

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

Irish Rebellion,

Traced from many Preceding ACTS,

TO THE

GRAND ERUPTION

The 23d of *October*, 1641;

And thence pursued to the

Act of Settlement,
MDCLXII.

To which are added

LETTERS to and from OLIVER CROMWELL, IRETON,
PRESTON, and many others, relating to the Sieges, Battles, and
remarkable Passages mentioned in the following History, never before
printed; taken from Original MSS of Mr. *Cliffe*, an Intimate of
Cromwell's, and Secretary to General *Ireton*.

[BORLASE. E]

*Spartanos (genus est audax
Avidumque feræ) nodo cautus
Propiore liga.*

Sen. Hippolitus.

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T O T H E R E A D E R.

R E A D E R,

I Am not ignorant that he exposes himself as a publick Mark to many Inconveniencies, who appears in Print: Yet there hath been so long an Expectation of the Proceedings of the whole War of Ireland, * as, by an evil Silence, some interpretately question, whether there was any such Thing or no? Whereby those Pamphlets, the Roman Catholicks of Ireland have dispersed through Europe, get Credit and Reputation: That his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, first fell upon and murdered them; which being so openly and frequently asserted, even on the very Place, where those dire Tragedies were acted, and that averred also in a Time when many are yet living, who have seen and felt those Miseries in themselves, and their Relations, I could not but let that drop from me, which might flow from others, Niceness in this Case being the next Degree to Unfaithfulness: Yet I cannot say, what I have pursued here is not to be cavell'd at; No! that were to presume my Fate were happier than others; but I may aver, that nothing is impos'd on the Reader, but what I have either Records, publick Evidences, credible Relations, or my own Knowledge for its Ground; searching the best Intelligence I could reach to, though in clearing some Doubts, I have encountered Obstacles, I could not rationally have expected, which I impute to my own Misfortune, no one's Design; none, treated with, being so little affected, as not frequently to desire the Digestion of a History, the English Interest in Ireland was not less concerned in, than Humanity itself: The Horror and Cruelty there committed, bidding Defiance to what soever before had been acted in the World.

* Peter Walsh in his Epistle to the Reader, fol. 47, as also from R.B. the zealous Nun-cionist, and first Legate to Rome, from the Con-siderates, and others, whose observations have been singular.

----Hinc Terras Cruor
Inficit omnes fusus & rubuit mare.

So that after all, if there be any Deficiency in what I shall relate, it may well be pardoned, where there hath been as much Artifice to parget Truths, as Countenance could reach to; though as to what may be objected, in Reference to my Relation, I have been so cautious, that in Disputes I have not let Interest bias me: No! where I have found any Humanity, though it may be conjectured to proceed from Self-Interest, that it may be returned in Gratitude, I have not designedly let it over-slip me; but of this Nature
there

there hath been little : Indeed the whole Scene hath been so barbarous, as I have scarce found any into whose Wound the Traveller hath poured Oil : And yet willingly, more than what a just Account of the Business requires, I would not fester the least Soar : However, I expect all will not think so ; 'tis natural for the Wasp to be angry ; yet when it shall be weighed on what little Reason the Irish more than the English, equally, if not beyond them, concerned in all Levies, Oppressions, and Grievances, had to be enraged, pretending to be held in with a ruder Bit, I doubt not but the more Intelligent will allow them no common Sinners.

I am not ignorant what Examples, some say, they had to encourage them to their Insurrection ; though that Encouragement, how confidently soever affirmed to be their Guide, never commenced in Blood, or marched on in Murthers and Surprisals, of an innocent, naked, and unarmed People, or, at first, seized on those, much less murdered them, who contrary to their Judgment, lived peaceably amongst them : However, it is not my Intention to mitigate the Flame they light their Torches by ; all Rebellions being detestable : But certainly the Copy exceeded the Original, and what they would solely intitle to their Religion, as interdicted by the Age, more justly is to be imputed to their Detestation of the English Government and Nation, which from the Conquest to this Instant, hath been the Grounds for all Rebellions, even when both Nations were drunk with the Wine of Rome's Fornication : So that though some, to mitigate the Result of so horrid a Rebellion, place the Grounds of it on Religion, which, as my Lord Bacon observes, Erects a Monarchy in the Minds of Men, by which they would enforce all to that Yoke : Yet it is evident, they never had so free an Exercise of their Religion, under Pretexths of civil Contracts, and politick Agreements, as when the Troubles began ; not so much then as the least Violence being offered to their Diana, nor afterwards, till they made it one of their principal Demands ; so that if at any Time, since or before, they found a Check, That must be attributed to the rude and boisterous Behaviour, (as a Statist seasonably notes) of some of them, who disturbed the happy Calm they all enjoyed, rather than to any willing Severity in the State, whose Bounty and Generosity towards them, hath, by their ill Usage of the Indulgence, been interpreted a Product of the King's Affection to their Religion, not his Charity and Compassion towards their Persons ; that thence some have proceeded to Acts, which have alienated the Affections of those, who desired they should not have been disquieted ; till Recusancy began over-boldly to look Government in the Face ; inasmuch as thence some have suspected whether Hannibal were not at the Gates : Else could any vaunt at home ? as others write to their Friends abroad, that they hope all will be well, and doubt not to prevail and win Ground upon us ; inasmuch as, meerly from this Encouragement, a Romanist, well observed by the Silver-mouth Trumpet, not long since congratulated in Print, That the Face of our Church began to alter, and the Language of our Religion to change ; (saith Sancta Clara) so as if a Synod were held non intermixtis Puritanis, (O those are pestilent Fellows !) our Articles and their Religion would soon be agreed. Upon which, and other Circumstances, the learned and foreseeing Primate, Archbishop Usher, once in an Assembly of the whole Nation, averred, That the Magistrates yielding to meet the Papists, as far as they might in their own Way, in the first Reformation in England, had, upon the Experience of many Years, rather hardened them in their Errors, than brought them to a liking of our Religion.*

* The Author of the Animadversions upon Fanaticism, Page 88.

As Sir Edward Dering, in his Collection of Speech, p. 6. observes of Sir Benjamin Rudyard, treating of Religion, 1641.

To the READER.

V

Religion. This being their usual Saying, *If our Flesh be not good, why do you drink of our Broth?* The Consideration of which, made King *James* of Blessed Memory, take Notice *, That having after some time spent in settling the Politick Affairs of this Realm, of late bestowed no small Labour, in composing certain Differences we found amongst our Clergy, about Rites and Ceremonies, heretofore established in this Church of *England*, and reduced the same to such an Order and Form, as we doubt not, but every Spirit that is led only with Piety, and not with Humour, shall be therein satisfied. It appeared unto us in the debating of those Matters, that a greater Contagion to our Religion, than could arise from those light Differences, was imminent by Persons, common Enemies to them both; namely, *the great Number of Priests, both Seminaries and Jesuits*, abounding in this Realm, as well of such as were here before our coming to this Crown, as of such as have resorted hither since; using their Functions and Professions with greater Liberty, than heretofore they durst have done, partly upon a vain Confidence of some Innovation in matter of Religion, to be done by us, which we never intended, nor gave any Man cause to expect, and partly upon the Assurance of our general Pardon, granted according to the custom of our Progenitors, at our Coronation, for Offences past, in the Days of the late Queen, which Pardons, many of the said Priests have procured under our great Seal, and holding themselves thereby free from the danger of the Laws, do with great Audacity, exercise all Offices of their Profession, both saying Masses, persuading our Subjects from the Religion established, and reconciling them to the Church of *Rome*, and by Consequence, seducing them from the true Persuasion, which all Subjects ought to have of their Duty and Obedience to us; *of which tho' I might urge more, I have no itch to enlarge, their own Scourge may be their Punishment.* Sæpe in Magistrum scelera redierunt sua: Certain it was, the Irish hoped to shake off the English Government by that Attempt; but how improbable, a Series of 500 Years Succession, sufficiently evinces, every Defection in the People having rooted the Prince more intire; that at length methinks, they should be weaned from further Assays of that Nature; though where there are a People who look towards Egypt, there will not want some to cry out for a Captain to lead them.

* In his Proclamation at *Westminster*, 22d of Feb. in the first Year of his Reign, afterwards reprinted at *Dublin*, 1604.

But to descant hereupon, is not my Design, being willing to believe that *Janus's Gates* may henceforth be shut. Allegiance being the Aim, not the Pretence of their present Submission: What I here endeavour, is to clear by what Steps the late Rebellion arrived at its Height, and how it came in so short a Time, to sweep all before it.

In handling of which, I shall first shew the Condition of the Kingdom some Years before the Rebellion.

Then I shall speak of the preliminary Acts thereunto, and therein detect the Vanity of those who would fix the Rebellion at first, upon a few discontented inconsiderable Persons, a Rabble, Authors of all the Civil War that followed, in *Ulster* only; when the Plot was a long laid Design, determined by the mean Body of the Nation; as *Rory-Mac-Guire* ingenuously told *Colonel Audley Mervin* *, That this great Undertaking, was never the Act of one or two giddy Fellows: We have, said he, our Party in *England*, we have our Party in *Scotland*, that will keep such, as would oppose us, busy from sending you any Aid: in as much, as I could tell you, who the Persons were that were designed for the Surprizal of all

* Col. Audley Merv. Exam. 5. July 1643. *Husb. Collect.* Fol. 253.

the Places of Strength ; *And in the Declaration of the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of Ireland, at Jamestown, the 12th of August, 1650. It is there acknowledged, That the Catholick People of Ireland, so not the Rabble, in the Year 1641, were forced to take up Arms for the Defence of holy Religion, their Lives and Liberties, which some very industriously, would fain wipe off, as being too undeniable an Evidence of their Inclinations, before those vain Pretences they fly to, as their main Subterfuge, drove them into the Net with others ; yet we shall herein so clear the Folly of what they would have the World believe, as their Excuse serves mainly to aggravate their Crime.*

Mens Impudicam facere, non casus, Solet.

Afterwards I will fall on the Subject, till the Cessation, managed by subtil Instruments of State ; yet not without great disgusts to some, highly improved to the Event of what afterwards ensued.

Then we shall proceed to the Conclusion, which betwixt the Cessation and that, will appear to have many notable Changes, such as though some Histories may lead you through many Varieties, this more.

In clearing of which, I should have been glad of more Originals than I could meet with, especially such as might have detected the whole Proceedings, at Kilkenny, where the Design was so closely anvil'd, as all things afterwards were found there in defiance of his Majesty's Authority : There first the Clergy compact a general Congregation, which summoned a general Assembly, equivalent in their Veneration, to a Parliament ; and that established a Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks, which received from them Sanction and Laws, by which Coin was stamped, National and Provincial Courts established, Estates settled, their Clergy re-established, the Pope's Nuncio received Ambassadors sent thence, and others entertained from Foreign Princes ; all under a Sovereign Seal of their own, and what else might bespeak them independent on any, but their own Power : But the Evidence of these and some other Records, being the Treasure of fearful Men, whom a specious Artifice had charmed, easy Keys or Interest could not freely purchase. The Records however of that presumptuous Assembly, are notwithstanding the Unfortunateness of the Age, yet secured in his Library, which though before it wanted little to make it venerable, will in future Ages be resorted to, as a Treasure invaluable, securing those Secrets, which the Malice of so potent an Enemy would have improved, to the ruin of an Empire : Yet as I have already said, I ground little, if any thing, but on Proofs ; Nay ! I have so well sifted Kilkenny it self, though no Art hath been omitted to shuffle up the Proceeding there, as the Original Progress and State of that Conclave, is not without faithful and notable Remarks, more being under the Vizard, than appeared in the Disguise ; though the Retirement I have now betook myself to, suitable to the Effects of so disconsolate a Rebellion, deprives me of those Councils and Societies, which by a freer Commerce, might have rectified either my Sense or Stile.

*For the most Part, I have in the * Appendix set down Copies of the weightiest Records, they carrying so much, even of the History, in them, as they eas'd me in the Story : I should have been forward to have enlarged more, nothing of that nature being otherwise than important ; but in that, his Majesty's Works, Sir John Temple of the Irish Rebellion, Husband's Collections of Orders, Ordinances and Declarations of both Houses of Parliament,*
the

* In this Edition the Appendix's are put, by way of Notes, to those parts of the History to which they refer.

the Commissioners of Ireland's Remonstrance to the House of Commons in England, of the Condition of the Clergy and Protestants, the Speeches of several Members, Diurnals, Walth's Loyal Formulary, the Answer to the Irish Remonstrance, presented at Trim, 1642. And other Prints being extant, I have rather chose to refer the Reader often thither, than engage him in too voluminous a Tract; though where any Relation, act, or other material Instrument makes up the Story, not without Injury to be abbreviated, we have tied our selves to the Words. It was my Happiness I must acknowledge, to meet with a Manuscript, whence I was supplied with much of the latter Part of this History, though a part of it was so weaved, as if Justice could not have been done to some, without murthering of others, which we had reason to wave; and if there be any Obstinacy in that Particular, we are ready to clear the Truth.

In handling of which, I have insisted on the Proceedings of the King and Parliament too long, I suspect, some will judge, considering the Diversity of the Subject; but when it shall be weighed, how jointly they were interested in the Prosecution of the War against the Irish, and that the unfortunate Difference betwixt them, retarded the Success in Ireland; I fear not that any ingenious Person should esteem this Addition Alien: However the Affections of the King, whom some have traduced, were so legible to chastise the Rebels, as without Injury to his sacred Memory, less could not be collected for Posterity, lest the Irish by their Pamphlets, plentifully scattered at Home and Abroad, should entitle the Parliament, more than his Majesty, to their just Correction; the bleeding Iphigenia, being forward to cast more upon a malignant Part of the Council, whom he would have the World believe, misinformed his Majesty, than his Majesty of himself was really sensible of: A Consideration so important, as he abuses Posterity, who delivers not the Truth entire. And that we may yet further assume this Particular, I must affirm, That when the Confederates Agents insisted passionately, why Ordinances of Parliament should be in Force against them? It was most judicially answered by the Committee, than managing that Affair, that the Constitution of our Laws, indeed, receive their Essence from the Royal Assent: But yet when they perus'd the Act 17 Car. 1. wherein a particular Trust is in an extraordinary, and an unusual Manner, devolv'd unto the Lords and Commons in Parliament; it is possible, that such Ordinance or Ordinances may equitably continue, when others are justly laid aside; and 'tis observable, that during the time of the unhappy and unnatural War betwixt his late Majesty and his two Houses; that his Majesty was so far from discountenancing any Ordinances or Proceedings of them, in Order to the War of Ireland, that his Majesty, in all his Condemnation of the injustice of that War, betwixt himself and them; laid it as an Aggravation of their Fault, that by such Diversion, his Protestant Subjects of Ireland, the Care of whom he had intrusted them withal, were exposed to the Butchery and Rapine of their merciless Enemies: Nor would his Majesty have charged them, for not affording Protection to his said Subjects, if the only Mediums for effecting it, viz. Their Ordinances had been unjust, irregular, or unreasonable; as is evident in his Answer, the 5th of May, 1643, to a Bill brought him to Oxford, by Commissioners for the Service of Ireland, could they have secured the Ends, his Majesty desired might be observed in that Bill.

I had thought, for the fuller Illustration of the History, to have inserted constantly the Articles on the Delivery of each Place, but finding those sometimes

times many, I rather chose to exemplify a few, that thence the Scope of the rest might be conceived, that, which in the whole, was most considerable, was, that none who contrived the Rebellion, or had a Hand in the first Year's Murders, were ever to have any other Conditions, than to be left to Justice.

It must be confessed, I have missed it sometimes in the Synerisis, as in such Variety and Confusion of Matter, it is impossible to be exact; but then considering that relative Affairs are brought sooner under one Head.

The Descrancy of the other may be better excused.

I shall find it a hard Task to run the Gantlet, for that several have, in their Prints abroad, vented already their Venom, not only as to what may screen the Rebellion, but on the Proceedings of the State before; so Carue in his *Annals of Ireland*, 1603, insinuates, * That when King James had forgiven Tyrone, he says, *Quidem sub Specie*, (observe the Rancour of the Author) *In Anglia omnia condonavit sed cum in Hiberniam rediisset ac Dublinium devenisset, confestim omnis rei seriem & Catastrophen in se molita percepit, than which, a greater Calumny could not be cast upon a Prince, imposing on the World a Belief; that though in England he favoured Tyrone, yet clandestinely, he took all Advantages to undo him; which Tyrone perceiving, Clanculo, writes this Author, In Ultoniam, deinde desertis omnibus suis ditionibus in Galliam, post vero in Flandriam, & demum Romam perexit ubi ultimum diem vitæ exul terminavit; whereas in Truth, going out again into Rebellion, through his Detestation of the English Government, he was forced to fly, being absolutely routed by the King's Forces.*

If I should plead for what myself apprehends amiss in this Work, much more others, I should too long fix the Reader here: I shall therefore submit to the Fate of Books liable to the Capacity of the Reader, to whom I must affirm, that if some of these Transactions had not been, through the Providence and Integrity of a reverend and eminent Person, prevented to have fallen into his Hands, who, if he plead not for it now, was no mean Instrument of the Rebellion; and that one * under the Title of the bleeding Iphigenia, a virulent and scurrilous Piece, had not of late, viz. the 23d of December, 1674, aspersed the State; I should willingly have excused myself. That

Me dulcis saturet Quies
Obscuro positus Loco
Leni perfruar Otio.

But considering what Glosses, what Depravations of credible Witnesses, and Expurgation of their own, what Evasions, what Leavings out, and Insertions would have happened, had this History in his Hand, proceeded: I rather chose to expose my Weakness, than leave Truths of this Consequence, nipt and sullied to Posterity, not much valuing whose Teeth corrode most, Truth being in its Lenith.

And truly when I consider how many are excellently skilled in Foreign Histories, who scarce know our common Occurrences at Home, I think their Omission hardly pardonable, A Man, as one * well observes, being most morally edified by reading such Men, and Matters as are his own Contemporaries; the Recitement of those things, which come nearest to our times, being of most Force and Efficacy to instruct and delight us: A Sense

* P. 312.

* Nicholas French, Titular Bishop of Ferns in Ireland, about 80 Years old.

* Full Col. of Speech. in the Preface.

of which made a most reverend and intelligent Person, some Months since, so apprehensive of this Story to be necessarily writ, that, upon Discourse, he professed his observing so little of it before, became his Wonder, having satisfied himself, as most do, where the Concern touches the State, not their personal Interest, with the bare Sound of the Thing, rather than enquire into the Nature, Growth, and Virulency thereof, the Commons crying loud, which thoroughly considered, is the Import of the Nation: Though when such Designs are blasted, as the present tremendous Plot against his sacred Majesty, and the constituted Government, some often undervalue them as foolishly laid, and weakly attempted, though that was not, as it seems, to determine here, but, as a Place more combustible and fit for Fuel, to extend to Ireland, carefully provided against by Proclamations *, if not since relaxed.

* *Dubl.* 16th
Octob. 1678.
2d Novemb.
20 Novemb.
13 Decemb.

