent Lord CASTLEHAVEN to view the place, and provide for its defence: and though they had before refused

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to receive a garrison, yet when CROMWELL's fleet appeared before the harbour, the inhabitants were terrified to the last degree. Lord CASTLEHAVEN appointed SYNNOT, Lieutenant-colonel of PRESTON's regiment, to be their Governor; a man chosen by the Mayor as a confidant of the titular Bishop of FERNS: but the people were in such a fright, that if SR. E. BUTLER had not come himself, they would have opposed SYNNOT's entrance with his men, and have delivered up the town at the first summons. This was in a great measure owing to the treachery of one ROCHFORD the recorder; who had been a violent partisan of the Nuncio's, and now corresponded with CROMWELL by the canal of MR. N. LOFTUS. The town was capable of being made very strong at a small expence; but the corporation had too long deferred providing for their own defence. The Marquis of ORMONDE however resolved to do all that he could for their preservation: and with this view, having assembled all his forces, with thirteen hundred sent him out of Conaght by Lord CLANRICARDE, and two regiments of horse by Lord INCHQUIN, he caused them to march to Ross; and went himself with only his own retinue to the fort of Duncannon, which Lord CASTLEHAVEN had represented as utterly unprovided, and in danger of being lost. The Governor was one ROCH put in by the Nuncio, a creature of the titular Bishop of FERNS, and who kept a regular correspondence with LOFTUS above-mentioned; some of whose intercepted letters the Marquis of ORMONDE had in his hands. He did not however discover to ROCH that he had any knowledge of his treachery, nor express the least distrust of him: but surveying very exactly the condition of the fort, distributing some money among the soldiers, assuring them of his constant care for their relief, and encouraging them to hold out till it came, returned the same night to Ross and joined his army.

The town of Wexford had been invested on two sides, before the Magistrates would consent to receive any other garrison than the few that came in with SYNNOT: but their fears increasing with their danger, they were contented to receive some assistance from the Lord Lieutenant, provided the men were all Catholics; and he immediately ordered fifteen hundred men to be conducted by Lord CASTLEHAVEN, who had the good fortune to throw them safe into the town. The Governor was in some apprehensions for

for the place on account of a scarcity of provisions: and he sent word to the Lord Lieutenant, that if five hundred men more, and a suitable quantity of provisions were sent him, he made no doubt of defending it against the enemy, who already wanted forage. Upon this, his Excellency resolved to attempt the relief of the place in his own person, and with what forces he had to throw in succours, to change the Governor who was thought to be too young, and to receive the useless people in order to save some provision. Leaving therefore Major General TAAFE with a Conaght regiment to garrison Ross and finish the fortifications, he marched with the rest of his army, and arrived safe at the ferry on the North side of Wexford. From thence he sent notice to the Mayor, that he was there ready to afford them whatever succours they pleased: and some of the Aldermen were sent to congratulate his safety after so hazardous a march, to express their obligations to him for the danger he had undergone for their preservation, and to inform him that they were willing to receive any number of men he pleased. Some were ferried over immediately: and as the town was willing to admit SR. E. BUTLER, who was Governor of the county, to the same command in the town, he was sent in with six hundred men to reinforce it, and to take the command.

The Lord Lieutenant having finished the work of putting a second relief into Wexford, began his march back towards Ross: but CROMWELL having had intelligence of this, sent JONES with a considerable detachment from his army to intercept the Marquis on his return. His Excellency saw them drawn up on a hill, and suspected their design: but considering the condition of his own forces, the jealousies that reigned among them, and the disadvantages that he must suffer in an engagement, resolved to avoid it. He marched therefore in the close of the evening a contrary way to what he had done before; and fetching a compass over the mountains of Wicklow, he arrived in two days at Leighlin bridge. There Colonel BUTLER overtook him with the melancholy news, that Wexford was betrayed into the hands of CROMWELL, by STRAFFORD the Governor of the castle, and that he himself had escaped by swimming over the ferry; which SR. E. BUTLER attempting received a shot in his head, and was unfortunately drowned. The Lord Lieutenant would before the siege have removed

CHARLES II. STRAFFORD; but he being a Papist put in by the Supreme Council, the Commissioners of trust would not consent to it. The castle was seated at so small a distance from the town, that there was no cutting off the communication: and as soon as CROMWELL had ordered his batteries to play on a distant quarter of the town, on his summons being rejected, STRAFFORD admitted his men into the castle, from whence issuing suddenly and attacking the wall and gate adjoining, they were admitted, either through the treachery of the townsmen, or the cowardice of the soldiers, or perhaps both; and the slaughter was almost as great as that of Drogheda. The Marquis of ORMONDE was exceedingly troubled at this fatal miscarriage; which defeated the principal hopes he had remaining. For he flattered himself that Wexford would hold CROMWELL long enough in play, till his forces, which were unused to the climate of Ireland, would be so considerably reduced by the fatigues of the siege at such a season, as that his Excellency should be in a condition to give him battle.

But this was not the only mortification which he met with at this time. He received letters from Lord INCHQUIN with an account of a conspiracy among his Officers, in which he believed too many of them were engaged, to secure the town of Youghall for the English Parliament, and to seize his person: and though he had prevented the treachery, he had not force enough to punish it as it deserved. He further advertised his Excellency of his suspicions of some of the Officers and men of the two regiments of his horse which the Marquis had with him; but he hoped soon to reduce others which yet held out against him at Corke. Amidst these misfortunes, the Marquis had the comfort of knowing that Lord TAAFE, and D. O NEIL, were advancing as fast as they could, which was very slowly for want of subsistence, with near four thousand of O NEIL's army to his assistance. The Marquis of ORMONDE in the mean time endeavoured as well as he could to provide for the defence of Ross, and Duncannon, not knowing which of them would be first attacked. He put Major General TAAFE, a Catholick, with fifteen hundred foot into Ross; and leaving his horse to refresh themselves after their long marches, went to Waterford, to provide a supply of provision and ammunition, and a better Governor and garrison for Duncannon. It was easier to supply the fort with men than

with

with provisions; which were so incredibly scarce in the army, that Lord CHARLES II.
A. 1649. ORMONDE could never procure eight and forty hours provision at a time: and even a place so near Waterford was in danger of being lost through want of victuals and ammunition. The inhabitants of that city were either not sufficiently sensible of the importance of the fort for their own security, or they had resolved within themselves to submit to the first summons from CROMWELL. But these were not the only people who were affected with the terror of CROMWELL's name. The Commissioners of trust, who were astonished at the loss of Wexford—though owing entirely to the treachery of their own Governor—were on the point of deserting Kilkenny, and sent to consult the Lord Lieutenant on their removal; but he dissuaded them from it as being very needless and unseemly. When his Excellency first provided for the defence of Duncannon, he appointed Colonel WOGAN to command equally with ROCH; and left him there with his own life-guard of a hundred and twenty English Officers, whose fidelity had been approved. But on second thoughts believing that a co-ordinate command would be subject to inconveniencies, he recalled ROCH from the fort. The Commissioners of trust took fire, as usual, at this breach of the articles of peace: and notwithstanding the Marquis had intercepted some of his letters, which were a proof of his perfidy, and that ROCH himself had declared he could not defend the place, yet they undertook for his fidelity, and insisted on his being sent back to his command.

Though the siege of Wexford had been very short, yet CROMWELL's army were not at all pleased with a winter campaign; and complaining of great hardships began to mutiny. In order to quell their discontent, he was obliged to promise that he would put them on no other service for that year after taking ROSS; which he assured them would be delivered to him without any trouble. In the middle of October, he marched from Wexford with the gross of his army for that place; and at the same time sent a detachment to take Duncannon. The Marquis of ORMONDE marched with his forces—much diminished by the loss of those slain at Wexford, and the running away of all Lord INCHQUIN's foot home to Munster—and encamped over against ROSS on the other side of the river. The Governor,
Major

CHARLES II. Major General TAAFE, came to his Excellency's camp; and being supplied with all things necessary for his defence, desired an order under the Marquis's hand for the defence of the town as long as it was possible, and for the surrender of it when a Council of Officers should judge it to be untenable. The Council of war who were consulted thought it a reasonable request: the order was given: TAAFE returned to his garrison; and the Marquis went part of the way that night to Kilkenny, in order to meet a party of O NEIL's army which was advancing thither to join him. As he was upon his journey early the next morning, he heard CROMWELL's cannon: and within twenty-four hours after the artillery began to play, the town of Ross, through the treachery or cowardice of General TAAFE, was delivered up; on condition that the garrison should march out bag and baggage, and be ferried over into the county of Kilkenny.

But Colonel WOGAN was neither to be terrified with the artillery, nor to be bribed with the money of CROMWELL: and the Council of war had determined before the surrender of Ross, to try the fate of a battle rather than lose so considerable a fort as that of Duncannon. With this view, all the foot were ordered to rendezvous at the pass of Graig, six miles from Ross; and Lord INCHQUIN, being just returned from Munster, was ordered to repair to the horse quarters and bring them thither. Lord ORMONDE staid a few days longer at Kilkenny, to make the best provision possible for the army, now on the point of encreasing by O NEIL's forces under General FERRAL. But advice having been received, that twelve hundred foot and three hundred horse were to go from Dublin, in order to enable CROMWELL to return thither, and that they might be easily intercepted, Lord INCHQUIN imagined that this would be the least hazardous way of ruining the English army. The Marquis of ORMONDE was unwilling to delay the former resolution of attempting to relieve Duncannon; especially as CROMWELL had began a bridge of boats at Ross to pass his army over into the county of Kilkenny. His Excellency went however to meet the General Officers, and confer with them on the enterprize: and they all thinking it feasible, and the Commissioners of trust approving it, Lord INCHQUIN was sent with all the horse and a thousand foot upon that
 expe-

expedition; the Marquis going to the camp to wait the issue of it. Had none but friends been entrusted with the design, there is no doubt but it would have succeeded: but it was no sooner resolved on than communicated to CROMWELL, and the Dublin party. For this reason that party rested two days on their march, and were to be met at Glas carrig by a strong detachment of horse from the army. By some accident they did not meet: but by another accident they were apprised of Lord INCHQUIN's attack, where he was not expected, which saved them. In the end however, two of his Lordship's standards were taken, several considerable Officers killed, and some others dangerously wounded. But though they did not succeed by a surprise, they would not have been routed in the engagement, if the Irish horse had not run away without striking a stroke.

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In the mean time, the Marquis of ORMONDE had sent Lord CASTLEHAVEN to look after the relief of Duncannon, which his Excellency had much at heart. The siege was commanded by IRETON, and some Parliament ships lay before it: but his Lordship ventured in a boat one morning and got into the place. Having been shewn every part of the fortifications by Colonel WOGAN, his Lordship could see from the highest part of the rampart how the enemy lay: and having well considered every thing, he offered to send him fourscore horses that night by sea, with saddles and pistols, if he would mount them with so many of his English Officers, and with these and some foot make a sharp sally before day upon the enemy. The Colonel liked the proposal extremely, but doubted much the performance, it being three miles by sea: but his Lordship assured him he should shortly be satisfied of what had been undertaken. Having thus concluded, he took his boat, returned, and immediately set himself to his business; because the tide served in the beginning of the night to waft them over. The boats being made ready, he caused the horse to be taken to the sea-side, and saw them safely stowed in the boats, and sent away. They all arrived safe at Duncannon; and every thing being executed as he designed, a great slaughter was made, the cannon seized, and the Governor retired with his party before day into the fort. The enemy, who knew there were no horse there, were in the utmost confusion; not imagining that this was a sally only of the garrison, but a falling in of an army from abroad:

CHARLES II. abroad: they raised the siege therefore immediately, and were in such haste
A. 1649. to march away that they left two brass cannon behind them. This was the first place that had made any thing like a stand against CROMWELL's army in Ireland; and at this place they failed.

Whilst this siege was carrying on, he himself was busy, as was said before, in making a bridge of boats over the river at Ross, for the passage of his army into the county of Kilkenny; and by the time that the party employed in that siege rejoined him, the bridge was almost finished. The Marquis of ORMONDE, not having force enough to oppose that work, had recourse to stratagem for destroying it: but Lord TAAFE who proposed, and who was ordered to execute the plan, failed in the attempt. Over this bridge CROMWELL's forces were daily pouring; and therefore Lord ORMONDE retired three miles nearer to Kilkenny, to wait till the horse under Lord INCHQUIN were refreshed after their unfortunate expedition: this however could not be done so suddenly, but that CROMWELL had time to appear before the Marquis's quarters with his whole army in order of battle: and the want of horse, with the backwardness of several of his chief Officers, arising from their being of several parties, and their jealousies of each other, made his Excellency retreat, without fighting, to Kilkenny. But meeting there with General FERRAL, and the rest of the Ulster forces, the Marquis made all the preparations he could to engage the enemy; being determined to fight upon any disadvantage rather than to be besieged. To this end he drew up a declaration, setting forth the condition of the kingdom; that if possible he might restore such a confidence and unanimity among the several parties, as was requisite before their engaging in a battle. He desired Lord INCHQUIN to communicate this declaration to the Munster and Conaght forces, and General FERRAL to the Ulster Officers; and to desire a speedy signification of their opinions and resolutions under their hands. In their answer, they declared it to be necessary to fight the enemy; and they all engaged chearfully to obey his Excellency's commands according to their duty. The day after this assurance was given, the Lord Lieutenant marched from Kilkenny with all his forces, and seven days provision, in order to seek an opportunity of giving CROMWELL battle; who had marched to Carrick, which had been surpris'd. But when the Marquis drew

drew near that place, he found that CROMWELL had passed there with all his army over the Sure; and, notwithstanding the promise given his men, was marched to the siege of Waterford.

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The Lord Lieutenant, conceiving that city to be in danger, had made Lord CASTLEHAVEN Governour; and sent him with a thousand men to secure it, and to defend fort Passage over against Duncannon on the Waterford side: but the town would not admit his troops to enter, and had treated him with such disrespect that he was obliged to leave the place. The Citizens notwithstanding, being now alarmed at the bridge of boats at Ross, had the assurance to desire that Major CAVENAUGH, and two hundred men, might be sent to them for their security; which the Marquis ordered accordingly, though he thought the inhabitants had used him very ill, in refusing the Governour and troops which he had sent them. But when he found that CROMWELL invested the city on the twenty fourth of November, the Marquis determined to relieve it. The Council of war however did not think proper to leave Carrick behind them; and the titular Bishop of CLOGHER, who had the greatest influence over the Ulster forces, was very zealous for storming the place immediately. Wherefore the Marquis, having led the army within musket shot of the walls, left the conduct of that affair to the Lords INCHQUIN and TAAFE, and marched away with the reinforcement which he intended to throw into Waterford. About eight o'clock at night they arrived there; when he informed the Mayor and Aldermen that he had brought General FERRAL with fifteen hundred men for their defence, and had invested him with the military government of the city, not in the least doubting of their chearful concurrence in a matter intended only for their preservation. Their fears disposed them to receive him: the Marquis left the city the same night, repassed the river Sure, and marched till midnight with his life guard to a place called Dunkit. Early the next morning he went for Carrick, expecting he should find his army in possession of it. But when he got within a few miles of it, he met Colonel POWER, dispatched by Lord INCHQUIN to inform him that the enterprize had failed, through want of pickaxes and other materials to break the walls, and that the army was retreated to Clonmell, having no provisions. This

CHARLES II. disappointment—which was the more vexatious, as the place, according to
 A. 1649. LUDLOW, was defended only by a few horse, who had no arms but their
 swords and pistols—obliged the Marquis to march twenty miles about before
 he could join the army.

When he arrived at Clonmell, he dispatched letters to the Commissioners of trust, to assure them that his forces could be no longer kept together without a supply of provisions: but if a considerable quantity might be obtained, he would march with them to the relief of Waterford, which he was afraid would otherwise be given up. Finding it impossible to get the provisions necessary for the whole army, he marched by night with a considerable part of it to conduct B. O NEIL's horse, and some more foot to Waterford; and early the next morning drew them up upon a hill opposite to the town, from whence he could plainly see CROMWELL's camp. The Marquis had not been long in this situation before he saw the English army marching away in disorder, which had been diminished by sickness and hard service: and judging the opportunity very favourable for falling upon CROMWELL's rear, he went immediately into the town to get his men ferried over to that purpose. But the Magistrates finding their danger was at an end, and suspecting the Marquis might leave them there in winter quarters, feigned many frivolous difficulties and excuses till the opportunity was lost. They consented to admit B. O NEIL's horse and some few of the foot; and of these, in two or three days, they complained as an intolerable grievance, and that the city would be starved if they were not removed immediately. This service being performed, his Excellency returned again to the army at Clonmell, where a strange scene was opened.

A good deal of the treachery of Lord ANTRIM hath appeared already in many parts of this work. These need not be repeated: but after many little intrigues to the prejudice of the King's service when he was stripped of his command in the North, as above related, as soon as CROMWELL landed at Dublin, he sent his Priest to settle a correspondence with him, and to propose or encourage the attempt on Wexford. He had done all the mischief he could at Waterford, by corrupting the minds of the soldiers and inhabitants against the Royal party; and thence he went to Clonmell,

to persuade the corporation that the kingdom was betrayed, that the Ulster forces would desert from the Lord Lieutenant, and that they would do well not to receive a garrison from him. Having done this business, he intended to have gone to Limerick on the same notable errand: but the army came hither unawares upon him; and Lord INCHQUIN demanded satisfaction of him for an injury done to his honour. Articles of agreement had been forged, as though framed between JONES and Lord INCHQUIN, whereby the latter had engaged to betray the King's cause and armies; and this instrument signed with his Lordship's name, and letters from JONES confirming it, it was currently reported by ANTRIM's confidants could be produced. Lord INCHQUIN receiving intelligence of this forgery, and tracing it up to ANTRIM, whom he luckily met with now at Clonmell, he laid hold of him, and gave him a challenge: but ANTRIM, not caring to fight, was contented to make a solemn acknowledgment of his crime before the Marquis of ORMONDE, and four of the Commissioners of trust; confessing that he had forged the instrument in concert with JONES, in order to sow sedition in his Majesty's army, and to exasperate the Irish against Lord INCHQUIN. After a confession of such infamous treachery to the army, ANTRIM ought to have lost his life by martial law: but he was suffered to depart without any other punishment than the consciousness of his villany; probably because he had basely injured the Marquis of ORMONDE, and his punishment might have been attributed more to his Excellency's resentment, than to his crime against the army and Lord INCHQUIN. His Lordship not only published a vindication of himself, but he wrote a letter to JONES inclosing ANTRIM's confession, and desired to know whether the part of it relating to him were true; because it was to be supposed, that a sense of his own honour would make him vindicate himself from having had any hand in such a dishonourable contrivance. But JONES died a few days after of the plague, which had spread into both armies; and so that matter ended.

It was impossible for any one to be more sincere and zealous in the King's service than Lord INCHQUIN; but his officers had not the same affections. Two or three conspiracies amongst them, to carry off his horse, to secure the posts of Munster for the Parliament, and to seize upon his person,

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have been already mentioned : but his Lordship imagining they were rather deluded by artifice than malice, and that they would never separate from him, he did not alter his conduct upon the proofs they had given of their inconstancy, as a wise man should have done, but left his garrison still in their hands ; and it soon appeared how little they deserved that confidence. Lord BROGHILL, son of the Earl of CORK, had always been employed and was very zealous in the service of the late King ; and so well disposed towards the present, that he had corresponded with Lord ORMONDE when in France, and had determined to wait upon the King in Holland in order to go with him into Ireland, whither the King was then intending to repair. But when he was arrived at London in order to prosecute his voyage, he was much surprised with a visit from CROMWELL ; who informed him that his designs were well known to the Council of State, and that he would have been sent to the Tower immediately on his coming to town, if he himself had not interposed that he might confer with him, and try if he could not draw him off from his intended purpose. To this end, knowing well how useful his Lordship had been in the Irish war which was now committed to CROMWELL's care, he had leave from the Council of State, he said, to offer his Lordship, if he would serve against the Irish, that he should have a General Officer's command, and should have no oaths nor engagements required from him, nor be obliged to fight against any but the Irish. Having no other alternative if he refused, but the loss of his liberty in the Tower, his Lordship accepted the offer. According to his promise he came to Ireland, raised a troop of horse of Gentlemen, and a regiment of fifteen hundred foot well appointed. With these he put himself under the command of CROMWELL, and did great service against the Irish in many places. His chief strength and interest lay in his native province of Munster : and having received intelligence of the defection of Lord INCHQUIN's officers, CROMWELL sent him with a strong detachment thither in the middle of November ; and all the garrisons there received him, and declared for the Common-wealth of England.

This general revolt of those important places furnished CROMWELL's army, the horse especially, with excellent winter quarters ; without which, besides being harrassed by a long march in the midst of winter to Dublin, and

and perhaps attacked and endangered by the Irish, they would have suffered extremely for want of accommodations, and of dry forage. But this was not the worst of this terrible blow: it put an end at once and for ever to all trust and confidence between the Irish and the English under the command of the Lord Lieutenant. The Irish declared that they suspected all the English nation; and made this treachery of the Munster officers the grounds of a jealousy of those who had given proofs of the most unshaken fidelity: the English reproached the others with numberless instances of their perfidy; and complained of the little authority that was left to the Lord Lieutenant, by which means the army was never recruited, disciplined, nor provided as it should be, their towns not garrisoned, and such Governours set over them as treacherously or cowardly gave them up. It was impossible for the Marquis of ORMONDE to remove these jealousies, or to take any vigorous measures for their common safety: but it behoved him to distribute into winter quarters an army which he had no money to pay, nor provisions to subsist for four and twenty hours together. It was highly necessary to the service, and he proposed it to the Commissioners, that the soldiers should be put into garrisons and quarters in the great towns and cities, where they might be constantly exercised, and ready to be drawn out on any emergency: but those corporations had for many years acted like so many petty republicks independent of all other government, and submitting to no orders of which they did not approve; and even now continued refractory. Kilkenny had indeed complied; and Clonmell now agreed to admit HUGH O NEIL with an Ulster party into garrison: but all others refused to be burdened with any soldiers, and obstinately persisted in that refusal. Even in the towns most exposed of any to danger, standing most in need of a garrison for their safety, there was an insurmountable aversion to receive orders from any but their own Magistrates.

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A remarkable instance of this obstinacy the Lord Lieutenant met with at this time at Waterford. Having had the merit of relieving them and of forcing CROMWELL to raise the siege, he was in hopes he might prevail with them, from the reasonableness of the thing, and the necessity of their affairs, to admit a greater number of forces into their city, which was now become a frontier garrison. To this purpose he went thither himself; and

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as he entered the city, he met General FERRAL marching out with a party of foot, in order to surprize or assault the fort of Passage; which CROMWELL had taken when he lay before Waterford, and which greatly incommoded the commerce of that city. He had been gone but a few hours before Lord ORMONDE went to some place of prospect in the town to look after them; and discovering a strong party of horse marching in good order to the fort, and concluding intelligence had been sent to the enemy of the design, he immediately sent for the Mayor, and shewing him the inevitable danger the party was in unless instantly relieved, desired boats might be got ready as fast as possible, to transport, from the north side of the river where he had left his troops, a regiment or two of his horse, with which he would endeavour to rescue them. But all his instances were in vain: evident as the danger was, he could not prevail with the corporation to suffer any of his horse to march through the town; and without going through the town they could not relieve FERRAL. Full of rage and indignation at this treatment, and very desirous to preserve the party, though he had not been consulted with on the enterprise, he caused the friends and retinue he had with him to the number of fifty to mount, and led them with all the expedition he could towards the fort. He had not gone far before he met FERRAL and his men flying towards Waterford, and the enemy's horse in pursuit of them: his own party was not strong enough to encounter those horse; but drawing his men up on the side of a hill, which made the enemy imagine their number was much greater than it was, they slackened their pace, and Lord ORMONDE skirmished with them long enough for the foot to escape, which were about half the number, and which must otherwise have been cut to pieces or taken prisoners as the other were. The prisoners he might have recovered, and have taken Passage, if the corporation would have permitted his horse to be ferried over, and to march through the town. In short they carried their insolence and jealousy to such a height, that when his Excellency offered them to reduce Passage, from which they were much annoyed, if they would only allow his forces to quarter in huts under their walls, where they should not be burdensome to the city, but maintained by the adjacent country, they absolutely refused their consent. They complained of being eaten up, and on the point of starving, through the consumption made by the garrison; and they had rather endure any inconveniences

niences from the fort than run the hazard of a famine. Nay to such an extravagant pitch of ingratitude and villany they had arrived, that it was proposed in the Common Council of the city to seize his Excellency's person, and to cut off all that were with him as their enemies. The majority indeed did not agree to the proposal, but it met with no other reprehension.

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The Marquis of ORMONDE, being informed of what had passed, thought it high time to consult his safety; and it being the middle of December, to distribute his forces into any quarters where there appeared a likelihood of their subsistence. By this means they were scattered all over the kingdom: and from this time, he never did, nor could, with all his endeavours, draw together a body of five hundred men. A little before the dispersion of the army, the Irish Clergy met at Clonnacnose; above twenty of their Bishops being present. Many warm debates arose upon the Nuncio's interdict and excommunication; but at last they were compromised, according to the expedient of the titular Bishop of CLOGHER, already mentioned. Lord ANTRIM being still at liberty, through an ill judged lenity of the Lord Lieutenant's, made use of it to render him suspected by the Clergy, and to procure a protestation from them against his government. This was not purely owing to the malignity of his nature, though he had an infinite deal: he hoped to succede Lord ORMONDE in the dignity of Lord Lieutenant. But at this time the titular Bishop of CLOGHER baffled all his measures. The Popish Prelate had by frequent conversations formed the highest opinion of Lord ORMONDE's talents for government, and of his zeal for his country; and he endeavoured to instil the same opinion into the Assembly: in which if he did not succeed, he prevented any public opposition to him. The Bishop was a man of better sense than most of his brethren; and he saw the necessity of the whole nation uniting as one man in its defence. For this reason he laboured so earnestly with the congregation of the Clergy, that he persuaded them at last to enter into a superficial union for burying in oblivion all that was past; to declare that no security for life, estate, or religion, could be expected from CROMWELL; to express their detestation of all animosities between the old Irish and British; and their resolution of punishing all the Clergy that should encourage them. These decrees were published in English: but there were other proceedings

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CHARLES II. in this congregation, which lasted three weeks, by which it appeared that
 A. 1649. some of the members had not wholly laid aside their design of raising new troubles, and that the protestation against Lord ORMONDE was only deferred.