The Management of which Affairs fell to be very difficult on those then at the Helm, which I cannot but say, some might have more easily have carried on; yet when it shall be impartially considered, I believe the Caution and Prudence of the State, then will in their Acts to Posterity, appear more significant and valuable, than Malice or Ingratitude can justly sully them with: Besides, what Exigences? what Misapprehensions? what Straits? did these daily encounter in their own, and the State Affairs, supportable by none that had not been of an even and great Courage, is not to be passed over: Yet as to the Integrity of their Service, few ever waded through their Task with greater Acquiescency, whatever hath been their Misfortune to be censured at pleasure, that being their Aim which was their Glory, His Majesty's Honour, and the Protestants Support, how slenderly soever the Merit of that Service hath been since looked on, in their Posterity; to whom little hath been indulged, Præter nomen & famam & ea quoque a multis calcata.

And as then, so since, the State hath laboured under great Difficulties, many Pangs and Throws, to establish the Settlement of Ireland; Witness all those Interests, which his Majesty, in his Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland *, crowding one upon another, carefully and with singular Caution, as well provided for, as could reasonably be expected after so great Troubles and Confusions, and such blessed Circumstances of his Restoration *: Though how observed by the Court of Claims, is not my Work to insist on, that having been, with singular Perspicuity and Judgment, spoken to * at large by the Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, and since then, by the Adventurers Case stated, &c. The State of the Question arising chiefly from the Distinction of Nocent and Innocent: In reference whereunto; First, some were to be considered, as fit to be restored to their Estates, who not only gave early Evidences of their Crimes, but also persevered in their Loyalty; As Secondly, others who submitted to the Peace without Apostacy; And Thirdly, such as being transported into foreign Parts, united and served his Majesty through many Difficulties, and accepted not of other Satisfaction; As Fourthly, others who in an especial manner merited the restoring of their Estates, which Grace and unparalleled Favour, whether sufficiently reflected or no by the Confederates, took off many of those, who by the Declaration were to be Nocent, as all of the Rebels Party before 1643. As also such as enjoyed their Estates in the Rebels Quarters, except the Inhabitants of Cork and Youghal, or those who entered into the Roman Catholick Confederacy before the Peace, 1648, adhering to the Nuncio, opposing the King's Authority, excommunicating
such

* 30 Nov. 1660.

* Act of Settlement, Fol. 10.

* 13 Feb. 1662.

Act of Settlement, Fol. 37.

such as adhered to the King, impowering Commissioners to treat with any Papal Power, or bringing into Ireland foreign Forces; As also such as had been Wood-Kerns, or Tories before the Marquis of Clanrickard's leaving the Government, on whom the Letter of Condemnation is writ in their Foreheads, as having been not only eminently guilty of that horrid and unprovoked Rebellion, but also active in the very Conduct of it, as Generals, Lieutenants, and Major Generals, Councillors in the Supreme Assembly, &c. though many of these since enjoy a plentiful Estate.

* Sir Audley Merwin, Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, p. 11, and 12.
Anno Sc. 1662.

In this War the Soldiers were forced on many sad inevitable Straits; yet their Gallantry, Courage, and Patience, carried them on so unanimously, as in all the Encounters they had with the Rebels, as far as an honourable Person writ, they never, writes he, received any Scorn or Defeat; and, what was more, without any Assistance either from the meer Irish, or English Irish, that were Gentlemen of Quality: Inasmuch as one *, who knew as well the Genius as the Progress of the Irish, in his excellent Speech to the Lord Lieutenant, since || published in Print, thought it no Scandal to affirm, *That amongst all the Persons that have been restored, as innocent, we cannot, saith he, understand of one, neither can we say upon our own Knowledge, and we come from all Parts of the Kingdom, that any one of them from the 23d of October, 1641, to September, 1653, ever drew a Sword against the Irish in Rebellion, or ever assisted our English Forces in Prosecution of them.* Nor is it to be thought strange, *That none of the Irish gave any Assistance to his Majesty's Forces,* for that, besides those Decrees of Salamanca, &c. cited by Philip Sullevan *, mentioned in our State of Ireland before the Insurrection, to this History, Mahony in his *Disputatio Apologetica*, page 43, having sullied much Paper in quoting Bulls against English Hereticks invading Ireland, there insists upon it, * That it was then also to be added, as altogether certain, that the Irish are engaged by a divine, human, and natural Precept, unanimously to join to extirpate Hereticks; and to shun Communion with them, and much more to be obliged not to assist them with Aid, Counsel, Favour, Arms, or any Accommodation, &c. against Catholics; which Principle of Mahony, Walsh, Fol. 741, tells us, with his Book was condemned to be burned, by Order of the Supreme Council of the Confederates at Kilkenny; yet we do not find, whilst the Irish were themselves, that, in Detestation to Mahony's Principle, they ever assisted the English, nay! Father Nicholas Redmond Secretary to the Congregation, giving Walsh an Account of the Acts of that Congregation, tells him, *That they were never formal ones, seriously digested and couched by select Committees, nor were they the principal Scope of that Meeting;* whereby it may be conjectured, without Violence to their good Intentions, that their Censure, on Mahony's Book, was rather a Fucus cast on their present Complexion, than any Abhorrency thereof; what at other Times they solemnly intended, being ever seriously digested.

* Tom. 3. Hist. Cath. Hiber. Lib. 8. Cap. 7. Fol. 202. Fol. 11.

* Addendum est hic etiam tantum omnino certum omnes Hibernos teneri ex Præcepto Humano, Divino & naturali convenire inter se ad Hereticos expellendos, & ad evitandam cum illis Communicationem; & multo magis obligari ad non præstandum illis aliquod Auxilium, Consilium, Favorem, Arma, aut Commæatus, &c. contra Catholicos. Fol. 742.

* 1st. Some, it must be confessed, there were, who, cleaving a Hair, so demeaned themselves, as they were Denizens in either Quarter; an Artifice so well forged as they had the Fortune to be more countenanced than suspected; though it's believed their Access to both Sides, was a Prejudice to ours.

* And for those who joined with his Excellency after the Peace of 1646, who would be thought to have merited thereby, after they had assumed a contradistinct Government; and in Defence thereof, maintained a War, and, which is worse, a Cessation with Detention of his Majesty's Forts, and the Inheritances of his Subjects, it cannot be said, without the Forfeiture of our Reason, that their pure Loyalty, but Self-preservation, engaged them thereunto: For seeing how resolute the Parliament

liament of England was to pursue that War, their Security could be no where, but in siding with the King: And that this, *not Affection or Sense of what they had done, was the Grounds of that Compliance, appears in their subsequent Acts, shamefully afterwards deserting the Marquis of Ormond, fixing upon him incredible Scandals, when he had exposed himself, at their Request, to all the Inconveniencies imaginable, for their Peace and his Majesty's Interest; First, parting with the English under his Command, an Evidence that those were they whom they still endeavoured to root out, and then ordering their Bishops and Commissioners of Trust, to share in his Councils, and the Management of Affairs; At last ejecting him as questionable before his Majesty, for his Injuries to them, and his ill Government; whilst they assumed the Management of all, in acting, That no temporal Government or Jurisdiction, should be assumed, kept, or executed in that Kingdom, or any Province or County thereof, other than what is approved or instituted by their General Assembly or Supreme Council, which was indeed the first Commonwealth set up in his Majesty's Empire: And yet these are those who were received as Penitents to Mercy. Strange Penitents! who after so much Blood, and Spoil of Innocents, such Sins against Indulgence, and Oaths of Obedience and Submission, were so far from satisfying their wrong Doings, that they were never brought to profess themselves Guilty, whose Penitence seems to be only, in that they failed to accomplish their Evil in Fulness: Twice conspired they a Peace, the better to accomplish, to the utmost, what they might not need further Penitence *, thereby foolishly forfeiting all the Grace which they might have expected from his Majesty; though amongst the General, there were some, who upon the Peace made with them, honestly performed what they had promised to him, though with Inconveniency enough to themselves, whose Demeanour could not but be thought very worthy of his Protection, Justice, and Favour, as they find fully enlarged in the Act of Settlement.*

* Act of Settlement, in Feb. 1702

And here I cannot but take notice, that though some would impute the Irregularity of these Proceedings to the Clergy only, who indeed were the main Spoke in the Wheel, yet some of the Committee of Trust, and of the Nobility, who ever else were free, were also privy thereunto, how close soever they behaved themselves, as appears in their cherishing privately the ill Humours and Jealousies of the People, and their Averseness to punish the greatest Exorbitancy, wherein the Clergy were concerned without the Cooperation of the Bishops, whose Consent they were sure never to have: Indeed I dare not but say, having it from an excellent Pen, that some of the Irish Descent have in the late Troubles, as in all Ages, well deserved of the Crown, though it may wrack the Memory of the strictest Observer, to enumerate many, few having assisted the Protestants against the Mighty.

However great struggling there hath been, That the Peace of 1648, should be inviolable, whereas besides other important Reasons referring to their abominable Reservation; That if those Articles of Peace were not in every particular for their Advantage performed, they would not be concluded thereby: It must be considered, that when the King was necessitated to comply with the Rebels, he was then under sad Straits; the odious Court, by which his Sacred Life was afterwards taken away, being then erected: So as no body could wonder, that he desired, though upon difficult Conditions, to get such an united Power of his own Subjects, as might have been able with God's blessing, to have prevented that infamous

infamous and horrible Parricide; yet then in that *Article of Time*, the Irish prest for the Conclusion of the Peace: Whereas if they had been truly Loyal and Unanimous, generous Souls, would never have took that Opportunity to have enhanced their Price: But, in Submission to what Grace they might afterwards find, freely have waded through the Difficulties they were called to, having long before promised a vigorous Assistance, which they never attempted: Though many of these since, must confess, that they have been as well provided for, as after so great Troubles and Confusions, and such blessed Circumstances of his Majesty's Restoration, they could reasonably expect; And yet the bleeding Iphigenia, that Piece of Ingratitude and Scandal, will tell you, that the Body of a noble, ancient, Catholick Nation, (Ireland) clad all in red Robes, is not now to be offered up as a Victim, but is already sacrificed; not to a prophane Deity, but to the living God for Holy Religion, as if after all the Indulgence, which hath been and is vouchsafed, that Nation, nothing attends it but Misery and Ruin, a Trumpet certainly to another Insurrection.

* Scrin. Sacr.
P. 46.

But to proceed, the Success of our Armies, considering the Numbers they often opposed, exceeds a common Belief; in as much, as some have extenuated the Glory of their Service, by the Cowardliness of the Enemy, who seldom made a noble or brave Defence, save where an Extremity reduced them to an Exigence, or a Surprise made them cruel: But on this Subject Sir Francis Bacon, in a Letter * to the Earl of Essex, going for Ireland, observes, that the justest Triumphs that the Romans in their greatest Greatness did obtain, and that whereof the Emperors in their Stiles took Additions and Denominations, were of such an Enemy, that is, People barbarous, and not reduced to Civility; magnifying a Kind of lawless Liberty, prodigal of Life, hardness in Body, fortified in Woods and Bogs, placing both Justice and Felicity in the Sharpness of their Swords: It being a higher Point of Honour to reduce such to Civility, than to be enriched by a Prædatory War.

• Alias Cornelius
a sancto Patrico
virulent Jesuit.

I am sensible that the Undertaking of this War hath passed with many, as an Opportunity to enrich the Servitour; nor can it be denied, but that Reward is the just Expectation of Merit: But when it shall be considered at what rates Debentures were paid off, what Hardship the Soldiers encountered, how many in Rebellion shared the Mercy of a gracious Prince, what were the Difficulties attended all in Government; it cannot be denied, but more than a Prædatory War, even the Establishment of a Religion and Nation the Irish would have extirpated, the settling of his Majesty's Rights, and the reducing of a People, loose in their Principles, to Civility, were the main Ends of this War, to which his Majesty was forced by the causeless and inhuman Insurrection of the Irish: In reference to which, the Rebels, being before prepared thereunto, soon marshalled a considerable Force; but though it was for their Altars and Inheritance, as they pretended, never any Nation fell under greater Pusillanimity, which some impute to their want of warlike Provisions, their Ignorance in the Discipline of their Army, the lack of Unity amongst themselves, and the Supplies of the English ever found of all Necessaries: But certainly the greatest defect was in the Badness of their Cause, which Connor O Mahon * in his Disputatio Apologetica urges from an Ethnick Poet, led meerly by the Light of Nature, is most material.

Frangit & attollit vires milite Causa
Quæ nisi iusta subest, excutit Arma Pudor.

For it must be allowed, not to be denied by the ingenious, that the Natives have Courage and Abilities sufficient, few in their Employments abroad, proving better Soldiers, more temperate, better versed in the World, or readier to be put on the forwardest Action.

Here I might enlarge much in the Encomiums of those who so vigorously opposed them, though at length the *Irish* got Courage, or rather from the Certainty of what they were sure to suffer, grew desperate; Extremity forcing that, no Sense of Honour before could animate; and yet then, the Conduct and Vigour of the *English* appeared such, as the Rebels though in some Skirmishes, assisted by Surprisals, prevailed, they could never arrive at a perfect Defeat: Here though I am sometimes lead to mention eminent Persons in their Places, I am yet forced to omit many, whose Offices and Names I cannot attain to, which by their Prowess and Vertue, would have added Date to the History; and yet I know some Persons are so apprehensive of their Merits, that not to express them in Terms equivalent, may be worse than to omit them; willingly I insist on none, with a Disrespect to others.

Here I cannot, without Injury to a reverend Prelate, but take notice, what I find clearly, and most eloquently expressed by Dr. *Loftus*, Vicar-General of *Ireland*, in a Speech at a Visitation in the Diocese of *Clogher*, touching Dr. *John Lesley*, Lord Bishop of *Clogher*, who, during the first Fury of the Rebellion in *Ireland*, vigorously opposed the Rebels; and when Sir *Ralph Gore*, a worthy Servitor, at *Machrebeg*, and many other *British* Inhabitants, were reduced to great Extremity by a long Siege, and Necessity of a sudden Surrender of themselves, without Hope of Quarter, to the enraged Cruelty of the *Irish*; he sallied forth amidst the Flames of the whole Country, and relieved him at that time reduced to such Straits, as they were forced to cast their Dishes into *Ball*; and the *Laggan* Forces, consisting of three Regiments, refused to hazard them for the Relief of the besieged, whilst the Bishop, with his Company, Tenants and Friends, attempted their Relief and perfected it, evidencing at that Instant as much personal Valour, as regular Conduct, yet mentioned with much Astonishment.

Affairs thus carried on, it's evident how the Royal Throne, by whom the Army advanced, is justly to be vindicated from those Calumnies some would asperse it with; as if they had not proceeded by his Majesty's Command; so impudently did these Rebels affront, not his Authority only in his Instruments at the Helm, but thereby gave his Proclamation, Speeches, Acts, and Vows, the Contradiction; and when his Excellency had made the first Peace with them, notwithstanding his Majesty's Letter, to proceed no further in Treaty with the Rebels, that Letter, as Pernachief well observes, having been solicited by the Scots, in whose Power he was then, to make their War more valuable. The Irish yet so ill managed that Condescension, as nothing in History equals their Ingratitude, that thence the Integrity of the Prime Minister of State being to them, and his Master signal their Defection, remains a Blot to Posterity: Indeed it is seldom seen that where a People, by Insurrection, obtain their first Pretensions, but they aspire to greater; whence it is observed of Hen. 7. that he was ever

in the Head of his Army, lest Rebels prevailing, at the Beginning, they might soon rowl into an Host: Nor is it found that ever he complied with their Requests, how plausible soever, lest they might be thought to purchase that by their Insurrection, which they did not dare to impetrate by their Prayers; upon which account it may be thought his late Majesty desired to go for Ireland, conceiving that the Rebels were capable of no greater Terror, than by the Presence of their lawful King in the Head of an Army, to chastize them, though the Consequence of it were otherwise apprehended, and his Journey stayed thereupon, he not being so weary of his Life as to hazard it impertinently, whereby the Parliament conceiving, by a Commission under the great Seal of England, that they had Power to Advise*, Order, and Dispose of all Things concerning the Government and Defence of Ireland, wholly applied themselves to that Work, till the unhappy Difference betwixt his Majesty and them fell so considerable, as though they sent, sometimes, scattering Supplies, the wants of the Army grew clamorous; yet in the End, they so far prevailed, as to declare* the Rebels subdued: In accomplishing of which, so many Changes, such variety of Matter, and several Alterations of Scenes happened, as a Pen, armed with the Rhetorick of the best Historian, is but sufficient to Register them to Posterity; inferior Pens being probable to lessen so considerable a Story; however it is now fallen to my Lot, it may be thought voluntarily, indeed thus much I must alledge for myself, that besides a strong impulse, so many, and considerable Persons, have drawn me to it, that without a more than ordinary Hardiess, I could not well resist their Importunity which if any judge too easy a Flexibility, I submit to their Censure, so they think the Work, shunned by many, really necessary, considering the Affront some bold Pens have offered to the Sincerity of the State and their Gallantry, who, in Honour of the Empire, have sustained the Insolences of a sad and unnatural War, which if I do not express answerable to the Subject, it may satisfy the Reader, that my Aim is to be intelligible and significant, though rude and plain.

Amongst several Encouragements, I shall here only insert One from a Person better versed in the Language he writes than English.

Vir Clarissime,

T Antâ fide & industriâ, tantoque successu, finem imposuisti operi diù expectato, quod texit nobis *Hibernicæ Rebellionis Historiam*, quæ cœpit Anno, a reparatâ Salute, 1641. Octobris 23. Gratulor tibi hocce calamo, quò è tenebris eruisti veritatem, & penè obrutam per hujus Ætatis negligentiam, in apertum protulisti: Non puto quicquam unquam horridius & funestius sua origine, suo progressu & eventu excogitatum fuisse ab orbe condito, quam quod machinati sunt Authores execrabilis in Britannos Protestantes, quibus sola defensionis Arma erant in sua Innocentia; cedunt huic Immanitati *Siculæ Vesperæ*, *Rabies Paparum in Convallenses & Pidemontanos*, & *Laniena Parisiensis*: Non queo satis prædicare nostra tempora, quæ tulerunt te virum, Qui vivis coloribus & graphice depingeret, exprimeret, palam faceret Sicariorum cœpta incœpta complexus, facinora nefanda, singulosque actus horrendæ Laniens; In qua tamen, tanquam in re benè gesta, triumphant ejus *Patroni Mahony & Alii Satanicarum Artium Consortes* & perinde homicidarum & percussorum *Advocati*, ut ulterius animos addant contribulibus suis per-

standi

* According to an Order of the 4th of Febr. 1641. That there should be Commissioners to manage the Affairs for Ireland, whereby the Parliament might be eased in that Particular.
* 26 Sep. 1653.

standi in Incæpto; ut Hæreticorum, quos vocant, Fugum semel excussum non admittant, unquam iterum nec permittant, sed potius Eligant sibi Regem Catholicum & vernaculum, seu naturalem Hibernum, Qui Eos Catholicè gubernari possit, quemadmodum loquuntur in sua exhortatione ad Catholicos; utique Jesuita Hibernus Mac-Mahon, ut rectè observat Walsb, insinuavit, quod liceat occidere non solum omnes Protestantes, sed & quoscunque Hibernos de Romanis Catholicis qui starent à partibus Coronæ Regis Angliæ & tuerentur Jura Regia in Hiberniam, quique interdixerent nè sibi proprium Regem eligerent.