The King's affairs in Ireland were now reduced to a very miserable condition: the reader will be convinced of it without any recapitulation. The Lord Lieutenant had done every thing in his power to prevent, and was ready to do every thing he could to remedy, this ill state of the kingdom. To that end he made several proposals at this time to the Commissioners of trust: but some of those Gentlemen held a close correspondence with the most ill affected Clergy, who cherished all the bad humours and jealousies of the people, and the others seemed willing to withdraw from a declining cause; so that he called upon them for an answer in vain. He thought it his duty therefore to send the King a full and true account of the state of his affairs there; that he might either provide what was necessary to put them in a better condition, or not be deceived in thinking that he had a kingdom and armies at his command, when without those necessities neither that kingdom nor those armies could be of any continuance. Having laid these things before his Majesty, he informed him that "all the misfortunes of the nation, the negligences, cowardice, and treachery of others, were all attributed to him, by the mean and unworthy suggestions of malevolent people: and though he should not think himself unhappy or prejudiced, by having nothing more to do with a people that could be wrought upon by so shallow an engine as ANTRIM, yet till his Majesty should think fit to recal the power entrusted with him, he should not willingly let it fall for their pleasure. But as the ruin of both sides must be the issue of the contention, should the Clergy and their party proceed on his removal, and should it not be submitted to by him, he humbly desired his Majesty's commands to withdraw himself from the kingdom, when unavoidable necessity should drive him away." This was what his enemies desired, and were at this very time endeavouring to obtain.

Lord ANTRIM having failed in engaging the Clergy openly to demand the removal of the Marquis of ORMONDE from the Government, sent over
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ROCHFORD and a Priest to Jersey, to represent that step as absolutely necessary, and to suggest that ANTRIM was the fittest person for the government, as being most agreeable to the nation. At the same time that this paltry intrigue was carrying on at the King's court, the party of Prince RUPERT solicited strongly for his Highness to be made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The King rejected both proposals with indignation; and with a gratitude that became him towards such a Minister, told Lord BYRON, "that he would sooner lose the kingdom, than offer such an affront to the Marquis of ORMONDE." The King was young, but he had a strength of mind upon this occasion which all Kings ought to have; and the want of which alone, is often as productive of the unhappiness of their people, as the most obstinate misrule. A firm adherence to an incapable and a worthless favourite, is the ready way for a King to ruin himself: but to discard able honest Ministers, in order to please a favourite, or to gratify the pride and ambition of others, or even to silence the unjust and factious clamours of the people, is the way to unhinge and perplex his Government at home, and to make it despicable abroad. No subject had ever sacrificed his ease and fortune for his Prince, with more zeal and constancy, or served him with greater abilities and integrity, than the Marquis of ORMONDE had served the King and his father: and for his Majesty to have suffered such a Minister to have been whispered out by a favourite, or his removal to have been the condition of the services of others, would have loaded his memory with weakness and ingratitude to the latest posterity. It was however eminently the case afterwards of this very King with regard to this very Minister, as well as to the Earl of CLARENDON: and the indignation and contempt with which his Majesty's character hath been treated by all honest men ever since upon that account, hath not deterred other Princes from copying his example.—I shall now return to the history.

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Though the King complied with Lord ORMONDE's request in granting him a licence to leave the kingdom, yet it was to be kept a secret till he should have a proper occasion to make use of it: and in the mean time, his Majesty endeavoured all that was in his power, to procure those supplies which were so much wanted in Ireland. To this end he made applications to the court of Sweden for arms, and to the King of Spain for money: and as Prince RUPERT had taken many rich prizes in the Mediterranean

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with the fleet which the Marquis had fitted out, orders were sent to his Highness to remit him ten thousand pounds: but what the King most depended upon for the preservation of his interest in Ireland, was the hopes he had of being able to divert the money and forces of the Commonwealth of England. With this view he had agreed to enter into a treaty with the Scots at Breda, already mentioned, in order to engage them to send a powerful army into England in the spring for his assistance; and in the mean time the Lord Lieutenant was to make the best shift he could. But what shift could that be, when an universal jealousy and discontent reigned all over the nation, when every one seemed to have abandoned the care of their defence, and to have laid aside all thoughts of uniting for their common safety? It was impossible to do any thing with effect to that purpose, without restoring the confidence of the people, and redressing the disorders which then universally prevailed. But how to do this was the question: he could do nothing himself of any consequence without the consent of the commissioners of trust: and therefore he desired they would examine where any misdemeanors had been committed that they might be punished, and from whence the scandal and calumnies proceeded, that the minds of the people might be composed. The Commissioners advised that an authority might be given the people to send deputies from every county to present their grievances, and the means they had to propose for their relief: this was judged the best expedient to inform the country how groundless their jealousies had been, and to discover the artifice with which their affections had been corrupted: but the Marquis of ORMONDE judged otherwise: he thought it would be a tedious inconvenient method, and in the end rather advance than suppress the sedition then on foot. He saw however at the same time, if he did not comply with this proposal, he should be reproached with an unwillingness to hear or to remedy the grievances of the people: he consented therefore that the Commissioners might send their circular letters into the counties for the purpose above-mentioned; and when the agents came to Kilkenny, he received them very graciously, and promised them a speedy answer. Whilst they were employed in drawing up a remonstrance of their grievances, about which they could not agree, they were alarmed with the approach of part of CROMWELL's army, and desired they might adjourn to Ennis in the county of Clare. This leave

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was granted; but they could not agree in the particulars they were to complain of: and though many of them were persuaded, upon a conference with the Commissioners, who had been witnesses of all Lord ORMONDE's conduct, how groundless the slanders of him were, yet many others made the same ill use of their meeting which he had foreseen.

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It was well known how small a force the Lord Lieutenant had at Kilkenny; and CROMWELL thought this a good opportunity, when there were so many people in the place not well affected to his Excellency, to make a push against it. This alone however would scarce have determined him to such a march in the month of January, if he had not held a correspondence in the city with Colonel TICKLE, who had undertaken to betray it. As soon as his forces appeared before it, the Marquis with great difficulty got together about five hundred foot, and mounting his friends and servants made up a body of an hundred horse: With these, and with the townsmen who appeared very ready for their defence, he looked on the enemy with so good a countenance, and TICKLE failing in his engagement, that CROMWELL thought fit to retire without any action. Some of the Colonel's letters being intercepted, whereby the treachery was discovered, the Marquis caused him to be put to death. The plague raged terribly in that country at this time; and the Marquis giving the government of Kilkenny and the whole province of Leinster to Lord CASTLEHAVEN, went himself in the middle of February to Limerick, and the county of Galway, in order to concert measures with the Marquis of CLANRICARDE for an enterprise which he had projected.

In this depressed state of the King's affairs in Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant apprehended he had but two resources left: the one to join the Conaght and Ulster forces, and the other to try the titular Bishops; whether among these who had observed so much moderation in the synod above-mentioned, he might not find some that knew their own interest, and who would be as industrious in using means to preserve the kingdom, as others were in labouring to destroy it. His Excellency wrote therefore to four and twenty of them, desiring they would meet him and others of the Nobility at Limerick, to confer together on the state of the nation. When they

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met, he told them plainly, that unless the people could be brought to place a full confidence in him, and the city of Limerick be persuaded to receive a garrison and obey his orders—both which they had refused—it was impossible for him to do any thing against the English: and therefore he desired, that they would either procure a due obedience to be yielded to him, or recommend some other way by his quitting the kingdom how it might be preserved. After several general indeterminate propositions, they recommended two remedies to remove the discontents of the people: the one was that the receiver general should be called upon to clear his accounts of the money levied since the peace: this was calculated to flatter the jealousies of the people about the misapplication of the public money, and the Marquis agreed to it to undeceive them: the other was that a Privy-Council might be appointed, framed of Peers, and others, natives of the kingdom, as well spiritual as temporal: this was to aggrandize themselves, and to get the Government into their own hands; but this was not in the Marquis of ORMONDE's power to grant. However rather than any thing should be wanting to satisfy the people, he told them that if they would specify any acts formerly done by the Privy-Council which were necessary now to be done, and could not be done by him and their Commissioners of trust, he would qualify persons who were free from just exceptions with such powers. The company appeared to be satisfied with his answers: they published a declaration that they would endeavour to root out of mens hearts all jealousies and sinister opinions conceived against his Excellency or the present Government; desiring his further directions, and promising they would omit no industry nor care in their execution. They employed the titular Bishop of the place, and their Archbishop of CASHELL, to persuade the city of Limerick to receive a garrison. The Marquis of ORMONDE had before used all imaginable pains, and descended to all the arts of persuasion, to engage the Magistrates and the citizens to that step; as the only means of securing their persons, their fortunes, or their religion. But they did not treat him with those outward forms of respect which had been denied him no where else. The Officers that commanded the city guards, neither came to him for orders, nor imparted them to him: no Officer of his own army, nor any other person, could be admitted to him without leave of the Mayor, though to receive his Excellency's commands for opposing the enemy,

enemy, who at that time ranged over the neighbourhood. They even imprisoned Lord KILMALLOCK, though a Popish Peer and an Officer of the army, for only quartering a few horsemen one night, by the Marquis's own orders, within the liberties of the city. These insults being too intolerable to be endured, and the plague beginning to spread, the Marquis removed to Loghrea, whither the Bishops followed him the next day: but here a strange scene of the duplicity of some of these holy men was opened. When the Marquis of ORMONDE, and Lord INCHQUIN, who had been with him at Limerick, conferred together on the passages at that meeting, they discovered to each other an application that the Bishops had made them separately: to the Marquis they declared, that all the frowardness and jealousies of the people arose from the prejudices they had contracted against Lord INCHQUIN, on account of his rigour and animosity, and the revolt of his Officers and towns; but if his Excellency would dismiss him, and the troops that yet remained under his command, not only the city of Limerick, but all the nation would be as one man at his disposal: to Lord INCHQUIN they affirmed, that as he was of the most ancient extraction in Ireland, and under that notion looked upon by the Irish with great affection, if he would join heartily with them and assume the Government to himself, they would put all the power into his hands; and he would soon grow strong enough to oppose the enemy, and recover his country. The design of this treacherous double dealing is too obvious to be pointed out: but lest it should not succeed, they used their instances with the Lord Lieutenant to remove all the English Officers and soldiers under his command out of the kingdom; as an effectual means to cure the jealousies which the Irish had entertained of him on their account. Insolent and ungrateful as this proposition was, the Marquis consented to it; provided it were done in such a manner as to avoid a national distinction, and that the troops dismissed might have their arrears, and a compensation for the horses and arms they should leave behind them: the condition was accepted, but very feebly and slowly performed.

The only ray of hope that was left of getting together any thing like an army, was with the Irish in Ulster, and Lord CLANRICARDE's forces in Conaght: and with these it was thought it might not be difficult to recover

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the places that had been taken by COOTE and VENABLES in the North. The great difficulty was to agree about a Commander in chief; it being doubtful whether the Ulster Irish would submit to the command of the Marquis of CLANRICARDE in their own country, whom the Lord Lieutenant intended for that post. No General had yet been chosen for that province since the death of OWEN O NEIL: the Gentry were divided into parties about a successor: many of them were not inclined to the King's service: all of them were stiff in point of command; and it was to be feared would serve under no General in their own country but who should be of their own election. Lord ORMONDE therefore wrote to the titular Bishop of CLOGHER, and some others in Ulster, to represent the importance of the service, to press their concurrence, and to remove the difficulties with regard to the command. The vain and busy spirit of ANTRIM was never at rest: he was lately gone into that province to solicit the post of General, though they had turned him out of it before; and did all that little malice and cunning could suggest to exasperate the Irish against any conjunction with the Scots: in a time of jealousies like these his practices could not fail of rendring an union of different parties impracticable: they had in truth such an effect, that the country not only submitted to pay contributions and to take protections, but even the forces were inclined to join the enemy. The people of Conaght were so exhausted, and the plague had made such a havock, the army and the inhabitants were so divided, and every one was so indolent and dejected, that Lord CLANRICARDE could neither raise the force that he had proposed, and was necessary to the undertaking, nor get provisions and money to maintain them in the field. Thus was the enterprise defeated: we must now return to what was doing in Leinster.

Lord CASTLEHAVEN having appointed the Governors of the castle and city of Kilkenny, and having taken all the measures he could to furnish it with men, provision, and ammunition, he marched out himself to a rendezvous which he had fixed at Carlow; leaving a thousand foot, and two hundred horse, in garrison behind him. He had wrote to Lord DILLON for the men under his command, amounting to two thousand five hundred foot and six hundred horse, to meet him at Carlow: in their stead he received

ceived a letter from his Lordship, as though he were sending them in great haste; but notwithstanding repeated orders they never came. In the mean time, CROMWELL taking advantage of the fair weather, and knowing that nothing could be so destructive to the Irish, who wanted necessaries, as an early campaign, in the latter end of February, he marched out of his winter quarters with three thousand men: and whilst he himself with one part sat down before Callan, IRETON with the other part took several castles, and then joined him. An Irishman, having been taken by Lord CASTLEHAVEN's guards at this time, desired to speak privately with his Lordship: and when he was brought in, he produced a yellow piece of wax, pretty round, which he was to swallow if he should be seized: within the ball there was a note to CROMWELL from Colonel HEWSON, to inform him that his forces were on the march to him from Dublin, but as Lord CASTLEHAVEN lay in his way desired orders what he should do. His Lordship copied the note; and the fellow having assured him of his return with CROMWELL's answer, the note was rolled up as before, and the messenger sent away: within two or three days he returned with another such ball of wax inclosing CROMWELL's orders to HEWSON, which Lord CASTLEHAVEN kept: the Colonel however held on his march and passed the Barrow, eight or ten miles below his Lordship. But though he had not strength to meddle with these armies, yet he made some advantage of his intelligence: for whilst they were joining, he marched to Athy eight miles above him, where CROMWELL had a magazine with seven hundred men in garrison: and coming before it an hour before sun-set, his Lordship took it by storm with all the garrison prisoners at discretion. The place not being tenable, and having no men to spare, he slighted it: and, not knowing what to do with his prisoners, made a present of them to CROMWELL; desiring him by letter to return the compliment, if any of his Lordship's men should fall into his power. But CROMWELL was a stranger to any such civility: and in return, a few days after, having taken Callan, and Gowran being surrendered by the soldiers on promise of quarter for themselves, the Officers, being against the surrender and delivered at discretion, were shot to death. The English army were much wasted by sickness and hard duty, as well as the plague: and the greatest part of those he had brought with him had perished: but the fatal revolt of the Munster forces had recruited him with
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men, habituated to the climate, and inured to the hardships of an Irish war. All the castles within his reach submitted without making any defence; and the whole county of Tipperary agreed to pay him contributions. There was scarcely one castle or strong house in Leinster, which the husband or wife was not for giving up, and receiving conditions from the enemy. It must be owned that all these places wanted ammunition for their defence; but the general terror which seized the inhabitants was the reason why they were yielded before a gun was fired against them.

Encouraged by these successes the siege of Kilkenny was next attempted; the garrison of which was reduced by the plague to three hundred men, and the inhabitants diminished greatly. Having summoned the town, he surrounded it; and his cannon having made a breach, he caused it to be assaulted: but his men were beaten off twice, and could not be prevailed upon to make a third attack: the breach was repaired, and CROMWELL was on the point of raising the siege, when the Mayor and citizens sent to invite him to stay, and to assure him of the place. The Governour, who was a relation of the Marquis of ORMONDE's, notwithstanding this treachery, repulsed them in several places with considerable slaughter. But IRETON coming up with fifteen hundred fresh men, and Lord CASTLEHAVEN not being able to send them any succours, the garrison being few in number, and those worn out through want of rest, the Governour resolved to execute his Lordship's order; which was, if he should not be relieved the day before by seven o'clock, not to expose themselves to a massacre through any punctilio of soldiery, but make as good conditions as they could by a timely surrender. A parly was accordingly beaten; a cessation agreed on till twelve o'clock the next day; and the town and castle to be then surrendered upon honourable terms. When the Governour and officers marched out, CROMWELL said they were gallant fellows; that he had lost more men in the storming of that place against so small a garrison than he had lost in taking Drogheda; and that he should have gone away without it, had it not been for the treachery of the townsmen. This treachery indeed was become universal, through the corruption of some, and the cowardice of other garrisons; and was the principal cause of the loss of most of the strong places which were taken.

Kilkenny

Kilkenny being secured, CROMWELL marched to Clonmell; and his summons being rejected, sat down before it. The place was defended by H. O NEIL, with a garrison of twelve hundred Ulster Irish. The cannon having made a breach in the wall, CROMWELL ordered the assault to be given, but with so little success, that he lost above a thousand of his best men in the storm: he made a second attack, but failed again as before: he resolved therefore to wait till he could reduce it by famine. There being no way to dispose of Lord INCHQUIN's forces, that the titular Bishops had insisted should be dismissed the kingdom, but through CROMWELL's quarters, Colonel DANIEL, and Dean BOYLE, applied to him here for a pass to that purpose: but he wanted recruits for his forces so much that he desired extremely these should enter into his service. The agents having no power to treat of any such thing, he consented to the capitulation; and offered a pass for the Marquis of ORMONDE, and Lord INCHQUIN. Tho' the Dean had positive orders not to ask any thing on the behalf of either, yet the passes being offered, he accepted them, to the Marquis's great dislike: he saw it would turn to his dishonour, and be made use of, as it was made use of, to corrupt the Irish garrisons to take conditions: he returned it therefore by a trumpet, accompanied with a letter expressing his resentment at the Dean's imprudence, and "assuring CROMWELL for his unsought courtesy, that when he should desire a pass from his Lordship, and it should be granted, he would not make use of it to corrupt any that commanded under CROMWELL." Whilst this affair was transacting, CROMWELL sent a letter to Lord BROGHILL to inform him of the distressed condition in which his army was; that his men, who were very sickly, had been beaten twice with great loss; and that he must of necessity raise the siege, and go off with disgrace, and the ruin of his army, if not immediately relieved. Wherefore he conjured his Lordship, by all the ties of duty and of friendship, to desist from all other designs whatever, and to come to his assistance without delay. At the same time that he received his Lordship's answer that he would be with him in three days, he received a supply of money, a regiment of foot, and above two hundred horse from England; with an order from the Parliament to repair thither immediately, on account of an armament carrying on in Scotland for the King. But he could not raise the siege without the loss of his reputation. The garrison

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however began to be distressed through a scarcity of ammunition, and provision; and it was not in the power of the Marquis of ORMONDE to send them any relief. He had given orders to Lord CASTLECONNEL and the Sheriff to raise the county of Limerick; and the Gentlemen met, and agreed to raise three hundred horse, and eleven hundred foot for the succour of Clonmell: but this was prevented by the Commissioners of trust, who disliked and forbade that method of rising. Lord CASTLECONNEL therefore appointed another meeting, and sent to the Commissioners for their directions; desiring them to be present at it themselves, since they disapproved, and would not allow him to obey, the Lord Lieutenant's order. But the Commissioners having been satisfied with defeating that order, neither went nor vouchsafed an answer: so that the Gentlemen not knowing how to proceed, nothing could be done.

The Marquis of ORMONDE, whose patience was not to be overcome by the perverseness and ingratitude of these people, applied next to Lord ROCHE, to desire him to raise a body of men in his country, and attempt the relief of Clonmell. A party of foot, considerable only for their number, and three hundred horse, rendezvoused at Macroom; but CROMWELL detached Lord BROGHILL with five hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot in order to attack them. Lord ROCHE, upon their approach, retired further westward into a fastness; being unwilling to engage with new raised and unexperienced men: these dispersed and secured themselves in adjoining woods with little loss; but the titular Bishop of Ross, who was with them, was taken and executed the next day. Lord ROCHE endeavoured to rally his men about Killarney; and sent to Lord INCHQUIN for a reinforcement of horse from the county of Clare, resolving to make another attempt to raise the siege: but Lord BROGHILL advancing, he was prevented. At last, H. O NEIL, having spent all his powder and provisions, and seeing no prospect of relief, withdrew all his garrison by night over the bridge with so much secrecy and expedition, that the enemy knew nothing of it; and the townsmen obtaining good conditions, on the eighteenth of May it was surrendered, and the next week CROMWELL embarked for England. It is astonishing to observe the false and inaccurate account which is given by LUDLOW in his memoirs of the proceedings of CROMWELL in Ireland: he

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has jumbled together the places that were not taken in one and the same campaign; and the siege of Clonmell, which lasted near two months, and which, if the powder and provision of the besieged had not failed them, CROMWELL would never have taken, LUDLOW says was at an end the night after the breach was stormed. Instead of his sending CROMWELL to England after the siege of Clonmell, we are told that he received the letters of recal to England, whilst he was preparing for the siege of Waterford: whereas the first siege of that place was raised in the year preceding, and the second siege was not undertaken till CROMWELL had been gone near three months out of the kingdom. In short there never were more errors crowded into so few pages of history, than in these memoirs of LUDLOW, with respect to Irish affairs before he went thither: my subject does not lead me to correct him in other things.

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About this time Colonel SYNOT, an agent from the Duke of LORRAIN, arrived in Ireland, in order to raise recruits and levy men for his service, as he had been formerly allowed to do, and which was all that was said in the Duke's letter to the Lord Lieutenant: but SYNOT pretended the true design of his journey was to see the condition of a place which was to be mortgaged to his master, and to know whether the Irish would consent to have it put into his hands. The terrible distress of the King's affairs thro' want of money, and the hopes of retrieving them by a supply, had inclined him to hearken to the proposal of mortgaging the fort of Duncannon for four and twenty thousand pounds; and he sent orders to the Marquis of ORMONDE, if his Lordship judged it convenient, on receipt of the money, to deliver the fort. But the Duke of LORRAIN would only consign the money to be paid in Flanders, when it was certified that the place was delivered up to his agent. SYNOT however pretended that he had other letters and powers from the Duke; but being in danger of being taken at sea by a Parliament ship he had thrown them overboard. After a good deal of shuffling and delay, SYNOT, who in fact pretended to have more authority than he had to engage his master, said he did not find the business so feasible as he once thought it, and would meddle no more in the matter: and thus ended the treaty for the present with the Duke of LORRAIN.

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When CROMWELL went for England he left his son in law IRETON his Lord Deputy and Commander in chief of the army. The siege of Tencroghan was then undertaken by Colonel REYNOLDS, and very gallantly defended by SR. R. TALBOT. But the place being of importance, on account of some battering pieces formerly left there, and being in danger through want of provisions, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE advanced with two thousand foot and seven hundred horse for its relief. The titular Bishop of DROMORE had lately set himself up for a General; and had gotten a party of men together under his command in Leinster. Lord CLANRICARDE sent an order to join him with these forces; but the Bishop not obeying it, his Lordship was not strong enough to fight the enemy who were double his number. He advanced however to Tirrel's pass, and was then to march eight miles through bogs in which their horse could be of no service. A Council of war was held on this occasion: and Lord CLANRICARDE being unable to walk, and thinking the attempt desperate, Lord CASTLEHAVEN, though General of the horse, offered to dismount some of his troopers to assist the foot, and to put himself at their head. The resolution therefore was taken, to go with fourteen hundred foot, and to carry with them ten days provision and some ammunition for the besieged. They were received within a mile of the place, at the end of the bog, with a firm piece of ground on each side, by two thousand six hundred of the enemy, posted there in two wings, and with two pieces of cannon. It seemed impossible that the Irish could escape being all cut to pieces: but Lord CASTLEHAVEN made so good a disposition of his men, that if his orders had been observed, and if Captain Fox had not ran away and ordered his men to follow him, which occasioned all the rear to do the same, it would probably have been an entire victory: near a thousand of the Irish got into the place, and there was not above forty lost in the action. Fox was afterwards shot, as he deserved to be: and it was allowed by the confession of all parties to be the most gallant enterprize since the beginning of the war.

The Marquis of ORMONDE all this while was not able to draw any thing like the face of an army into the field, for want of money and provisions to subsist them. He could do nothing more than order risings out of se-

veral counties of all the fencible men with fourteen days provisions; and in this respect his orders were very ill obeyed. The Clergy, and their party which had always opposed the peace, triumphed in the ill successes which dejected the well affected part of the nation; and most people thought only of making compositions with the enemy. The titular Primate, and some more of their Bishops, it is said, issued precepts to their people to pray for CROMWELL's forces. Notwithstanding all ANTRIM's fancied interest with the Clergy, he could not carry the generalship of the Ulster forces, and the election had fallen on the titular Bishop of CLOGHER. The Marquis of ORMONDE was in hopes some good might have arisen from this choice; the people of Ulster being readier to follow a spiritual than a temporal guide into the field: but however fit the Bishop was to call them together, he was not so well qualified to command them in a day of action. For having now at this time sent a strong party to make an attempt upon Castle-doe in the county of Donnegall, he ventured, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, with three thousand men to fight SR. C. COOTE, who had double his number. Many of his principal officers, and fifteen hundred men were slain on the spot; and some of them after quarter given: the Bishop himself made his escape with a party of horse; but being hotly pursued was overtaken, routed again, taken prisoner, and soon after executed by order of the English Parliament. Thus all Ulster was reduced under their power.

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The whole province of Leinster being in danger by the compositions making with the enemy, and the contributions of the inhabitants, Lord CASTLEHAVEN, who had the care of it, proposed to some of the Bishops to issue an excommunication against all such as were guilty of those compliances; which, he was persuaded, would leave the English as weak an enemy as ever they had to deal with: but the Bishops refused it; reserving their spiritual authority for more rebellious purposes. The Marquis of ORMONDE, perceiving that it was not now in his power to save the kingdom, communicated to some of their Bishops and the Commissioners of trust, at a second meeting at Loghrea, the leave which the King had given him to withdraw himself, and his resolution to make use of it: but if they could propose any way to him, how he might deposit the King's authority, in
such

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such a manner as it might not be exposed to the same affronts which had been given to him, he told them that he would agree to it; and wished they might receive that happiness under another which they could not have with him. The Commissioners, who saw the irremediable confusion which his departure would introduce, laboured hard to dissuade him from his resolution: they gave him the strongest assurances of their care and earnestness to preserve the people in their obedience to him; but at the same time seemed rather to excuse, than to repent, the behaviour of the city of Limerick: upon which he told them that they could not give a better proof of their sincerity, than in endeavouring to reduce the city of Limerick immediately to its due obedience; the example of which might put the rest of the kingdom upon exerting themselves in defence of their own and the King's interest. Wherefore their Archbishop of TUAM, and SR. L. DILLON, were sent to further a negotiation with that city, in which two others had failed. Upon these assurances, the Marquis altered his design of quitting the kingdom; and dismissed a frigate which he had bought and fitted for his transportation.

The city of Limerick could not yet be brought to that entire submission which was required: they named the officer that should command their militia: they thought the number proposed for a garrison to be too great: they insisted they should be all Ulster men; that the county of Clare should be set apart entirely for their subsistence; that the town should be charged with no loans nor levies on their account; and that they should not be even quartered within the city, but in huts under the walls, and be under the command of their own Bishop, H. O NEIL, or M. O BRIAN. This imperfect submission afforded some small hopes that they might be brought at last to more reason, on further endeavours, and the Marquis's nearer residence: he removed therefore to Clare, quartering the troops he had with him in the neighbourhood, with orders to be ready to draw to a rendezvous. The Marquis was the rather induced to take this step, because IRETON had at this time sent an offer to Limerick of an enjoyment of the free exercise of their religion, their estates, churches, and church livings, a free trade and commerce, and no garrison to be pressed upon them, provided they would submit and give a free passage to his forces through the city

city into the county of Clare. But this they had the grace to refuse. Lord CHARLES II.
A. 1650. ORMONDE having occasion to visit some of his quarters, within four miles of Limerick, and returning at night to Clare, the next day two of the Aldermen waited on him with a letter from the Mayor; intimating a disappointment that his Excellency did not make them a visit the day before when he was so near, and expecting that he would step thither to settle the garrison, which without his presence they conceived could not be so well done, or with that expedition their necessities required. Whatever encouragement might be drawn from this letter, the Aldermen not giving a satisfactory answer to some questions which the Marquis thought necessary, he wrote the Mayor word, that if satisfaction in these particulars were sent to him on the morrow to the rendezvous, he would visit the city, and endeavour to settle the garrison to their content. The particulars which the Marquis demanded, were to be received in the same manner and with the same respect as Lord Lieutenants had heretofore always been; to have the command of the guard, the giving the word, and orders in the city; and that quarters should be provided within the walls for such horse and foot as he should carry in for his guard, which should be part of the garrison, and of which a list should be given the next day at the rendezvous. On the next day, the two Aldermen met him there; and informed him that the city had consented to all his propositions except admitting his guards: to take away all possibility of suspicion, he sent them back with an answer that the guard he meant to take with him should be only a hundred foot, and fifty horse, entirely of their own religion; and that he did not propose to take them there out of any distrust of their loyalty to the King, or of their affections to himself, but for the dignity of the place he held, and to prevent any popular tumult. Not imagining there could be any demur after such an answer, he went from the rendezvous towards the city: but when he drew near the gates, the same Aldermen came out to him with an account, that one friar WOLFE raised a tumult in the city to oppose his entrance; and, having forced or persuaded the keys from the Sheriff, had seized and guarded the gates. This account obliged his Excellency to retire for that night to a quarter at three miles distance. The same night WOLFE, and FANNING, and their party, called in MOR. O BRIAN and his regiment, who were devoted to their faction: and though the Mayor opposed his entrance:

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trance at the gates, yet they made their way into the city by force, seized the magazine of corn laid up for the army, and on some that belonged to the Marquis of ORMONDE himself, and disposed of it at their pleasure. All this was pretended to be contrary to the will of the Bishop, of the Magistrates, and of the better sort of citizens: but the Marquis of ORMONDE had acted wisely, it must be owned, in not venturing his person into a city, where the power of friar WOLFE was above the civil and ecclesiastical authority. On the next morning, he sent a letter to the Mayor and Corporation, reminding them of the favours they had received from the Crown; and desiring to know what solid foundation of safety could be proposed to them by the present disturbers of their quiet, otherwise than by receiving the defence he offered them. In return to this letter, the titular Bishop of the place came to him with some proposals, and with a request that his Excellency would forgive Colonel M. O BRIAN. The former he complied with; and the latter he declared himself ready to grant, if they would agree to the measures he proposed for their common defence: but these not being agreed to, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, and the Commissioners of trust who were with his Excellency, insisted that the Bishop should excommunicate O BRIAN, and FANNING; which was obstinately refused.

O BRIAN, being thus connived at, made several incursions into the county of Clare, and raised contributions upon those who had already paid them to the use of the army, according to the orders of the Lord Lieutenant. In a short time after the indignity which had been offered in this manner to him by the city of Limerick, IRETON advanced with his army towards it, as though he intended to besiege it; and the Magistrates sent to desire that H. O NEIL might be made their Governour. The Marquis of ORMONDE had other business for O NEIL at that time, to rally the dispersed forces in Ulster, and to fix the inclinations of the Officers and Gentry of that province, after the rout of their Bishop of CLOGHER's army; which no body could do so well, if at all, as HUGH O NEIL: but as Limerick would receive no other Governour that was fit to be trusted, and the Marquis had a dependance on the ability and integrity of that General, he permitted him to go to them: nay he offered, notwithstanding all their ill usage, to shut himself up within the city, and run the same hazards and fortune with them;

them; but they would not admit him. They had abated indeed enough of their madness to accept a garrison, but it was to consist of troops of their own choosing; of which M. O BRIAN's regiment was to be a part. But the Marquis sent orders to the Mayor, and O NEIL, to seize O BRIAN, and deliver him to the guard appointed to receive him. The Mayor, after a week's delay, returned for answer, that he could not meddle in the affair because the Government of the city was committed to MR. O NEIL: but the General more truly sent his Excellency word, that he was no more than a cypher, and not permitted to do any thing but what the Mayor and Council pleased. As to O BRIAN, he declared to them at a full meeting, that as he had run into disobedience for their sakes, so he was ready to run into rebellion with them if they thought fit: the corporation were not ashamed to intercede with the Lord Lieutenant for this man, and that he might be continued in his command: but to this the Marquis would not assent, as a thing of dangerous example; though he was ready to forgive him, and to gratify them in any thing else, provided they would admit a garrison of his appointing: this they not only denied, but repeated their insults to him, with circumstances of the utmost malignity and contempt.

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This rebellious obstinacy of the city of Limerick, made it impossible for the Lord Lieutenant to gather an army, or to keep it together on either side the Shannon, without certain ruin: nor was this the worst effect of their disobedience. The example of Limerick was followed by that of Galway: Lord CLANRICARDE was amused for some time by the Magistrates of the latter with proposals to receive a garrison: but at last they absolutely refused to admit either him or his troops, unless they were entirely under the command of the city. The authority of the Lord Lieutenant being rejected in these two places, he had no sure retreat, in case the enemy should pass the Shannon, but should be irrecoverably inclosed; the consequence of which it was too easy to foresee. He saw no manner of reason therefore for his continuing in Ireland from an expectation of any success: his leaving it might occasion the different parties of the Irish to strive who should make the first conditions with the enemy; and his stay might contribute to give them a diversion, whilst the King was drawing an army together in Scotland, in order to make an attempt against them in England: but this

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too was very uncertain. By a fatal miscarriage he had heard nothing directly from his Majesty for six months past: and though he had heard by common report, that the King had agreed with the Scots and was gone to Edinburgh, yet if this should be true, the Marquis of ORMONDE knew nothing of his measures or his situation. To be informed of these, he sent Lord TAAFE at the latter end of June to the King; being determined to stay if possible till he had received further directions from his Majesty.

The Lord Lieutenant had discovered for some time past, that the chief view of the generality of the Irish Clergy, was to cast off the English government, and to subject the kingdom to a foreign Popish power. To several of these powers he knew that applications had been made at different times: and with this view the Clergy had constantly aspersed and calumniated his administration with every falsehood they could invent; and these aspersions, how incredible soever, had the desired effect upon a people, devoted beyond all conception to the Clergy. The Bishops could not have forgotten, that in concert with the Nuncio they had offered the Marquis of ORMONDE the Crown of Ireland, if he would accept it, and embrace their religion; at a time too when the Confederates were in the fullness of their strength, and had great reason to hope for the assistance of all the Catholic powers of Europe: and after such a refusal, could they believe without the grossest absurdity, or if they did not believe it could they suggest without the highest iniquity, that he had now departed from his fidelity to the King, and was sacrificing his friends, his country, and his fortune, to become a vassal to CROMWELL? Under this pretence, in the beginning of August, the Irish Bishops appointed a meeting at Jamestown; from whence they sent the titular Bishop of DROMORE, and the Dean of Tuam, to signify their desire to the Marquis of ORMONDE, “that he would speedily quit the kingdom, and leave his Majesty’s authority in the hands of some person, faithful to the King and trusty to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people would follow.” Though the Marquis expected no good from this meeting—of which he had received an insolent notice from two of their Archbishops—yet he could not imagine their insolence would have carried them to such a length; and when he communicated the message to the Commissioners of trust, they were greatly

greatly offended: instead of returning a particular answer to the purport of their message, they desired his Excellency to appoint a meeting of their Bishops at Loghrea at the latter end of the month; when they hoped to bring them to a more decent temper, and better measures.

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The Marquis of ORMONDE complied with the request of the Commissioners, though without any hopes of succeeding; and the Irish Bishops permitted him to go to Loghrea at the time appointed: but instead of meeting him there, they sent two of their body to receive his answer to their proposition for his leaving the kingdom. Being treated by them with this indignity, and there being no hopes of a conference, he wrote them a letter: he reminded them of their requesting him to stay, when upon a former disobedience he intended to have left the kingdom; and of their assurances that they would endeavour to procure him such a compliance as would enable him to carry on the war: he informed them “ that he had transmitted these assurances to the King, with his own resolution to attend the effects; and though it was plain, that the division was great in the nation under his government, yet it would be greater upon his removal; of which he could have given them such pregnant evidence as he did not think fit to put into writing: that for these, and other reasons, unless he was forced by inevitable necessity, he was not willing to remove out of the kingdom.” The Commissioners of trust also wrote to them in very pressing terms; conjuring them to support the King’s authority in the Marquis of ORMONDE, without which the nation would be exposed to inevitable ruin, and they would be guilty of co-operating to that ruin, and to the destruction of the royal authority: but it was all to no purpose: for the Bishops were pre-determined not to be satisfied with any thing that could be offered, or to alter the measures on which they had resolved. The reader will acknowledge that I do them no injustice in accusing them of this pre-determination, when he knows that on the DAY BEFORE their message was delivered to the Marquis of ORMONDE requiring him to leave the kingdom, they signed “ a declaration against the continuance of his Majesty’s authority in the Lord Lieutenant;” and “ a solemn excommunication,” in which they deliver up to Satan all that should oppose or disobey it, or that should feed,
T t t 2 help,

CHARLES II. help, or adhere to the Lord Lieutenant, by giving him any subsidy, contri-
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In a few days after they had received the Marquis of ORMONDE's answer to their message, these righteous instruments—signed the day before the message was sent—were published. They were published too at a time when the enemy were strong in the field; when SR. C. COOTE was advanced with a strong army to Athlone, and another party was in the county of Limerick, ready to pass the Shannon and overrun the province of Conaght. They were published too at the head of the forces under Lord CLANRICARDE; not to direct them whom to obey, but to set them loose from all government whatever military and civil; and so to leave the country exposed to the ravages of an enemy, who intended nothing less than their extirpation. Indeed the danger of losing Athlone, and the terrible consequences that would have followed, disposed a few of their Prelates assembled at Galway to send to those at Jamestown, in order to defer the publishing these two acts; but it was too late: they had published them the day before: they were suspended however—though unwillingly—for a time on this application, and that was all: for no sollicitation of the Commissioners of trust, no remonstrances from Lord CLANRICARDE and others of the Nobility, could ever prevail with their Bishops to revoke them. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE's forces however did not desert him; and the Lord Lieutenant found Officers that were excommunication-proof, to whom he gave commissions. The congregation at Jamestown, before they broke up, appointed a committee to act during the recess: and these gave out commissions for levying soldiers, hoping those that would disband on their excommunication would list under their banners. The titular Bishop of KILLALOE had raised a troop, and appointed a rendezvous: but the Marquis sent out a party against him, by which his forces were dispersed, and the Bishop taken; which would have hanged him, as he deserved to be, if the Marquis of ORMONDE had not saved him, though he was one of those that signed the excommunication. The Ecclesiasticks were still however preaching up sedition, and threatening the people with divine judgments for contempt of the Nuncio's and their own censures; to which they confidently

dently imputed,—and not to such a rebellion, and to a scene of such rapine and cruelty occasioned by it as scarce any history can parallel—all the calamities which the nation had already suffered, or were then actually feeling.

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The reader may well expect to see some examples of severity made of the most rebellious of the Clergy; who had ever since the peace disturbed the Government, and had now broken out into such acts of treason: but those who are at all acquainted with the ignorance and bigotry of the common Irish Papists, and the extravagant reverence they pay their Clergy, will not wonder that nothing of this sort was done. Let the following instance serve for all. A regiment being on the march at this time on an expedition by orders of their General, a seditious Friar put himself at their head, took the colours in his hand, and pronounced damnation to all who should presume to march any further. The principal Officers, though they were Papists, were most of them scandalized at this impudence, and gave orders again to march: but it was to no purpose: the common soldiers threw down their arms, and went every man to his home. Nor was this blind submission the only impediment to the punishment of their Clergy: their immunities was another, which was insurmountable. These immunities were the grants of the civil power, in times of ignorance, when zeal served instead of religion, revocable at pleasure, and actually extinguished in these kingdoms by law: but yet the Papists of all ranks in Ireland were very zealous that their Clergy should retain the same privileges which were enjoyed by Ecclesiasticks in foreign countries. Hence no justice could be executed in a civil or martial way upon any Churchman, let his crime be ever so enormous: and those who were most zealous for the King's service, and most offended at the perverseness and iniquity of their Ecclesiasticks, though they were unshaken by the spiritual censures, were yet so tender of the immunities of their Clergy, that they would not be concerned in inflicting a capital punishment on any of them, without the concurrence of their Bishops. Hence in such cases the Lord Lieutenant must have determined upon his own single judgment—for not a Protestant Officer was now left him, but the Captain of his guards—and must have executed the determination with his own hands. Hence too flowed all these condescen-

sions.

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fions and forbearances which he used, and his endeavours by persuasion to keep those Prelates from any ruinous resolutions rather than treating them as enemies whom he could not punish. The reader however may spare his indignation at their perverseness and iniquity; there was but one plan of putting an end to them, and that plan, he will soon see, CROMWELL executed with a vengeance; but who will say that such men deserved a better master than he was, or better treatment than he gave them? I verily think, nobody, who hath read this history.

Whilst the Marquis of ORMONDE was engaged in these fruitless attempts to put the kingdom into a state of defence, IRETON and his forces were ranging over it almost at pleasure. The particulars of taking so many castles and towns without any opposition, would afford no entertainment if I should recite them, and therefore they are omitted. In the mean time they had closely blocked up the city of Waterford, and the fort of Duncannon; and as soon as the other places had surrendered, so as nothing else was left to the Irish in Leinster, or in Munster, but these two places, they were more closely besieged. There were four thousand foot, and two thousand horse in Waterford, under PRESTON who was the Governor, and the place had been considerably fortified: but their provisions failing, and imagining by the burning of the suburbs that the whole army was at their gates, many of the garrison fled over the water, and the rest capitulated. After the reduction of Waterford, Duncannon, which had been thinned considerably by the plague, fell without any trouble, with all the arms and ammunition. The castle of Carlow, seated on the Barrow, was taken by a device in the following manner. The country on the other side, being friends to those in the castle, and furnishing them with provisions, IRETON found it was necessary to employ the principal part of his forces on the other side of the river: but by what means to secure a communication between the two parts when thus divided was a great difficulty, having neither boats nor casks for such a purpose. They brought therefore together great quantities of the largest reeds, and tying them up in many little bundles with small cords, they fastened them to two cables fixed in the ground on each side the river, at the distance of eight or ten yards from each other: and these, being covered with wattles, bore troops of horse and companies of foot

foot as well as a bridge arched with stone. This expedient having enabled IRETON to beat down a little castle at the foot of the bridge on the other side the river, the place was surrendered upon articles. We must now leave Ireland to inform ourselves of the King's condition; of whom nothing had been known there for several months.

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We left the King at Jersey, agreeing to enter into a personal treaty with the Scots at Breda: and when their Commissioners came thither, they offered such a set of unreasonable propositions, that they were even ashamed to publish them: it was thought impossible indeed that any agreement could be made on those terms, or indeed any agreement at all, unless the Commissioners had more power to recede than the Scots usually trusted with their agents. His Majesty had only two of his old Councillors with him, Lord HOPTON, and SR. E. NICHOLAS; and they delivered their advice fully and clearly, that the King ought not to approve or allow of the solemn League and Covenant in any sort, either in Scotland, or in either of his other kingdoms: but the King having caused the Dukes of BUCKINGHAM, and HAMILTON, and the Marquis of NEWCASTLE, to be sworn of his Council on this occasion, the two old ones were set aside after the first day's debate; the Scots insisting that they should be excluded as parties, because one of the propositions was, that none of the late King's Council, nor any that had served in the war against the Parliament without taking the covenant, should go with the King to Scotland. The treaty was carried on therefore with the three new Councillors; and his Majesty himself and all that attended him were to take the covenant, before they were to be admitted to set their foot in Scotland. A man knows not what he doth when he makes the first deviation from the paths of virtue: it is as hard almost to stop in the way of vice, as it is in running down a precipice. There are natural guards planted by Providence in the human frame, to keep them from certain profligate and vicious actions: these are found by experience to be the best natural restraints in all such cases; and the persons who can once get over them, are fit almost for any thing. Of all the actions of meanness, none are more detestable than falshood and ingratitude, breach of faith, desertion of friends, hypocrisy, and dissimulation: and yet these were the actions into which these new Councillors were hurrying their

King,

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King, at his entrance into the world, and on his first appearing in one of his kingdoms. He was young and inexperienced, full of good inclinations, affected as yet with his father's dying instructions; which charged him never to abandon his friends, nor give up his religion, upon any consideration whatsoever. He was now going to Scotland to renounce them all: to sacrifice his friends in a compliment to those who had been his father's ruin, and who meant to treat him as a slave; to submit to conditions to which his heart did not agree, and which he could not with any honour observe; to quit his own principles in religion; to establish Presbyterianism in all his dominions: and whilst he was doing all this contrary to his real sentiments, he was in the most solemn manner to call upon the searcher of hearts to attest the sincerity of his professions, promises, and intentions. No wonder that such a thorough deliberate profligacy as this should corrupt the integrity of his heart, and lay the foundation of the libertine irreligious course of life which he led for ever after: but those about him, having no principles of their own but what would yield to interest, cared not what became of their Prince's honour, conscience, or reputation. Duke HAMILTON made him believe—and perhaps believed so himself—that he might defer taking the covenant till he came into Scotland, under a pretence of desiring to be better instructed; and when he was there he should not be importuned about it. But the King was not permitted to land till he had taken the covenant; and this very Duke HAMILTON, who had undertaken so much, and persuaded him to it, was not suffered to continue with him, but was obliged to retire into obscurity. Several papers were brought him to which he was required to set his hand; being told in plain terms by ARGYLE, in whose power he was, that without that compliance he should have no authority over the people, and with an intimation easy enough to be understood, that his person should soon be put under restraint. Among other papers, there was a declaration in his name, by which the peace concluded by the Marquis of ORMONDE with the Irish, was declared to be void, upon the supposed unlawfulness of concluding any peace with that nation: and though he had frequently declared by letters to the Marquis, that he would never condescend to any thing prejudicial to that peace, yet he had gone too far now to go back, or make a stand. This declaration was therefore signed; in which he acknowledged his father's sinfulness, his mother's idolatry, and his

his own sorrow for making peace with Papists: and the commissions granted by him to any in Ireland were revoked.

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When the Marquis of ORMONDE first heard of this transaction in Scotland, so diametrically opposite to the King's principles and resolution, he looked upon it as a forgery contrived by his Majesty's enemies, in order to seduce the people from their loyalty and affection. But in the middle of October, the Dean of Tuam came to him out of Scotland with a letter of credence from his Majesty, and an account of the unfair, and at last violent manner, in which that declaration had been obtained from him. He had resolutely refused it for three days: but finding that his liberty if not his life depended upon it, and considering the violation of the peace by the Irish, and their disobedience to his Lord Lieutenant, at last, though not without unspeakable regret, he signed the declaration. The King at the same time assured the Dean of Tuam, that he was a true friend to the Church of England, and would continue firm to his father's and his own principles; that the Marquis of ORMONDE was the man on whom he depended more than any one living: and though he was afraid the declaration he had been forced to sign might prejudice him, yet as his Majesty could do nothing of that sort without the advice of his Council—which he had not had about it—the declaration could not be binding upon Ireland: that he was resolved wholly to be governed in the affairs of that kingdom by Lord ORMONDE; that the Scots had used him monstrously, and he accounted it a great error and misfortune that he had not gone into Ireland when the Lord Lieutenant invited him: out of regard to whose safety he bid the Dean tell him, that the King desired him to withdraw himself in time, and not land in Scotland, but go to Holland, or France, where he should not fail to hear often from his Majesty. The King was young, and greatly to be pitied: for I very much question whether the embarking so early in a course of the most prophane dissimulation, in taking the covenant which he did not believe, and in solemnly swearing to observe it when nothing was further from his intention, did not loosen him so much as to make him think, at least to act ever after as if he thought, that no obligations were binding upon him. Whether this were so or not, there is no doubt I believe to be made, that the religious cant without any meaning,

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the pretended zeal without any truth, the formalism without any virtue, and the whole days of Pharisaical devotion without any goodness in the heart, of all which he was an eye-witness and obliged to be a partaker at that time in Scotland, that these disgusted and sowered him against all the externals of religion, and made him sit loose to all religion itself. The observation might be carried very usefully much further: but it would be beside the purpose of this work, which relates to former times; and therefore I shall return to the history.

The Marquis of ORMONDE had hitherto staid in Ireland, because that he found his going away would increase the divisions of the nation; and that those who had been most active in procuring the peace would sooner submit to any conditions from the Commonwealth, than live under the tyrannical Government of the Clergy, and those that opposed the peace. For this reason, and in hopes that by keeping the English forces employed in Ireland he might contribute to the advantage of the King's designs on England, he had chosen to sacrifice his quiet and his safety to the vexations he daily met with, and the treachery he had cause to fear, rather than be wanting to what he owed his country, and his Majesty's service. But having been long since convinced by fatal experience, that he could no longer serve the former, and having now the King's consent by the Dean of Tuam to relinquish the Government, and to leave his authority with the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, he saw no reason to detain him any longer there. He judged it necessary however first to quiet the minds of the people about the King's declaration in Scotland; of which the Clergy had taken hold to enflame them, and to justify their proceedings at Jamestown, though they had been prior to it. To this purpose, the Marquis of ORMONDE wrote to the Commissioners of trust; assuring them that as the King had been obliged, against his will, to sign the declaration for voiding the Irish peace, so his Excellency was resolved at all hazards to assert its lawfulness, and the validity of it to bind his Majesty and all his subjects; in which he would himself persist, till the King, being well informed and under no restraint, should declare his pleasure respecting those affronts which had been put upon the royal authority. But if the Marquis did this on his part, he informed the Commissioners that it should be on these conditions on their part; First, that

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that their Bishops should revoke all their acts and declarations against his authority; and give assurances of no such like attempts again. Secondly, that the Commissioners should declare them to be an unwarrantable usurpation upon the King's authority, and a violation of the peace; and if the Bishops would not yield to the first condition, that the Commissioners should endeavour to bring them to Punishment. Thirdly, that all Magistrates and Officers civil and military should make the like declaration. Fourthly, that the Lord Lieutenant should reside freely in any place he should choose within the limits not possessed by the English rebels. Fifthly, that he should be permitted to put garrisons according to the articles of the peace, in all places of which he should approve for the defence of the kingdom. On the next day, the Commissioners returned an answer; professing their reverence for the King's authority, and their resolution to do what was in their power for his Majesty's service, and his Excellency's satisfaction: that they would treat with the Prelates to revoke their acts and censures, which they knew to be invasions on the royal authority; though a public declaration of it might incense the Bishops, and endanger the union so necessary to preserve the nation: but if the Marquis would call a General Assembly, and in the mean time if those censures should be revived, they would not fail to publish a declaration against them, and would give him satisfaction in the other points to the best of their power. The Commissioners went to Galway, in order to treat with the committee of the Congregation; and they earnestly pressed the Ecclesiasticks to revoke the declaration and excommunication issued at Jamestown: but the Bishops absolutely refused; and said, that as the King had by his late declaration cast the Irish nation out of his protection, they had nothing to do but to return to their old oath of association. No remedy was now left but a General Assembly; which the Marquis of ORMONDE, though without hopes of success, called to meet at Loghrea on the fifteenth of November. In the mean time we will see what the disunion of the Irish, the great success and the active spirit of IRETON, had made him attempt with the English forces.

Having well refreshed and recruited his army at Waterford after the taking of Duncannon, he intended to advance with it to Limerick; which

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he had already blocked up at a distance by Colonel INGOLDSBY: but finding his provisions grow scarce, he marched through the county of Wicklow; which afforded him sixteen hundred head of cattle and abundance of sheep. These he divided with SR. HARD. WALLER, and sent him with a considerable force to streighten Limerick still nearer. WALLER took three strong castles in his way thither: and IRETON, joining his army to SR. C. COOTE's, advanced to Athlone in order to take in that garrison: but finding the bridge broken, and the town on that side burnt, COOTE was left to block it up; and IRETON, who took two castles in his way, joined his army before Limerick. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE retook the two castles, and laid siege to Burr with a part of his army, whilst he advanced to the relief of Limerick. IRETON, on this intelligence, sent orders to the Governour of Kilkenny, to march with the Wexford and Tipperary forces to raise the siege of Burr, which they effected; with the loss to the Irish of near fifteen hundred men, two hundred horses, their waggons and baggage. The Irish upon this defeat quitted all the adjacent garrisons; and IRETON, the winter being come on, drew off his army from Limerick: he first settled all the garrisons round about it, and then taking Nenagh and two other castles, on the tenth of November, he came to his winter quarters at Kilkenny. We must now therefore return to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Irish.