Profecto circa initia Rebellionis immensum quantum obstitit in cœptis & molitionibus Rebellium Illustrissimus Parens tuus destinatus ad id à potentissimo Rege, Cui nota erat virtus fortissimi viri, pacis & belli artibus clari, Cujus prudentia par erat animi Robori, & qui hacce virtute res nutantes & ad ruinam properantes incompòsitæque firmavit, adversus Consiliarios Magna negotia administrantes, majori cum Studio privatæ quam publicæ Uilitatis; quo in Conatu & per virtutem vitamque piè & innocenter actam muneri magis suo consuluit quam facultatibus parandis, Cujus Vestigiis insistens Johannes ejus filius eques auratus frater tuus clarissimus ob res fortiter gestas, Droghedam, & Rossam, nec pro meritis pensatas non debuit à te præteriri, Quanquam nulla privata ratione sed solo Elatere veritatis proferendæ commovearis ad imputandum publicò Historiam tuam, Quæ tua est Modestia.

Idus Novembris,

1678.

Vale.

To this, as a Respect I must ever acknowledge, I cannot but annex the following Letter, lately received from the Honourable and Eminent Lord Bishop of Meath, a constant Assertor of the English Interest and the Protestant Sufferings, minding me from whom I had several Passages in the ensuing History: A History which must want much of its due Method and more Eloquence, not having his.

Doctor,

I Understood by Letters from *London*, and after by two from yourself, of your Forwardness in the *History of the Irish Rebellion*, Anno 1641, that being, I find, now in the Press.

How far you have therein proceeded, or what is your way in that, I know not, that not having been to me by any communicated: To that therefore I can say no more, than, that its passing your Hands, assures me of what may satisfy.

What may satisfy, I mean not those, who shut their Eyes against Light, and even rebel against it.

There are, who contrary to all Evidence, confidently aver, write and openly proclaim to the World, that there was then no such Rebellion of the *Irish*, neither such Massacres of the *British* and Protestants in *Ireland*; but that they themselves, the *Irish* and *Papists* of *Ireland*, were then the Sufferers, and that by the Protestants, they say, the first Aggressors.

This bold Assertion in the Face of the Sun, and in that very Age, when Things were acted, there having been many also then, and some yet

yet living, who can speak to the Truth in that; This, I say, might gain on Strangers to the Kingdom, and hath already on some, even at home, especially at this Time, about 40 Years after.

But the contrary appeared by *those Collections*, which you had from me, to which herein, as in other Particulars, I refer.

And what do they in this, but what was before, and is by them done ordinarily? Have they not with like Confidence disclaimed that black and hellish Powder-plot, Nov. 5, 1605, from being Popish? Do they not give that out for false, and as a forged Calumny cast on that Party, of whom none of theirs, they say, was therein concerned? whereas, it is well known, that *Hammond, Baldwin, Gerard, and Tesmond*, Jesuits, with their *Provincial Garnet*, were all in that Conspiracy; *Thomson* also, a Jesuit, boasted after at Rome, *That his Shirt was often wet with digging under the Parliament-House in London*, besides others in that Conspiracy, who were all Papists, and many of them suffering for their so practising, the publick Proceedings on those Trials remaining extant on Record.

And do *They* not now, even now, cry down what our Eyes behold of their horrid and bloody Design, and hellish Treason against the Royal Person of our gracious Sovereign King *Charles II.* and against his *Protestant Subjects*: and for total Extirpation of the *Protestant Religion* out of the three Kingdoms? The Truth of which is every Day, even as by Miracle, more and more evidenced, to the Glory of God's watchful Providence over this his Church and People.

Among which, I find ourselves threatened with a yet *other like Demonstration of Zeal, for the promoting of the Catholick Religion, and Interest in Ireland*, (*Dr. Oates* Nar. §. 50.) so they term those Massacres, and Blood, for rooting out the Protestant Religion, and casting off the *English Government in Ireland*; which their *other Demonstrations of Zeal*, as they term it, shews the former Actings in that Kind to have been theirs, and how such their Actings are by them esteemed, a *Demonstration of Zeal for promoting the Catholick Religion*.

But he that sits in Heaven laughs them to Scorn, and hath them in Derision, speaking to them in his Wrath, and vexing them in his sore Displeasure, saying; yet (or notwithstanding all such their Designs) have I set up my King; preserving our gracious Sovereign, the Breath of our Nostrils, by the Care and Vigilance of those our worthy Patriots whom God hath raised up happy Instruments in it.

As to *Ireland*. To evidence the restless Spirits of such there for Mischiefe: I shall mind here in brief, what in the mentioned Collections, had been given you more at large, so to lay all open at one View; thereby not to wonder at Rebellions here, than which, comparing times, nothing will appear so ordinary.

In which, passing what occurs of that kind in elder Ages, and fixing only on such as had Religion for a Pretence, and was by *Rome* influenced, and by its Emissaries fomented: Therefore I begin with the Reign of that Queen of famous Memory, *Queen Elizabeth* of whose Troubles in *England* from that Party, I speak not, as not of present Consideration, but recounting what Work they found Her in this her Kingdom of *Ireland* only.

I. Anno 1567. There was a Rebellion in the Province of *Ulster* of *Shane O Neal*, who for the suppressing of the Title of *O Neal*, had been by King *Henry VIII.* created *Earl of Tyrone*. His Forces were broken
by

by Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Lord Deputy, and he himself fleeing for Succour to *Alexander MacDonnel*, then in the *Clandeboyas*, with 600 *Highlander-Scots*: He was by them there slain, in Revenge of one of theirs by him formerly killed; his Head was (*June 20, 1567*) sent to the Deputy by Captain *William Piers*, then eminent for Service and Command at *Carrickfergus* and thereabout. That Arch-rebel's Head was pitched on the Castle of *Dublin*.

II. Since after, *Anno 1569*, followed in the Province of *Munster* the Rebellion of *James Fitz Mauris Fitz Gerald*, and *John Fitz Gerald*, Brothers to *Gerald Earl of Desmond*, in which the Earl himself after declared, *Anno 1578*. His Parties were considerable in *Leinster*, to whom joined the Viscount *Baltinglas*, with the *Tools*, *Birns*, and *Cavenaughes*, having also foreign Assistance, the Design being pretended for Religion, the *Pope*, and his giving therefore Aid and Countenance; but *Desmond* being defeated, he was after by his own murdered.

III. About six Years after, *Anno 1595*, broke out in *Ulster*, also for Religion, another Rebellion, that of *Hugh O Neal*, commonly called *Tyrone's Rebellion*, whose Forces, together with the *Spanish* Assistances, were overthrown by *Mountjoy Lord Deputy at Kinsale*, Dec. 24, 1601, he himself submitting *March 1602*. These were during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

IV. After whose Death King *James* succeeded, and within one Month after, *Anno 1603*, the Cities of *Waterford*, *Cork*, and *Limerick*, stood out, and opposed the proclaiming the King, he not being, they said, a Catholic; these acted Hostility, inviting all other Cities to a Conjunction, to which *Kilkenny* and *Wexford* were inclining, but by the Deputy *Mountjoy's* marching against them with an Army, they were forced to Submission.

V. After, *Anno 1607*, was a providential Discovery of another Rebellion in *Ireland*, the Lord *Chichester* being Deputy, the Discoverer not being willing to appear, a Letter from him not subscribed, was subscribed to Sir *William Usher*, Clerk of the Council, and dropt in the Council Chamber then in the Castle of *Dublin*, in which was mentioned a Design for seizing that Castle, murdering the Deputy, &c. with a general Revolt, and Dependance on *Spanish* Forces, &c. and this also for Religion; for particulars whereof, I refer to that Letter, dated *March 19. 1607*, which you have.

VI. The very next Year *Anno 1608*, was the breaking out of Sir *Cabie O Dogherty's Rebellion in Ulster*, by whom *Derry* was taken and burnt, the Governor Sir *George Paulet* murdered, and *Culmore* Castle, some Miles distant, surprized, that being the Magazine for Arms and Ammunition for those Parts: His Confederates were considerable, his Forces increasing, and expecting *Tyrone*, and *Tyrconnil's* Return with Forces from *Flanders*. Against him was the Marshal Sir *Richard Wingfield* sent with a strong Party, the Deputy following with more Forces from *Dublin*: But this short, yet smart Rebellion, ended with the Death of the Arch-rebel, and the dispersing his Followers.

VII. Seven Years after, *Anno 1615*, was a providential Discovery made by one *Teige O Lenan*, to Sir *Thomas Philips* of *Lemovadey* in *Ulster*, of a Design of *Alexander Mac Donnel*, *Bryan Crosse O Neal*, and other the Principal of the *Irish* in *Tyrone*, and *Tyrconnil*, with large Confederacies, for Religion; they first designed the taking *Charlemount*,
e
commanded

commanded by Sir *Toby Caulfield*, where was then Prisoner *Conne Greg O Neal*, *Tyrone's* Son, and about the same time by severally appointed Parties, was ordered the taking in the principal Forts and Towns in *Ulster*, and murdering the Protestants in that Province and elsewhere. They had Promises of foreign Assistance from *Spain*, *France*, and *Rome*, the particulars you have : During the Reign of King *James* were these four last mentioned.

VIII. After, *Anno* 1634, under the Government of the Lord Viscount *Wentworth* Lord Deputy, *Ever*, or *Emerus Mac Mahon*, a popish Priest, privately discovered to Sir *George Radcliffe*, principal in Trust with the Lord Deputy, that there was a Design for a general Rising in *Ireland*, to be seconded and assisted from Abroad : The Discoverer having Assurance of Pardon, acknowledging himself engaged in that Conspiracy ; having been employed some Years on that Account in foreign Courts, soliciting Supplies for carrying on that Work for Religion. This Discoverer was after the popish Bishop of *Down*, and after of *Clogher* : Hereof the Lord Deputy informed his Majesty King *Charles I.* who thereupon by his Ambassadors, watching Practices in Courts abroad, there were at length, general and dark Hints given of something tending to a Rebellion in *Ireland*, but how, or when, or by whom, was not then so appearing.

Hereof his Majesty by his Royal Letters, signed by Sir *Henry Vane*, one of his principal Secretaries, dated *March* 16, 1640, and directed to the then Lords Justices, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Borlase*, did charge them with the Care of that Danger imminent, of which his Majesty's Letter you have likewise a Copy.

And this brings to that Rebellion, *Anno* 1641, which on the 23d of *October*, did break out unexpectedly, notwithstanding all Cautions concerning it ; this, like a violent *Hurricane*, bearing all down before it, which gives you your Work at present.

The Result and Design of all which, thus here briefly collected shews.

1. That from *Shane O Neal's* Rebellion, *Anno* 1566, until that in 1641, there passed about seventy-five Years, a space of Time within the ordinary Age of a Man.

2. That within those but seventy-five Years, there had been in *Ireland*, Five open Rebellions, one as it were in the Neck of another, viz. *Shane O Neal's*, *Anno* 1566, *Desmond's*, *Anno* 1569, *Hugh O Neal* called *Tyrone's* Rebellion, *Anno* 1595, *O Dogherty's*, *Anno* 1608, and this *Grand Rebellion* 1641, this surpassing all before. I know not why that Rebellion of the *Cities of Waterford, Cork, and Limerick*, may not add to that Number, this being as open as any, and dangerous, and requiring the Presence of the principal Commander, and the marching of the Forces of the Kingdom to suppress it. Add to these, those two Discoveries mentioned, *Anno* 1607 and 1615, not to mention apart that *Anno* 1634 falling into that of 1641, which two former had been dismal to the Kingdom, if not by God's Providence, seasonably, and wonderfully discovered, and happily prevented.

Therefore have we herein not to wonder at Rebellions in *Ireland*, than which, nothing there more common, from Generation to Generation. And may not the like be yet expected, when Opportunity shall be for it, the same Spirit and Causes remaining?

This

This is not, Sir, to forestal your Work, but serves as an Index directing to what follows of yours : giving also an Edge to this Desire of finding the Breviat as by you enlarged, if you have thought fit to make Use of it.

I shall now end your Trouble herein, giving you the deserved Praise of your Labours, and Zeal to that necessary Undertaking. I rest

Sir,

Your very affectionate Friend

Dublin, May
27, 1679.

and Servant,

HENRY MIDENSIS.

Since I reduced the History to what it is, I reflected on several, to whom I might have addressed it, some who, having run through the hazard of that War, and the Councils of that Age, might well have owned it, it being, in the main, an Epitome of their Illustrious Actions : Others being designed to the Government, but not aiming at the Work, as too sensible of the English Interest to betray it, justly challenges a Respect and Title thereunto : And not a few, through whose Provision the Irish were subdued, might well have countenanced the Event ; but considering how insignificant a great Title is, where Truth must be the main Support, elated Dedications bespeaking Authors more ambitious than known, I could not delude my Reason with a Conceit that a Mecænas, as the Laurel, exempts from Thunder, and therefore content with the Integrity of the Story, having no Ends to oblige me to a single Respect, I here commit it naked to the Decision of the Age.

It may be some, whose Excellency consists in Detraction, will think, by this, I had a particular Design, besides the bare History, to preserve the Memory of some, who, otherwise, in Tract of Time might be lost in the common Rubbish : And I dare not disown those Conjectures, the deserving being to be in everlasting Remembrance ; nor hath it in all Ages, and amongst the worthiest Persons, being esteemed Pride, but Justice, to erect Memorials and Altars to meriting Heroes ; though herein, I conceive, none could be so much concerned who would have less insisted thereon, than myself, resolving to be sparing, in what I might have been prodigal ; how contrary soever it may be conjectured by some, who pleased with the publick Breath, dare blaspheme those whom they could never wean from their Country's Interest, or Religion ; though as to an utter Extirpation, which was strongly insisted on by many, I may affirm that they, whom the Malice of some would traduce, were ever so far from that, abominating the Thought, as the Rebels Reformation not their Ruin, was their principal Care, well distinguishing betwixt the Head and the Train, which a most eminent and noble Person, just to his Honour, ever avouched.

Some things, it may be, were not always suited to the just Standard of the Law, which in such Exigences have ever been indulged, though not commanded ; the Preservation of a State being more than the Security of a Person ; and thence Prudence, as well as Justice, hath been a necessary Attendant on Magistrates : No State being so secured by her Laws, as that something emergent may not require a speedier Help, the Effect of
which,

which, if severe, being out of the common Road, is the Offender's, not the State's Fault.

And hereupon a known Instrument of State perfectly experienced in that Road, excellently well cautions, Not to weigh and measure Statesmen's Proceedings, by Grains and Scruples, lest the publick Affairs of a Kingdom lie waste, whilst Men of Honour and Fortune in meddling with them are sure to lose.

*The Rebels, by their Pamphlets, affirm, That few Murthers, if any were done, 'till some Examples of that Nature were acted by the English; whereas the contrary plainly appears by those Examinations in the Remonstrance * of diverse remarkable Passages concerning the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, which cannot be waded, whatever R. S. in his Collections of Murthers * would insinuate, as if that was only framed to win Compassion and Succour from England, or scandalize Authority; whereas it is clear the Remonstrance was passed on such undeniable Evidences, that the Circumstances he takes notice of, to justify his own, of Time, Place, and Persons, as if they were not considered in the Remonstrance, are generally observed, and that on Oath, not encouraged, as he would infer, from the Hurry of the Times, and the Examinants Frights, but before his Majesty's Commissioners, a Circumstance this Detractor dare not pretend to, what Favour soever he thinks to draw from Cromwel's Proceedings, summo Jure, in Ireland, which was on another Score than we shall here insist on, and were promiscuously cruel; yet those lessen nothing of the Irish Barbarism at First, or indeed of their Mercy at Last, in stripping the English in so miserable a Season, driving them from their Habitations, and exposing them to the Woods and Desarts for their Rest and Sustenance, such as remained, being deluded by the Rebels Promises, and wedded to their own Habitations, were generally massacred: Certainly the lingering and sad Deaths, which attended many, are justly to be accounted the highest Barbarism, worse than whatever determined in a short Time, how cruel soever: Though some, who would be thought civil and compassionate, think they merit much, in not having, as They write, not others, their Hands actually imbrued in the Blood of any of the British Protestants; of which it is believed there are but few, if any, that may be justly intituled to that Clemency. However, are they not to be accounted equally guilty, who moved by the same Councils? subsisted by the same Maintenance? whose Victory was their Victory; and the Blood shed by One, was the Consent of the Other.*

Qui non vetat peccare, cum possit, jubet; especially when they knew of the Villanies that had passed, and yet sided with the Party so imbrued and fleshed in Blood; no Check being given to that Career, when Leinster and Ulster, Valence and Brabant agreed: However, we have contexed in this History few Examples of Murthers and Cruelties, in reference to the Luxury of the Rebels took in the Scene: The Effect of whose Malice and Animosity, being, in truth, the Burthen of the whole, is not omitted, as not abounding in Proofs, but because the Martyrology of the Clergy and the Protestants deserve an Account apart. Besides, though there be some Gleanings of Murthers in Ulster, Connaught, and Leinster, yet the Care which was took to register those in Munster, hath been obstructed, as the others, if they had not been early, might have been so too; however, they are not lost, though at present confined.

Some

* Printed at
London, 1642.

* 1662.

P. 6.

Page 10.

Some Remarks on the Rebels Pamphlets and Pretensions, we have cursorily answered; not holding ourselves obliged to reply to each Particular, else the Volume would swell too big; besides there are many things which, in reading, an intelligent Person cannot but blow over with an easy Breath; some are so ridiculous, others improbable, most without their Circumstances: what is fairer varnished we have, from their own Principles, or their Parties Confession, cleared, therein not so much veiling Truths, whether for or against us, as disclosing their Nakedness, a deformed Face needs a Fucus.

*The Favourers of that Party insist much on the Parliament's being prorogued, which should have met soon after the Insurrection; whereby what they would have presented to the King, by way of Accommodation, was, say they, thereby prevented, and that the Lords and old English of the Pale, who had been constant to the Crown in other Rebellions, were, by the Usage of the State, forced to take Part with the Ulster Rebels; The first of these is in the main discoursed * of, to which we must add, as being an undeniable Consequence of their Desires then, that their Endeavours to meet at that time in Parliament, was to no other End, but that the Plot having been discovered, whereby they could not strike Hands at first with the Northern Rebels, without apparent Rebellion, which they were willing to screen under fairer Pretences, they might in Parliament the more solemnly contest with the King, for their Religion and Liberty; which neither the just Jealousies of the State, or the Distractions then, could rationally admit of, lest meeting in such Numbers, as a Parliament would colourably bring to Town, they might take new Councils, the former, seeming in some Part, to be disappointed. And as to the Latter, the Truth thereof is already cleared from Fol. 58 to 61, nor indeed needs there any thing more to be said, but what his Majesty, C. I. on this Subject verified to the Protestants Agents at Oxford, 1644. That what the Rebels pleaded as to this Particular, was not his Belief but an Assertion of the Irish; And when the Protestant Agents would further have cleared this Point, some at Court being apt to blow up those Cinders, the King said, That needed not, for to what Purpose is it to prove the Sun shines this Day, when we all see it? And from the Proceedings of the State expressed in their * Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, it is evident that all the Hopes they had, was of the old English of the Pale, and some other Parts, that they would continue constant to the King, as they did in former times, than which, what could be a clearer Demonstration of their Confidence in them, strengthening afterwards their Belief in affording them Arms and trusting them with Commissions civil and martial? And whereas these Men will have it, that they offered Propositions to the State, charging them with the Neglect thereof, it is justified in the Lords Justices Letter * to the Lord Lieutenant, that not one of them, to that Hour, offered to the State any Advice or real Assistance, towards the Pacification of these Troubles: Or when they were invited, by all the Engagements Honour or Loyalty could enforce, would they ever comply with any; nay, let the Insolency they used to the Orders * of Parliament, and the Invitation and Condescension of the State *, tearing the First, and vilifying the Latter, remain a perpetual Witness of their Arrogance and Ingratitude, that the State would have secured their Allegiance, and they would not.*

When I first entered on this History, I proposed to myself a Series of the whole, but pressed with my own Affairs, and Matter encreasing plentifully
f
upon

* Fol. 49.