Many of the titular Bishops and of the Nobility not arriving on the day appointed for the General Assembly at Loghrea, the Marquis of ORMONDE's letter to them was not delivered till the twenty fifth, when SR. R. BLAKE, as usual, was chosen Chairman. The Assembly was then very full, and composed of the principal Nobility and Gentry of fortune and interest left in the kingdom: far the greatest part of them being well affected to the Crown, and very averse to the proceedings of the Ecclesiasticks. Several of the most learned and pious Clergy, both secular and regular, very heartily detested the late measures of the Congregation at Jamestown: and even some of the Bishops; whose names were to those acts, declared against them; as being obtruded on them by the majority, or signed by their proxies without their knowledge. The Marquis of ORMONDE acquainted the Assembly in his letter, that it was his intention to
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leave the kingdom very shortly: and desiring them to consider of the most probable ways of preserving it from ruin, assured them that he would contribute his best endeavours to it before his departure very gladly. In this Assembly it was thought proper that the Lord Lieutenant should make an answer in form to the declaration of the Bishops at Jamestown; though the matter of it had been already refuted by him more than once. He himself thought it unnecessary to reply to such a collection of notorious falsehoods as were contained in the declaration; which all men of sense and knowledge abhorred throughout the kingdom. But submitting to the judgment of those, who, he knew wished well to their country, and who desired the preservation of the royal authority, he sent another letter to the Assembly, containing a clear and ample refutation of all the calumnies with which the declaration of the Prelates was filled.

The Marquis of ORMONDE had just then received another letter by Mr. DIGBY from the King at Perth; giving him an account of the miserable situation he was in through the tyranny and falsehood of the Scots; and intreating him to consult his safety, and to repair to his brother the Duke of York in France, to whom he had sent instructions to be advised by his Excellency upon all occasions. The Marquis was therefore determined to leave the kingdom: but he had not determined to leave the King's authority behind him, lest it should be insulted in other hands as it had been in his own: if he did leave it with any body, he resolved it should be left with the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, as the only person in the kingdom fit for so high a trust; and that it should not be left with those whom the Bishops had presumed to nominate. The Assembly were very sensible of the invasion made by the late acts of the Clergy, as well on the liberties of their country, as on the authority of the Crown; and were desirous to vindicate both. They saw plainly the distraction into which the nation would fall, if the Lord Lieutenant departed without leaving them under a settled Government; and that the consequence would be a ready submission upon any terms to the Commonwealth. They acknowledged therefore the great testimony he had given of his affection to his country in thus calling them together; and since he was upon his departure, they intreated him to leave the King's authority with some person acceptable to the nation, and faithful

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to his Majesty's service. In answer to this address, he told them that when he should hear they had publicly vindicated the King's authority from the affronts already offered it in his person, and had provided it should not be subject to the same again, he would readily condescend to their request: and as he was confident they would not be wanting to themselves in manifesting their dislike of the late proceedings of the Clergy, so he expected their speedy sense of it before the wind became favourable for his sailing. They were too much divided, and the Bishops had too much influence, for so large an Assembly to be so speedy in their resolutions: and the wind turning fair, on the sixth of December the Marquis resolved to embark. He had refused a pass, as we have seen; his going away could not fail to be known to IRETON: and lest he should send some of his ships to block up the harbour, the Marquis sent an authority to Lord CLANRICARDE to act as Deputy in his stead. The Assembly might possibly make such a declaration, as, if it overtook him, might induce him to take this step: and therefore he desired the Marquis of CLANRICARDE to keep it to himself, and not to use it, unless the proceedings of the Assembly should encourage him so to do; and then went on board. The Assembly being informed that he was embarked without appointing a deputy, the Chairman wrote to him the same day by their command, that they were preparing a declaration which they conceived would conduce to his Majesty's service, the union of the nation, and his Excellency's satisfaction; that they should be ready to present it the next night; and intreated him to stay till that time to receive it. Lord ORMONDE was under sail in the bay of Galway when he received this letter; but came to an anchor, as they had desired, to wait for the declaration, which was brought to him by the Lords CLANRICARDE, and DILLON, and two others. The declaration, though it carried with it a particular respect to the Lord Lieutenant, and an acknowledgment of his zeal and service for his country, yet was not so full and explicit as might be expected: but the Marquis sent them word, that he had given authority to the Marquis of CLANRICARDE to govern the kingdom, provided their declaration was so far explained as to give his Lordship full satisfaction with regard to the expressions they had made use of to declare their obedience. He then communicated to the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, that he desired him to insist on their declaring, that by the King's authority they meant

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the power entrusted by him with any Governour of the kingdom, and that there was no power in any persons to set free or discharge the people from their disobedience to any such Governour during his commission. This affair being adjusted, and taking Lord INCHQUIN, Colonel WOGAN, and forty other Officers besides several passengers in his frigate, which the Duke of YORK had sent for him, on the ninth of December the Marquis of ORMONDE put to sea, leaving the infatuated Irish to their own destruction: and though the end of his government very properly puts a period to this book, yet I cannot conclude it, nor take leave of the Marquis of ORMONDE's administration, without once more holding him out as an example, in this selfish age, to the great men of his own country, and of mine; an example which few have ever equalled, which hath been exceeded by none, and which is worthy to be imitated by all.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR
IN
IRELAND.

BOOK VIII.

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BORLASE.
CLAREND.
CLANRICA.
COX.
CARTE.
LUDLOW.
CASTLEHA.
THURLOE.
MORRICE.
M. S.

IT hath already been observed in the preceding book, that CROMWELL had been sent for out of Ireland, at the latter end of May, to prepare for an expedition against the Scots; who had acknowledged the King, and had agreed to invade England in his favour. The people in authority here, who still retained the name of the Parliament, thought it adviseable that their army should march into Scotland, the powers there having already declared themselves their enemies, and to make that country the seat of war instead of their own. Upon the refusal of FAIRFAX to command the army in Scotland, CROMWELL was made Captain General: and the time of his departure for the expedition drawing near, he moved the Council

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cil of State, that since they had employed him about a work which would require all his care, they would be pleased to ease him of the affairs of Ireland: this they absolutely refused, as well knowing he did not desire it: he then recommended their sending over some Commissioners for the management of the civil affairs, and a General Officer to command the horse; as an assistant to IRETON in the military, and to be also one of the Commissioners. Upon a representation of this advice to the Parliament, it was ordered that CROMWELL, IRETON, LUDLOW now made General of Horse in Ireland, Colonel JONES, MR. CORBET, and MR. WEAVER, or any three, should be Commissioners for the administration of the civil affairs of that nation: but the principal business, it is very evident, was to find out some means for raising large annual sums for the maintenance of the army, and the conclusion of the war in Ireland. This being all that was done relating to that kingdom in this year by the English Parliament, we must now return to the General Assembly of the Irish at Loghrea; which we left when the Marquis of ORMONDE quitted the Government.

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The Lord Lieutenant was no sooner under sail, than the Assembly applied themselves to the Marquis of CLANRICARDE to assume the Government of the kingdom as Lord Deputy, according to the powers given him. The Marquis was at that time in a very ill state of health, and much afflicted at the departure of the Lord Lieutenant; with whom he had held an intimate and a cordial friendship from the beginning of this rebellion. But if he was concerned at his departure through the entire affection he had ever borne his Excellency, his concern was greatly heightened, at the manner in which this great and most powerful friend of the nation was driven out of it. No little perplexity attended the Lord Deputy too on his own account. He was either to take upon himself a Government, in which he was to struggle with many wants, and a very powerful and successful enemy, or by laying aside the thoughts of accepting the King's authority, to destroy all the hopes of preserving his interests there, or of protecting those who had been faithful to his Majesty, and as lovers of their country attached to his friend the Marquis of ORMONDE. However upon consideration of the whole affair with Lord CASTLEHAVEN, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE determined to take upon him the Government;—though

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it was little less than to sacrifice himself and his fortune—if the Assembly would give him the satisfaction which was desired. This satisfaction, it hath been mentioned, related to their obedience to the King's authority, in the person of his Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy. The Marquis therefore required this explanation to be made before he would execute his commission; but the Bishops would neither revoke their own acts, nor allow any thing to pass which in the least reflected upon them. The explanation however was necessary to be made; and the Marquis insisted upon it. An instrument therefore was drawn up, declaring that all obedience should be given to the King's authority invested in the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, or any other Governour who had not taken the covenant or violated the articles of the peace, and that it should not lie in the power of any to take away that obedience. The Marquis desired it might be added, "or to set free and discharge the people upon any pretence whatsoever from yielding obedience to the power entrusted by his Majesty with any Governour:" but they would not consent to it. The Bishop of Limerick said, that such ties and declarations were not necessary: but if his Excellency suspected the Prelates, they would give him all the satisfaction he could expect, by taking their oath before the altar on their knees, that they would pay him the same obedience which any Catholic Clergy in Catholic times had given to a Catholic Governour.

The Marquis would have been glad to have had the declaration of the Assembly couched in stronger terms; and there was a great number of the best quality in it, who offered him to make any declaration he would direct; which it was their opinion they could carry by vote: but being carried in that manner, with such public disgrace to the Ecclesiasticks, it would produce such protestations and divisions as would end in the ruin of all. Upon consideration of these circumstances, and in hopes that a present union of the Irish might give the enemy such a diversion as might advantage the King's affairs in his other kingdoms, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE received the declaration, defective as it was, and declared his acceptance of the Government. There was then in the possession of the Roman Catholics all the province of Conaght; in which there was the strong castle of Athlone, the strong and important town of Galway and its harbour,

harbour, and many other lesser forts and places of strength : they had some of the inland parts of Munster, besides the city of Limerick ; which, by the strength of its situation, and the advantages it might have by sea, could alone, with the assistance of Galway, have maintained a war against the English forces in Ireland : they had several parties of horse and foot in Leinster, and Ulster, which drawn together would constitute a better army than the enemy's. Wherefore the Lord Deputy had reason enough to hope, that if he could be confident of the integrity and the affections of the Clergy to procure an union in the nation, he might yet be able to serve the King, and reduce it to his obedience. But these hopes were of a short continuance.

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In a few days after the Marquis of CLANRICARDE had taken the Government upon him on their great importunity, even before any alteration in their affairs, or any further success of the enemy, it was proposed in the Assembly to enter on a treaty with the English for surrendering all that was left in their hands ; the Bishop of FERNES himself insisting upon it, that a treaty was necessary to undeceive and cure them of all expectations of good terms from the enemy. But the Lord Deputy expressed his dislike of any motion, which, under a pretence of undeceiving the people, was the ready way to inveigle them, and to make them stupid and negligent of their own preservation. He represented to them, that if there were any grounds for their despair, they ought to have discovered them before their importunities for the continuance of the King's authority : that he had sent dispatches to his Majesty with an account of their condition, and was confident he should soon receive either relief or a licence to withdraw the royal authority, and to permit them to treat for their preservation : but till he received the King's pleasure, he could not consistent with his duty, honour, and safety, admit of any treaty : that the way to undeceive the people was by an excommunication against the Irish, who served under the enemy, and such as advise a submission to them ; by proclamations of giving none such any quarter ; and by forbidding, on the highest penalties, any private or public treaty by any province, county, town, or person. The motion being set aside on this representation, the Bishop of FERNES, who had been the most active tool of the Nuncio, and was of the same temper, threw off the mask.

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He had been particularly importunate with the Marquis a few days before to assume the Government; and made ample promises of the entire submission of the Clergy to him: but now he moved “that in order to their better defence they should return to their ancient confederacy, and so proceed in their preservation without any respect to the King’s authority.” Most of the Bishops and Clergy, and many others in the Assembly concurring in this motion, the principal Nobility, and Gentry, and Officers in the army, were enraged to the last degree: they told them it was now manifest, that it was not their prejudice to the Marquis of ORMONDE, nor their zeal for their religion, that had transported them to the lengths they had gone; but their dislike of the King’s authority, and their resolution to withdraw themselves from it: that they themselves for their parts would constantly submit to it, and defend it with their utmost hazard as long as they were able; and when a treaty with the enemy could be deferred no longer, they would make no provision for those who were so forward to exclude the King’s authority. A remonstrance in such bold and threatening language as they had not been accustomed to, surprised the Ecclesiasticks; and they promised to employ all the necessary measures of defence: but from this time, all the factions and jealousies which had been before amongst them were revived. For though an excommunication was denounced by the Bishops, and a proclamation issued by the Lord Deputy, at the desire of the Assembly, against all persons that served in the army of the enemy or entered into treaty with them, yet in all the quarters which the enemy possessed, the Irish submitted and compounded, and many of them served in their army.

In the preceding book there was an account of a treaty with the Duke of LORRAIN for mortgaging the fort of Duncannon: it was a little before this time renewed by the Duke of YORK, who sent letters of credence to him by Lord TAAFE. The Duke of LORRAIN objected that no body had authority from the King to conclude with him: but TAAFE being a bold and forward undertaker in all cases, engaged that any place in the King’s possession in Ireland should be delivered into his hands, as a security for the repayment of any money which his Highness should advance for his Majesty’s service there. Upon this assurance, and perhaps with some interested views, the Duke immediately delivered five thousand pounds to TAAFE to purchase

purchase arms and ammunition; which arrived at Galway when the Assembly were debating about the treaty with the English. In a few days after, the Duke, by agreement with TAAFE, sent the Abbot of St. CATHARINES as his Ambassador into Ireland, to conclude a treaty with those who were in authority, for such a fund of money and other necessaries as might probably recover the kingdom. The Abbot landed at Galway after the Assembly had adjourned; and after the Lord Deputy had issued out his orders for all their forces in the province to meet at a general rendezvous in order to engage the enemy. In his way to Athlone for that purpose, the Lord Deputy received a letter from four of the Commissioners of trust, desiring him before he went any further to repair to Tyrellan, to give an audience to the Ambassador from the Duke of LORRAIN: for though his credential was directed to the Prelates, and the Catholic Nobility, and Gentry of the kingdom—the Duke of LORRAIN not knowing that the Marquis of ORMONDE had left a Deputy—yet when the Abbot found that the King's authority was lodged with the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, he refused to make application to any one else. A public audience was accordingly given at Tyrellan by the Marquis to the Abbot: in which, after making an apology because his credential was not addressed to his Excellency, the Abbot assures him that the Duke had already disbursed six thousand pistoles for supplying the Irish with those things of which they stood most in need, and which were brought over by Father DILLON who came with him: that he was ready to be informed of what they would desire from his Highness which might enable them to resist the enemy; and that he would consent to any thing reasonable for him to undertake.

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After the ceremony of the audience was over, the Marquis saw F. DILLON, who gave him letters from Lord TAAFE, and acquainted him with the proposals made by the Duke of LORRAIN: which, being little less than a total transferring of the Crown of Ireland to him, made the Marquis repent he had given the Ambassador such a reception. But this being past, and to avoid any censure by taking the treaty upon himself, he sent for such of the Commissioners of trust, and of the Prelates as were then at Galway, to advise with them upon it. F. DILLON being a friend of theirs, and probably let into the secret of the Duke of LORRAIN's expectations,

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The Marquis complained therefore to them by letter of these proceedings, and of the overtures from the Abbot; which, after all the professions of his Master's readiness to serve the King, were plainly calculated to overthrow his government, and to extinguish his authority there for ever. He informed them that it was neither in his, nor in the nation's power, to dispose of the kingdom to any foreign Prince: that their affairs, bad as they were, were not yet so desperate as to drive them to such extremity: and as he hoped the Duke of LORRAIN and his Envoy would afford them assistance upon reasonable conditions, he sent them such proposals as he himself approved of, to be treated on by the Abbot and the Committee which he had appointed: and as the Abbot had declared that he had no power to conclude any thing in Ireland for further supplies, but that important article

must be concluded with the Duke, so his Excellency thought it not proper to conclude any thing finally there in the King's behalf. Nevertheless, if the Abbot would advance a considerable sum, his Lordship would venture to give a security for the money on the towns of Limerick and Galway. The return made by the Committee to these proposals, was that the Abbot was contented the treaty should take its final effect at Brussels, between his Highness and such Commissioners as should be deputed from the Irish: but notwithstanding the cautionary towns offered, he could not at present part with any supplies upon so imperfect a treaty. Two days after, the Bishops and Gentry at Galway declared to the Lord Deputy, by letter from their Archbishop of TUAM, that they saw no way for the preservation of the Catholic religion, and his Majesty's interest in that kingdom, and the lives and fortunes of his subjects, than by concluding with the Lorrain Ambassador upon his own terms; which were much the same with those already mentioned. To this the Marquis replied, that before he descended to give any answer to the proposals, he held it a necessary duty in him to expect, that all such as had been said to have given this opinion should set their hands to the paper of proposals and advice; and that the Committee which he had named should require the Abbot to give it under his hand, that he would not agree upon any less terms than he had offered in his proposals, or if he would admit of any qualifications, they should be set down and signed: when these directions were performed, the Marquis then promised to give a full and final resolution under his hand. But the Prelates and Gentry would not own under their hands the advice they had given the Lord Deputy; nor would the Abbot sign his proposals. In four days after however, their Archbishop of TUAM sent another letter in the name of the Prelates and Gentry of Galway to his Excellency, informing him that the Lorrain Ambassador having abated of some of his terms, it was their unanimous sense that he should be complied with, rather than break with him; as seeing no other way for their preservation. But the Marquis declared, that even these were so derogatory to the honour of the King, and so destructive to his interests, that his Lordship would never agree to them, and was resolved instantly to leave the town. This resolution being communicated to the Abbot, he sent to desire to see his Excellency, and to take leave

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of him before he went. To this request the Marquis replied in a written message, that he could not admit of any such offers of civility, from a person that had so affronted and injured the King's honour and interest, by the proposals which were affirmed to be such as he would insist on; and that his Excellency would send expresses of his own to the King, and the Duke of LORRAIN, with an account of this negotiation. This message, joined to the earnest instance of the Prelates who went in a body to the Ambassador, produced an agreement from him at last, that he would advance twenty thousand pounds—the six thousand already paid being part—for the defence of the nation, on the cautionary towns of Limerick and Galway; and that all other particulars might be remitted to a treaty, between the Duke of LORRAIN and such Commissioners as the Lord Deputy should send to Brussels. Articles were accordingly executed between his Lordship and the Abbot, on the fourth of April; in consequence of which, the Marquis sent SR. N. PLUNKET, and Mr. G. BROWN, to treat, in conjunction with Lord TAAFE, with the Duke of LORRAIN for further supplies upon caution; but nothing more, without a direction in writing from the Queen, the DUKE of YORK, or the Lord Lieutenant. We must leave therefore this negotiation for the present, and turn to the operation of the two armies.

The winter months had been spent by IRETON in preparing every thing necessary for an early campaign; in making provision of tents, arms, clothes, and bread; and in sending cannon and ammunition of all sorts up the Shannon in ships and vessels towards Limerick, intending to open the campaign with the siege of that place. The Commissioners of Parliament employed themselves, in resolving after what manner the public justice should be administered in each division, till the state of affairs could be better regulated; and in laying a tax upon the nation, besides the customs and excise, for the maintenance of the war. A proclamation was published by them to prohibit the killing any lambs or calves for a whole year, in order to raise the stock of cattle that had been so much exhausted. Before IRETON took the field, he had a mind to remove so able a General as Lord CASTLEHAVEN out of his way. To this purpose he sent him a letter by a trumpet, setting forth the power and justice of the Parliament, the ill company his Lord-

ship

ship kept, the little time he could subsist, and the great value that IRETON CHARLES II. had for his person; offering him, if he would retire and live in England, that A. 1651, he should enjoy his estate, and live in safety and favour with the Parliament. Lord CASTLEHAVEN answered his letter by the same trumpet; rejected his offer, and desired not to hear from him again upon that errand. The Irish forces having retreated into Conaght, in order to keep strong guards on the Shannon which covered the province, the reduction of Limerick could not take place till it was blocked up on both sides. To effect this, it was resolved that SR. C. COOTE, who had four or five thousand horse and foot, should march into Conaght by Ballyshannon, a passage on the Ulster side not far distant from the sea; and that REYNOLDS should go with his regiment of horse to their assistance.

The army when drawn out of their winter-quarters was ordered to rendezvous at Cashel; from whence they marched to that part of the Shannon which lies opposite to Killalloo. Here lay Lord CASTLEHAVEN with two thousand horse and foot, disposed along the side of the river, and defended with breast-works for their security, in order to obstruct IRETON's passage. But by the treachery of the Officer, the English General made himself master of a pass, whilst his Lordship was hastening with some troops to oppose him. At the same time Colonel FENNEL, to whom Lord CASTLEHAVEN had left the defence at Killalloo, either cowardly or treacherously quitted it, and fled with his party into Limerick. Whilst this success was carrying on, SR. C. COOTE and REYNOLDS, who had taken Athlone, were entered into Conaght as far as Athenree: and the ships were come up the river of Limerick with the artillery and ammunition for the siege of that place. IRETON being thus become master of the Shannon, and Lord CASTLEHAVEN's men disbanding after taking the pass at Killalloo, so that he could give no assistance to the Lord Deputy to engage the English, the siege of Limerick was undertaken. The Marquis offered to put himself into the place, and to run the same fortune with it; but was refused as peremptorily as the Lord Lieutenant had been before. The citizens indeed were willing to receive some forces, but they must be those of their own choosing: and though they admitted H. O NEIL with the name of Governor, yet they kept the exercise of the government to themselves, and would

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obey no commands of the Lord Deputy which they disliked. There was a continual correspondence between the inhabitants of the town, and those who had compounded with the enemy in the country; by which means the English did not want intelligence. In short the siege had not been formed three days, before some of the citizens were for treating of a surrender; and though they knew that Lord MUSKERY was advancing with a strong party to relieve them. IRETON had made an attack upon the island, and was repulsed with great loss; and he had lost many men by hard service, change of food, and alteration of the climate. But whilst the siege was carrying on, a reinforcement of above three thousand foot arrived from England; and Lord BROGHILL being sent against Lord MUSKERY, after a resolute dispute defeated him; killing many of his men, and taking others prisoners, with little loss on the side of the English. These successes notwithstanding, the Irish were not without hopes, that either the badness, or the scarcity of provisions, or the plague, would constrain the enemy to raise the siege. They sent great numbers of the people out of the town, as useless in their defence, or to spread the contagion amongst the besiegers: but IRETON returned them, and threatened to shoot any that should attempt to come out again. He knew very well the disputes there were in the city about surrendring; and by letters and messages he endeavoured what he could to foment the division: declaring against several by name, who were the most active and obstinate in holding out, that they should have no benefit of the articles to be agreed on. This at last wrought such an effect, that some of the Magistrates and the Officers met in the town-house, and resolved to proceed to a treaty; which should not be broken off, upon exception of any person for quarter, or confiscation of goods. Commissioners were to be chosen the next day to send to IRETON: but the Bishops of LIMERICK, and EMLY, came to the town-house, and threatened to excommunicate them, if they proceeded in those counsels; which would in effect deliver up the Bishops to be slaughtered. This menace put no stop to the resolution: the Bishops published their excommunication, and a perpetual interdict on the city: but those censures had been played with too often and too lightly, and had now lost their effect. The Governor, H. O NEIL was much against a surrender; but he had only power to set the guard: the Mayor kept the keys, and had the principal command of the Officers.

Colonel

Colonel FENNEL, whom we have seen betraying the pass at Killaloo and taking shelter at Limerick, was one of the ringleaders of the treachery here: and having gotten the keys from the Mayor, in combination with some other Officers, seized upon two of the gates, and drove away the guard that O NEIL had placed there. O NEIL sent for him to a Council of war, but he refused to come: and being supplied with powder by the Mayor, he turned the cannon upon the town; declaring that he would not quit his post, till the city was surrendered to the enemy; and as a proof of his resolution received two hundred of IRETON's men in at the gates which he had possessed. A great breach being made at the same time in the wall, the city surrendered upon the articles which had been offered to them before; four and twenty persons being exempted from mercy. The Governor met IRETON at the gate, and shewed him the several stores of arms, ammunition, and provision, which were sufficient to have lasted near three months longer. The titular Bishop of LIMERICK was the only one of the persons excepted who made his escape. The soldiers of the garrison were to lay down their arms, and to march whither they would: and the inhabitants had three months allowed them to transport their persons, and three more to remove their goods, to any place in the kingdom where they should be appointed to live. In this manner was the city of Limerick defended by the Catholic Irish: and this obedience did the Prelates and the Clergy find in their extremity, from those whom they had seduced from submitting to the King's authority, and from the duty which they owed their country. But the just severity exercised by IRETON, when he got possession of this place, is very remarkable. The Bishop by putting on a soldier's habit, and marching out with them, escaped the punishment intended for him. The Bishop of EMLY was taken: and with all the reproaches imaginable, for adhering to the Nuncio, and opposing the Government, was ignominiously hanged. DOM. FANNING, whom the reader remembers to have opposed the proclamation of the peace in forty-six, wounding the Mayor, and the Herald, and being made Mayor by the Nuncio, was also hanged. The same fate attended Friar WOLFE, who raised a mutiny to prevent their admitting the Marquis of ORMONDE; which he persuaded the people would be pernicious to their religion. Even the Mayor, and Colonel FENNEL, who had betrayed the place to the enemy, and J. BARON who had prevented Water-

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 A. 1651. hanged. In short all those who had opposed an obedience to the Govern-
 ment with the most malice and obstinacy, and who fell into the hands of
 the enemy at the surrender of this place, were ignominiously put to death.
 We must now return to the treaty which was carrying on with the Duke of
 LORRAIN.

When PLUNKET and BROWN arrived at Brussels, they found their busy
 Bishop of FERNES; who, without the privity of the Marquis of CLANRI-
 CARDE, was sent with some secret delegation from the Irish Prelates to that
 Duke, and was in great favour with him. ROCHFORD the lawyer, and
 others, were sent by the towns yet in the hands of the Irish, in order to
 join with the Bishop in assuring the Duke of LORRAIN, that if the Queen,
 the Duke of YORK, and the Marquis of ORMONDE, should not yield freely
 to the pawning of the kingdom to him, they were able and ready to put
 all into his hands. The Bishop did not satisfy himself with this act of high
 treason: he wrote a letter to the Commissioners, though then at Brussels
 with him, "advising them to apply to the Pope for his benediction, and
 to make a submission to him in the name of the nation; because the person
 from whom they come with authority, is for several causes excommuni-
 cated, and God would never prosper a contract grounded on the authority
 of "a withered accursed hand." Wherefore the agents laying aside the
 instructions which had been given them by the Lord Deputy, in the absence
 of Lord TAAFE, who was gone to Paris to consult with the Queen and the
 Marquis of ORMONDE, they proceeded in a treaty with the Duke of LOR-
 RAIN for supplies, in the name of the people and kingdom of Ireland. The
 Queen, and the Marquis of ORMONDE, had no reason to think that the
 Duke of LORRAIN had any real intentions to serve the King by this project;
 or if he had, that it was in his power to serve him in the way that was
 proposed. Lord TAAFE was therefore sent back to Brussels, with positive
 instructions not to treat for men, which were not wanted, and whom it was
 impossible to transport; but for supplies of money, which might easily be
 remitted, and arrive in time, if obtained without delay. His Lordship
 therefore refused to sign the treaty carrying on by BROWN and PLUNKET
 in his absence; and which at his return was concluded with the Duke of
 LORRAIN.

LORRAIN. The articles of this treaty were upon the matter the same with those which had been rejected by the Marquis of CLANRICARDE; and which absolutely put the kingdom into the hands of the Duke.

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This transaction was kept very private for some time; no account being sent of it to the Queen, or the Lord Lieutenant: and as though the agents were conscious that they had signed a treaty contrary to their instructions, it was seven weeks before they wrote of it to the Lord Deputy: and being afraid to appear before him they continued still in Flanders. When the Lord Deputy received the articles, he was astonished to find, that they had no relation to the commission which he had given them, and that they were expressed in more explicit and offensive terms, than the overtures which he had rejected. His Lordship therefore wrote immediately to the Duke of LORRAIN to disabuse him; to complain of the breach of trust in the agents which he had employed; to protest in the King's name against their proceedings; to declare the treaty void and illegal; and to entreat his Highness to quicken those aids he had intended for the relief of Ireland, upon such terms as were consistent with the Duke's and his Majesty's honour, and to which alone the Marquis could consent. But whatever were the Duke of LORRAIN's motives to this ridiculous project, which are variously conjectured, this treaty which had been so long in agitation, and which had occasioned a great bustle, was now entirely laid aside: Neither had another, into which the King himself entered with him, by the Earl of NORWICH, any better effect: his Majesty, said the Duke, having nothing left in Ireland to treat for with him.

One of the principal motives which induced the Marquis of CLANRICARE to take the Government upon him, which he knew would be very burdensome and vexatious, was the solemn assurances of the Clergy, and the joint promise of the cities of Limerick and Galway, that they would pay all possible obedience to his orders in every respect: how they were obeyed in the city of Limerick, which refused to admit him, or the garrison which he appointed, hath been already seen: the obedience of the town of Galway will be related in its proper place. The Clergy, as they had

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had long desired, had now a Governor of their own religion, with whom they had been very importunate to take the reins of Government into his hands: but yet all the measures which he took for the defence of the kingdom were traversed by them as much as the Marquis of ORMONDE's measures had been, as though the Clergy were not affected by the common danger. The titular Primate summoned a provincial Synod, at which several of their Bishops assisted: and in which their first decree was, that no Bishop of that province should be allowed to sit in the General Assembly, till he was absolved from the Nuncio's censures. They declared the Duke of LORRAIN to be protector of the kingdom; and forbade all of what degree and condition soever to assert the contrary on pain of excommunication. They resolved to renew the old confederacy; and having taken an oath of secrecy, they chose a committee to regulate the manner of proceeding in that business. This was what the Bishop of FERNES had laboured in vain to renew in the late Assembly at Loghrea; and this was in truth what the factious Ecclesiasticks had always aimed at from the time that the Nuncio came into the kingdom. Some agents were sent to invite the other provinces into the confederacy, and to change the form of government. The Lord Deputy was considered as the greatest obstruction to these measures; being invested with the royal authority which they intended utterly to destroy. In order therefore to disable him from supporting it, or to give them any disturbance, they drew up and signed an act of excommunication—to lie ready against a proper time—against the said Lord Deputy and his adherents; forbidding every one, under the pain of that censure, to communicate or to serve in the army under his command, together with such as had been censured by the Nuncio, and had not received absolution. These acts were renewed in another Synod, which was called by the titular Bishop of LEIGHLIN, as senior Bishop of Leinster: and though there was no other Bishop present at it besides himself, yet this defect of ecclesiastical authority was supplied, by admitting some Officers of parties which ranged over the province to join with them.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE had made several attempts to assemble an army in the field: but was still defeated through the intrigues of the
disaffected

disaffected Clergy with his Officers. It will therefore be no wonder to find the enemy succeeding in every attempt they made against the Irish; to which we are now to return. Whilst IRETON was settling affairs at Limerick, he sent LUDLOW with between three and four thousand men into the county of Clare, to take the castle of that name and some others which were of strength, but which were surrendered to him as soon as summoned. It was then debated in a Council of war, whether the army should march to the siege of Galway, which had been for some time straitened by COOTE and REYNOLDS: but most of the Officers complaining of the ill condition of their men through sickness and hard service, and the winter being at hand, it was determined only to send a summons to PRESTON, Governor of Galway, with offers of such conditions as were first tendered to Limerick: assuring him at the same time if he refused them, that he should have no better treatment than the garrison of that place had been obliged to submit to. But these conditions were then rejected: and IRETON having distributed his army into winter-quarters, in a few days after was seized with the plague at Limerick, where he died; and thus ended all operations in Ireland this year. The English historian must be consulted for any transactions of this time in which the King was concerned; as they had none of them, except those which are mentioned, any relation to the country of which I am writing.

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The chief command of the English army on the death of IRETON was conferred on General LUDLOW, who summoned the principal Officers to Kilkenny, in order to see what was necessary to desire of the Parliament of England; so that no time might be lost, when the season of the year would permit them to take the field. Two proclamations at the same time were published, in order to prevent the country people from supplying the Irish with arms or other necessaries; and to require them to withdraw themselves and their goods within a limited time from their quarters: and in case of refusal they were declared to be enemies, and were accordingly to be treated. All the armourers, smiths, and saddlers, were commanded to retire by the second proclamation, within twenty days after the date, with all their families, forges, and instruments, into some garrison of the Parliament; on pain of forfeiture of their goods, and tools, and six months imprisonment for

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for the first offence, and for the second, on pain of death. The rest of the time before the spring was spent in seeing these orders observed; in preparing tents, and cloathing, and other provision necessary for the army; and in scowring with different parties the passes and fastnesses of the Irish: And as there was a great appearance of the speedy determination of the war, and the Parliament had summoned the adventurers who had advanced their money upon the lands in Ireland, the Commissioners began to consider of the qualifications and heads under which the Irish should be brought; that the innocent might be freed from their apprehensions, and the guilty punished according to the nature of their crimes. Some of the Irish having notice of this proceeding sent a letter to the Commissioners, subscribed G. FITZGERALD, on behalf of their Assembly held in the province of Leinster; desiring in the name of that, and the rest of the provinces, a safe conduct for their deputies, in order to treat of conditions of submission to the Commonwealth of England. To this the Commissioners answered, that the establishment of the nation belonged to the Parliament of England: who would distinguish those who had always lived peaceably, or submitted to their authority, from such as had committed and countenanced the murders and massacres of the Protestants, in the first year of the rebellion: that they could not grant safe conducts, but that such as would lay down their arms and submit to the Commonwealth, should have as favourable conditions as they could justly expect.

The town of Galway being invested by COOTE, the inhabitants sent to the Lord Deputy to desire his assistance; and then promised all obedience to the King's authority in him. His Lordship might be very well discouraged by their former carriage, and by their accepting the illegal articles made with the Duke of LORRAIN without his consent, from having any thing further to do with them. But on their first application, he sent his secretary to them with some directions; and having summoned such of the Nobility, Prelates, and Gentry, as could safely repair thither, he went soon after himself. They had men enow still dispersed in several parties to resist the enemy, if they were drawn together, and could be united: and the town of Galway was so good a port, that any supplies or succours from abroad might come safely to them. Notwithstanding all this, the Assembly importuned

importuned the Marquis to give them leave to send for a safe conduct for some Commissioners to treat on conditions of submission to the Parliament of England for the nation: and in the mean time, they said they would make such preparations for their defence, as that if they could not get good conditions, they would sell themselves at so dear a rate as should make their conquest of little use to the enemy. To oblige them in this request, though against his judgment, the Lord Deputy condescended to write to this purpose to General LUDLOW; and received much the same answer that had been given before. For a little time this put a stop to the treaty; and consultations were held about raising the blockade. But in a few days, the Marquis having left the town to get some forces together, and the Assembly breaking up, the town of Galway, by persuasion of some of the Nuncio's party, without consulting with the Marquis who was within half a day's ride, and without putting the enemy to the trouble of a siege, entered into treaty with SR. C. COOTE, and surrendered the last town they had.

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The Irish being reduced to so very low a condition, through the wickedness of their Clergy, and the blind submission paid them by the people, many of the soldiers applied for leave to be transported into foreign service, and the Commissioners assisted them with shipping to that purpose. Colonel FITZPATRICK submitted with his whole regiment, on condition of being sent into the Spanish service, which was complied with; and though the Prelates excommunicated him, and his men, hoping to get better terms if the whole nation should submit together, yet his example was soon followed by Colonel ODWYER and his brigade on these conditions: that their arms and horses should be delivered up at a certain price: that he and his party should enjoy their personal estates, and such a proportion of their real estates, as others under their qualification should be permitted to do: that the benefit of the articles should not extend to such as had murdered any of the English, or had been engaged in the rebellion the first year, or to any Romish Priests, or to those who had been of the first General Assembly, or to those who had taken away the lives of any of the English after quarter given, or to those who had deserted from them and joined the Irish: and that all others might have liberty to live in the English quarters, or to transport

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The Commissioners of the Parliament having removed to Kilkenny, in order to confer with the Officers about the public service, the Earl of WESTMEATH, who commanded the Irish forces in Leinster, sent to desire a safe conduct for Commissioners to be named by them to treat about the terms of their submission, which was granted: they were the same in substance as those agreed upon with Colonel ODWYER and his party: and a liberty was left for Lord MUSKERY, Major General TAAFE, and some other Commanders in the other three provinces, that were yet in arms, to come in within a limited time on the same conditions. The whole number that submitted according to these conditions was about three thousand: but many finding themselves within that exception concerning the murders of the English, or hoping to obtain better conditions, or it may be taking pleasure in their predatory way of life, continued still in arms. Of this number was Lord MUSKERY who commanded the Munster Irish; and who, when the treaty was made with those of Leinster, sent word that he would accept the same conditions: but his sincerity being suspected from some intercepted letters, a preparation was made to reduce him and his party by force. Those of Conaght and Ulster, instead of submitting as was expected, got together in a body of about five thousand, under the command of the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, and SR. PH. O NEIL; who, now all the other Generals were gone, began again to be a man of some consequence. They besieged, and took the fort of Ballyshannon, and the castle of Donnegal: but both these places were soon retaken, twelve hundred of the men surrendered and laid down their arms, and the Lord Deputy was forced to shelter himself in the isle of Carrick.

The commission for constituting CROMWELL Lieutenant of Ireland being expired, it was moved in the English Parliament to renew it; and to send General LAMBERT over to command there as his Deputy in the room of IRETON: and the motion was likely to be carried, though it was opposed as unsuitable to a Commonwealth. But CROMWELL, having another part
 to

to act at that time, stood up and declared his satisfaction with what had been said against constituting a Lieutenant of Ireland, desiring them not to continue him in that character. The Parliament being willing to believe him in earnest, the question was put, and carried in the negative, as he had requested. This being over, he moved that though they had not thought fit to continue a Lieutenant of Ireland, they would be pleased, in consideration of the worthy person whom they had approved to go over with the power of Deputy, to continue that character to him: but the Parliament, having suppressed the title and office of a Lieutenant, thought it highly improper to appoint a Deputy, who was only the Lieutenant's substitute: they refused therefore to consent to that proposal, and ordered that LAMBERT should be inserted in the commission of civil affairs, and be made Commander in chief of all their forces in Ireland. But CROMWELL tried to persuade them that the army in Ireland would not be satisfied, unless their Commander in chief went over qualified as Deputy: upon which WEAVER, one of the Commissioners then in the House, assured them from his own knowledge, that all the sober people of Ireland, and the whole army there, except a few factious persons, were not only well satisfied with the present Government military and civil in that nation, but also with those who had the conduct of it; and moved that their commission might be extended to a longer time without alteration. This speech of WEAVER's, to persuade the Parliament to continue LUDLOW in the command of the army in Ireland, increased a jealousy which CROMWELL had conceived of him that he might prove an obstruction to his design: and therefore since LAMBERT refused to go over with any character less than that of Deputy, he resolved to place Lieutenant General FLEETWOOD, who had just married IRETON's widow, at the head of affairs in Ireland. This arrangement procured two advantages to himself: the one, in having the army in that country in the hands of a person secured to his interest by his alliance; and the other, in drawing LAMBERT into an enmity with the Parliament, which would prepare him to join with CROMWELL, when he should find it convenient to put his design in execution. The commission appointing FLEETWOOD Commander in chief in Ireland, and signed by CROMWELL as Captain General of the armies of the Commonwealth, is to be seen in the first volume of THURLOE's state papers.

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Whilst this affair was negotiating here, LUDLOW was very busy in reducing the Irish. The only face of an army which they had remaining was under Lord MUSKERY, who made his principal rendezvous at Ross in the county of Kerry; a place of great strength by its situation, being encompassed on every part by water except on one side, upon which there was a bog not passable but on a causeway which was fortified. There being little or nothing else for the army to do, LUDLOW marched to this place with four thousand foot and two thousand horse, accompanied by Lord BROGHILL, and other General Officers. When they came there he was informed, that the Irish received their supplies from the parts which lay on the other side, and were covered with woods and mountains: upon which information, he sent a party of two thousand foot to clear those woods, and to find out a convenient place on which to erect a fort if there should be occasion. Whilst these forces were thus employed, not without an opposition which ended to the loss of the Irish, the other part of the army with the General were fortifying a neck of land on which he intended to leave a party to keep in the Irish on that side; whilst he went with the horse and the rest of the foot to look after such as were abroad, and to receive their own provision and other necessaries which the Commissioners were sending them by sea. When their boats came up, each of which was capable of containing above a hundred men, LUDLOW ordered one of them to be rowed about the water, in order to find out the most convenient place for landing upon the enemy. This is his own account: but Cox says, "that he caused a small ship to be made, and had it carried over the mountains and set afloat in the lough, which so astonished the Irish that they yielded up the place." The place, it is true, was soon after yielded: and the articles were in effect the same which had been granted to the Irish in Leinster, and other parts: but the agents, who were to treat upon them, being doubtful whether the article concerning the murder of the English might not, as it was worded, include them all, it was altered to their satisfaction. Instead of leaving them to enjoy such a part of their estates as should be allotted to them by the qualifications that were to be agreed on, the Irish desired that article to be changed, and that as to their estates, it might be expressed, they wholly submitted to the mercy of the Parliament of England. They insisted very earnestly on the exercise of their

their religion: "but we refused, says LUDLOW, to oblige ourselves to any thing in that particular; declaring only that it was neither the principle nor the practise of the authority which we served, to impose our way of worship upon any by violent means." There is something so notoriously false, and consequently so very impudent in this assertion, that one wonders it could be made use of by a man of LUDLOW's rank; and much more that he should publish it in his memoirs. But a spirit of enthusiasm, of which no body was ever more fully possessed than this violent Republican, covers all imperfections, and sanctifies or annihilates the grossest crimes. Was not one of the chief ends of the rebellion which they engaged in, after the King had given up his prerogative, and the liberties of the people were secured, to overthrow the Church of England, and set up Presbyterianism in its room? Did they not suppress the liturgy in England and Ireland by force, turn out the Clergy, establish their directory, and oblige every one to take the covenant in order to impose their own way of worship? In flat contradiction to him therefore it must be said, that both the principles and the practice of the authority which he served were to impose their way of worship by violent means.

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Whilst the military service in Ireland was drawing to a conclusion, most of the Irish forces having submitted and laid down their arms, no garrison of any strength holding out, and many thousand men being sent into foreign service, the Parliament were persuaded to send over five companies of foot, and an entire regiment commanded by Colonel CLARK; not for any need there was of them there, as it is plain, but as being thorowly principled for the designs of CROMWELL, who advised their being sent. Having at the same time at his request appointed FLEETWOOD to the chief command of their army in Ireland, they resolved to give the adventurers possession of their lands in that kingdom, in proportion to the several sums which they had advanced, and to satisfy the arrears of the army out of others. According to this resolution, they passed an act for the confiscation of so much of the estates of those who had acted against the English, as they judged the quality of their crimes deserved, and extending their clemency towards those who had demeaned themselves with courtesy. It appears from the collection of THURLOE's papers, that towards the close of this

CHARLES II. this year the Popish Clergy in Ulster sent Friar Fox into Spain, to complain of their sufferings to that King, occasioned as they conceived by his Majesty's league with the English Parliament, and to offer him the allegiance of all the Irish then in arms, and all the strong holds in their power, if he would relieve them. To this the Spanish King answered, that he would give them two hundred thousand crowns a month to carry on the war, though his assistance must be privately managed, as it would be inconvenient to him to be known for the enemy of the Parliament: and in case they could not hold out, he would give orders for their transportation into Spain, and send letters to his Ambassadour at London to endeavour to procure the liberty of religion for those who remained in Ireland. But the Friar died at his return, before he had delivered the letters, which are said in this paper to be forth coming; and the application to Spain was without effect.

In order to bring the few that remained yet in arms to a necessity of submitting, LUDLOW scoured the counties of Wicklow, and Wexford, with four thousand men, placing garrisons in convenient places, and fortifying some others; and from thence going to Carrick, Monaghan, and Fermanagh. In the mean time, General FLEETWOOD landed at Waterford; but that place and Dublin being much infected with the plague, he fixed his residence at Kilkenny, where LUDLOW waited on him to resign the chief command. Indeed the military service was almost entirely finished before his arrival; and there remained little more to do than to manage the civil affairs in conjunction with the other Commissioners of the Parliament. This was an undertaking much more arduous and painful than reducing the forlorn and distressed Irish by force of arms: and the first measure they entered upon, was issuing commissions for a high Court of Justice in the several provinces; in order to try those that had been accused of murdering the English in the first year of the rebellion. Of this number was Lord MUSKERY, who was charged to have put many Englishmen to death, in the way between his house and the city of Cork: hereupon his Lordship was seized, and sent to Dublin to be tried by the Lord Chief Justice LOWTHER, who presided in that court. But such multitudes of English appearing to testify the great humanity of this Lord and his Lady, who had saved

saved the lives of many hundreds that must otherwise have been lost by cold and famine, and it being clearly proved to the Court, that though many of the English were murdered by the convoy that were appointed to conduct them to Cork, yet that Lord MUSKERY had not only taken all the care he could for their security, but had done every thing in his power to bring the guilty persons to justice, he was very honourably acquitted, and allowed to pass into Spain.

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A. 1652.

On the trial of L. TOOL, a noted incendiary and head of a clan in the county of Wicklow, and who was condemned and executed, REILY, the titular Primate, appeared as an evidence: but being well known to have been the chief author of surprising and burning the black castle of Wicklow during the cessation, by which means many of those who were in it lost their lives, he was accused in Court by some who knew him, seized, and brought to his trial: he pleaded, in extenuation of his punishment for this crime, his merit towards the English in betraying the camp at Rathmines, already mentioned; and the importance of that service being well known, he was suffered to go away unpunished. The name and the crimes of SR. PHELM O NEIL are too often mentioned in this history for the reader to want a remembrance from me of either. It hath been already mentioned that the Commissioners had issued a proclamation, requiring all the inhabitants to withdraw themselves from the Irish quarters, in order to force them to a submission for want of provisions: but this not proving thorowly effectual, they published another proclamation at this time; setting a price upon the heads of the principal and the most guilty, that they might be brought to their trial and punished as they deserved. An hundred pound reward to bring SR. P. O NEIL, dead or alive, was encouragement enough then for the Irish to look after him: and one of these giving intelligence to Lord CAUFIELD, whose father the reader remembers was inhumanly butchered by him in his fort at Charlemont, that SR. PHELM was in an island in the North, his Lordship had too good a reason to take a party of horse and foot, and, by entering the island in boats, to seize and drag him away to the justice which had so long awaited him. It appears by the affidavit of Dean KER in NALSON's collections—not a word of which MR. LUDLOW mentions—that upon his trial at Dublin, at which

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A. 1652.

which the Dean was present, SR. P. O NEIL was accused by several then in court of having shewed them a commission from the late King for raising the rebellion in forty one: upon which he confessed, that when he surprised Lord CAUFIELD in the fort of Charlemont, he found a patent to which the broad seal was annexed; and cutting off the patent, he ordered one HARRISON to fix the seal to a commission which he had directed to be drawn up: and that HARRISON, being then in court and called upon, confessed that he stitched the silk cord and label of that seal to the said commission. On the second day of his trial, some of his Judges told him that if he could bring any material proof that he had such a commission from the late King, he should declare and prove it, before sentence passed against him, and he should be restored to his estate and liberty. To this great offer he made reply, that he could prove no such thing; and they gave him till the next day to consider of it: nevertheless being brought into Court, and tempted again with the like offer, he again declared that he could not prove any such thing as a commission from the King: he added, "that the outrages committed by his aiders and abettors, contrary to his intention, now pressed his conscience very much; and that he could not in conscience add to them the unjust calumniating the King, though he had been frequently solicited to it by fair promises and great rewards while he was in prison;" and proceeding to say something more, he was immediately stopped, and sentence of death was pronounced upon him. The man, it is well known, was profligate to the last degree; and the offer of his life and estate were powerful temptations to men less abandoned: but what wretches were those that caused these temptations to be laid in the way of such a man, in hopes that he might accuse the King, and so make their guilt in putting him to death the less inexcusable! But hoping still that they should prevail with SR. P. O NEIL, when the terrors of death were nearer, the Dean deposeth further, that he was present and very near SR. PHELM when he was upon the ladder at his execution; and that two Marshals came riding to the place in great hurry, calling aloud "stop a little," and having passed through the crowd, one of them whispered him some time, and SR. PHELM O NEIL answered him, in the hearing of the Dean and several hundreds round him, "I thank the Lieutenant General—meaning FLEETWOOD—for this intended mercy; but I declare, good people,

people, before God and his holy angels and all you that hear me, that I never had any commission from the King for what I have done in levying or prosecuting this war." Though no mercy was shewn to any one that could be proved to have murdered a single Englishman, yet this man, who was one of the principal conspirators in the insurrection, and who had been the means of shedding more English blood than all the Irish put together, was not only to be pardoned, if he would add one crime more to his guilt by falsely accusing the late King, but to be restored to his estate and liberty. —Such was the malignant spirit of these enthusiastical Republicans, who pretended to so much piety! No other person of any quality was condemned in these Courts of Justice except Lord MAYO, in the province of Conaght: four of his eleven Judges acquitted him, but the other seven condemning him he was shot to death. Several other Courts of Justice were held at Kilkenny, Waterford, and Cork: but in Ulster, where the massacre first began, and where the greatest part of the cruelties on the British Protestants was committed, scarce any body was taken up and tried: and so many of the murderers in other places had been destroyed by a ten years war, or by the plague, or had escaped amongst the many thousands that went abroad, that not above two hundred remained to undergo their fate at the gallows.

CHARLES II.

A. 1653.

From this period to the Restoration, there are few or no lights to be gathered from any work that has been published in England, or in Ireland, except LUDLOW's memoirs, and THURLOE's state papers; and the deficiency is not greatly to be lamented. Though LUDLOW wrote chiefly upon memory, and he has observed no dates nor order, yet as he was for the greatest part of that time one of the principal actors upon the stage of Ireland, his accounts of it then, abating his anachronisms, may be in a good measure depended on; all the favourers of monarchy, which was the grand object of his aversion, being suppressed or banished. But this dependence must not extend to the time of the Protector's government; at which he was as uneasy as at the late King's. Besides these memoirs, and state papers, the books in the Council Office at Dublin, till within two years of the Restoration, from the year fifty, are in being—all the rest being destroyed by a fire:—and the extracts that I made from those books

CHARLES II.
A. 1653. furnish the other materials that will be met with here. They are certainly of the highest authority: but the reader is not to expect, either from LUDLOW, THURLOE, or these manuscripts, any matter that is very interesting or important. The times there were become calm; and the Republicans had borne down every thing in Church and State with so high a hand, that there is nothing left but a few dry meagre annals, or extracts from letters, for an historian to work upon. It is a misfortune for a history to conclude thus; and I thought therefore once not to have carried it on any further: but I considered that an historian is not expected to create matter; that no transactions of this space of time have yet appeared, except in the memoirs and state papers above mentioned; that the last were intermixed in seven volumes in folio which are but in few hands; and that the reader might have a curiosity—though very little was done in this period—to know what that little was; and therefore I determined to prefer utility to entertainment, and that the conclusion of the work should be insipid, rather than want the fulness which I could give it.