* 25th of Oct. 1641.

* 14th of Dec. 1641.

* Fol. 54.

* Fol. 59.

* Col. C^offord's
Remonstrance
Page 5.

upon me, I held it rational to sum up the whole after I had brought it to the Cessation, which some * had an apprehension was not a less Plot to deliver the remainder of his Majesty's true Subjects, into the Rebels Hands, and to root out the Protestant Religion, than what was commenced the 23^d of October, 1641. But the Articles of that Cessation speak otherwise, Necessity being the Ground thereof, legible in his Majesty's Motives to a Cessation the 19th of October 1643, which afterwards was highly controverted, and in the End so enfeebled, as the War, according to the first Intent, was, after the long Parliament grasped all, pursued with Vigour and Success: Which here, induced to it by many Reasons, we have at last, according to our first Thoughts, brought to a Period under his Majesty's Test, in the Voice of his Parliament in Ireland 1662, though with Omission of many Circumstances, lest in such Variety, we might fall short of those considerable Actions, which frequently intervened, fit indeed for none less privacy to the Rebels, than the State: However we have not omitted sufficient to clear the Rise as well as the Conclusion of this War, not so much dreading Censures, as caring to inform right: Yet I question not, but there will be some who will find, if not sufficient, enough to carp at; no History was so round as to pass a general Acceptance: Happily Reader,

Non facit ad Stomachum nostra Lagenae tuum.

Thy Appetite relishes not Truth too near the Quick, another thinks the Time ill chosen, and some have other Prejudice; whether one or other raises an Exception, the Story is tragical; and those who have tread the Theatre, find such Traëts as are horrible to repeat, never to be forgot.

A R E.

A

REFLECTION

Upon the STATE of

IRELAND;

With occurrent Accidents before the breaking forth of the
Rebellion 23d of *October* 1641.

THOUGH we date the Conquest of *Ireland* from the Submission of the Kings and Natives there to *Henry* the Second, 1172; yet on a truer Estimate, we must conclude that *Ireland* was never really subjugated to the Crown of *England*, till our Laws became as communicable to the Natives as the *English*, whereby each Party, without Distinction, grew up together into one Nation; which was never effectually vouchsafed, till after *Tir-Oen's* last Submission at *Mellifont*, to the Lord *Mountjoy*, 1603, by which the Minds of the People were broken to the Obedience of the Law, and after that became so pliable, as near forty Years there seemed no material Distinction betwixt the Natives and other Inhabitants, each concentrating in Subjection to the Laws, making up but one Jury, living in mutual Amity and Friendship; till Indulgence so far became a Mischief, as thence *Conspiracies* hatched our Ruine; not discernable, 'ere the Monster arrived at its Birth; a Prodigy scarce credible in so vigilant a State: Though when it is considered how tenderly the great Concerns of Religion, the principal Wheels of all Commotion in a State, were handled, the Astonishment that Things aspired to so much Villany, may easily be unridled.

Towards the End of the Lord *Falkland's* Government, there being great need of Money for Support of the standing Army in *Ireland*, and maintaining of 500 Horse, and 5000 Foot; much by extraordinary Means having been otherwise disposed, the Catholics of *Ireland*, glad of the Occasion, seemed very forward to supply the State, in Hopes of a Connivance if not a Toleration of their Religion, though therein they were only to bare their share, or rather offered their Mite, with the Protestants; which they improved to so great an Insolence, as the Lord *Falkland*, with the Council, was forced to take Notice in a Proclamation dated the 1st of *April* 1629. That the late Intermission of legal Proceedings against Popish pretended Titulary Arch-

B

Bishops,

The State of IRELAND

Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Deans, Vicars General, Jesuits, Friars, and others of that Sort that derive their pretended Authority and Orders from the See of Rome, in Contempt of his Majesty's Royal Power and Authority, had bred such an extraordinary Insolence and Presumption in them, as he was necessitated to charge and command them, in his Majesties Name, to forbear the Exercise of their Popish Rites and Ceremonies.

Notwithstanding which, their Insolencies afterwards so increased, as that the Power of the High Commission raised in respect of them, being withdrawn, they erected a new *University* at *Dublin*, to confront his Majesties *College* there, continuing their Nunneries and Monasteries; that thence many Things were objected against the Lord *Falkland's* Government: to clear which, the Council of *Ireland* in his Defence to the King the 28th of *April* 1629, declared, *That towards the Insolencies of the Papists, and the late outrageous Presumption of the unsettled Irish; in some Parts your Deputy and Council of late used particular Abstinence, holding themselves somewhat limited concerning them by late Insinuations, Letters and Directions from England.* And yet afterwards so mindful too were the Lords of the Council in *England* of what had been by the State of *Ireland* happily suppressed, that the 31st of *January*, 1692, they returned their Acknowledgement, and put the State of *Ireland* in mind, *How much it concerned the good Government of Ireland, to prevent in Time the first growing of such Evils; for that where such People are permitted to swarm they will soon grow licentious, and endure no Government but their own, which cannot otherwise be restored, than by a due and seasonable Execution of the Law, and of such Directions as from Time to Time have been sent from his Majesty and Council, &c. further encouraging them to carry a soft or harder Hand according to their Discretions.* Which I do not find but they prudently observed; though all was too little to root out the Leven that had seasoned the Batch, during the Government of the then Lords Justices, as *Dr. Bedel*, the Reverend Bishop of *Kilmore*, takes Notice of at large, * with a deep and hearty Resentment, worthy his Piety, Courage and Learning, till the Arrival of *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Wentworth*, who by his singular Wisdom, Courage, and quick Intelligence, so managed Affairs there, though some thought they were carried on too severely as doubtless the Nation in general was never more seemingly in Obedience; whatever afterwards was aggravated against that noble Person, whose Behaviour was less pleasing to some Men interested in the Detection of their morose and sinister Dealings, than to the Nation, which flourished under his auspicious Government. Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God: Yet then the Contrivance of some Spirits was so restless, as *Anno* 1634, being the 10th of King *Charles* I. they designed to have engaged the Nation in a War, which one *Ever Mac-Mahon*, an eminent Popish Priest, privately discovered to some of the Privy-Council at *Dublin*, at whose Feet he prostrated himself for Mercy, having, with others, been employed abroad to foreign Princes, viz. the *Pope*, the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, and other Princes on that Service, as in the Relation writ by the Lord *Macguire* in the Tower is apparent, the Design having been of as ancient a Date, as the Isle of *Rbee's* Enterprize, 1628. About which Time the Earl of *Tyrone* and Cardinal *Richlieu* held an intimate Correspondence; though the King of *France's* Wars, then in *Italy*, frustrated for that Time the

* In his Letter to the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, the 5th of *November*, 1633. as formerly in a Letter to Bishop *Laud* of the 1st of *April*, 1630.

Infurrection and Invasion. Upon the Discovery of which, *Ever MacMahon*, seeming penitent, had his Pardon: So that the Thing being only treated of in general, the Prudence of the Governor, giving the People no Suspicion that he feared it, and yet watched against it, blasted their Design: The same Providence we may also believe this Noble Person had in the antecedent Warnings, which the Reverend Dean of *Kilmore* particularly mentions, * though he in Reference to the Intrigues of State, moved not so visibly as to make every one capable of his Foresight. Prime Ministers are not to level their Proceeding to the Capacities of all, who pretend Vigilancy of the State: Yet thence, during his Government, all Things in the Publick proceeded with a serene Countenance, so as the Lord Deputy *Wentworth* came for *England*, and returned into *Ireland* several Times, with his Majesty's greatest Approbation, and the Peace of the Nation.

* In his Depositions annexed to the Remonstrance of the State of the Rebellion of *Ireland*, p. 24.

Anno 1634, a Parliament was summoned in *Ireland*, by his Motion; 1. For that the Contribution from the Country, towards the Maintenance of the Army, ended that *December*. 2. For that the Revenues there fell short of his Majesty's Charges 20,000 *l.* yearly. 3. That there was a Debt of 80,000 *l.* upon the Crown. 4. For that there had been no Subsidies but one since the Beginning of King *Jame's* Reign; and the People were now grown wealthy, being continued in their Estates, whoever had enjoyed them twenty Years. By the Supply of which Parliament, the Lord Deputy paid the 80,000 *l.* Debt due from the Crown; than which, nothing was more to his Majesty's Honour, and his Servants Integrity; in testimony of which his Majesty * saith, *That they cannot but witness, who know that Kingdom, that during the Government there by Lieutenants of his Choice, that the Kingdom enjoyed more Plenty and Peace than it had since it was under the Subjection of the Crown of England; Traffick by Sea, and Trade by Land increased, Values of Land improved, Shipping multiplied beyond Belief, never was the Protestant Religion more advanced, nor the Protestants protected in greater Security against the Papists; inasmuch as we must remember you (the Parliament capitulating with him to nominate a Governor for Ireland) that the present Rebellion was begun when there was no Lieutenant there, and when the Power, which had been formerly used in that Kingdom, was questioned and disgraced; when those in the Parliament there, by whom that Rebellion was hatched, were countenanced in their Complaints and Persecution.*

* In his Answer to the two last Papers of *Uxbridge*, concerning *Ireland*, fol. 569.

As to the Progress of Religion there, receive from the Bishop of *Derry* this Account, in his Discourse of the Sabbath; * where, having Occasion to mention the incomparable and pious Primate, Archbishop *Usher*, he takes notice, *That having lived sundry Years a Bishop in the Province of Ulster, whilst the political Part of the Care of that Church lay heavy upon his Shoulders, he praised God, they were like Candles in the Levitical Temple, looking one towards another, and all towards the Stem; no Contention arising amongst them, but who should hate Contention most, and pursue the Peace of the Church with swiftest Paces; inasmuch as if the high-soaring Counsels of some short-winged Christians, whose Eyes regarded nothing but the present Prey, with the rebellious Practices of the Irish Enemy, tied together like Sampson's Foxes, with Firebrands at their Tails, had not thrust them away from the Stern, and chased them from their Sees with Bellona's bloody Whip: They might*
before

* Fol. 934.

The State of IRELAND

before this Time, without either Persecution or Noise, have given a more welcome and comfortable Account of the Irish Church, than our Age is likely to produce.

The last Time this noble Person (the Earl of *Strafford*) entered Ireland, was the 18th of *March*, 1639, when he arrived at *Dublin* Lord Lieutenant a little before, having in an extraordinary Solemnity and conflux of Ambassadors and Peers been made Earl of *Strafford*; at which Time he appeared in Parliament begun the 16th of *March*, in the 14th of King *Charles I.* expressing his Majesty's Necessities in such Terms, as immediately four entire Subsidies without further expostulation, were unanimously consented unto; the Freedom of which added much to the Largeness of the Gift, with which he raised 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, additional to the veteran Forces, which at the breaking forth of the Rebellion, consisted but of 2297 Foot, and 943 Horse. And so having settled his Majesty's Affairs in Ireland, he went for *England* to the Parliament at *Westminster*, summoned by his Mediation the 13th of *April*, 1640, being attended from Ireland with the Acclamations of the whole House of Parliament, yet legible, in a very remarkable Manner, in the Preamble of their Act of Subsidies, *Anno 16 Car. 1.* yet afterwards we know his Fate. *Never*, writes *Perinshief*, *sufficiently bewail'd by the King, till the Issue of his Blood dry'd up those of his Tears.* All the Actions of his Government were narrowly sifted, and though *no one Thing* after the mercenary Tongues of the Lawyers had endeavoured to render him a Monster of Men, could be found Treason, *many accumulated* were so voted. That him, whom even now the Parliament of Ireland extolled as an excellent Governor, and one for whose due and sincere Administration of Justice they had principally consented to so great a Subsidy, they afterwards pursued as the Cause of all their Mischiefs, and so by their Agents, even those who afterwards complotted the Rebellion, incensed the Parliament at *Westminster* against him, as they denied all that they had attributed to his Worth, fixing on him whatever might contribute to a previous Government, or the Kingdom's Impoverishment; the State of which cannot be better cleared, than by what his Majesty, in a full Council at *Whitehall* the 27th of *January*, 1640, seemed clearly to acquiesce in, upon the Earl of *Strafford's* avowing of the Answer to the *Irish* Remonstrance against him, ordering, that a Copy thereof should be forthwith given, by the Clerk of the Council, to the Committee of Ireland then attending upon him; since registred among the publick Records.

Thus was this great Man accused, thus justified; yet all was not sufficient to exempt him from the destructive Bill of Attainder, suggesting, *His tyrannous and exorbitant Power over the Liberties and Estates of his Majesty's Subjects in Ireland, laying and assessing of Soldiers by his own Authority upon the Subject, against their Consent; saying also, that he had an Army in Ireland, which his Majesty might make use of to reduce this Kingdom, (meaning England,) as appears by the Act which passed the 10th of May, 1641.* His Majesty having signed a Commission to the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord High Chamberlain, and others, to that intent; which had an *after Act*, vacating the Authority of the Precedent for future Imitation; sufficiently thereby, saith his Majesty, telling the World, that some

Remorse

Remorse touched even his most implacable Enemies, as knowing he had very hard Measure, and such as they would be loth should be repeated to themselves.

And that it might remain to Posterity to whom the Age is accountable for her Actions, what he suffered in his Trial, and by what Artifices he was brought to it, the Act for the Reversal of the Earl of *Strafford's* Attainder, *Anno xiv. Car. II.* fully shows; to which it may seem impertinent to add more; Histories, and the Occurrences of those Times, having presented his Actions at his Trial more significant than I dare pretend to, such a Scene of Justice, attended with that Magnificence in its Structure, such Seats of their Majesties, for Ambassadors, and the most discerning Audience of *England*, not being to be parallel'd. Therefore I shall conclude, as to *Him*, with what his Majesty speaks in his *ΕΙΣΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ*, *That his great Abilities were prone to create in him great Confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great Errors, and many Enemies, whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a Sphere, and with so vigorous a Lustre, he must needs, as the Sun, raise many envious Exhalations, which, condensed by a popular Odium, were capable to cast a Cloud upon the brightest Merit and Integrity, &c.* Yet, saith this excellent King, *I could never be convinced of any such Criminousness in him, having heard all the Particulars of his great Cause from one End to the other, as willingly to expose his Life to the Stroke of Justice, and the Malice of his Enemies.* However, *He* suffered on *Tower-hill* the 12th of May, 1641, taking his Death with as much Christianity, as Courage; though some account nothing Christian that is not Effeminate, of whom we should say more, but must refer the Rest to what is extant in print.

The 19th of May following, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester* * was designed by his Majesty Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, newly returned from his Embassy in *France*, where he had discharged his Trust with singular Prudence and Courage, as he had done before in *Denmark*, and elsewhere: The Choice of whom exceedingly endeared his Majesty's Wisdom to the most knowing and intelligent Party of the Nation; the Earl having been one never engaged in Monopolies (one of the Grievances of the Times) or the publick Complaints of the Kingdom; but being long experienced in State Affairs, promised nothing, save his Majesty's Honour, and the Kingdoms Security; † *Being thought by his Knowledge in martial Affairs, and other his great Abilities, to be, no doubt, abundantly capable to reduce the Irish to a due Obedience.* Yet after all, having attended his Majesty at *York* and other Places, as the Court moved, for his Dispatch, he came in November to *Chester*, in expectation of an easie remove thence into *Ireland*; but falling indisposed at *Chester*, was commanded back to *Oxford* about the Beginning of January 1642, so as in Conclusion, he, ever going, never went. His stay was at first resented by the King, then the Parliament; to evidence the Truth, he writes a Letter from *York* to the Earl of *Northumberland*, which, by Order of Parliament the 26th of September 1642, was printed, wherein he writes, *That he besought his Majesty, that he might not be staid at Court, for that the Affairs of Ireland required his speedy repair thither; or at least that some Governor, if he were not thought worthy of it, should be presently sent into that*

* Grandson of Sir *Hen. Sidney*, that excellent and noble Person, who had, at Times, been eleven Years Governor of *Ireland*.

† Sir *Benjamin Rudyard's* Speech in Parliament, Aug. 23. 1641.

Kingdom.

Kingdom. And upon the 21st of *September*, he appeared in Parliament, informing the Houses, That he could never, since his first going to his Majesty, get his Commission sealed till the 18th of *September*, referring himself to the Pleasure of the Houses, whether they would dispatch him for *Ireland* or no. Whereupon the 1st of *October* following, his Case was again debated, and it was voted, for the future, That the said Earl should not put in Execution any Instructions from his Majesty concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, until such Time as they should be made known and approved by them. After which, many Things in his Instructions were debated; and it being moved the 4th of *November*, in a Conference of the Houses, that he was ready to set forward for that Service, he had his Dismiss. So, as I have said, he came to *Chester*, and was remanded back to *Oxford*; the important Affairs of *Ireland* being in another Channel than as yet they appeared visibly to run in. Though it was a good while after, before he had his Discharge from that Employment, being kept in suspense, till others had perfected their Design, by which there accrued to him a great Arrear, somewhat considered in the Act of Settlement, though short of what he was prejudiced thereby.

Upon the Earl of *Strafford's* quitting *Ireland*, *Christopher Windesford* Esq; Master of the Rolls, the 3d of *April* 1640, was sworn Lord Deputy: He managed the Government with much Policy, Advantage to his Majesty, and faithfulness to his intimate Friend and Ally, the Earl of *Strafford*: adjourning the Parliament in *November* following, somewhat to the Dissatisfaction of the Members, who, before their Dissolution, made shift to form a Remonstrance against the Earl of *Strafford*, which he would have prevented to have been sent for *England*, could he, as he endeavoured, have staid the Committee* of the Parliament in *Ireland* from going over, the greatest Part of which were Papists, which the *Irish* took as a good Omen: But he being not able to hinder them, they finding Conveniencies from every Port, grew thereupon much discontented; and having quick Intelligence how Affairs were carried against the Earl of *Strafford*, he died the 3d of *December* following, betwixt whom, even from their Youth, there had been an especial Intimacy, nor did it afterwards grow cooler, but more strengthened in Judgment.