In order to recruit the wasted country, and to recover the stock and growth of the land, the Parliament ordered their Commissioners to publish a declaration, that the war in Ireland was concluded; and they permitted the people of England to transport all sorts of grain, and cattle, and other necessaries for the new plantation of the desolate parts of Ireland, duty free. The arrears which were due to the English army in Ireland, were satisfied by the Parliament out of the forfeited estates, according to the same rates that were allowed to the first adventurers: but in this transaction there appeared a very unjust partiality, by confining it to those who had been in arms from the time that CROMWELL landed: and though the hardships endured by those who had been in arms before were much greater, yet nothing could be obtained for them, but such a proportion of lands in the county of Wicklow, as was not sufficient to discharge the fourth part of what was due to them. Those who solicited the affairs of the Irish army with the Parliament, having persuaded the adventurers that there were forfeited lands enow in one moiety of nine principal counties, they accepted of them for their satisfaction; and the other moiety was by the act assigned for the soldiers in forty nine, and after, to that time. The province of Con-
naght

naght was reserved for the Irish, under the qualifications agreed upon by the Parliament: according to which they were to be put into possession of the several proportions of land which had been promised them in the said province; that so the adventurers, soldiers, and others, to whom the Parliament should assign their lands, might plant without disturbance, or danger of being corrupted, by intermixing with the natives in marriage or otherwise: for to this, by the experience of former times, the English were found to be rather more prone, than to have improved the Irish in religion or good manners: neither could the natives, being divided by the Shannon from the other provinces, and having garrisons placed round them in the most proper stations, have those opportunities of disturbing or prejudicing the English which they formerly had. Some of the lands that had belonged to the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, were applied to augment the revenue of the College of Dublin: and the remaining part of those lands, together with the counties of Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Carlow, were reserved to be disposed of to favourites, or otherwise, as the Parliament should think fit. The forfeited lands were divided between the adventurers and soldiers by lot, according to an estimate taken of the number of acres in the respective counties: and Sub-commissioners were appointed to judge of the qualifications of the several Irish, and to set out so much land in the province of Conaght as belonged to every one according to the act. A committee was established to sit at Dublin, to receive and adjudge all claims of the English and others to any lands, which were made appear to be legal claims, within a limited time; so that the adventurers, soldiers, and others, might be at a certainty, and after such a time free from any molestation in the possession of their lands; which limitation was afterwards extended to a further date.

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A. 1653.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE, seeing the ruin and confusion into which his countrymen had brought themselves, about the time of the siege of Galway sent Lord CASTLEHAVEN to the King, to give him a faithful representation of the state of Ireland, and to desire his Majesty's direction what to do. The King being in no situation to afford the least assistance of any kind, ordered his Lordship to write to the Marquis to take care of his own security, and not to fall into the hands of the enemy. Having endeavoured

CHARLES II. therefore in vain to draw the scattered forces together, seeing those on whose fidelity he most depended falling every day from him, and being reduced to those straits that he durst not remain twenty four hours together in a place for fear of being betrayed, he was compelled to send to FLEETWOOD for a pass, and for liberty to remain in their quarters for three months, without having any oath imposed upon him, and to transport himself beyond the seas. His request was readily complied with: and had he asked for a portion of his great estate and promised to give them no trouble, they would probably have consented to it: but he asked for nothing more than hath been mentioned; and when he had settled his affairs he retired to his estate at Somerhill in Kent, where in the year fifty seven he was released by death from all his troubles.

The summer having been spent in adjusting the several claims and setting out the several lands over the kingdom, on the twenty sixth of September, the Parliament of England published an act for the confirmation of them; in which it was declared, "that the rebels in Ireland were subdued, and the rebellion appeased and ended." But now a new scene began to open: the Parliament disbanded about five thousand men in Ireland; and they were very inclinable to disband all the army in England. CROMWELL, knowing this would sap the foundation of his credit, and being much out of humour to find his services in a way of being requited with such ingratitude, determined to risk every thing to make himself master of the Parliament; who properly speaking owed all their power to him. The way to do this, he knew from experience, was by withdrawing the confidence of the army from them; and then the undertaking to accomplish their ruin would not be difficult. To this purpose, he contrived two petitions to the Parliament, one after another, from a General Council of Officers who were all at his devotion; the one to demand their arrears, and the other that the Parliament should be dissolved. The Parliament were inflamed with these petitions; and forbade any more such to be presented on pain of high treason. This was what CROMWELL expected, and was what he wanted: he knew they were odious to the people, and disagreeable to the army; and he thought he had no longer any measures to keep with men that were intent upon his ruin. Wherefore taking a file of musketeers

with

with him into the House, and in a furious tone bidding the Speaker leave the chair, he told them they had sate long enough, and it was not fit they should sit any longer; upon which they all tamely went away: and giving the fools bauble—which he called the mace—to one of his Officers, he locked the door. The Parliament being thus dissolved by CROMWELL's sole authority, he appointed a Council of State to govern the kingdom; and at the close of the year he had managed his affairs so well, that he was declared Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, with a Council of twenty one.

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A. 1654.

The news of this great alteration of the Government was variously entertained by those in Ireland. In the general it gave great satisfaction to most people, and especially to the army, which had been harrassed and oppressed by the Commissioners with great partiality: but the Anabaptists, who had borne the chief sway, and had lorded it not only over the Irish, and the Cavaliers, but over all the other sects, were full of invectives and animosity. When it was proposed therefore that the Commissioners should proclaim the Protector at Dublin and other places in that kingdom, it was strenuously opposed by LUDLOW, as contrary to their engagement, and an act of Parliament: and if it were dubious only whether or no it was wrong, they ought to expect an order, he said, which they had not received from those who had the power in their hands. But after a fortnight's delay from this opposition, a day was appointed by FLEETWOOD to take this matter into consideration by the Commissioners, and three or four of the principal Officers of whom they had the best opinion; and it was carried by a majority of one vote only to issue the proclamation; which LUDLOW not only refused to sign, but he also rode out of town on the day the ceremony was performed at Dublin, and never acted afterwards as a Commissioner but once. He did not however decline the exercise of his military authority as Lieutenant General of the horse; having received his commission from the Parliament, "which he was resolved to keep till it was forced from him, in order to attain the ends for which he received it." The same reason, if he had acted consistently with himself, would have obliged him, and more strongly, to act in his civil capacity as a Commissioner; for that authority was equally granted him by the Parliament; it was not revoked by

CHARLES II. by the Protector ; and as the war was concluded, it was of much greater
A. 1654. utility to the publick. But men have a wonderful facility in imposing upon themselves : and the true reason of keeping his military command, when he threw up the civil, was not what he pretended, to bring the guilty to justice, and to restore the English to their estates, but either because, as Colonel CROMWELL wrote to THURLOE, it was profitable to him, or that he might keep up his influence and authority in the army ; in hopes of an opportunity of using it against CROMWELL, whom he hated now as much as he had hated the King before.

The authority of the Protector having been established in England by the means of the army, he sent his second son Colonel HEN. CROMWELL into Ireland to feel the pulse of the Officers there, and, by an acquaintance which he was to cultivate, to prepare himself for his future command over that kingdom. It was indeed become necessary that something further should be done, than had been done, towards settling the Government of that country : for it appears by a letter of his to THURLOE, that the “ Commissioners had done little more than to make orders for distributing the public lands, of which they had given large proportions to themselves.” Even FLEETWOOD himself “ was too deeply engaged in a partial affection to the persons of the Anabaptists to answer the Protector’s purpose.” In one particular only of the revenue, the State had been cheated of above one half for five years past, by the Commissioners that were entrusted for letting the lands. The courts of judicature, for want of judges and able lawyers, were in so miserable a condition, that the administration of justice was delayed and the people were much oppressed : neither would the poverty of the State, as it had been managed, enable them to allow a competent encouragement to men of worth and ability to go over thither. So general had been the detestation of the Irish occasioned by the late rebellion, that scarce a house out of the walled towns had been left undemolished, fit for an Englishman to live in ; nor was any timber, except in some particular places, left undestroyed. Such was the situation of affairs then in Ireland, when the change of Government took place.

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A. 1654.

“The instrument of Government”—as it was called—which was settled when CROMWELL assumed the title of Protector, required a Parliament to be summoned in September for the three nations, united now in one Commonwealth: and the same instrument requiring thirty members to be chosen for Ireland, letters were sent from CROMWELL and his Council in the spring to the Commissioners there, to inform them of this clause, and to desire their advice touching the ensuing election. In consequence of this order, the Commissioners sent a letter to the Protector in May—to be seen in the Council books—to inform him “that the condition of Ireland is so waste, and desolate, and uninhabited, and the parts that are inhabited so unsettled, that they could not present unto him, as he desires, any way or course at that time for election of persons in that nation to serve in the ensuing Parliament.” But this answer being inadmissible, and the election being required in the best way they could procure it, the Protector wrote a letter to FLEETWOOD, to desire that he with the other Commissioners would consider, “to what places and in what manner the thirty Members might be distributed with most equality, and with respect to the present affairs: whether they conceived any place or parts in Ireland to be capable of electing members themselves, and if so, under what qualifications: or whether the present condition of affairs be not such, as that particular persons should be called by writ for the next Parliament.” On the receipt of this letter, some of the Commissioners proposed, that for this time the Protector and his Council should nominate the thirty members that were to be chosen: but LUDLOW desired they might retain at least the form of liberty, since by the influence of those in power the same persons would probably be chosen that they desired: and accordingly FLEETWOOD used the power of Government in his hands—as all Ministers have ever done—to get a majority elected on the side of the Court. In the same books there is another letter from the Commissioners in August, to the “Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery,” to inform him that they have sent the writs and indentures made between the Sheriffs and electors of such Members as were chosen to serve in Parliament.

The Commissioners, especially LUDLOW, proving not so tractable under CROMWELL as it was desired they should be, an order was sent over in the
name

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name of his Highness and his Council, to annul all the power and authority given to the Commissioners of the Parliament, and to appoint FLEETWOOD Deputy, and others to be his Council, for the Government of Ireland, to continue for three years. With this appointment there came instructions to them, “ to improve the interest of the Commonwealth of England in the dominion of Ireland, for the advancement of religion in that country, and suppressing idolatry, popery, superstition, and prophane-ness: to give encouragement, and provide competent maintenance to all such persons as are of pious life, and as they shall find qualified with gifts for preaching the gospel, by way of stipend out of the public revenue: to execute all laws in force against Papists, and Popish recusants: to consider of all due ways for the advancement of learning, and training up youth in piety and literature, and settling a maintenance for proper persons to be employed in it, as far as the present affairs of Ireland will admit: to execute all the acts and ordinances of Parliament now in force in this Commonwealth against delinquent, malignant pluralists, and scandalous ministers in Ireland: to take care that justice be administered according to the laws and constitutions of England: to see that no Popish or other malignant persons be employed in the administration of the laws, or execution of justice; nor practise as counsellors, attornies, solicitors, or schoolmasters: to put in execution all the acts of Parliament now in force in this Commonwealth for sequestering all forfeited estates of Popish malignants, Archbishops, Deans, and Chapters: to set all these lands and benefices, for any time not exceeding seven years, on such terms as they shall judge proper: to settle the customs and excise: to manage the treasury for the best advantage of the State: to take care of the public stores: to sit and vote at Councils of war for the equal distribution and regulation of quarters for the standing forces: to lessen by all proper methods the public charge of the Commonwealth: to transmit an estimate of the revenue to his Highness and Council forthwith, and once after every year, with a representation of what will conduce to the improvement of it: to use the best means for the recovery of any part that hath been concealed and for an improvement of the whole: to cause an exact survey of the Crown and Church lands, and of the forests and other forfeited lands undisposed of: to dispense with the orders of the late Parliament and Council of State for the transportation of
the

the Irish into Conaght, if it should be for the public service: all temporal offices to be disposed of by the Deputy, except those reserved to his Highness's disposal; such as the Presidents of provinces, Chancellor, Treasurer, Vice-treasurer, Master of the ordnance, Judges, Master of the rolls, Sergeants at law, Attorney and Solicitor General, Treasurer at war, Marshall, and Clerk of the cheque: in case of death or absence of the Deputy, five of the Council to act with all the power of the Deputy and Council; and each of them to have a salary of a thousand pounds a year.

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The discontents in England beginning to discover themselves openly, several commissions were sent thither by the King to raise horse and foot: but CROMWELL, who never wanted intelligence, caused divers persons to be seized and imprisoned that were concerned in the undertaking. Suspecting however that they might have some further grounds for it than he had discovered, he sent orders to Ireland for two thousand foot and three hundred horse to be sent over from thence to his assistance: but when this party were drawn to the water-side in order to be embarked, some of the private soldiers, either from a scruple of conscience, or an unwillingness to leave their families and plantations in Ireland, refused to go, though the Deputy and several field Officers were present: alledging that they had listed themselves to fight against the rebels there, and in consequence of that obligation were ready to obey all commands that should be given: but they knew not against whom they should be ordered to fight in England, possibly against some of their best friends, and therefore desired to be excused from that service. The Deputy, and the Officers, being determined to compel them, called a Court-martial instantly upon the place; where they ordered the ring-leader to be shot, and an entire company to be cashiered: and these orders being executed, the rest embarked. About this time there is a letter from the Deputy and Council in Ireland to the Protector, to inform him that the charge of the forces there by the establishment of the late Parliament, is forty-seven thousand pounds a month, besides the civil charge which is very considerable: towards the defraying of which there is little to be reckoned upon there except the assessments of ten thousand pounds a month levied over the kingdom; the customs and excise being almost wholly taken away by the late ordinances of Parliament for encouraging

CHARLES II. the plantations: and therefore they pray him earnestly to send them the
A. 1654. constant supply of two and thirty thousand pounds a month which had been allowed for Ireland.

The Parliament having met according to the writs required in the "Instrument of Government," CROMWELL opened the Sessions in a Speech; which it is not the business of this history to relate. Though he hoped the Parliament would confirm his dignity of Protector, having taken care that none of those persons, nor their sons, who had borne arms for the King should be returned, yet the first thing proposed by the Parliament was to examine the power which had convened them. A stroke so unexpected gave him great uneasiness: and as he had his friends as well as his enemies in the House, he found means to waste his time till he saw a proper opportunity of securing himself against his opposers: he sent then for all the Members into the "Painted Chamber," and told them that they had assumed too much liberty in calling an established Government into question, from which themselves had derived their authority, since if they were not lawfully convened, they had no power to debate. At their return to the House they found a guard placed at the door, refusing entrance to those who would not sign an engagement to be true and faithful to the Protector, and not to propose or consent to alter the Government. Though many were thus excluded, yet others signed the engagement, that they might have an opportunity to destroy him. A plot had been chiefly laid by the Cavaliers, but with the privity of several Members of Parliament, to raise an army in several parts of the kingdom; and CROMWELL having intelligence of this prevented the execution of it by dissolving the Parliament. About the same time an order was received in Ireland from CROMWELL, that as General LUDLOW had declared himself dissatisfied with the present government, the Deputy should take care that the General's charge in the army might be managed some other way. Upon this FLEETWOOD sent to him to deliver up his commission, or to engage under his hand not to act by virtue of it, till he should receive a commission to do so either from the Protector, or the Deputy. He refused to do both for some time: but at last he signed a parole in writing, that he would tender himself to the Protector at Whitehall by the tenth of March following, wind and weather permitting;

permitting; and in the mean time would act nothing directly to the disturbance of the peace, or the prejudice of the present Government: many altercations as well in England as in Ireland ensued upon it; but of too little consequence to the Publick to deserve a place in a general history.

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A. 1655.

That the inclinations of the army in Ireland might be better known, and the refractory ones in it kept more under than they had been through the too great easiness of FLEETWOOD, the Protector sent over Colonel HEN. CROMWELL a second time, in hopes that he might be able to fix the soldiery in his interest. The end of his going over was not at first discovered; and was conjectured to be nothing else than to command the army as Major General under the Deputy. He was received however at Dublin with all the pomp and solemnity of a Chief Governor. There was an order of Council at this time, that no person should presume to come from Scotland into Ulster without a licence from General MONCK; and that whoever did come without such licence was to be apprehended by the commander in chief, as an enemy to the Commonwealth, and kept in custody till they gave satisfaction of their good behaviour. In the same month, another order issued from the Deputy and his Council, to the commander in chief of the counties of Meath, and Lowth, and to all officers of the army and Justices of the peace, to take care of the speedy suppression of Popish Schoolmasters, who teach the Irish youth in those counties, training them in superstition, idolatry, and the evil customs of this nation, and to make a return to the Council-board in case of obstruction. Another order was given in the same month, that no houses or lands should be let to any Irish or Papists in or near garrisons, or great towns, or castles of any strength, but in such places as are consistent with the public safety: and that the Commissioners of the revenue should let to the best advantage of the Commonwealth, all the real estates of such Irish and Papists, as have not manifested their constant good affection before the Court for the adjudication of titles and qualifications.

The business of transplantation was now begun by the Council, who thought they had a power to transplant all that expected any benefit from the qualifications by the act of settlement: but imagining what they did

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could not be revoked without the exercise of the legislative power, they proceeded in the transplantation very gradually: Nor did this work meet with that encouragement from England which they thought it deserved, but was rather discountenanced and obstructed there; and this had encouraged the Irish to hope for a dispensation, and not to transplant so readily as otherwise they would have done. About the middle of April, a proclamation was published by the Deputy and Council, taking notice of the evil practice in that nation of keeping the days commonly called Easter Holidays: whereby not only idolatry and superstition derived from the church of Rome is maintained, but the notorious sins of drunkenness, swearing, and many other abominations are committed; and ordering that all shops in the city of Dublin should be kept open on Easter Mondays and Tuesdays as at other times, and that the people should follow their lawful callings. In a few days after, a letter was received from the Protector and his Council, directing that General LUDLOW should not be permitted to leave Ireland till further orders: and by the same post a letter came from the Protector only, setting forth to the Deputy and his Council, that the despoiled Protestants in Ireland had petitioned him, that they might have the like favour for remission of rents payable to him for lands and tithes, formerly held of the late King and of ecclesiastical persons and societies, as are granted to Soldiers and Adventurers for the encouragement of replanting Ireland; and that the same reason holds in case of those Protestants, they being unable to rebuild and replant their estates wasted by the said rebellion: but as he deemed it fitter that the concession of this request should come from the Parliament when it was assembled, to whom he would effectually recommend it, so he ordered that no payment should be made of any such rents in the mean time, and no process whatsoever issue on that account. It appears from the first letter, and the subsequent confinement of General LUDLOW, that the Protector was afraid the violent republican spirit of that General would be working against his government; in which he was certainly in the right: and from the last letter one may conclude, that the authority which CROMWELL had assumed was not so fully established at that time, but that it was necessary to shew a condescension to the Parliament, though he intended the majority should be at his devotion. But hereafter we shall see that this condescension was laid aside, and that a following Parliament which he had modelled

modelled suitably to his design, having offered him the title of KING, which he earnestly wished, but was afraid to accept of, having invested him with the full power of a Monarch under his former title of Protector, was soon after dissolved.

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In order to reduce the charge of the military establishment in Ireland, an instruction was sent from CROMWELL to disband part of the forces, with a list of such particular horse and foot that were to be broken: in which he took care to free himself of the malecontents, and of LUDLOW's regiment particularly: however not to irritate them unnecessarily, both Officers and soldiers were allowed their full arrears out of the forfeited lands of each county, according to the rates that had been set upon them by the General Council of Officers; in which the goodness and convenience of the lands of every county were estimated and balanced. This account is taken from LUDLOW's memoirs, who hath not only placed it a year too early, but, as it appears from a letter of FLEETWOOD's in THURLOE's collection, hath falsified the fact; no such list having been sent from England, and the Deputy and Council reducing the forces according to their own inclinations, having a regard to the public safety. But H. CROMWELL says in another letter, "that the reducement hath been carried so impartially, as that none can say they are injured; and the satisfaction held forth to those who disband is so advantageous, that it hath made more men greedy of sitting down on the terms offered than to continue in their employments." The Lieutenant Colonel of LUDLOW's regiment was accused at the head-quarters, of having said, when he received his arrears with the rest of the regiment, that this distribution would prove invalid without an act of Parliament; and this was aggravated into a crime, as if he intended to excite the soldiers to mutiny and sedition: upon which he was sent for and committed to custody, till he gave assurance of his quiet and peaceable behaviour. It must be observed that General CROMWELL gives a different account from this of LUDLOW's, in a letter to the Protector which is in THURLOE's collection. He told his father "that the Officers of LUDLOW's regiment had put it to the question, whether the present Government were according to the word of God and their former engagements, which was carried in the negative, and

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and that the Council had imprisoned Lieutenant Colonel SCOTT who was the ring-leader, and hoped to let them see that Government is not to be played with, by applying punishments suitable to such distempers, when other means will not prevail."

The state of affairs in Ireland was little different from that in England, and the army there as much disaffected to the design of making OLIVER King, as those of the same profession here. FLEETWOOD had been recalled a little before, and Colonel HEN. CROMWELL acted as Lord Deputy in his room; who desired several of the principal Officers to join in an address to his father, and to assure him that they would stand by him against all his enemies: but the Officers being ignorant of the things for which they were to engage, and of the persons against whom they might be required to defend the Protector, desired to be excused. Though there was a general submission to the present Government, yet the military Officers were split into several factions. A great party favoured the spirit and principles of LUDLOW, were principally Anabaptists, and having been used to govern the easy temper and good nature of FLEETWOOD, were now, if not openly clamorous, yet inwardly discontented, and sent a petition to the Protector to restore their Lord Deputy. Another party, who had not so much interest in him, and had rather been kept under, if not oppressed under his Government, signed a petition that Lord H. CROMWELL—as he was called—might be made Deputy, under whose administration an equal regard was had to all parties.

About this time the Quakers began to make their first appearance in Ireland: the Deputy and Council issued an order to the Mayor of Dublin, the Governors of Corke and Kinsale, and to all Justices of the peace, "to apprehend all Quakers lately come from England into that nation, to examine their names and places of abode in England, on what occasions they were come to Ireland, by whom invited over, whether they belong to or are sent by any church or gathered people in England, what testimonials or recommendations they brought from any godly people or known church in England, and to cause them to be kept in custody till their answers were returned

returned to the Council. The like order was sent to the Governor of Waterford, and the Justices of the peace in that neighbourhood, with this addition, that they should ship them off for Bristol, or such places as should be most convenient for their respective places of abode." In a few days after, there was an order of Council to the Mayor of Dublin, "that all the Quakers in custody should be shipped off with the first conveniency for Chester, with a direction to the Mayor of that city to send them to their respective places of abode, and to exhort them to live orderly, and to make honest provision for themselves and families." But to say the truth, the Quakers were a much more orderly inoffensive people in their principles of government and religion, than the wild and fiery zealots who treated them with this severity.

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In a short time after, some new instructions were sent to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, in the true kingly form, signed OLIVER P. and countersigned by THURLOE; requiring them to reserve for the use of the State, the Crown Church and Corporation lands, and to distinguish them from such as were forfeited: to grant new charters to such cities and corporations as had forfeited them, and as the Deputy and Council should approve of: to reserve a penny halfpenny yearly to his Highness out of every acre assigned the Irish in Conaght: to grant letters patents to the Officers and Soldiers to corroborate the titles and manors created on their estates, and to other Protestant proprietors if they desired it: to supply the vacant church livings in Ulster with English ministers: to remove all the Scots inhabiting Ulster, and Lowth, whether delinquents or not, and to permit no other Scots to come and reside there: to erect Courts for probats of wills in every three counties, and to appoint the judges and registers of them, and to settle their fees: to erect a prerogative court at Dublin, the judges of which in difficult cases might call the other judges or masters in chancery to their assistance, and might have power to receive appeals from inferior courts: to resettle a court of admiralty as formerly, and appoint the judges of the prerogative court the judges of it, to be maintained out of the fees in both offices: to transplant linen-cloth into England or Scotland custom free, and horses to the West-Indies at a duty of twenty shillings a head: to grant letters of denization to foreigners that came to settle in Ireland:

CHARLES II. land: to cause all estates that were mortgaged, to be sold to Protestants, or
A. 1656. for the use of the State: to enquire into the free schools in every county, and to make up their salaries a hundred pounds a year out of the church lands: to make an yearly collection on a certain day in every parish in Ireland, for taking from their parents poor Irish children of above ten years old, for binding them apprentice, and for breeding them in some honest calling in the fear of God: and to take up and secure the heads, and other considerable persons in Ireland, who may be judged dangerous, and likely to assist the Spaniards or others in an invasion of the Commonwealth."

It must be owned that these instructions for the administration of government, for the most part were worthy of better men and better times than these. Of the same sort was an order of the Deputy and Council to several persons, to consider and inform the board how the barbarous custom of coshring *, and promiscuous lodging of both sexes of the Irish, with other lewd and superstitious practices that were opposite to the customs of the English in that nation, might be prevented and reformed for the future: and also how the Irish might be brought to conform to the English nation in their apparel and language, to embrace the truths of the gospel, and abhor the errors of Popery. Nothing more appears in the Council-books of this year, but an order from the Protector to Lord H. CROMWELL commander in chief of the forces, to consult with the officers of his army for erecting and establishing a militia, within the respective counties of Ireland, for the necessary defence and better security of the nation: and another order, about a month after the first, for immediately erecting such militia of English Protestants, and granting commissions to the Officers. It is plain from several letters in THURLOE's collection written at this time, that there was a general quietness, if not a satisfaction under the present Government. The greatest difficulties the administration had to struggle with, were the want of English hands to plant and cultivate the country, so much wasted by a civil war, and the wretched condition of its trade, through the base and counterfeit coin which had for several years been poured into the nation.

Another

* For an explanation of this custom, see the introduction of my history of Ireland, p. 97.

Another Parliament was this year called by the Protector; and those re-
 turned in Ireland were mostly Officers of that army well affected to him; CHARLES II.
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 but intelligence having been sent to England from abroad, of an intended
 invasion of one, or both kingdoms, by King CHARLES, in conjunction
 with the Spaniards, it was ordered by CROMWELL, that the Officers who
 were elected to Parliament should not leave their commands in Ireland.
 For as the authority of a Parliament appeared absolutely necessary to con-
 firm him in his own, he was resolved to have one at his command: and
 having made sure of a great Majority, by excluding all who would not sign
 an engagement like the other, he could dispense with the few Officers re-
 turned for Ireland. In this Parliament he was not mistaken: they granted
 all the money he desired, they passed an act to renounce the title of the
 King, another to make it high treason to attempt any thing against CROM-
 WELL's life, and then proposed to make him King. Many opinions have
 been formed by several writers of the wisdom and the weakness of the re-
 fusal of the Crown by the Protector: but CROMWELL certainly must be
 allowed to know his own situation best: and it is one of those state myste-
 ries which people at a distance may refine upon, but which they will never
 be able to unravel. This project however failing, the Parliament, as I said,
 confirmed him in his dignity of Protector, with an addition of greater power
 than had been given him, in an instrument which they called "the
 humble petition and advice:" insinuating that they did not presume to im-
 pose a law upon his Highness, but to offer him their counsel in what they
 thought the best model of government, which he might accept of, or refuse.
 When this instrument was presented to CROMWELL, and read, after a long
 pause, casting up his eyes, and using other gestures of amazement and per-
 plexity, which were all pretended, he signed it; making a speech full of
 the cant and hypocrisy that became his character. In a few days after,
 he sent a message to the Parliament, to desire they would adjourn till the
 ceremony of his inauguration was performed: and this being solemnized
 with all the pomp of a coronation, he went to the House, gave his assent
 to such bills as were ready, and adjourned the Parliament to the end of
 January.