After his decease, *Robert Lord Dillon*, of *Kilkenny-West*, and Sir *William Parsons*, Knight and Baronet, Master of the Court of Wards, *December* 30, were sworn Lords Justices: But it was not long before the Committee of *Ireland*, then at Court, so prevailed, as that his Majesty displaced the Lord *Dillon*, a Person of notable Parts, and one, by his Son's Marriage with the Earl of *Strafford's* Sister, passionately concerned in the Earl's Case.

Yet lest the Execution of his Majesty's Graces to his Subjects of *Ireland*, obtained by their late Committee's Sollicitation, should be deferred till those who were designed to succeed the Lord *Dillon*, were in Office, his Majesty was pleased to direct a Letter, dated the 4th of *January*, in the 16th Year of his Reign, to his Privy Council of *Ireland*, and Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Borlase* (then designed Justices) to grant, among other Things, that his Subsidies there should be reduced to a lesser Rate than formerly; and that all Letters directed to the Lord Deputy, Justices, Chief Governor or Governors, or to any other

* *The Lords.*

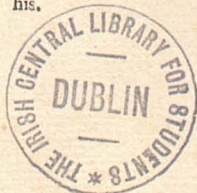
Lord Viscount
Gormanston,
Kilmalloe,
Castiloe,
Baltinglass.
The Commons.
Leinster.
Nich. Plunket,
----- Digby,
Richard Fitz-
Garret,
Nich. Barnwell,
Esquires.
Munster.
Sir Hardreis
Waller,
Jo. Welsh,
Sir Donnogh
Mac-Cartie.
Connaght.
Robert Linch,
Geffry Brown,
Thomas Bourk.
Ulster.
Sir Willm. Cole.
Sir James Mont-
gomery.

other Officers or Ministers of that Realm, either concerning the publick Affairs, or private Interests of any Subject there, might be entred into his *Signet-Office* in *England*, to the end that they might be, upon occasion, found to take Copies of, for the Subjects better Information in such publick Things as may concern them; as also that all Dispatches from *Ireland* should safely be kept apart, that like Recourse may be had to them for the better Satisfaction of the Subject, who shall be concerned therein. And whereas in the former Governor's Time, there were Endeavours to hinder some Agents of Parliament to have Recourse into *England*, his Majesty taking notice, ' That forasmuch as the Committee of the Parliament of *Ireland*, *John Bellow* Esq; and *Oliver Cassel*, with others employed thence, have repaired into his Kingdom of *England*, to represent their Grievances: He hath manifested his gracious Condescensions to them, admitting them into his Royal Presence, forbidding his Counsellors in *Ireland*, or any other Officers or Ministers of that State, to proceed any ways against them, or any of them, for the same. And that his Subjects shall have Copies of Records, Certificates, Orders of Council, publick Letters, or other Entries for the Declaration of their Grievances made.' In grateful Acknowledgment of which, the Parliament then sitting the 10th of *February* 1640, ordered, ' That the said Letter should be forthwith entered amongst the Ordinances and Records of that House.' So that if there had not been a general Defection, long anviied in the Minds of that People, the Event of so unnatural and horrid a Rebellion, as few Months after happened, could not have been the Issue of such remarkable Condescensions.

The 10th of *February* 1640, his Majesty instituted Sir *William Parsons*, Master of the Court of *Wards*, before mentioned, long experienced in the Affairs of *Ireland*, and Sir *John Borlase* Knight, Master of the Ordinance, Lords Justices, one well known to his Majesty by the Eminency of his Employments abroad, and the Opinion he had of his Integrity and Skill in military Affairs, the Discipline of the Army, having been ever under his Charge since his Arrival there: ' These, writes an honourable Person, * applied themselves with all Manner of gentle Lenitives, to mollifie the sharp Humours raised by the rigid Passages of the former Government; they declared themselves against all such Proceedings, as they found any way varying from the Common Law; they gave all due Encouragement to the Parliament then sitting, endeavouring the reasonable Ease and Contentment of the People, freely assenting to all such Acts as really tended to the legal Reformation; they betook themselves wholly to the Advice of the Council, and caused all Matters, as well of the Crown as popular Interests, to be handled in his Majesty's Courts of Justice; no ways admitting the late Exorbitances, so bitterly decried in Parliament, of Paper Petitions or Bills in Civil Causes, to be brought before them at the Council-board, or before any other by their Authority; reducing, by his Majesty's Approbation, the Subsidies from 40,000 *l.* a Subsidy, to 12,000 *l.* a Piece.' Bringing all Things to that Compliance, as best suited with his Majesty's Interest, and the Quiet of the Nation, that, if it were possible, there might not be the least Discontent or Jealousie raised among the People; and, for a Season, all Things seemed so peaceable, as never any Government was less excepted against. Yet then, in the

End

* Sir *John Temple*, in his Treatise of the *Irish* Rebellion, p. 13. A Piece of that Integrity few can equal, none exceed: He having, as a Privy Counsellor, opportunity to view and consider all Dispatches, rarely obvious to others; and being singular intire and ingenious, adventured then into the List, when some dared scarce think on the Attempt: A Consideration, in reference to what he suffered, very considerable; though more, in that to this Day, whatever hath been barked against other Accounts of the Rebellion, never any Thing was objected against his.



End of the Year 1640, his Majesty, being informed of an Intention to raise Troubles in *Ireland*, commanded Sir *Henry Vane*, his Principal Secretary, to write unto these Lords Justices this Letter.

Right Honourable,

HIS Majesty hath commanded me to acquaint your Lordships with an Advice given him from abroad, and confirmed by his Ministers in *Spain* and elsewhere, which in this distempered Time, and conjuncture of Affairs, deserves to be seriously considered, and an especial Care and Watchfulness to be had therein ; which is, That of late there have passed from *Spain*, and the like may well have been from other Parts, an unspeakable Number of *Irish* Church-men 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* Fryers there, a Whisper runs, as if they expected a Rebellion in *Ireland*, and particularly in *Connaght*. Wherefore his Majesty thought fit to give your Lordships this Notice, that in your Wisdoms you might manage the same with that Dexterity and Secresy, 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. And so herewith I rest,

Whitehall, March
16, 1640.

Your Lordships most humble Servant,
Henry Vane.

Which was delivered to the Lord Justice *Parsons*, and since his Death found in his Study, and by Sir *James Barry*, Lord Baron of *Santry*, a Right Honourable and worthy Person, presented to his present Majesty, who looked upon it as a precious Jewel, discovering his Father's Royal Thoughts towards the Preservation of his Protestant Subjects and People. But how far it was at first communicated, is uncertain, though being of so great a Trust, it may very well be believed to have been often reflected on with caution and prudence : Certain it is, that notwithstanding that there was an *Item*, that there should be an especial Care against levying of Soldiers for *Spain*, yet Colonel *John Barry*, Colonel *Taaf*, Colonel *Garret Barry*, and Colonel *Porter*, had all Warrants to transport 4000 Men thither, which several of the House of Commons in *Ireland*, and *England* too, with much Artifice, though with divers Ends, endeavoured to prevent on plausible Terms ; as that, from the Experience of what they might learn abroad, they afterwards might prove ill Instruments at home ; whereas it was more necessary, that they should be employed on Husbandry, whereof that Kingdom hath great need. And many of the active Men of the House of Commons in *Ireland*, as *Darcy* the Lawyer, *Plunket*, *Chevers*, *Martin*, and others, urged their stay, with a Passion seemingly much concerned, for that, among many Reasons, which I will not undertake, at so long a Distance, positively to remember, though I had the Honour to be a Member of that House, yet I cannot forget, that their chief Argument was drawn from the *Spaniards*, having long born an ill Will to *England* and her Empire : And therefore they did not know, mark the Infinition, ‘ how soon those very Regiments, acquainted with every Creek of the Kingdom, might be re-
‘ turned on their own Bowels, having naturally a Love to their Religion,
‘ which such an Incendiary, as the King of *Spain*, might soon inflame
‘ to

‘ to the highest Prejudice.’ Which I the longer insist on, for that the Collection of Murthers committed on the *Irish*, published by R. S. 1662, would insinuate, the better to invalidate the Abstract of Murders committed by the *Irish*, that the Catholick Members of the House of Commons in *Ireland* never hindred, as that Abstract affirms, the Transportation of the Earl of *Strafford*’s disbanded Soldiers into *Spain*, purposely to advance the Rebellion, which is clear they did : Inasmuch, as upon these and other Arguments, their Transportation was deferred ; though if the discontented *Irish* Army had been disposed of beyond Sea, according to the Contracts with the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors, it was very clear, as is judicially affirmed, that there could have been no Rebellion in *Ireland*, the Pretence and Means thereof having been thereby taken away ; though some were of Opinion, that wherever these Forces had been, they could yet easily have been brought over again, as others have been since, the principal Heads of the Rebels Army being led by old experienced Soldiers, who, at the breaking out of the Rebellion, were generally beyond Sea, as the *Leinster* Forces by Colonel *Preston*, a Branch out of the House of *Gormanston* ; the *Ulster* Forces by *Owen Roe O-Neal*, both bred in *Flanders*, *Munster* Forces by *Garret Barry*, and the *Connaught* Forces by one *Burck* ; animated with their Cause, and the Pope’s Encouragement. And it cannot be denied, that the promiscuous compleating of the Army, lately raised of 8000 Foot and 1000 Horse, in *Ireland*, taught many of the Common Soldiers the Use of Arms, who otherwise would have been ignorant thereof : An Evil in *Perrot*’s and *Fitzwilliam*’s Government, much took Notice of, and by *Camden* in his *Eliz. Anno 1593*, towards the End, observed in the like Case to be most improvidently done, as afterwards was found, the *Irish* being always disloyal to the *English*. Upon which I cannot but reflect on what *Antalcidas*, in *Plutarch* * tells *Agessilaus*, of being sorely hurt by the *Thebans*, ‘ That they had paid him his deserved hire, ‘ for teaching them against their Wills to be Soldiers, who before had ‘ neither will nor skill to fight.’ Certain it is, that most of these Soldiers, thus raised, betook themselves to the Rebels Party ; although very few of their Officers, if we may credit a late Historian, were polluted with the Crime, which for the Honour of those Gentlemen, rather than that it is undeniably true, I would willingly believe, it being easy to be made out, that many of these instigated, if not headed, the Commonality afterwards.

* The Life of
Agessilaus, fol.
624.

Yet notwithstanding the Letter fore-cited, and many troublesome Passages in Parliament, wherewith the Lords Justices and Council were not seldom alarmed, sufficient to weaken their Confidence, no Cloud, not the Breath of a Hand, appeared ; but the Lords Justices kept a fair Correspondence with the Parliament, giving all the Furtherance they could to the going of their Committee into *England*, hoping that what his Majesty should be pleased to grant, at their Requests, might redound to the common Benefit of the Nation. Neither did the Lords Justices or Council transmit unto his Majesty, or any of the State of *England*, any mis-reprehensions of the Proceedings and Actions of that Parliament, as some maliciously insinuated ; in as much as a noble Person, a Peer in the Lords House, said, ‘ That the Lords Justices had always cheerfully ‘ received their Requests and Messages, and were ready to comply with ‘ them ; desiring that this their Compliance might be entered in the

‘ Journal, to the End that it might remain to Posterity.’ Having by his Majesty’s Commission, dated the 4th of *January* 1640, Authority to continue, prorogue, or determine the Parliament, as they thought fit, which Liberty they indulged much to the Freedom of the Parliament. However, being resolved, as the Sequel proved, to pretend any Thing, rather than not to have some Exceptions against the Government, the *Irish* Parliament sent to his Majesty a Declaration, therein magnifying the six entire Subsidies they had given in the 10th Year of his Majesty’s Reign, and the four Subsidies in the 15th Year of his Reign; pretending moreover, that they had been ill presented to his Majesty, which was clearly evinced to the Contrary, and several Graces vouchsafed them thereupon.

Amongst other Things, the State, at that Time, found difficult to do, the disbanding of the new raised Army was not the least, which the Parliament of *England* had great Jealousies of, and besought his Majesty that it should be dissolved. In answer whereof, his Majesty replied, ‘ That the Thing was already upon Consultation, but he found many ‘ Difficulties in it, and therefore told the Parliament, he held it not ‘ only fit to wish it, but to shew the Way how it might conveniently ‘ be done.’ However, in *August* 1641, it was effectually performed, for which afterwards the Lords Justices had his Majesty’s gracious Approbation; and the Arms and Ammunition were carefully brought into his Majesty’s Stores, by the Vigilance of the Master of the Ordnance, (the Lord Justice *Borlase*) else, certainly, most of those Arms, as well as the Men, had been undoubtedly lifted in the Confederates Army; which many of their Party, in the House of Commons in *Ireland*, having an Eye to, made them so averse to have them disbanded. And the Plot proceeded, being so cunningly managed by some of the Members of Parliament, subtil in their Insinuations, that many of the Protestants, and well-meaning People of the House, blinded with an Apprehension of Ease and Redress, lying under the same pretended Yoak with the rest, were innocently decoyed into their acting violently with them. Hence Sir *Richard Bolton*, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, was impeached of High Treason, and others of the prime Officers and Ministers of State, were articted against; yea, some of the Bishops were not spared, ‘ contrary to all Precedents of that Nature, as was certified by the Lords Justices to the principal Secretary, on search made, ‘ upon his Majesty’s Commands, for that Purpose. So as, besides, some ‘ of the active Men of the House, Lawyers, *Darcy, Martin, Plunket, Cusack, Brown, Linch, Bodkin, Evers*, and others, took upon them ‘ with much Confidence, to declare the Law, to make new Expositions of their own upon the Text, as, that killing in Rebellion was no ‘ Forfeiture of Lands, though the Law heretofore was held otherwise, ‘ and much of his Majesty’s Revenue stands upon that Title; and to ‘ frame twenty-one * Queries: Which in a solemn Committee of the House,

* *Questions wherein the House of Commons humbly desires, that the House of Lords would be pleased to require the Judges to deliver their Resolutions.*

Inasmuch as the Subjects of this Kingdom are free, loyal and dutiful Subjects to his most excellent Majesty, their natural Leige Lord and King, and to be governed only by the common Laws of *England*, and Statutes of Force in this Kingdom, in the same Manner

House, adjourned from Time to Time, they discussed at their own Freedom in the Dining-Room at the Castle, disdaining the moderate Qualifications of the Judges, who gave them modest Answers, such as the

Manner and Form, as his Majesty's Subjects of the Kingdom, are and ought to be governed by the said common Laws and Statutes of Force in that Kingdom; which of right, the Subjects of this Kingdom do challenge and make their Protestation to be their Birth-right, and best Inheritance: Yet inasmuch as the unlawful Actions and Proceedings of some of his Majesty's Officers and Ministers of Justice, of late Years introduced and practised in this Kingdom, did tend to the Infringing and Violation of the Laws, Liberties and Freedom of the said Subjects of this Kingdom, contrary to his Majesty's royal and pious Intentions, therefore the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses in Parliament assembled, not for any Doubt or Ambiguity, which may be conceived or thought of, for or concerning the Premises, nor of the ensuing Questions, but for the Manifestation and Declaration of a clear Truth, and of the said Laws and Statutes already planted, and for many Ages past settled in this Kingdom. The said Knights, Citizens and Burgeses do therefore pray, that the House of the Lords may be pleased to command the Judges of this Kingdom, forthwith to declare in Writing, their Resolutions of, and unto the ensuing Questions, and subscribe to the same.

1. Whether the Judges of this Kingdom be a free People, and to be governed only by the common Laws of *England*, and Statutes of Force in this Kingdom?

2. Whether the Judges of this Land do take the Oath of Judges? And if so, Whether under Pretext of any Act of State, Proclamation, Writ, Letter or Direction, under the Great, or Privy-Seal, or privy Signet, or Letter, or other Commandment from the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, Justice, Justices, or other Chief Governor, or Governors of this Kingdom, they may hinder, stay or delay the Suit of any Subject, or his Judgment or Execution thereupon? If so, in what Cases, and whether if they do hinder, stay, or delay such Suit, Judgment, or Execution thereupon, what Punishment do they incur for their Deviation and Transgression therein?

3. Whether the King's Majesty's Privy-Council, either with the Chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, or without him or them, be a Place of Judicature by the common Laws; and wherein Causes between Party and Party for Debts, Trespases, Accounts, Portions, or Title of Lands, or any of them, and which of them may be heard and determined, and of what civil Causes they have Jurisdiction, and by what Law, and of what Force are their Orders and Decree in such Cases, or any of them?

4. The like of the chief Governors alone.

5. Whether Grants of Monopolies be warranted by Law, and of what, and in what Cases, and how and where, and by whom are the pretended Transgressions against such Grants punishable, and whether by Fine, Mutilation of Members, Imprisonment, Loss, and Forfeiture of Goods, or otherwise, and which of them?

6. In what Cases the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom and Council may punish by Fine, Imprisonment, Mutilation of Members, Pillory or otherwise, and whether they may sentence any to such the same, or the like Punishment, for infringing the Commands of, or concerning any Proclamation of and concerning Monopolies, and what Punishment do they incur that Vote for the same?

7. Of what Force is an Act of State or Proclamation in this Kingdom, to bind the Liberty, Goods, Possessions, or Inheritance of the Natives thereof; whether they or any of them, can alter the common Law, or the Infringers of them lose their Goods, Chattels or Leases, or forfeit the same, by infringing any such Act of State, Proclamation, or both; what Punishment do the sworn Judges of the Law that are Privy-Councillors incur, that Vote for such Acts and Execution thereof?

8. Are the Subjects of this Kingdom subject to Marshal Law, and whether any Man in Time of Peace, no Enemy being in the Field with Banners displayed, can be sentenced to Death? If so, by whom, and in what Cases? If not, what Punishment do they incur, that in Time of Peace execute Marshal Law?

9. Whether voluntary Oaths taken freely before Arbitrators for Affirmance or Disaffirmance of any Thing, or for the true Performance of any thing be punishable in the *Castle-Chamber*, or any other Court, and why, and wherefore?

10. Why and by what Law, and by what Rule of Policy is it, that none is admitted to Reducement of Fines, and other Penalty in the *Castle-Chamber* or Council-Table, until he confess the Offence for which he is censured, when as *revera* he might be innocent

the Law and Duty to their Sovereign, would admit, and instead of them, vented their own Sense, as if the State were then in its Infancy, and from them merely to receive its Constitution; as Sir *John Temple* observes,

innocent thereof, though suborned Proofs or Circumstances might induce a Censure?

11. Whether the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, or any other Judge of Goal-delivery, or of any other Court, and by what Law, do, or can deny the Copies of Indictment of Felony or Treason to the Parties accused, contrary to the Law?

12. What Power have the Barons of the Court of *Exchequer*, to raise the Respit of Homage arbitrarily to what rate they please, to what Value they may raise it, by what Law they may distinguish between the Respit of Homage upon the Diversity of the true Value of the Fees, when as Escuage is the same for great and small Fees, and are proportionable by Parliament?

13. Whether it be censurable in the Subjects of this Kingdom to repair into *England*, to appeal unto his Majesty for Redress of Injuries, or for other lawful Actions? If so, why, and in what Condition of Persons, and by what Law?