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After the Parliament had thus invested a single person with the supreme power, and that he had accepted it with so much pomp, the enemies of CROMWELL began to multiply very fast; and Ire'land followed the example of those in England, as well among the sectaries, as in the army. The press was loaded with invectives against the Government; as in free countries it ever will be, when the people think themselves oppressed. In Ire'land therefore the following order was issued; "that the printer at Dublin should not suffer his press to be made use of, without first bringing the copy to be printed to the Clerk of the council, who upon viewing it, if he found any thing tending to the prejudice of the Commonwealth or the public peace and welfare of it, should acquaint the Council with the same for their pleasures to be known therein." How this order was relished it is not difficult to conjecture: but how it was obeyed we know not; there being no historical anecdotes published of that time, except THURLOE's state papers, in which nothing is said of it, and except LUDLOW's memoirs, who was then in England. But the reader sees that this order was an effectual remedy against an appeal to the people upon their grievances: and therefore however such remedies may please and be practised by prerogative Princes and their Ministers, yet the people, who swallow and can digest them, must bid adieu to their liberties, and become the slaves of power.

The "Petition and Advice" was published, and the Protector proclaimed in his new power and dignity, and without any disorder, not only at Dublin, but in all the cities and chief towns in the kingdom. The commission appointing the Council being only for three years, which were now near expiring, the Council dissolved themselves; and properly speaking there was no civil Government existing. H. CROMWELL had a commission as Major General of the army, and commander in chief; and though he had acted in the civil administration of affairs, it was rather as a Privy-counsellor, to which his military commission entitled him, than from any other power. Notwithstanding such a vacancy of Government was highly prejudicial to the public affairs of that nation, and though H. CROMWELL wrote letter after letter into England for a new commission, yet to the astonishment of every body, above three months passed away before another Council was appointed:

appointed: neither can any reason be conjectured for this neglect, from any of the numerous letters of that time in THURLOE's collection: He certainly knew more of OLIVER's secrets than any other person in the kingdom: and yet in one of his letters to H. CROMWELL on this head, he wrote as follows: "I profess to your Lordship I never consider that business, but I am ashamed, yea, confounded; and do wonder with myself what reason will be rendered for it, either to GOD, or to the nation. It is but a small satisfaction to me, yet some it is, that I have with some conscience towards GOD, and honesty towards men, laboured in this affair, though with no more success than I have in other things. Your Lordship may well wonder at this manner of writing: it is all I have to say on this subject." It is certain that General CROMWELL was made so uneasy by this neglect, that he desired his father would give him leave to retire: but to this request OLIVER would not consent. He saw from many instances, that HENRY had a genius and spirit adapted to Government, and that all his own ease and quiet, as to Ireland, depended upon the abilities and the conduct of this son. At last therefore a new commission of Council was sent over, with H. CROMWELL at the head of it a Lord Deputy; in which post he shone with a lustre equal to that of any who had gone before him. The Protector said once with tears of joy in his eyes, "that his son HARRY was a Governor of whom he himself might learn:" and indeed there are some instances of his judgment in affairs of State surpassing his father's: but I shall mention no other than what occurs and ought to be mentioned in this place. An oath of abjuration had been sent by OLIVER and his Council, at the close of this year, to be taken all over Ireland, and as it appears, against the opinion of the Lord Deputy; who would have had it confined to the renouncing all foreign jurisdiction only, and not to be mixed with any matters of doctrine, till proper means had been used for the information of the people. But the consequence of imposing this oath was so prejudicial in stirring up the Irish to give over tillage, and to sell their cattle in order to put themselves into a shifting condition, that it was quickly laid aside. As soon as the Lord Deputy and Council were invested with their power, they set about rectifying the wretched state of their coin, which had been so pernicious to trade and merchandise, and to make a reduction in the expences of the Government: the army alone being eight months in arrear, and no

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money in the treasury to pay them with. But whilst they were contriving to abridge the charges of the State, the revenue was so peeled—to use Lord H. CROMWELL's expression—by so many grants of lands by the Protector or the Parliament, as satisfactions for old debts much above their value, that the supplies from England were necessarily to be enlarged.

There are but few instances in history of Governors so thoroughly wicked, as not to pursue some measures salutary to their people: and in the history of CROMWELL's administration, arbitrary as it was, and illegal as the means were by which he acquired it, there were several things achieved by him which were worthy of the greatest and best of Princes. Of this kind was the following letter, at the end of this year, to the Deputy and Council of Ireland, signed OLIVER P. and dated from Whitehall. He informs them that a proposal had just then been made to him by several persons, to purchase houses in Ireland to the amount of two thousand pounds a year, in such towns as were yet undisposed of, and to assign the annual revenue of such houses in trust, for carrying on a foreign correspondence with learned men, as also for supplying such at home or abroad, whose learning, parts, studies, and abilities, have made them capable of being extraordinary useful to the Publick: provided, that for the better encouragement of this design, they might not pay above five or six years purchase for the said houses at their present value. Having considered, he says, that an institution of this kind had not been hitherto found, at the charge of any within the three nations, he judged it worthy of all encouragement; and therefore ordered it to be forthwith complied with at six years purchase." It must be confessed to his honour, that an institution of this kind was a design in which the greatest and wisest of our Princes might lay a foundation of greater glory, than by subduing armies, and acquiring conquests in foreign countries: the one is the act of his fleets and forces, the other would be his own act entirely.

It is well known that among the ancients famed for wisdom and politeness, it was ever thought to be the duty as well as the interest of States and Princes, to give great encouragement to letters, by patronizing Learned Men and rewarding all their labours: but little of this sort hath been done,

since the reign of CHARLES the First, in these united kingdoms. Our Princes from that period,—not one excepted, if my memory doth not fail me—have not appeared to understand, at least they have not practised this branch of policy: and our Ministers, who should put it into their heads where it is wanting, if they have understood it, have been so taken up with managing factions and parties to preserve their power—for the management of which the favours of the Crown hath been distributed—that the proper means have not been left for giving that encouragement to Learning, which in all free States especially, Learning ought to have. As lightly as this may be thought of, there is not a more certain symptom of the declension of any State, than its giving no attention to the interests of Literature, which are the interests of truth and policy, and permitting luxury and corruption to bear down all before them: and yet so little is the attention of people now to Learning in this country, that except among the learned professions themselves—in which it is too true, and no wonder, that few Very Great Men are to be found—even reading is become almost as much neglected, as by the people of Ireland it ever hath been.

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It was required by one of the articles of “the humble Petition and Advice,” that the Protector should summon a Parliament every year composed of two Houses. This had been inserted in the instrument by his own direction, and therefore he chose eight and fifty—WHITLOCK says sixty—among some of the ancient Peers, the Officers of the army, and other persons that were devoted to him, to fill up what he called his “Other House;” of which Lord H. CROMWELL, and four more, were for Ireland. They were summoned by writs after the manner of the House of Lords, to meet in Parliament on the twentieth day of January; which was the day to which the Protector had adjourned the Commons. The Commons being met accordingly, and the same article of the “Petition and Advice” requiring that the Members which had been legally chosen should not be excluded without the consent of their own House, a motion was made to admit all the elected Members who had been excluded. His enemies by this means having gained a superiority in that very House which had made him the offer of the Crown, the state of affairs began to change. The English historian must be consulted for the particulars: it can only be said here,

CHARLES I. here, that in a fortnight after their meeting—as it hath been already hinted—the Protector dissolved the Parliament in terms of great displeasure. The short detail which hath been given, was necessary to connect the history: we must now return again to Ireland.

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The new Lord Deputy and Council finding the charges of the Government to exceed their revenue and the supplies from England, reduced the civil establishment from forty eight thousand to thirty five thousand a year; and would have also reduced the army as far as was consistent with the public safety, could they have obtained any money from England to pay off the arrears, without which there was no disbanding. But the distresses for want of money then in England were so great, that all the interest which the Lord Deputy had in his father, his reiterated complaints of the danger the State was in, and his innumerable supplications for assistance, were not able to procure them any. The truth was—as Secretary THURLOE wrote to H. CROMWELL—that they were under the same streights and necessity in England: and though the Lord Deputy had proposed to reduce the expences of the Irish army, and yet to make it as effective for the public service almost as it was before, by keeping nearly the same number of soldiers and making the reduction among the officers, yet THURLOE told him in the same letter, “that he found it was difficult to get a consent, much less a direction for reducing it in such a manner; that he believed some of the officers were much regarded, for whose sakes the way propounded was the less liked; and if his Excellency should make the reduction, the Secretary said he judged a tenderness to some men would be of use.” In this manner was the public good sacrificed to the private interest of particular persons; and there is too much reason to fear, that as this case was not peculiar to that time, so these nations will always continue thus to be plundered for the sake of individuals: but the same sort of plunder, in all its circumstances, and to the same extent, is not perhaps to be found in any other country under the sun.

The sudden dissolution of the Parliament by CROMWELL, without the knowledge even of his Council, having multiplied his enemies, or to speak perhaps with more propriety, having induced many of those to declare themselves

themselves against him who had hitherto concealed their dissatisfaction, several officers in the army, and amongst others the Major and Captains of his own regiment, had the hardiness to tell him to his face that they were dissatisfied with his Government. When the news of this defection arrived in Ireland, the officers in that army at Dublin made a free and unanimous offer to the Lord Deputy to address the Protector, "in order to manifest their resolutions of adhering to him against all those whose particular animosities endeavoured to re-embroil the publick." But the Lord Deputy desired it might be suspended, till he heard further from England. In the mean time, he took care to keep every thing as quiet and in as good order as was possible without money; there being none to be had from hence, and the charges of their army exceeding their assessments and revenue several thousand pounds a month: and yet through want of money to pay the arrears that were due, no retrenchment of this charge could then be made. The next care of the Lord Deputy and Council was to have the forfeited lands surveyed, and to make a distribution among the adventurers; which was done with all the fairness and impartiality that was possible, through the candour and equity of Lord H. CROMWELL. To the equity and influence only of this Governour it was owing, that the people of Ireland were not more oppressed by the Protector's Council, than they had been already. The assessments which they paid were above a fourth part as much as all England and Wales; which, he told OLIVER in one of his letters, was ten times more than in due proportion they ought to be, and that they paid incomparably more other charges, owing to the devastation made in the civil war, than any other of the three nations. The disorder about coins had left the country so very bare of good money, that were it not for the supplies from England in specie, all trade and planting there must have ceased; and from a neglect of such industry, the people would have degenerated by degrees into the manners and practises of the native Irish. The address from the army to the Protector being now approved of, it was signed by all the officers and soldiers, except twelve, throughout that kingdom: addresses were also sent from the inhabitants of the several counties: all of them owing more perhaps to the good conduct of the Lord Deputy and the affection they had for him, than to any liking or love of the present Government; though he is modest enough to impute it only to the latter.

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CHARLES II. latter. The good conduct indeed of H. CROMWELL is not to be enough
 A. 1658. commended: for though they were obliged to keep the army above eight months in arrear through want of a supply from England, and his letters to THURLOE, FLEETWOOD, and the Protector for several months, are full of complaints and supplications on that head, yet they are also as full of advices and desires that no money may be raised by ways contrary to law, or without the consent of the people in a Parliament.

There being no more Council books remaining, nor any letters in THURLOE's collection, from which extracts of public affairs in Ireland during the reign of OLIVER could be made, and LUDLOW being in England, which occasioned a silence about them in his memoirs, we must now proceed to an account of CROMWELL's death; which made such a change in Irish affairs soon after as carried LUDLOW thither again, and furnished him with matter for more Irish history. In August this year, the Protector was seized with a tertian ague at Hampton Court, which at first had no dangerous symptom: and though he fancied "he had had great discoveries of the LORD to him in his sickness, and some assurances of his being restored," yet his distemper increasing daily he was brought to Whitehall, where the Commissioners of the great seal attended him, in order for him to sign a declaration, according to the power given him by "the humble petition and advice," of the person who was to succede him: but whether he was unwilling to discover his intentions of leaving the succession to his son, lest in case of his recovery he should disoblige others to whom he had given expectations of it, or whether he was then so thoroughly discomposed that he could not attend to that transaction, is not known. It is certain however that the Commissioners were dismissed, and nothing was done relating to the succession till the symptoms of death were strong upon him, when he nominated his eldest son RICHARD for his successor: dying upon a day which he had always thought very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest victories. It seems to me, I must own, that it was very propitious to him at that time; by leading him to a quiet death in his bed amidst his greatest glory. For so many were the storms he had raised at different times among all sorts of people against him, the Royalists, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Independents, that

that he had for some time been agitated with the apprehensions of a violent death; and so many plots and conspiracies were formed against him by all the parties—especially by those who had been most attached to him, till they found he had deceived them—that it appears highly probable he would soon have been thrown with ignominy from that height, to which his ambition had unjustly carried him. As I see no reason to alter any opinion I had conceived of him ten years ago, I shall give the reader the same character of him, which is to be seen in the second volume of my Ecclesiastical History.

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The family of CROMWELL was originally of Glamorganshire under the name of WILLIAMS; which assumed that of CROMWELL, and transmitted it to posterity, by a marriage with a daughter to the Earl of ESSEX of that name, in the reign of HENRY the eighth. The education of OLIVER was first at Cambridge, and then at Lincoln's Inn: but there was nothing in his genius at that time, which seemed to promise any figure in the further progress of his life. He rather gave into all the sallies of gaiety and intemperance which young men relish; and it was not till the age of forty that he was returned to Parliament. He had a great while, however, before that reformed his conduct, and engaged himself with the Presbyterians. Having acquired some reputation for his good behaviour and good principles in religion and government, he was chosen a Member for the town of Cambridge at the beginning of the long Parliament; and having no talents as a speaker sat two years undistinguished. In this period he engaged in the Independent faction; which was covered then with the name of the rigid Presbyterians: and being entirely devoted to the views of the Parliament against the King, it was no difficult matter for him to procure a command in the army at the breaking out of the civil war. In this situation it was that his genius began to shine; and he had all the qualifications which were necessary to the profession of arms. Successful in every post and every enterprize, his reputation rose so fast, and his zeal for the cause was so ardent, that he became Major General of the army in a short time, then Lieutenant General under FAIRFAX, whom he had the address to govern, and at last to succede in the first post of Captain General. His capacity for civil affairs was not much inferior to his military talents. He had an ad-

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mirable sagacity in discerning the particular humours and natures of different men, and as great a dexterity in accommodating himself to them when he had any point to carry. He would condescend even to buffoonery with the common soldiers, when he was a General Officer, in order to win their affections: and with the religious enthusiasts, he would cant, and pray, and preach, as well as the best of them. He had certainly no other intentions all this time than to keep alive the malignant spirit against the King, and to prevent an accommodation which must have produced a reduction in the army, and in the end, the loss of that power and profit which he had thus acquired. Finding this was in great danger, he readily acquiesced in the murder of the King: for it is impossible to say who projected it. CROMWELL had most certainly a principal hand in bringing it about; for which he is inexcusable. But when men embark in such violent measures of faction, as CROMWELL did embark in against Church and State, it is impossible for them to say, or to know, at what violence they will be content to stop: which should be a lesson of caution to us all, how we enter into the measures of any faction. As bad an hearted man as I am afraid CROMWELL was, he would probably have been shocked at the thought of that wickedness, when he entered into the war, which he found it necessary to commit, as his ambition and the rage of faction carried him on, till he was taken out of the world. He certainly caught some of the enthusiastic fire, which blazed about the time of the civil war: and this, meeting with a great natural warmth in his constitution, made him an able proficient in the religious frenzy so much then in fashion: but this could not be exerted so assiduously, as it was afterwards exerted all through his life, without a great deal of hypocrisy towards God. His profound dissimulation, after he took the reins of Government into his hands, hath been justified by some writers as necessary to his safety. But what a justification is this? What title had he to that superiority over others, and what called him to it? His own ambition evidently, without any regard to right or truth, and through a great deal of blood. It is a strange solecism in Ethicks, to vindicate the wicked acts of an usurper, by saying that his usurpation made them necessary. Though he was a man of but little learning, yet he was a patron of learned men, and the liberal arts: and when he was necessitated to act the part of a great man, he acted it without

out any indecorum, notwithstanding it was a part which was wholly new to him. His private deportment, and his social character, have not been censured: he was very temperate in his diet; and though he would sometimes drink freely, yet it was not to excess. He never had to the last any abilities as an orator; and rather left others to pick out his meaning from his public speeches, than declared it himself. In so great a man this was thought to be affected: it might be so in one or two instances after he was Protector; but the truth is, he had not a talent for elocution. Without departing from œconomy, he was generous to those who served him: and he knew how to find out and engage in his interests, every man that was possessed of those talents which every particular employment required. It must be owned that in his civil and domestic administration, he had as much regard to justice and clemency, as his usurpation, founded only on the sword, could possibly permit. As to his religion, in which almost all historians agree, it is to me I must confess, the most inexplicable part of all his character: and though they rank him among the Independents, yet it is certain that for many years of his life he was a Presbyterian: and after he arrived at his dignity, he had Chaplains of both denominations, and allowed the Presbyterian to be the public profession of the nation. He was a Protestant, without doubt; and had great notions of religious liberty: but I believe all his religion, after he had first entered on the war till he became Protector, was Enthusiasm, without any rational or solid principles. Ambition, and a lust of power, were his ruling passions: and those put him on imbibing those dangerous maxims, “that in extraordinary cases the moral law may be dispensed with, and that private justice must give way to public necessity.” These maxims led him to have a principal share in putting the late King to death; and these drove him on to assume the sovereign power. When he was once possessed of this dignity, he was neither Presbyterian, Independent, Republican, nor Enthusiast; so says RAPIN, and I believe very truly; but he says nothing further. It is natural however to ask then, what he was, if he was none of these. To speak my mind freely, I think it is most likely that he was a Deist. In short CROMWELL seemed to have been a man entirely calculated for those times, and those times for him: amidst any other he would have made a very insignificant figure: but amidst these he made a greater figure, than any private man in Eng-

CHARLES II. land either before or since ever attained to. He had great penetration and
A. 1658. address, invincible courage, firm resolution, and strength of mind, and a thorough command of all his passions when it was necessary: he had many good qualities amidst the greatest dissimulation; and with a wicked heart had the appearance of the most transcendent piety.

No sooner was OLIVER dead, than his eldest son RICHARD, nominated as his successor, was proclaimed Protector; and addresses of congratulation from all parts of the kingdom poured in upon him. In the memoirs of Lord BROGHILL, afterwards Earl of ORRERY, written by his Chaplain MR. MORRICE, it is said that when CROMWELL was asked who should succede him, his reply was, that in such a drawer of a cabinet in his closet they would find his will: but one of his daughters knowing that he had made FLEETWOOD his heir, and where his will was deposited, got at it and burnt it. I don't recollect that this is mentioned by any other historian; neither do I think it likely to be true. LUDLOW was one of the principal persons then on the public stage; and such a transaction as this could not have escaped his knowledge: and as the "humble petition and advice," which gave him a power to name a successor, required the nomination to be under the great seal, it is highly improbable that CROMWELL should choose to nominate him by will. His Secretary THURLOE, who was his greatest confidant, and was never from him, wrote to Lord H. CROMWELL during OLIVER's illness, that "he had by himself declared a successor in a paper before he was installed by the Parliament, and sealed it up in the form of a letter directing it to THURLOE, but kept both the name of the person and the paper to himself. After he fell sick at Hampton Court, he sent a servant to London for it, telling him it lay upon his study table at Whitehall; but it was not to be found there nor elsewhere, though it had been very narrowly looked for: he had had some discourse about it that day—Monday August the thirtieth—but his illness disenabled him to conclude it fully." In a postscript it is added, "That about the succession is an absolute secret: I beseech your Excellency to keep it so." This letter is dated at nine o'clock at night: and it is very observable that though in another letter the next day, THURLOE wrote to the Lord Deputy, "that his Highness is so weak for the present that he is capable of doing
nothing

nothing respecting to the Publick—meaning no doubt the nominating his successor in due form—that for aught I see things are like to be at his Highness's death, as my last mentioned"—that is, without settling the succession—yet on the day after the Protector died, the Secretary writes to Lord HENRY, "that his Highness was pleased before his death to declare my Lord RICHARD successor; he did it upon Monday." It appears from this contradiction—for THURLOE could not be mistaken—that there was some management in this business of OLIVER's appointing a successor, which was not proper to be owned: and perhaps he did not appoint any at all. Lord FALCONBERG, his son in law, says in a letter to H. CROMWELL, "that the night preceding his death—which must be Thursday night—and not before, in presence of four or five of the Council he declared Lord RICHARD his successor:" as both these accounts cannot be true, so whether both of them may not be false, it is impossible for us to say. Nothing is more certain than that the nomination of his successor was not under the great seal. A good reason hath been given above, for his neglecting to nominate in the proper form, till he thought himself past recovery; and then it was too late. For it appears by LUDLOW's memoirs; that when THURLOE presented a declaration to the Parliament acknowledging RICHARD to be Protector, it was moved that the instrument might be produced, wherein the successor ought to be nominated, and the great seal affixed: but as they had no such thing to shew, the motion was overruled.

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Whatever management there might have been, it is certain that RICHARD was proclaimed Protector, in Ireland as well as here: but the spirit of the father did not dwell in the son: he had neither the courage, the resolution, nor the address of OLIVER; and he was likewise without his enthusiasm, his wickedness, and his ambition. Under such a head, every faction conceived hopes of acquiring the superiority: every faction tried for it in their turn, and for a short time each prevailed. RICHARD having neither spirit, genius, nor friends, neither treasure nor army to support him, in a little while, as we shall see, without any struggle withdrew, and became a private Gentleman. The contest lay then between the army, and that small party of the long Parliament called the RUMP, which had been dissolved by CROMWELL. My design however doth not permit me to enter into any

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A. 1659. of the particulars which fell out here after OLIVER's death, any further than is necessary to connect them with those in Ireland: and there being no more Council books remaining, as I said before, to which I could have recourse, the only light that we can get of affairs there till the restoration, must be drawn from THURLOE's letters which afford but little, from LUDLOW's memoirs, and those of Lord BROGHILL by MORRICE. These are both written on memory without observing any dates, and the last without observing any order of time: MORRICE hath jumbled things together, as they occurred to his remembrance, from what he had heard Lord BROGHILL say at different times; and it is not therefore to be wondered at that they should be very inaccurate.

The day after RICHARD was proclaimed in Dublin, the Lord Deputy caused the military officers in and about that city to attend him; that he might acquaint them with the state of affairs and their duty, and that they might offer him their thoughts upon those subjects. They unanimously desired him to assure the new Protector of their chearful obedience and fidelity to him to the uttermost; and that they would shortly give a further testimony of it by their behaviour in their several stations. The Lord Deputy then commanded them to their respective charges, to preserve things the surer, and to see the proclamation published every where with the more solemnity and the acclamations of the soldiers. In a short time after, he caused an address to be sent and to be signed all through the army; and he received a new commission from RICHARD with the title of Lord Lieutenant: which he was so far from desiring that he chose rather to have quitted his command in Ireland than to live always as he had done in the fire, through the factious opposition of the Anabaptists and other sectaries, who were countenanced by FLEETWOOD and others here at home.

A Parliament was summoned by RICHARD to meet at the end of January, and the thirty Members returned for Ireland according to OLIVER's model, after much opposition from the Commonwealth party, were allowed to sit. The contests between the factions still continuing very violent, at the latter end of April, the army came to a resolution to oblige the Protector to dissolve the Parliament. RICHARD refused at first to grant this demand;

demand; but being told by DESBOROW, that if he granted it the Council of Officers would take care of him, and if he refused it, it would be dangerous to himself, and they would dissolve the Parliament without him, the Protector consented: it was dissolved by proclamation, and from this time, though he continued to bear the title, he was no more regarded than a private person. SR. C. COOTE, one of the Members returned for Ireland, went post thither immediately; in order to carry the news of this great alteration to General H. CROMWELL, and to consult on what measures to take that they might maintain their power. Lord BROGHILL also went into Munster, where he had great interest; and, if MORRICE is to be credited, with a view to get over all, or most part of the army in Ireland, to the side of the King: but that is not true. For though his Lordship, when he saw the several factions that prevailed, might entertain some imperfect thoughts of such a kind, yet it was certainly too early then to put any such thoughts in execution: and it happens a little unluckily for MORRICE's credit in this assertion, and for the reputation of Lord BROGHILL, that there is a letter of his to THURLOE on the seventeenth of March—about two months only before the restoration—in which is the following passage: “I hear we are much misrepresented in England as persons that intend to set up for ourselves, and to make Ireland a back door to let in CH. STUART into England, and thereby at one blow cut up by the roots the precious rights we have been so long contending for. I profess Sir I know nothing further from the thoughts of all my acquaintance and friends: for interest as well as duty will keep us from so ruinous a wickedness.” It will be seen however presently that he soon changed his note, and was one of the first men in Ireland, who helped to bring on, what he calls, this ruinous wickedness. The Lord Lieutenant sent SR. C. COOTE into his province of Conaght, to secure all things there under their government; Colonel FLOWER was sent into Ulster; and the troops in which they most confided were ordered to advance towards Dublin. A Council of Officers was then called, in which CROMWELL made a proposition that they should all declare their resolution to stand by and defend his brother RICHARD: but they held it convenient to see what course would be taken by the army in England before they made such a declaration, and so desired he would excuse them. It must be observed that this is the account which is given of that trans-
action

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The principal Officers of the army in England, though they had agreed in dethroning RICHARD, and in diſſolving the Parliament which he had ſummoned, yet were very far from being agreed about the next ſteps that were to be taken for the Government of the State. They thought at firſt of raiſing money without a Parliament; but they durſt not venture upon it: the people, and the city of London particularly, preſſed them earneſtly to reſtore the Members that were left of the long Parliament diſſolved by OLIVER; and many of the Officers declared they would not be content with any thing leſs. At length this meaſure was agreed to, and purſued: the Members, to the number of forty two, met in Parliament, in the beginning of May, and by way of deriſion were called the Rump. As ſoon as the people in Ireland were informed that this Parliament was returned to the exerciſe of their authority, the Lord Lieutenant iſſued a proclamation to preſerve the peace, and called the Officers together, who ſent over ſome agents to the Council of State, with ſeveral propoſals relating to the civil and the military Government of that country. The Council of State, which had been conſtituted by the Parliament, having taken theſe propoſals into conſideration, prepared ſuch of them as they thought reaſonable for the conſideration of the Parliament: in particular thoſe concerning the eſtabliſhment of the army in the poſſeſſion of thoſe lands which had been aſſigned for payment of their arrears; as alſo to confirm the adventurers and others in the poſſeſſion of theirs, as far as might conſiſt with the rules of juſtice. In a few days after the agents had been ſent over with thoſe propoſals, General CROMWELL tranſmitted to his brother FLEETWOOD, one of the Council of State, his reſignation of the Iriſh Government: in which he ſaid, " that though he could not promiſe ſo much affection to the late changes as others very honeſtly might, becauſe he could not promote any thing which inferred a diminution of his late father's honour and merit, yet he had ſuch a tenderneſs for peace as to be content with the preſent Government;

vernment; and had therefore thought it his duty to prevent those fears and jealousies which might give occasion to interrupt the public peace, by resigning his charge to any one whom they should send to receive it." The Parliament—as that handful of men were called very absurdly—proceeded to put the administration of affairs in Ireland into such hands as they could confide in; declaring that the Government there should be managed again by Commissioners as it had been formerly: the persons were then nominated who were to serve in that employment; and the Council of State were ordered to draw up instructions for their use and to report them to the House, together with what other business they should think necessary in Ireland. It was at the same time resolved, to require General HENRY CROMWELL to come over, in order to give an account of the state of affairs there, and to empower the Commissioners, or any two of them, to take care of the safety of that nation till further order. LUDLOW being made again Lieutenant General of the horse, had two regiments given him, and was appointed Commander in chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth in Ireland; with this concession upon which he insisted, that when he had put the affairs of that country into a posture of security he might have liberty to return to England.

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When the order was signified to General CROMWELL, to leave his command in Ireland, and to give an account of affairs there, he retired to a house in the Phenix park belonging then to the chief Governour, and left Colonel LONG in the castle of Dublin. If he had been inclined to try his interest, in all probability the new ruling powers would have met with great difficulties in his removal. As no person whatever had any injuries to complain of from him, and he had on the contrary obliged every body as far as lay in his power, so he was extremely beloved in Ireland both by the army, and the inhabitants: he saw however that his brother had been deposed, and he could not be sure of success; and this doubtless made him unwilling to undertake an affair of that consequence. A great deal may be said truly of the good heart and temper, of the candour and moderation of HENRY CROMWELL: but his numberless letters in THURLOE's collection will justify us in thinking, that too much cannot be said of his love of justice, his abilities, his knowledge of men and things, and of his skill in

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the arts of Government: but these talents made him hated by the chief Officers in England, because they made them fear him: and by their contrivance he was restrained from ever returning into England, till they had gotten the power into their own hands; and then they thought it not safe that he should remain in Ireland. His power however consisted—in what the power of every Great Man may consist, if he pleases—in the public love, and not in his wealth. For though he had had the Government of Ireland and the chief command of that army for four years, yet being unpractised in the selfishness of the Patriots of those times—I had almost said of ALL ENGLISH PATRIOTS—he had not money enough to bring him over. As an incontestible proof of his merit and popularity, the King sent him word, when he was settled upon the throne, that though he had escaped in safety with the crowd, yet his Majesty had a particular mercy for him; and he ended his days in the peace and quiet which he had desired. All historians agree in praising him: even LUDLOW, the bitter enemy of his family, says not a word against him: and it was generally believed with great reason, that if he had filled the post of his elder brother, and had had his father's ambition, the Officers would have found him a match for them; or at least that they would not have attempted to treat him as they treated RICHARD. The Commissioners suspecting that he intended to keep the castle, and being desirous to get it into their power, employed SR. HAR. WALLER to surprise it. WALLER finding the authority of the CROMWELLS to be at an end, and that of the Parliament to be restored, undertook the enterprize: but being ready to enter by a postern gate into the castle, he found not the least intention of any resistance; and the place was surrendered to him immediately.

Soon after LUDLOW arrived at Dublin to take upon him the command of all the forces in Ireland, advice was brought of an insurrection in England against the Parliament, headed by SR. GEO. BOOTH, and that Chester had been seized for the King. The truth is, the people were weary of the tyranny of an Independent Parliament consisting only of a handful of men, and of an army made up almost entirely of Fanaticks; who, under colour of promoting piety and the Commonwealth, had nothing in view but their own advantages. The Presbyterians, as well as others, standing exposed

to this tyranny, and seeing no possibility of regaining the ground they had lost, came at last to an union with the Royalists; in order to deliver the nation from the servitude under which it groaned. When the news of the insurrection in Cheshire was brought to Dublin, LUDLOW called a Council of the principal Officers, to consider of the best way for preserving the peace of Ireland and preventing the like mischief there. All the Officers were ordered to their respective commands, and Lord BROGHILL was summoned to attend the Commissioners. When he came before them, they told him that the State was jealous he would practise against their Government; and therefore unless he would engage that no commotion should arise in the province of Munster in which he had a great interest, they desired him not to take it amiss if they confined him to the castle. He told them, if they would put the sole power of Munster into his hands, he would engage to be accountable for that province, but otherwise it was impossible. This the Commissioners would not do: and therefore they answered him, after some debate and consultation, that as he was a man of honour they would trust him, without requiring more from him than from other Officers, that is, that he should do what he could to keep the province quiet.

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Upon the commotion in Cheshire, the Council of State sent an order to LUDLOW to transport with all expedition a thousand foot and five hundred horse to England, which was accordingly complied with: tho' he thought the posture of affairs in Ireland made it inconvenient. His chief business now whilst he was there was to model the army entirely to the purposes of the Commonwealth; by turning out all the Officers whom he suspected, and putting others into their posts in whom he thought he could confide. But a business of greater moment soon engaged his attention. The principal Officers of the army in England, finding the Parliament intended to become their masters, thought it necessary to take measures for preventing this design. After several meetings and correspondences, it was concluded that LAMBERT, who had lately suppressed the insurrection in Cheshire, should engage his Officers in a petition to the Parliament, that FLEETWOOD might be Commander in chief of the army, LAMBERT Major General, DESBOROW Lieutenant General of the horse, MONCK Major

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General of the foot, and no Officer whatever dismissed from his command but by a Court martial. Copies of this petition, with letters to the Officers desiring their concurrence, were sent to the army in Ireland. As soon as LUDLOW received this intelligence, he summoned a Council of Officers, whom he endeavoured to convince of the impropriety and the hazard of this design: and they appeared to be so well convinced of it, that after a mature deliberation they unanimously declared a dislike of it, and a resolution to adhere to the Parliament as the supreme authority. This affair being adjusted, and LUDLOW having garbled the army to his satisfaction, he deputed Colonel JOHN JONES to command the forces in Ireland in his absence; and in October came for England. JONES was a Member of Parliament, had been one of the late King's judges at his trial, and was then a Commissioner for the civil affairs of Ireland: and therefore LUDLOW thought he would be acceptable to the Officers, and steadfast in the defence of the common cause.

It doth not belong to this history to enter into the particulars of the quarrel between the army and the Parliament, in consequence of the petition above mentioned. It must suffice to say here, that after much altercation, about the middle of October, the principal Officers, FLEETWOOD, LAMBERT, and DESBOROW, put an end to the Parliament: but finding themselves unable to carry on the Government, they consented to the meeting of the Parliament again at the end of December, and resigned their usurped authority. It was impossible that these distractions here should not have their effect in Ireland; several of the Officers there espousing the interest of the army, and others the authority of the Parliament. Many of those who had signed an engagement to the latter, which LUDLOW had brought over, and therein expressed their sorrow for the interruption of the civil authority, with a firm resolution of adhering to it constantly for the future, were now brought by JONES, to whom LUDLOW had confided the chief command, to sign another engagement directly contrary. Even the Commissioners of the Parliament fell in with the party that were for the army; and altered their title, in the orders and commissions signed by them, to that of "Commissioners of the Commonwealth." But now the season of affairs began to be very critical in both kingdoms. The army here, says
LUDLOW,

LUDLOW, as if infatuated by a superior power to procure their own destruction, continued obstinately to oppose the Parliament: those who meant nothing less than the ruin of both in Ireland, pretended to desire to relieve the nation from the government of the sword, and so joined, like MONCK in Scotland, in declaring for the Parliament: for this reason they possessed themselves of the castle of Dublin, took JONES and the Commissioners into custody, and talked of nothing but yielding obedience to the commands of the Parliament for the future. The pretence of their meeting together at Dublin was to petition for a general Council of Officers; that the sense of the army in Ireland relating to public affairs might be fairly represented. But JONES, and the Commissioners refusing to grant this request, the Officers proceeded to the violent measures just mentioned.

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Whilst this great change was bringing about at Dublin, there were those that were not idle in other parts of that kingdom. Lord BROGHILL was by birth, and interest, on the side of monarchy: and though he had supported CROMWELL's usurpation, perhaps because he could not help it, yet he soon grew disgusted with the anarchy and confusion introduced into the three kingdoms, after RICHARD's abdication, by the contest between the Parliament and the army for the ruling power. As soon therefore as he saw, that all indifferent people began to be weary of the several changes and alterations that were every day taking place, and that there was a likely chance of bringing in the King, he set himself to work very assiduously to make a party in Munster for his Majesty's restoration. Having engaged all his own Officers, and many others not under his command in that province, to concur in such a design, he then communicated his measures to SR CH. COOTE in Conaght; of whose ill affections to the present ruling powers, either in the Rump or in the army, he was pretty well assured. COOTE, as well as his father, had gone entirely into the Republican system from the beginning; not from any principle, for they appear to have had none but interest. The loaves and the fishes were then on that side; and monarchy was not capable of giving its votaries any reward. But now the Commonwealth was apparently on the decline: the intestine divisions of the leading men, carried to the utmost height of animosity, forboded a speedy dissolution of their power: and as nothing could atone for all his past op-
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position to his Majesty's interests, or give him any chance of favour under the new Government, but a very early and a very zealous prosecution of the King's service, so like a true soldier of fortune he veered about, and struck in instantly with the overture made him by Lord BROGHILL. From this time, no man in Ireland was so warm and vigilant a Royalist as SR. CH. COOTE. His zeal, after the manner of all new converts, was so eager and intense, that he had nearly spoiled Lord BROGHILL's measures by precipitating him into action before he was ready, and before the time agreed on. When his Lordship was assured of COOTE's confederacy, he dispatched a letter to the King, then at Brussels, by his brother Lord SHANNON, to invite his Majesty into Ireland; and in the mean time, made all the preparations he privately could for his reception in the city of Corke. When the King received this letter, he was so fully persuaded of the success which he should meet with in Ireland, that he gave orders immediately for all things to be got ready for his embarkation: but in the moment that he was taking horse to go to Calais in a disguise, in order to his Irish expedition, there arrived letters from England full of assurances of MONCK's intentions to serve the King; which caused the design of going to Ireland to be laid aside.

SR. C. COOTE being afraid, from the reports spread every day of MONCK's intentions, and of the feeble and disjointed state of affairs in England, that if he did not make haste his services would be lost in the general turn, and he should have little merit to plead, proceeded immediately to secure the fort and town of Galway, changed the Governor and drew together a considerable body of horse and foot, consisting chiefly of English-Irish. With these he surprised Athlone, and then marched to Dublin: where he preferred an impeachment of high treason against LUDLOW, and the Commissioners of the Commonwealth. At the same time, some other Officers, whom Lord BROGHILL and COOTE had associated in the confederacy, secured Youghal, Clonmell, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda. In the mean while, a Council of the principal Officers was held at Dublin; in which they made a very long and public declaration in favour of the re-admission of the Members of Parliament in England, who had been excluded by violence in forty eight. An agent was then dispatched to MONCK, to assure him of their joining with him for the settlement of the nations by a free Parliament; and

and a convention of the estates in Ireland was summoned to meet at Dublin. CHARLES II.
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Soon after the meeting of the convention, of which SR. JAMES BARRY, afterwards Baron of SANTRY, was chairman, they also published a declaration for the re-admission of the excluded Members in England, and for a free Parliament: And in order to secure the army to their design of restoring the King, which they did not yet avow, they made a provision for the Payment of their arrears, and for their future maintenance.

Just at this time arrived LUDLOW in the bay of Dublin, in order to attend his charge of the forces in Ireland under the Parliament: but as soon as the Council of Officers had received intelligence of his arrival, they sent a party of horse to his house, just off the bay, in order to seize him: and not finding him there, they lay privately by the sea-side, in hopes to surprise him upon his landing. But this project failing, by his remaining still on board the ship through a distrust of his safety, they sent an Officer to desire him, for avoiding inconveniences, to retire to England. This LUDLOW refused; being determined to prosecute, as far as he was able, the ends of his commission from the Parliament: the Captain then proposed that the General should go to Dublin, in order to satisfy the scruples of the Council of Officers: but LUDLOW was too old a soldier to be caught in that snare. He went to Duncannon, the Governor of which was put in there by him, and was his friend; where he remained for some time, issuing out letters and orders to the Officers of the several garrisons, requiring them to adhere to the service of the Parliament from whom he had received his commission; and informing them that the Council of Officers at Dublin, though they covered their design at present with pretences for the Parliament, yet it was evidently to destroy both them and their friends, and to bring in the son of the late King. In the mean time, the Council of Officers ordered the fort of Duncannon to be blocked up, and sent him a letter to justify their proceedings; in which they accuse him with much malicious falsehood; and afterwards they printed and dispersed it. The Parliament however were by this time so much awed and influenced by MONCK, that they sent letters to recall LUDLOW, as well as their Commissioners; and to attend them with an account of the affairs of Ireland.

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The Council of Officers at Dublin, who had all along acted in concert with MONCK, being backed by the convention, thought their affairs in that kingdom were ripe enough now to begin to throw off the mask. They published therefore another declaration, in which they reproached the Parliament with the favours they had extended to men accused of high treason—meaning their admission of LUDLOW, and one of the Commissioners, into the House at their return—and the discouragements they had laid upon those who had been sent to England to prosecute the impeachment. In short they told them plainly, they could no longer own them for an authority; and desired therefore that a free Parliament might be called, to put an end to those confusions, in which their ambition and unskilfulness had involved the nations. But when this declaration came to be signed, SR. HARD. WALLER, who had been one of the late King's judges on his trial, justly dreading the consequence to himself and his party of calling a free Parliament, moved that the Council of Officers might be adjourned into the castle; where he hoped to secure the leaders of this motion: but not being able to carry that point, he communicated his design to as many as he thought fit, and making an excuse to go out of the room, he hastened away and got into the castle: two or three others followed and joined themselves to him; and amongst them it was resolved, to send out a party to seize SR. CH. COOTE and his adherents. But suspecting their intentions, he had provided some of his own men, either to defend himself, or secure the others; and being accompanied by Colonel THEOPH. JONES, he mounted on horseback at the head of them, rode up and down the streets of Dublin, and declared for a free Parliament; which language was by that time sufficiently understood to be for the King. A great multitude of the people followed them holding the same language; upon which they surrounded the castle: and having posted guards upon all the avenues, they sent a summons to SR. H. WALLER to deliver the place into their hands. WALLER, refusing to surrender, clothed all the soldiers out of the stores, and distributed money amongst them in order to secure their fidelity; promising them still more if they would stand by him: but the soldiers had seen their Officers change sides so often for their interest, that it is no wonder that COOTE should in two or three days, with more money, and with larger promises, prevail with them to deliver their Governor and castle into his hands.

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The reader will observe therefore, that the army and people in Ireland were among the first of those that broke the ice for the King's restoration. WALLER was sent a prisoner into England: and as he was possessed of two regiments—for these Republican Patriots, as other Patriots have done since, took care of themselves—COOTE was under some difficulty to find proper Colonels: having just before taken two to himself, and given one to each of his brothers, and another to a relation. This unequal distribution was so resented by some of his own party, that it was moved by one of the Officers at a Council of war, that a more equal hand might be observed in the disposal of commissions: but COOTE thought this too impertinent a motion to be permitted; and therefore after severely reprimanding the Officer discharged him from his command. To shew their attachment to MONCK, and the cause which they knew he intended to serve, the Council of Officers at Dublin sent him a present of a pair of spurs and a sword-hilt of massy gold, together with a rich hatband and an embroidered belt: and after this, there were no more thoughts of a Commonwealth, but every one was preparing to swim with the stream. There was a small, and short debate indeed in the convention, whether they ought not to article with the King for the confirmation of the estates of the adventurers, and the soldiers: but some of the members suggesting, that it would be dishonourable to make conditions for the restoration of their Sovereign, it was soon determined to accept of his declaration from Breda, as the fittest expedient to cement the divided interests of the kingdom.

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The way being thus prepared for a perfect submission to their former Government, the same methods which restored the King to his throne, and which established monarchy again in England, established his authority, and put an end to the Commonwealth in Ireland. What those methods were, the reader already knows; or at least he will not expect to find them here. I have now conducted him to the period which I first intended in this work: I have led him through numerous and various scenes, of as much cruelty, contention, misrule, and confusion, as ever filled the pages of any history in the world: and I have brought him to a state of law, and order, and regularity; when the ancient constitution of these kingdoms was

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restored, and the reign of enthusiasm and anarchy was at an end. Though the reader, as well as the historian, must be very well pleased to part with these unhappy times, yet if Mankind will suffer themselves to be made better by the experience of former ages—and if experience doth not teach them, one cannot tell what will—there is a lesson of the first importance to society to be learned from the dreadful story that we have gone through: for the mischiefs of civil strife, are more diffusive than the consequences of any other wickedness: it breaks through every tie of nature, reason, and religion: it unpeoples countries, lays waste the earth, and divests mankind of justice, compassion, and humanity. In order therefore to avoid those fatal rocks, on which our ancestors in both kingdoms were most unhappily lost, let their experience instruct us, to beware of the beginnings of civil discord; which, though at first they may seem small, yet by time and chance, which happen to things as well as men, become mighty in their progress, and fatal in their conclusion. For it is with communities in this respect as it is with individuals: when once they break the bounds of law and order, there is no knowing at what a popular tumult will stop. The wickedness of the Irish rebels would never have been so various, so extensive in its measure, or so enormous in its height,—and the same may be said of that in England—could they have accurately foreseen the progress of their crimes, or have suspected themselves to be capable of those actions in the beginning, which, by an unseen chain of evil causes, and a gradual train of very unexpected effects, they were led in the end unavoidably to perform. So many unlooked for incidents arose, so many miseries unprovided for surprised, and such scenes of horror overwhelmed them, that even cruelty began to feel remorse, and revenge to wish itself unsatisfied. But this unprofitable repentance came too late; when they could neither recall the past, nor prevent the calamities that were to come. This is a reflection which may do no great honour to human nature; but it may help to improve the human mind: and if we read history with the view that it should be read by every one, the improvement of the mind will answer the great end for which all history should be written. The character of the Monarch, whose restoration gave peace to Ireland, shall conclude this work.

CHARLES

CHARLES the Second is one of the Kings, of whom almost all historians have spoken with great prejudices, on the one side, or the other. A man who hath considered his reign attentively, and will speak of it impartially, must speak of it I think differently from all that I have seen. There are some strokes indeed in his character which are common to all who write of him. His friends and his enemies have allowed, that he had very fine natural parts, a great quickness of conception, pleasantness of wit, a right judgment of affairs, and great variety of knowledge: but with all these abilities, and with all the social qualities that a Prince could have to render himself beloved, without any pride, or stateliness, or conceit, he had such a carelessness and indolence of temper, as disfigured his administration of Government all his life. The high principles which he maintained, if we consider all the circumstances of his family, education, and exile, are not only to be forgiven, but excused, in CHARLES the Second. But his pretended zeal for the Protestant religion and the Church of England, when he was externally of the Roman communion, and internally of no religion at all, or at best a Deist, was a series of dissimulation which there is no defending. It is pity, it must be owned, that so fine a Gentleman in his manner, so easy of access, so affable and communicative in his conversation, so entertaining with his wit, and so polite in his reproof and raillery, should at the same time have no sincerity, nor friendship, nor even tenderness in his nature. He had adopted one maxim, it seems, by which he excused these defects; that there was no such thing as honour or virtue in the world, but that the actions of all mankind were the result of interest. Under the impression of such a maxim, it was impossible he should practise friendship, or sincerity: nor could there be any great room for tenderness, more than what he was impelled to by his natural temper. It was not however till the very latter end of his reign, when his ease had been much disturbed by plots, and the heat of contending parties, that CHARLES the Second exercised any cruelty; and his character in that respect seems to have been overcharged. He was so abandoned to sensual pleasures, that he could scarce prevail upon himself, till towards the decline of life, to suspend them even for an hour that he might apply to the affairs of Government: and yet when he did apply himself, his judgment was so clear, his penetration was so lively, and his mind was so capable

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pable of great affairs, that he could dispatch more business in one day than his Ministers in general could in many. His mistresses devoured all his time, and his treasure; and it was not the splendour or glory of a Crown, but an easy indolent sauntering life, amidst wit and voluptuousness, which had charms for CHARLES. This is a wretched, despicable course of life for a King to follow, it must be owned: but it is made much worse when we consider, that it betrayed him into profuseness which was extremely burdensome to his people; and when he could not get money enough from his Parliament to support this profuseness, that he even submitted, with the Crown of England upon his head, to be the tool and pensioner of the King of France. But yet with a character so disadvantageous to his subjects, and so inglorious to himself, it must be acknowledged that he made as many concessions to his people, and passed as many acts for their benefit, as any Prince that had ever reigned before him. His great concern at last was for the succession of his brother; which yet he would have consented should be greatly limited: and in his last sickness, when he had time to think over the misconduct of his life and reign, he shewed no remorse for either: not a word about religion dropped from him to any body: no care of his people, no concern about his Queen, fate upon his thoughts at all; but he died recommending his mistresses, and the children which they brought him, to the care and kindness of his brother. To conclude his character, we may say, that as a Gentleman he was liked by every body, but beloved by no body: and as a Prince, though he might be respected for his station, yet his death could not be lamented by a lover of his country, upon any other motive, than that it produced a much worse Monarch on the throne than he was himself.

THE END.

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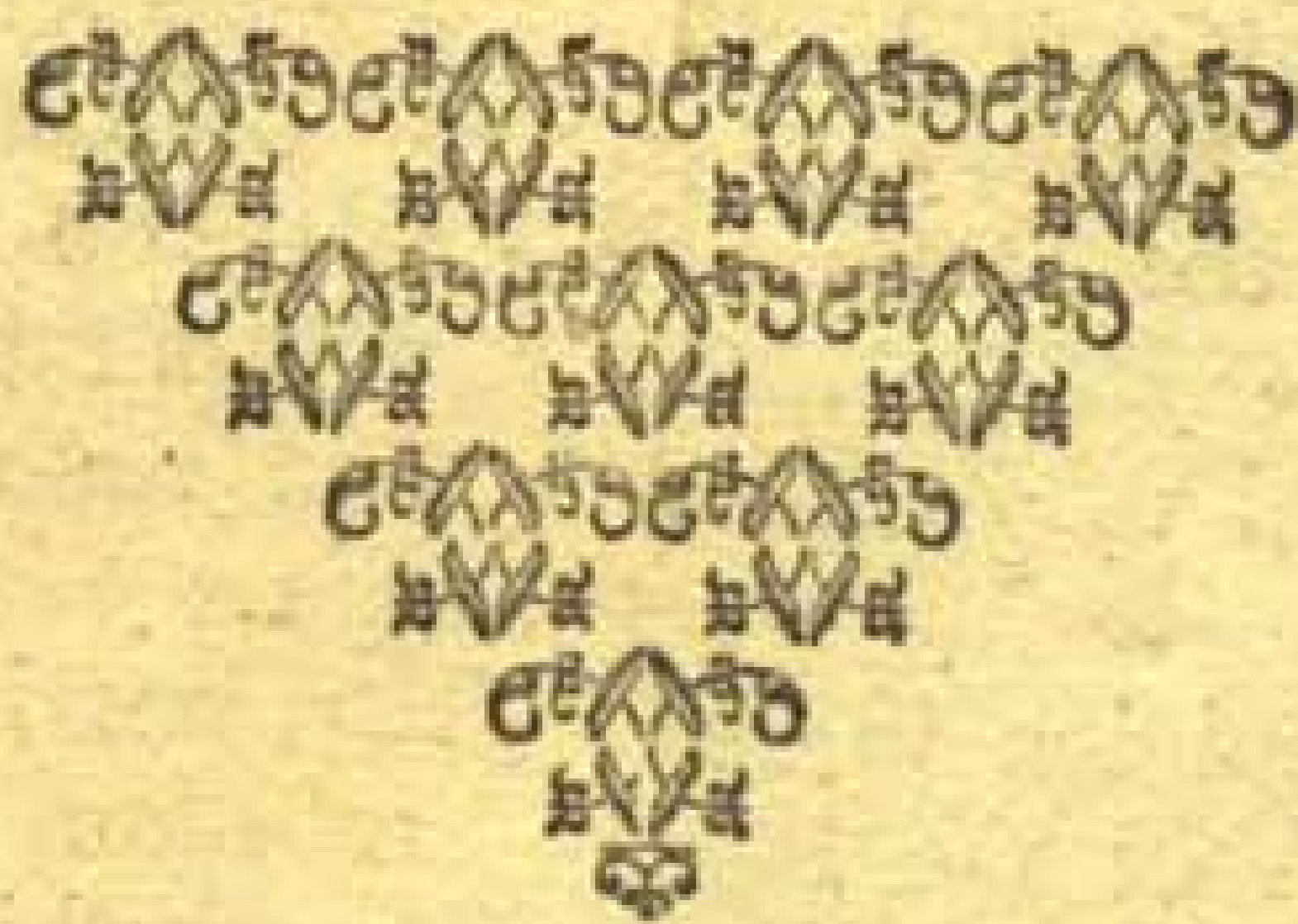
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