14. Whether Deans or other Dignitaries of Cathedral Churches, be properly, and *de mero Jure* donative by the King, and not elective, or collative? If so, why, and by what Law, and whether the Confirmation of a Dean *de facto* of the Bishops grant be good and valid in Law, or no, if not, by what Law?

15. Whether the issuing of *Quo warrantoes* out of the *King's-Bench* or *Exchequer*, against Burroughs that antiently and recently sent Burgeses to Parliament, to shew Cause why they sent Burgeses to the Parliament be legal? if not, what Punishment ought to be inflicted upon those that are, or have been the Occasioners, Procurers and Judges of and in such *Quo warrantoes*?

16. By what Law, are Jurors that give Verdict according to their Conscience, and are the sole Judges of the Fact, censured in the *Castle-Chamber* in great Fines, and sometimes pillored with Loss of Ears, and bored through the Tongue, and sometimes marked in the Forehead with a hot Iron, and other like infamous Punishment?

17. By what Law are Men censurable in the *Castle-Chamber* with the Mutilation of Members, or any other Brand of Infamy, and in what Cases, and what Punishment in each Case there is due, without Respit of the Quality of the Person or Persons?

18. Whether in the Censures in the *Castle-Chamber* Regard be to be had to the Words of the great Charter (*viz.*) *Salvo continemento*?

19. Whether one that steals a Sheep, or commits any other Felony, and after flieth the Course of Justice, or lyeth in Woods or Mountains, upon his Keeping, be a Traitor, if not, whether a Proclamation can make him so?

20. Whether the Testimony or Evidence of Rebels, Traitors, protected Thieves or other infamous Persons, be good Evidence in Law, to be pressed upon the Trials of Men for their Lives, or whether the Judge, or Jurors ought to be Judge of the Matter in Fact?

21. By what Law are Fairs and Markets to be held in *Capite*, when no other express Tenure is mentioned by his Majesty's Letters, Patents, or Grants of the same Fairs and Markets, altho' the Rent or yearly Sum be reserved thereout.

Declarations of the Law made in Parliament upon the Questions propounded to the Judges in a Sessions this present Parliament.

Declaration on
the 1st *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

1. The Subjects of this his Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, are a free People and to be governed only according to the Common Law of *England*, and Statutes made and established by Parliament in this Kingdom of *Ireland*; and according to the lawful Customs used in the same.

Declaration on
the 2d *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

2. That Judges in *Ireland* ought to take the Oath of the Justices or Judges declared and established in several Parliaments of Force in this Kingdom, and the said Judges or any of them, by Colour or under Pretext of any Act of State or Proclamation, or under Colour or Pretext of any Writ, Letter, or Direction under the Great-Seal, Privy-Seal, or Privy-Signet from the King's most excellent Majesty, or by Colour or Pretext of any Letter or Commandment from the chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, ought not to hinder or delay the Suit of any Subject or his Judgment or Execution thereupon: And if any Letters, Writs or Commands from his Majesty or any other, or for any other Cause to the Justices, or other deputed to do the Law and Right according to the Usage of the Realm, in Disturbance of the Law or of the Execution

serves, resolving upon an Alteration in the Government, and drawing of it wholly into the Hands of the Natives : Sir *Phelim O Neal* making it plain, in his Letters of Triumph to his Ghostly Confessor, ' That his
E ' Purposes

Execution of the same, or of Right to the Parties, the Justices and others aforesaid, ought to proceed and hold their Courts and Procefs where the Pleas and Matters be depending before them, as if no such Letters, Writs or Commandments were come to them ; and in Case any Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices be found in Default therein, he or they so found in Default ought to incur and undergo due Punishment according to the Law and the former Declarations and Propositions in Parliament, in that Case made and of Force in this Kingdom, or as shall be ordered, adjudged or declared in Parliament ; and the Barons of the Exchequer, Justices of Assize and Goal-delivery if they be found in Default as aforesaid ; It is hereby declared, that they ought to undergo the Punishment aforesaid.

3. The Council-Table of this Realm, either with the chief Governor or Governors, or without the chief Governor or Governors, is no Judicature wherein any Actions real, personal, popular, or mixt, or any Suit in the Nature of the said Actions or any of them can or ought to be commenced, heard, or determined. And all Proceedings at the Council-Table in any Suit in the Nature of the said Actions, are void (especially Causes particularly provided for by express Acts of Parliament of Force in this Kingdom only excepted).

Declaration on
the 3d *Quære.*
Voted upon
Question.

4. The Proceedings before the chief Governor or Governors alone in any Action real, personal, popular, or mixt, or in any Suit in the Nature of any of the said Actions are voted upon *Question coram non Judice*, and void.

Declaration on
the 5th *Quære.*
Voted upon
Question.

5. All Grants of Monopolies are contrary to the Laws of this Realm, and therefore void. And no Subject of the said Realm ought to be fined, imprisoned, or otherwise punished for exercising or using the lawful Liberty of a Subject contrary to such Grants.

Declaration on
the 5th *Quære.*
Voted upon
Question.

6. The Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy or other chief Governor or Governors, and Council of this Realm or any of them, ought not to imprison any of his Majesty's Subjects, but only in Cases where the common Laws or Statutes of the Realm do enable and warrant them so to do, and they ought not to fine or to censure any Subject in Mutilation of Members, standing on the Pillory, or other shameful Punishment in any Case at the Council-Table ; and no Subject ought to be imprisoned, fined, or otherwise punished for infringing any Commands or Proclamations for the Support or Countenance of Monopolies. And if in any Case any Person or Persons shall be committed by the Command or Warrant of the chief Governor or Governors, and Privy-Council of this Realm, or any of them, That in any such Case any Person or Persons so committed or restrained of his or their Liberty, or suffering Imprisonment, upon Demand or Motion made by his or their Council, or other employed by him or them for that Purpose unto the Judges of that Court of *King's Bench* or *Common Pleas*, in open Court, shall without Delay upon any Pretence whatsoever for the ordinary Fees usually paid for the same ; have forthwith granted unto him or them, a Writ or Writs of *habeas Corpus*, to be directed generally unto all and every Sheriff, Goal-minister, Officer, or other Person in whose Custody the Party or Parties so committed or restrained shall be at their Return of the said Writ or Writs, and according to the Command thereof, upon due and convenient Notice thereof given unto him at the Charge of the Party or Parties who requireth or procureth such Writ or Writs, and upon Security by his or their own Bond or Bonds given to pay the Charge of carrying back the Prisoner or Prisoners, if he or they shall be remanded by the Court to which he or they shall be brought, as in like Case hath been used ; such Charges of bringing up and carrying back the Prisoner or Prisoners, to be always ordered by the Court if any Difference shall arise thereabouts, bring or cause to be brought, the Bodies of the said Party or Parties so committed and restrained unto and before the Judges and Justices of the said Court, from whence the said Writ or Writs shall issue in open Court, and shall then likewise certify the true Cause of such his or their Detainor or Imprisonment, and thereupon the Court after such Return made and delivered in open Court, shall proceed to examine and determine whether the Cause of such Commitment appearing upon the said Return be just or legal or not, and shall thereupon do what to Justice shall appertain, either by delivering, bayling, or remanding the Prisoner or Prisoners.

Declaration on
the 6th *Quære.*
Voted upon
Question.

7. An Act of State or Proclamation in this Kingdom cannot bind the Liberty, Inheritance, Possession, or Goods of the Subjects of the said Kingdom, nor alter the common Law ; and the Infringers of any such Act or Proclamation, ought not to forfeit Lands, Leases, Goods or Chattels, for the infringing of any such Act of State or Proclamation ;

Declaration on
the 7th *Quære.*
Voted upon
Question.

‘ Purposes were Conquest, and not Defence of Religion, his Majesty’s
 ‘ Prerogative, or their Liberty. ‘ No ! no King of *England*, (writes
 ‘ *Mabony* a Jesuit) nor Crown, nor People, nor State of that Kingdom,
 ‘ having

Proclamation ; and the Judges of the Law, who do vote for such Acts of State or Proclamation are punishable, as Breakers and Violaters of their Oaths of Judges.

Declaration on
the 8th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

8. No Subject of this Kingdom ought to be sentenced to Death, or executed by martial Law in Time of Peace, and if any Subject be so sentenced, or executed by martial Law in Time of Peace, the Authors and Actors of any such Sentence or Execution are punishable by the Law of the Land for their so doing, as Doers of their own Wrong, and contrary to the said Law of the Land.

Declaration on
the 9th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

9. No Man ought to be punished in the *Castle-Chamber*, or in any other Court for taking a voluntary Oath before Arbitrators, for Affirmance or Disaffirmance of any Thing, or the true Performance of any Thing in civil Causes : Nor are the Arbitrators before whom such voluntary Oaths shall be taken, punishable.

Declaration on
the 10th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

10. By the Laws and Statutes of the Realm no Man is bound, or ought to be compelled to acknowledge the Offence laid to his Charge, or the Justness of any Censure past against him in the *Castle-Chamber*, or at the Council-Table, nor ought to be detained in Prison, or abridged of his Liberty, or the Reducement of his Fine stayed or delayed until he do acknowledge such Offence, or the Justness of such Censure. And it is further declared, That no such enforced or wrested Confession or Acknowledgment can or ought to debar or hinder any Subject from his Bill of Reversal or Review of any Sentence, or Decree past, or conceived against him in the *Castle-Chamber*, or in any other Court.

Declaration on
the 11th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

11. The Judges of the *King’s Bench*, or Justices of Goal-delivery, or the Judges of any other Court, ought not to deny Copies of Indictments of Felony or Treason to the Parties indicted.

Declaration on
the 12th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

12. The Barons of the *Exchequer*, ought not to raise the Respit of Homage above the usual Rates appertaining in and by the Course and Precedents of that Court, continued until the Year of our Lord God 1637. And the raising thereof since that Time was arbitrary and against the Law. And the Barons of the *Exchequer* ought not to distinguish between the Respit of Homage upon any Diversity of the true Values of the Knights Fees.

Declaration on
the 13th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

13. The Subjects of this Kingdom may lawfully repair into *England* to appeal to his Majesty for Redress of Injuries, or for other their lawful Occasions ; And for their so doing, ought not to be punished or questioned upon the Statute of 5. of King *Richard II.* nor by any other Law or Statute of Force in this Kingdom (eminent Officers or Ministers of State, Commanders and Soldiers of his Majesty’s Army). The Judges and Ministers of his Majesty’s Courts of Justice, and of his Highness’s Revenues and Customs, whose Attendance is necessarily requisite by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, only excepted.

Declaration on
the 14th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

14. Deanries or other ecclesiastical Dignities of this Realm, are not *de mero Jure* donative ; but some are donative, and some elective, and some are collative according to their respective Foundations. And the Confirmation of the Bishops Grants by a Dean *de facto*, having actually *stallum in Choro & vocem in Capitulo*, together with the Chapter, is good in Law.

Declaration on
the 15th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

15. The issuing of *Quo warrantoes* out of the Court of *King’s Bench*, Court of *Exchequer*, or any other Court against Boroughs that antiently, or recently sent Burgeses to the Parliament, to shew Cause why they sent Burgeses to the Parliament, and the Proceedings thereupon are *Coram non Judice*, illegal and void. And the Right of sending Burgeses to the Parliament, is questionable in Parliament only ; And the Occasioners, Procurers and Judges in such *Quo warrantoes* and Proceedings are punishable, as in Parliament shall be thought consonant to Law and Justice.

Declaration on
the 16th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

16. Jurors are the sole Judges of the Matter in Fact, and they ought not for giving their Verdict to be bound over to the Court of *Castle-Chamber* by the Judge or Judges before whom the Verdict was, or shall be given.

Declaration on
the 17th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

17. No Man ought to be censured in the *Castle-Chamber* in the Mutilation of Members, or any other Brand of Infamy, otherwise or in other Cases then is expressly limited by the Statutes of this Realm, in such Cases provided.

Declaration on
the 18th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

18. In the Censures of the *Castle-Chamber*, especially Regard ought to be had to the Words of the great Charter, (*viz.*) *Salvo contenemento, &c.*

Declaration on
the 19th *Quære*.
Voted upon
Question.

19. A Felon who flies the Course of Justice, and lieth in Woods, Mountains, or elsewhere upon his Keeping, is no Traytor, and a Proclamation cannot make him a Traytor.

20. The

‘ having at any Time, any Kind of Right to the Kingdom of *Ireland*,
 ‘ or any Part thereof ; that the *English* Title to it was but meer Ufur-
 ‘ pation and Violence, and that therefore the old Natives, *i. e.* the
 ‘ meer *Irish*, might chuse and make themselves a King, of one of their
 ‘ own *Irish*; and in the then Circumstances of *Charles* the First of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*’s, being a Heretick, ought *i. e.* were bound in Conscience, to
 ‘ do so, and throw off together the Yoke both of Hereticks and
 ‘ Foreigners.’ Which Tenets, being roughly drawn, the Confederate
Irish seemed afterward to condemn, forsooth, in a Council of their own
 at *Kilkenny* : Yet it is very observable, and, that from *Walsh* himself,
 who says, he can never forget it, having extraordinary great Admi-
 ration thereat, ‘ That there was not one in the National Congregation,
 ‘ met by an extraordinary Favour the 11th of *June*, at *Dublin*, 1666,
 ‘ that opened once his Mouth for Confession of any Villainies commit-
 ‘ ted against the King, at any Time in the late Rebellion, or Civil
 ‘ War, or even to speak a Word for so much as a general Petition to
 ‘ be exhibited to his Majesty, imploring his Majesty’s gracious Pardon.
 ‘ Notwithstanding the first Rebellion 1641, and what followed upon
 ‘ the *Nuncio*’s Access and the Violation of the first Peace 1646, and
 ‘ the *Nuncio*’s Censures against the *Cessation with the Lord Inchequin*,
 ‘ and the Peace 1648, and the Declaration and Excommunication of the
 ‘ Bishops at James-Town 1650, against the Lord Lieutenant the Mar-
 ‘ quis of Ormond, and those who obeyed him. Emphatically enough ex-
 ‘ pressed by *P. W.* No. 1. he enforces this Argument further, There was
 ‘ no Crime, writes he, at all committed by all or any of the Roman
 ‘ Catholick Clergy of *Ireland*, nor even at any Time, nor in any Oc-
 ‘ casion or Matter happened since the 23d of *October* 1641, that need-
 ‘ ed petitioning for Pardon, either for themselves, or any other of the
 ‘ *Irish* Clergy ; if we must believe the Bishop of *Ardagh*, *Patrick*
 ‘ *Plunket*, pleading for them in so express Terms, and the tacit Appro-
 ‘ bation of his Words by the universal Silence of that Assembly.’ In
 Pursuance of which, the Protestant Commissioners of *Ireland*, in their
 Answer to the Objections the Rebels Agents put in against the *Pream-*
ble of the Bill of Settlement, took notice, that, in the whole Volume of
 Papers, which were put in by the Catholicks about that Affair, there
 was not one grateful Acknowledgment, or so much as one civil Mention
 of his Majesty’s singular Condescension. They having the Favour to
 inspect that *Act of Settlement*, and object as they pleased, as if all his
 Majesty could do for them were no more than he ought. And further
 it is these Commissioners Observation, that in all the *Irish* Papers, they
 do not own the Slaughter of so many Thousands to be a Rebellion,
 or once give the Title of Rebels to those who were the first Agents in
 that horrid and bloody Massacre ; which being not acknowledged by
 them,

20. The Testimony of convicted or protected Rebels, Traytors, Felons, is no suffi-
 cient Evidence in Law upon the Trial of any Person for his Life ; And the Credit of
 the Testimony of Persons accused or impeached and not convicted of Felony or Trea-
 son, ought to be left to the Jury who are sole Judges of the Truth and Validity of the
 said Testimony.

Declaration on
 the 20th *Quere.*
 Voted upon
 Question.

21. The King grants Lands to be held in free and common Socage, as of a Castle
 or Mannor by Letters Patents under the great Seal, and by the same Letters Patents, or
 by other Letters, Patents, grants a Fair and Market, reserving a yearly Rent, or Sum
 without expressing any Tenure as to the said Fair or Market, the said Fair or Market,
 is not held by Knights Service, *in Capite*, or otherwise *in Capite*.

Declaration on
 the 21st *Quere.*
 Voted upon
 Question.

them, more easily absolves the Rudeness of their Ingratitude for his Majesty's Favours. And a Person of Honour, in his Animadversions on Fanaticism, * who deserves much for his Excellencies in the Cause, takes notice, ' That no Catholick ever made any Profession against the ' Rebellion, or manifested his Detestation or Dislike of it by any ' publick Writing, that the Design seemed a Birth acceptable to the ' Catholick Community.' And the Pope, by his *Nuncio* afterwards, to whom the general Part of the Clergy and Natives adhered, in Effect maintained what *Mahony* had delivered for wholesome Doctrine, accounting the Pope's Bulls, Interdictions, and Absolutions, how long soever since published, still in the same Force and Vigour, as they were the first Day of their Publication. And it is very few Years since, *writes this honourable Person*, † ' That, upon the Meeting of the secular and regular Clergy of *Ireland*, before-mentioned, to frame an ' Address to the King in Testimony of their Obedience, disclaiming ' any Temporal Authority in the Popes; the Court of *Rome* was so ' alarmed by it, that Cardinal *Barbarin* writ to them, to desist from ' any such Declaration, putting them in mind, that the Kingdom of ' *England* was still under Excommunication.' And *Walsh* acquaints us at large of *Mac-Mahon*, the *Irish* Jesuit's printed Book, ' of the lawfulness of killing, not only all the Protestants, but even all such of ' the Roman Catholick *Irish*, who should stand for the Crown of *England*, and the Rights of the King to *Ireland*.' A Tenet agreeable to *Salamanca's* Approbation of *Oneal's* Rebellion 1602, instigated by Pope *Clement* the 8th, whereby it is declared, ' That all Catholicks who followed the *English* Standard against Prince *Oneal*, mortally sinned.' And *Ofulevan* the Priest, in King *James's* Reign, said, ' It was a Doctrine fetched from Hell, that Catholicks in *Ireland* should join with ' the Queen's Forces, which were Protestants, against the Rebels, Catholicks, in *Ireland*, and that such *English* ought to be no less set upon than the *Turks*. So that whatsoever delusive Tenets have been ' broached of late, as to persuade us the Adder is without sting, the ' contrary hath been written in Letters of Blood, not in his Majesty's ' Kingdoms only, but wheresoever the Papal Power was exalted, That ' Persons professing the reformed Religion, are but Tenants at Will for ' their Lives and Fortunes, and through Centuries of Ages it appears, ' that as their Fleeces grow, they are shorn, till a Time of Slaughter ' be appointed.' That hence we may see, at what we should have arrived, had the *Irish* been fortunate in their Attempt; for though the Loyal Formulary or Remonstrance, highly magnified by some, may seem a Bond of Iron, it may easily, by the Pope, become weaker than a Rope of Straw.

During the Summer Sessions of Parliament, already spoke of, wherein the Heads of the Rebellion were closely complotting, some under a Suspicion, that the Earl of *Strafford's* Servants, in Revenge of their Lord's Death, intended a Mischief to the Parliament, moved the House, and accordingly had Orders, that the Lords Justices would let his Majesty's Stores, for Powder and Arms, be searched, which, by a Committee, they so curiously performed, as they turned over several improbable Chests to find it out; and when they had seen that there was none, according to what the Officers of the Ordnance had before assured them, yet they seemed unsatisfied, and repaired, on a new Order, to the Lords Justices,

ces, to be admitted to see the Stores of Powder and Arms, placed in other Parts in and about the Castle : To whom the Lord Justice *Borlase*, Master of the Ordnance, principally interested in securing his Majesty's Stores, answered, That those were the King's precious Jewels, not to be, without special Cause, shewed, assuring them further, that they needed not to be afraid, for that, upon his Honour, there was no Powder underneath either of the Houses of Parliament ; as at the Tryal of the Lord *Mac-Quire*, at the King's Bench in *Westminster*, was openly in Court testified by the Lord *Blaney*, a great Sufferer, a worthy and gallant Person ; the said Lord Justice *Borlase*, having at that Time such a Motion in his Blood, upon the Importunity of that Enquiry, as he would afterwards often mention that Action of theirs, as aiming, how slightly soever then looked on by others, at some further Mark, than was then discernable : So that at that Instant he denied them, whereat they seemed discontented, as being left in Uncertainty, in what State his Majesty's Stores stood, which they desired particularly to know, the late new Army being disbanded then, and their Arms brought in, that if the Powder and Arms were not there, they might find them elsewhere ; or if there, then, by the intended Surprise, to be sure of them, and to know where, on the sudden, to find them : In which search, the Lord *Mac-Quire* was a chief Actor, and very inquisitive.

Thus, in order to their Design, they made ready for the Business, passing that Session of Parliament, began the 11th of *May* 1641, for the most Part away in Protestations, Declarations, Votes upon the Queries, the Stay of Soldiers from going over Seas, and private Petitions, little to the Good of the Common-wealth, or Advancement of his Majesty's Service, whereof the Lords Justices and Council having notice, finding withal, that the Popish Party in both Houses grew to so great a Height, as was scarce compatible to the present Government, they imparted, by a Message to both Houses the 14th of *July* following, their Intention to give a Recess for some Months, the Harvest coming on, and both Houses growing thin : Which Intimation of a Recess both Houses readily assented to ; so that the 7th of *August*, the Lords Justices adjourned the Houses to the 9th of *November* following, which afterwards the Members of Parliament aggravated as a great Unkindness, the Committee of Parliament being expected from *England*, and arrived at *Dublin* near the End of *August* : Whereas, when the Parliament was adjourned, and before, there was no Certainty of their Committee's Return, the Earl of *Roscommon*, who, few Days before, coming from *England*, expressing in plain Terms, that the Bills desired were not likely, in any short Time, to be dispatched, as the Letters from the *Irish* Committee at *London*, which this Lord brought over, informed too ; and, ' That they were ' daily about their Dispatch, but could not guess when they might have it.' Yet, as I have took notice, in *August*, beyond Expectation, the Committee returned, upon whose Arrival, the Lords Justices and Council, desirous to give them all Satisfaction imaginable, sate daily composing of Acts, to be passed the next Sessions of Parliament, for the Benefit of his Majesty, and the good of his Subjects, on which the Members of Parliament then at *Dublin*, and their Committee, newly arrived, seemed with great Contentment to retire into the Country, the Lords Justices forthwith sending Briefs to all the Ports in the Kingdom of the Graces concerning

cerning Customs, commanding the Officers punctually to obey those his Majesty's Directions, particularly whatever concerned Wool, Tobacco, as all other Things of that Nature, wherein his Majesty had been pleased to gratify the Committee. They gave Order also for drawing a Bill, for repeal of the Preamble of the Act of Subsidies. They also desired Sir *William Cole* and Sir *James Montgomery*, two of the Committee, if they could overtake the Assizes in the County of *Ulster*, to give publick notice to all the Undertakers, of what his Majesty had graciously granted and intended to them; which accordingly they undertook to do, the Lords Justices leaving, as they thought, nothing omitted, which might evidence their Compliance with his Majesty's gracious Intentions, acting, during this Recess of Parliament, so vigilantly, and with that Vigour, in relation to all the Committee's Transactions in *England*, and his Majesty's Service, that they had little Time, if any, to spare for their other Occasions; that if we reflect on their unwearied and faithful Endeavours, it cannot but be imputed as the greatest Act of Ingratitude, that ever a Nation was guilty of, to calumniate such a Government, which had been mainly instrumental to accomplish those Graces, that favour such Indulgence, as never any of his Majesty's Predecessors would vouchsafe.

Yet then, in the Midst of this Condescension, many of those, even the major Part which were Papists, who had been thus graciously heard by his Majesty, countenanced in *England*, caressed at Court, most treacherously conspired against his Crown and Dignity, the original of this Rebellion being brought over, deposeth *Peisley* of *Mac-Mahon*, by the *Irish* Committee, who were employed by the Parliament to his Majesty, for the Redress of their Grievances in that Kingdom, complotting thereby the most execrable and bloody Rebellion History can parallel, improving their Neighbourhood, at that Time, to a mighty Access of Visits and Freedom, especially in *Ulster*, where the *Irish* seemed to mind nothing else but Entertainment, lodging, under Colour of Friendship, the Night before themselves, with those whom they intended to kill the next Morning. That with his Majesty, in his Solitude, I may say that, 'That Sea of Blood, which these Men have cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any Man in eternal both Infamy and Misery, whom God shall find the malicious Author or Instigator of this Effusion.' And all this perpetrated, not for Religion, as, with great Industry, they endeavour to make foreign Princes believe, No! It was their inbred Malice and Hatred to the *English*, which, from the first Conquest to this present, may, by very sad Examples, be clearly demonstrated, all Rebellions to *Henry VIII.* his Time, that the Reformation in Religion seemed more favourable, being wholly to extirpate the *English*, then with them all of one Religion, as may be easily shewed in a constant Series of Affairs, were not every History, concerning *Ireland*, full of this Truth, with horrible Precedents of Treachery and Barbarism. And since *Henry VIII.*'s Time, that the Protestant Religion hath had greater Freedom, it is evident too, as *Cambden* * notes, that their Rebellions sprung from their Zeal to the *Romish* Religion, and their Malice to the *New English*, not to leave one alive. So that *Giraldus Cambrensis* his Character of them in his Typography †, is suspected to remain yet too great a Truth, to which we shall refer you, concluding

* In Annal.
Eliz. fol. 311.
Anno 580.

† Fol. 743.

concluding this with what a late Historian * in fewer Words observes: *Hiberni magna ex parte fallaces, sanguinarii, fœdisfragi, deversis micantes inter se factionibus, alter in alterius viscera ferrum immittere, quam cum hoste communi congregari, paratiores.* To which we may add that of the Orator †, not more pathetic than truly, That *Ex omnibus Gentibus vix ullam reperiatis cui peccare, & flere magis naturale est.* But as to my own Inclinations, I truly reverence what the judicious and learned Bishop of Meath, in his Epistle to his Excellency the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant, in his Sermon of *Antichrist*, observes, ‘ That the *Irish* of themselves were a People peaceable, harmless, and affable to Strangers, and in themselves, and to all, pious and good, whilst they retained the Religion of their Forefathers.’

* Dr. Bates
Elench. Mor.
par. 2. p. 19.

† Caesar Williams in his
Epist. to his
Oration in sus-
cepti diadematis
diem, Car. 2.

Yet that we may come more closely to the Business, it will not be impertinent to recount what Rebellions ensued upon Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and since to the fatal Year 1641. That the Practice of the *Irish* formerly being summed up, it may appear what Seeds of Rebellion were ever sown in their Hearts and Soil, ripened constantly as Opportunity and Season gave them hopes of a Harvest, all their Submissions, as Sir John Davies observes, being meer mockery and imposture. ‘ Nor are we now without Jealousies of what may yet be, were there Opportunity for it,’ writes that excellent Bishop, before cited, in the said Epistle, which Expression of his, is the more to be took notice of, in that, being a prime Instrument of State, he hath more Grounds than others to build these Conjectures upon.

Soon after this glorious Queen, whom the Bishop of Rhodes calls one of the most heroick and illustrious Princes of her Age, came to the Crown, all the Interests and Powers of Rome were animated against her, she having cleared the Light of the Gospel, by dissipating the Fogs and Mists of Superstition, so as thence the Spirits of Darknes raged every where, the Confederates of the Beast exalting their Power.

1. Anno 1567, Shane O-Neal raised a notable Rebellion in Ulster, merely in hatred to the *English*, erecting a Castle upon Lac-Eaugh, which he named *Feognegall*, i. e. The Hatred of the *English*, and prevailed much, till Sir Henry Sidney routed his Forces.

2. The Fitz-Geralds in Munster, 1569, to whom the Byrns, Tools, and Cavanaghs joyned, raged in Rebellion, till they were subdued by Sir William Drury. All attainted by Parliament, 27, 28, Elizabeth. Of the Justice of which War, an Edict was shortly after divulged, which in respect of those Tenets, yet maintained in the bleeding *Iphigenia*, and is indeed the Sum of all their Infelicity and Malice, we have thought good to insert §.

3. Hugh

§ Fitzgerald's Edict manifesting the Cause of his Rebellion.

Edictum Illustrissimi Domini Jacobi Geraldini de Justitia ejus Belli, quod Hibernia pro fide gerit.

Si, ut bellum aliquod justè geratur, tria requiruntur, Causa Justa, Potestas Legitima, & Legitimus belli administrandi Modus: Hæc tria in hoc Bello concurrere jam planum fiet.

Causa enim hujus belli, est dei Gloria, cui externum Sacrificii Cultum, & visibilem Sancti Altaris honorem ab Hæreticis impiè ablatum, nos restituendum curamus: Gloria item Christi, Cujus Sacramenta gratiam conferre, cum Hæretici blasphemè negent, Christi Evangelium ejusdem

3. *Hugh O-Neal*, Anno 1595, succeeded in his Villanies, the War being called *Tyrone's Rebellion*, till 1603, the War determining with that glorious *Queen*. Of which three Rebellions, the *Analeſta de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia*, published Anno 1617, has summed up these notable and just Remarks.

1. *Præceſſerat Spiritus grandis & fortis subvertens montes & conterens petras, id factum est in famoso illo Dynaſta Johanne Nealo initio Regni Eliz. inſtar ſævientis procellæ omnia pervadente, & populante, qui nec montibus pepercit, nec collibus aut petris divina pariter & humana miſcens---* Post multas strages quas fecit, accitis etiam è *Conacia & Momonia Primipilaribus* quos sui *Conſilii* participes fecit, deinde post probra, & opprobria quæ contraxit plurima cum vellet haberi reſtitutor *Patriæ Libertatis & avitæ Religionis*, quia non erat de *Numero* eorum per quos *ſalus facta est in Israel*. Qui ſeminavit ventos, non meſſuit niſi *Turbinem*, Fatus ipſe turbo impellens in parietem in vindictam *Cædis* antea per eum perpetratæ filio *Paterni Sanguinis ultore Scoto* in *Rixa Scotorum & Hibernorum* interiit, itaque non in *Spiritu* tam præcipiti & præpoſtero *Dominus*.

2. Post hunc Spiritum ſequuta eſt gravis *Commotio*, quam ſuſcitavit in *Momonía Jacobus Geraldinus Mauritiſ filius*, cui acceſſit *Johannes Geraldus Deſmoniac Comitis Germanus frater*, & ipſe poſtmodum *Comes Geraldus inſequutus eſt cum multis ſequalibus*; in *Lagenia* vero ſe adjunxerant *Jacobus Vice-Comes de Baltinglaſſ cum Kavanachiis, Briniis & aliis Nobilibus illius Provinciæ*, viſa eſt magnis & piis *Principibus Cauſa Dei tractari & quia pro fide bellum ſuſceptum intellexerunt*. *Copias etiam auxiliares tranſmiſerunt*, ſed propter *Delicta ſeculi irritus fuit Conatus*, Deo tunc non decernente ſperatum *Bellatoribus effectum tribuere*, quem in aliud tempus, pro alia *Generatione*, aliis *Inſtrumentis & modis*

ejuſdem infirmitatis accuſant, ob quam lex reprobatã fuit: *Gloria item Eccleſiæ Catholiçæ, quam contra Scripturarum veritatem Hæretici aliquot ſæculis obſcuram & mundo ignotam fuiſſe mentiuntur*. At in *Dei Nomine*, per *Chriſti Sacramenta ſanctificando*, & in *Eccleſiæ unitate ſervanda*, omnium noſtrûm ſalus poſſimum conſiſtit.

Jam vero *Poteſtas* hujus belli ſumpta eſt, primum à *Jure Naturali*, deinde ab *Evangelico*. *Jus Naturale poteſtatem nobis facit defendendi noſmetipſos contra Maniſeſtiſſimam Hæreticorum Tyrannidem*, quia contra *juſ Naturæ* ſub pœna *Mortis* cogunt *Nos priorem Noſtram de Pontificis Romani Primatu fidem abjurare*, novamque & planè contrariam *Religionem* invitos recipere ac proſiteri. Quale *Jugum* nec *Chriſtiani Judæis aut Turcis*, nec illi *Noſtris* unquam impoſuerunt. Deinde cum *Chriſtus* in *Evangelio* *Regni Cælorum claves* (hoc eſt) ſummam *Eccleſiæ ſuæ adminiſtrationem* *Petro* dederit, *Hujus Apoſtolorum principis legitiſimus* in eadem *Cathedra ſucceſſor Gregorius decimus tertius* in *Ducem ac Generalem* hujus belli *Capitaneum* nos elegit, ut ex ipſius literis ac *Diplomate* abundè conſtat; quod quidem tanto *Magis* fecit, quia ejus *Præceſſor Pius Quintus Elizabetham iſtarum Hæreſum patronam* omni regia *Poteſtate ac Dominio* jam ante privaverat, quod ipſum ejus *Declaratoria Sententia*, quam & ipſam apud nos habemus, maniſeſtiſſimè teſtatur.

Itaque jam non contra legitimum *Angliæ Sceptrum & honorabile Solium* dimicamus, ſed contra *Tyrannam* quæ *Chriſtum* in *Vicario ſuo loquentem* recuſans audire, immo *Chriſti Eccleſiam ſuo fœmineo ſexui etiam in fidei cauſis* (de quibus cum *Authoritate* nec loqui deberet) auſa ſubjicere, merito regiam *Poteſtatem* amiſit.

Porro, quod ad modum *Ejuſdem Belli adminiſtrandi* pertinet, nec bona *Noſtrorum Civium* invadere, nec *privatas inimicitias*, à quibus *liberi ſumus*, perſequi, nec ſummam *regnandi poteſtatem* nobis *uſurpare* cogitamus: Imo, reſtituatur *Deo ſtatim ſuus Honor*, & nos continuò parati ſumus *gladium deponere*, atque iis qui legitime præerunt obedire. Sin aliqui, quod

dis parandum reservavit, atque ita diffilatum est Consilium illud, diffiluit in partes, opus & cæptum ipsum infæliciter dissolutum est, neque enim in illa commotione transire ad refrigerium nostrum voluit Dominus.

3. *Illa vero Geraldinorum commotione sic prætervecta successit ignis omnia late devastans, dum flamma ferroque omnia populatur Comes Tyronensis plusquam decennali bello intercipientis hujus Insulæ quietem, multa visus prospere aggredi multis etiam congressibus victor, sed nonnullis victoriis insolescens exercitus tametsi cohortium antesignari & ipse Gubernator & Ductor exercitus causam prætulit honorificam restituendæ Religionis nec ullam vellet capitulationem admittere, cum Anglis in qua Primario non ageretur de fide Orthodoxa publicè stabilanda per universum regnum, quia Tamen via & violentia tunc exercita non erat secundum propositum Dei efficax, hinc peccatis Hominum irato Numine frustra se exerebant vires Hominum.*

4. At King James's Access to the Crown, *Waterford, Cork, and Limerick in Munster, Kilkenny, and Wexford in Leinster*, openly opposed the King's Title, as not being a Catholick; but were soon brought into Obedience by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy.

5. Within four Years after, the Lord Chichester Deputy, Tyrone and O Donnel conspiring with Mac-guire, Cormack O Neal, O Caban, the Lord Delvin, and others, designed a notable Rebellion, but were prevented in May, 1607, and an Act of Attainder past, Anno 11, 12, 13, Jacobi, Cap. 4.

6. The Year following Anno scil. 1608. Sir Cabir O Doghertie's War succeeded, sharp, though short, determining in five Months, encouraged by the Priests, 'That all who died in that Service, went forth with into Heaven.'

Afterwards the State of Ireland seemed very happy, both as to Improvement of Land, Plenty, and Peace, till the Year 1634, that Ever Mac-Mahon, before mentioned, discovered an intended Plot, which by the Prudence of the Governor, the Lord Wentworth, never arrived at its Design, nor afterwards was any Thing further suspected, till Sir Henry Vane, by his Majesty's Command, King Charles I. gave the Lords Justices, the 16th of March, notice of a suspected Rebellion; on which, with its Circumstances, we have already insisted. Though we must say, that the Result of the former Conspiracies, which by the Blessedness of the Times, Prudence of Governors, or other Accidents, were delayed, in this, Anno sc. 1641, met the Accomplishment of them all. Yet nothing was here attempted, which the bleeding Iphigenia, the great Incendiary of that Nation, doth not passionately justify, it being
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quod absit Hæreses propugnare, ac Deo suum honorem auferre deinceps pergant (nam quos de præteritis pœnitet, iis nihil opponimus, nec unquam opposituri sumus) Illi utique sunt qui de Hibernia veram pacem auferunt, illi sunt qui bellum patriæ suæ inferunt, & non Nos. Quando enim Pax non cum Deo sed cum Diabolo habetur (uti nunc se res habet) tunc non immerito una cum Servatore Nostro dicere debemus, Non veni pacem in terram mittere sed Gladium. Si Ergo Bellum quod ob Pacem cum Deo renovandam gerimus longè iustissimum est, Qui nobis in hoc bello adversantur damnationem sibi acquirunt, habituri adversarios non solum omnes Sanctos, quorum reliquias & Sanctas Imagines Hæretici conculant, sed etiam Deum ipsum, cujus Gloriam oppugnant. Atque hæc sint satis hoc in loco. Nam si quis plenius horum omnium rationem perspicere velit, Is perlegat æquitatem & rationem hujus Ediçti, quam alias plenius edendam Curavimus.

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in his Divinity and Logick, rational, that the *Irish*, though not then visibly assaulted, might however assume Arms in Defence of their Religion and Property, both threatned; it being, writes he, a common Doctrine of Divines, 'That it is lawful to prevent an Evil, that cannot be otherwise avoided, than by preventing it; nor need the Authority of the Prince, in that Case, be required.' A Doctrine so hellish, as none certainly is so belottet, but he may easily read therein the Ruin of States and Kingdoms, excellently answered by the learned and accurate late Profelyte, Dr. *Andrew Sal*, to whom in this Point we must refer you: And as to matter of Fact, bequeath you to the ensuing History, clearly evidencing, that before the *Irish* assumed Arms, no Instrument was ever thought on, much less formed against them.

Formerly indeed it hath been strongly imputed to the State of *England*, that, conquering *Ireland*, they did not also endeavour to make them one People; holding them Enemies, not taking Care to settle Civility, and a Property amongst them; the Cause, as some thought, of frequent Rebellions. But though these and some other Defects in the civil Policy, some think, are inexcusable, it may clearly be demonstrated, they were not of so large a Size as they are marked. And it may appear, by ancient Records, that the Laws of *England* were at first communicated to the mere *Irish*, as far as their Barbarism and Cruelties exercised, on Occasions, upon the *English* would well admit. But, to let these Times pass, whereof we cannot speak much with any Certainty, let us now see what Fruits we have of all the Royal Endeavours of his gracious Majesty, and his two glorious Predecessors, what Return for all their Care, for all their Charge, and for all the *English* Blood which hath, within the Compass of the last Age, been spilt for purchasing of Peace, and introducing of the true Religion and common Civility into *Ireland*.

It cannot be denied, that since the happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, all the former Defects in the Government, and Civil Policy, have been abundantly supplied, and all those Means used, those Acts performed, those Designs fully accomplished, and all Things else perfectly brought to pass, which, in the Judgment of all wise Men, were conceived, would undoubtedly effect the full Settlement and Reduction of that Kingdom. As first, The barbarous Customs continually used by the *Irish*, have been quite abolished; all Sorts of People, even the most wicked amongst them, have been allowed the Benefit of the Law, and lived under the King's immediate Protection; all the Laws of *England*, found useful for that Kingdom, have been made current by Act of Parliament in *Ireland*; many other good Laws enacted, and the Execution of them hath had free Course through all Parts of the Kingdom; the Courts of Justice have been open, and the Judges, for the more free Distribution of Justice to the People, have constantly, twice every Year, gone their Circuits, through the several Counties of the whole Land; the Church-Government hath been fully settled, many preaching Ministers, generally placed throughout the several Parishes, as likewise Free-Schools, together with sufficient Maintenance for them, have been established; the Lands, belonging to the Natives, have been always duly settled according to Law in the Proprietor; and what Noise soever was raised, intitling the Crown to *Roscommon*, *Mayo*, *Sli-*

go, *Galway, Clare*, besides some Parts of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*, as one of the Master-pieces of the Earl of *Strafford's* Service in *Ireland*, nothing was ever effected thereupon, though it had cost his Majesty 10000 *l.* upon the Inquiry, and had they had Patience till the next Sessions of Parliament, there was an Act for Limitations, passed by his Majesty, to bar all Titles, Claims, and Challenges of the Crown, before 60 Years last past, to have cut off all Expectations upon the ancient Title, and have strengthened, by new Grants and Patents, all Titles from the Crown. Multitudes of *British* were brought in, and planted in great Numbers, even in the most barbarous Places of the Kingdom; many corporate Towns have been erected; some walled Towns have been also lately built; Castles, Stone-houses and Villages, daily made in every Part in great Abundance; Trade and Traffic so well settled, as, the Obstructions therein being removed, the native Commodities were so freely exported, as they did, to the great Advantage of the Kingdom, by far exceed the foreign Importation; and all other necessary Provisions were made for the Publick, which might be thought any Ways to conduce to the Peace, Plenty, and flourishing Estate of a growing Kingdom.

And for the *Irish* themselves, though they have ever been observed to be a whining Generation, a People always given unjustly to complain of their Governors, yet, in these latter Times, there hath been a most special Care taken, to preserve them free from all Manner of Pressures. They have had Liberty beyond the Examples of former Ages, to redress their Grievances in their own Parliament, being elected Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses, according to the Affections of the Commons; they had too, of their Communion, Lawyers bred up in *England*, frequent at their Bar; also upon their Bench, Justices of the Peace; in their Counties Sheriffs, and Mayors, and other Officers in their Corporations, Favours not aspired to by the Catholics of *England*, or ever granted. And in Cases where they thought fit to present their Complaints unto his Majesty, they were graciously received, and fitting Remedies applied. They were admitted to enjoy the free and full Exercise of the *Roman* Religion without controul; to entertain Priests, Friars, Jesuits, and all Sorts of their ecclesiastical Orders without Number, while the Protestants dissenting from the Regimen of the Church of *England*, were frequently summoned to the Bishop's Court. Justice was equally administered to the *British* and *Irish* without any manner of Difference; the Country Duties and other Taxes were levied upon all without Distinction of Persons; all private Animosities suppressed; all ancient Grudges removed; and in all outward Appearance, they lived so affectionately intermixed together, as they could not be esteemed two Nations in one Kingdom, but that they did *Coalescere in unam Gentem*. And it is without all Contradiction not to be denied, That never any conquered Nation enjoyed more fully the Liberties and Privileges of free Subjects, and, through the great Indulgence of his Majesty, lived with greater Contentment, Ease, Peace, Plenty, and Freedom from all Manner of extraordinary Taxations, other than such as they were pleased to impose upon themselves in Parliament, than the Natives of *Ireland* have lately done. Inasmuch as an excellent Lawyer* clearly evidences from 1601, to the Year that he writ in, That *Ex illo tempore quantum creverunt Hibernorum*

*Thom. Rivis
Jur. Consult.
Regiminis Ang-
licæ in Hiber-
nia Defensio in
Analectem, lib. 3
p. 1.

Hibernorum Res, desertissimæ solitudines in vicos & oppida Conversæ, Itinera olim clausa Exercitibus, nunc patent Viatoribus, Portus Navibus, Urbes Mercatoribus, Agri Colonis, fora Judiciis, frequentantur, nec siquid inter Cives controversiæ inciderit, ferro nunc & olim, sed lege & Judicis Arbitrio deciditur: Ipsæ vero Gentes Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ quæ non solum studiis sed etiam Castris olim dissidebant, nec ullo fœdere tenebantur, sed alteri alterum utcunque occidere jus erat, sublatis nuper Hostilitatis legibus in unum populum coaluerunt, nec Commercia nunc & Convivia verum Conjugia inter ipsos celebrantur adeoque æquo Jure, pari lege, & eadem Conditione absque omni Gentis discrimine, sub justissimo Rege vivitur, ut nec Angli se vicisse, nec Hiberni victos se esse, sentiant. That hence ensued the calmest and most universal Peace that ever was seen in *Ireland*, it being not to be produced, that after the *Irish* were received into the Condition of Subjects, without Difference and Distinction, which was in the Parliament begun at *Dublin*, under the Lord *Chichester*, the 18th of May, Anno Regni *Jacob. 11*, that ever the *English* in *Ireland* offered the least Violence to any of the Natives, *eo Nomine*, Papists or *Irish*; yet nothing could keep them from rebelling, the Corn then being full eared. And so we are arrived at the Rebellion, which, as you have read, hath had many Steps to its Rise, which we shall now pursue in its Progress and Success.

THE HISTORY

Of the

Irish Rebellion, *October* 23d, 1641.

THE first dark Light, of which Sir *William Cole*, the 11th of *October*, 1641, gave the Lords Justices and Council notice of: 'As that there was a great Resort made to Sir *Phelim O Neal's*, 'in the County of *Tyrone*, as also to the House of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, 'in the County of *Fermanagh*, and that by several suspected Persons, 'fit Instruments for Mischief. As also that the said Lord *Mac-Guire* 'had of late made several Journies within the *Pale*, and other Places, 'and had spent his Time much in writing Letters, and sending Dispatches 'abroad.' Upon the Receipt of which Intelligence, the Lords Justices and Council writ to Sir *William Cole*, 'requiring him to be very vigilant and industrious, to find out what should be the Occasion of 'those several Meetings, and speedily to advertise them thereof, or 'any other Particular that he conceived might tend to the publick 'Service of the State.' And more than this, rationally, could not have been done; for that what Sir *William Cole* informed the State of, was but conjectural; and had any notice been took publickly of it, whereby Sir *Phelim O Neal*, or the Lord *Mac-Guire* had been seized on, the same would certainly have been a pretended Cause for the *Irish*, ready Touch-wood, to have risen in Arms, being suspected, before they manifested any Dissatisfaction. Besides, there was some so unwilling to receive the least mis-conceit of the *Irish*, believing Time had worn out all Animosities, and the State had secured each Interests, as they used the utmost Artifice imaginable to suppress those Thoughts in others: 'That thence more than a circumspect Eye was not to be advised.' Some say, one *John Cormack* revealed to Sir *William Cole*, the 21st of *October*, that the *Irish* resolved to seize upon his Majesty's Castle and City of *Dublin*, to murder his Lords Justices and Council there, and to seize upon all the Castles and Forts of the Kingdom, &c. Which Sir *William Cole* the same Day sent the Lords Justices notice of. As others from an *Ultogh* would infer, that they had informed the State thereof, and that Sir *Lucas Dillon* thereupon had been summoned before them, and told, that they had heard something of him and others in

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Sir *William Cole* gave the first Light of the Rebellion.

H

Connaught,

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* In his Letter 28th of May, 1677.

† Sir J. T. in his Hist. p. 17. l. 12.

Connaught, that made their Fidelity suspected; which with a sober Countenance, and solemn Protestation, Arts he had been long bred to, he soon wiped off. So, saith my Author, 'That for our Sins our Counsellors were infatuated, and our Watchmen slumbered.' But Sir *John Temple*, whose Integrity over-weighs all Assertions to the Contrary, testifies, * 'That those Letters and Informations never came to their Knowledge, and that indeed they had never any certain notice of this general Conspiracy of the *Irish*, until the 22d of *October*, late in the Evening, † that *Owen O Conally*, a mere *Irishman*, Servant to Sir *John Clotworthy*, trained up in the Protestant Religion, imparted the same to the Lord Justice *Parsons*, as a Sense of his Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty, and an Effect of that Religion he was trained up in.

At first, the Lord *Parsons* gave little Belief to the Relation, in regard it came from an obscure Person, and one, as he conceived, somewhat distempered, at that Time, with Drink, delivering his Story besides in so broken a Manner, that it scarce seemed credible; whereupon his Lordship let him go, strictly charging him to return back the same Evening, with what further Discoveries he could make. Yet in the Interim, the Lord *Parsons*, being touched with the Relation, repaired, about ten of the Clock at Night, to the Lord *Borlase*, at *Chichester-House*, without the Town, and disclosed to him what *Owen O Conally* had imparted; which made so sensible an Impression on his Colleague, as, the Discoverer being let go, he grew infinitely concerned thereat, having none to punish, if the Story should prove false; or means to learn more, were it true. In the Disturbance of which Perplexity, *Owen O Conally* comes, or, as others write, was brought, where the Lords Justices were then met, sensible that his Discovery was not thoroughly believed, professing, 'That whatever he had acquainted the Lord *Parsons* with, touching the Conspiracy, was true; and could he but repose himself, the Effects of Drink being still upon him, he should discover more.' Whereupon he had the Conveniency of a Bed. In the Interim, the Lords Justices summoned as many of the Council, as they could give notice to, to their Assistance that Night, at *Chichester-House*. Sir *Thomas Rotheram*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, came immediately to them. They then with all Diligence secured the Gates of the City, with such as they could most confide in, and strengthened the Warders of the Castle, which were a few inconsiderable Men, with their Foot-Guard, usually attending their Persons, charging the Mayor and his Brethren to be watchful of all Persons, that should walk the Streets that Night. However, many of the Conspirators escaped over the River, or at least lay concealed in Citizens Houses, a Receptacle too ready for most of them, and some of those who were brought before the Lords Justices and Council, as *James Warren*, Sir *Phelim O Neal's* Servant, and *Paul O Neal*, an active Priest, though neither of them then were discovered to be such, found Means to get away; of which Sir *Phelim* bragged of afterwards; *Paul O Neal* having been a prime Instrument in the Contrivance of the Rebellion: Whilst *Hugh Oge-Mac-Mahon* Esq; Grandson by his Mother to the Traytor *Tir-Oen*, a Gentleman of good Fortune in the County of *Monaghan*, who had served as a Lieutenant Colonel in the King of *Spain's* Quarters, was, after some little Resistance, apprehended before

before Day in his own Lodging over the Water near the *Inns*, and brought to *Chichester-House*, where, upon Examination, he did, without much Difficulty, confess the Plot, resolutely telling them, ' That on that very Day, *it was now about five in the Morning, the 23d of October, 1641*, that all the Forts and strong Places in *Ireland* would be taken; that he with the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Hugh Birn*, Captain *Brian O Neal*, and several other *Irish* Gentlemen, were come up expressly to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*, and that twenty Men out of each County of the Kingdom were to be here to join with them. That all the Lords and Gentlemen in the Kingdom, 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. And *withal told them*, that it was true, they had him in their Power, and might use him how they pleased; but he was sure he should be revenged.

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Mac-Mabon's
Examination
abbreviated.

Before *Mac-Mabon* was apprehended, *Owen O Conally*, having, on his repose, recovered himself, had his Examination taken in these Words.

' Who being duly sworn and examined, saith, That he being at *Monimore*, in the County of *Londonderry*, on *Tuesday* last, he received a Letter from Colonel *Hugh Oge-Mac-Mabon*, desiring him to come to *Connaught* in the County of *Monaghan*, and to be with him on *Wednesday* or *Thursday* last. Whereupon he this Examinant came to *Connaught* on *Wednesday* Night last, and finding the said *Hugh* come to *Dublin*, followed him thither; he came hither about six of the Clock this Evening, and forthwith went to the Lodging of the said *Hugh*, to the House near the Boat in *Oxmantown*, and there he found the said *Hugh*, and came with the said *Hugh* into the Town, near the Pillory, to the Lodging of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, where they found not the Lord within, and there they drank a Cup of Beer, and then went back again to the said *Hugh's* Lodging. He saith, That at the Lord *Mac-Guire's* Lodging, the said *Hugh* told him, That there were, and would be this Night, great Numbers of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Irish* Papists, from all Parts of the Kingdom, in this Town, who, with himself, had determined to take the Castle of *Dublin*, and to possess themselves of all his Majesty's Ammunition there to morrow morning, being *Saturday*: And that they intended first to batter the Chimnies of the said Town; and if the Citizens would not yield, then to batter down the Houses, and so to cut off all the Protestants that would not join with them. He further saith, That he the said *Hugh* told him, That the *Irish* had prepared Men in all Parts of the Kingdom to destroy all the *English* inhabiting there To-morrow Morning by Ten of the Clock; and that in all the Sea-ports, and other Towns in the Kingdom, all the Protestants should be killed that Night, and that all the Posts that could be, could not prevent it. And further saith, That he moved the said *Hugh* to forbear executing of that Business, and to discover it to the State, for saving of his own Estate; who said, He could not help it: But said, That they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him

O Conally's Examination.

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him all his Rights ; but that they did this for the tyrannical Government that was over them, and to imitate *Scotland*, who had got a Privilege by that Course. And he further saith, That when he was with the said *Hugh* in his Lodging, the said *Hugh* swore, That he should not go out of his Lodging that Night, but told him, he should go with him the next Morning to the Castle ; and said, If this Matter were discovered, some Body should die for it. Whereupon this Examinant feigned some Necessity for his Easement, went down out of the Chamber, and left his Sword in Pawn, and the said *Hugh* sent his Man down with him ; and when this Examinant came down into the Yard, and finding an Opportunity, he, this Examinant, leaped over a Wall and two Pales, and so came to the Lord Justice Parsons.

Octob. 22.
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William Parsons.

Thomas Rotherdam.

Owen O Conally.

Robert Meredith.

How it came to pass that the other Lord Justice attested not the Examination, it being took in his House, he present, hath begot some Doubts, evidencing how, since, Counsels severed into Cabals.

In the Interim, while *Owen O Conally* was examining, *Mac-Mahon*, walking in *Chichester-Hall*, drew with Chalk several Postures, some on Gibbets, others grovelling on the Ground ; intimating how his Fancy run on what was then acting : So little did he dread the Event.

The Night being thus passed over, the Lords Justices removed themselves, for their better Security, into the Castle, where the Body of the Council attended them ; and having secured the Lord *Mac-Guire* (taken, after several Removes, in an obscure Cock-loft in *Cook-street*) they joined in this Proclamation.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons, John Borlase.

These are to make known and publish to all his Majesty's good Subjects in this 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 other of his Majesty's faithful Subjects, universally throughout this Kingdom, and for the seizing not only of his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, (his Majesty's principal Fort here) but also of all 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 publickly 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

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Safety to themselves and all the Kingdom besides; and that they 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 Loyalty and Faith, which they had always shewn for the publick Services of the Crown and Kingdom, which we will value to his Majesty accordingly, and a special Memory thereof 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 Pretence.

Given at his Majesty's Castle at *Dublin*,
the 23^d of *October*, 1641.

R. Dillon, Ro. Digby, Ad. Loftus, J. Temple, Tho. Rotheram,
Franc. Willoughby, Ja. Ware, Ro. Meredith.

Which being immediately printed, was dispersed to as many Places as they could convey it to: Against which, some of the Lords of the *Pale*, though at first they had offered their Service at the Council-board, with great Protestations and Affections to his Majesty, few Days after appeared with a Petition to their Lordships, wherein, 'they uttered the deep Sense they had of an Expression in that Proclamation, as if by the Words, *Irish Papists*, there being no Distinction, they might doubt themselves involved.' Upon which the Lords Justices and Council, being tender, lest they, in whose Fidelity, from the Example of their Ancestors, their Lordships then rested confident, should take Umbrage at any of their Expressions, condescended, by their printed Declaration, dated the 29th of the same *October*, to publish and proclaim, 'That by the Words, *Irish Papists*, they intended only such of the old mere *Irish* in the Province of *Ulster*, as had plotted, contrived, and been Actors in that Treason, and others that adhered to them, and none of the old *English* of the *Pale*, and other Parts, enjoying all his Majesty's Subjects, whether Protestants or Papists, to forbear upbraiding matter of Religion.' So that this Cavil being removed, the Lords Justices and Council, with all imaginable Amity and Confidence, animated the Lords of the *Pale*, and their Adherents, to join with them, as one Body, for the Suppression of the present Rebellion, and the Maintenance of his Majesty's just Right and Prerogative. To which End they parted with 1700 Arms, and proportionable Ammunition, as well to the Roman Catholicks, as Protestant Subjects, for the Defence of their Houses in several Parts. As to the Lord of *Gormanston*, there were delivered Arms for 500 Men, for the County of *Meath*; there were also delivered Arms for 300, for the County of *Kildare*; Arms for 300, for the County of *Louth*; Arms for 300, for the County of *West-Meath*; Arms for 300, for the County of *Dublin*; and about the same Time, there were sent down 400 Muskets to the Lords of the *Ardes* and *Clandeboys*, for the Arming of the *Scots* in the County of *Downe*; also the State furnished *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Trim* and *Dundalk*, with Arms, and Licence to import Arms and Powder, a Condescension never indulged without great Confidence and Favour, that nothing should be wanting to testify their Confidence of all, but such as were in actual Rebellion.

I

And

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And now having heard *Mac-Mahon's*, and *Owen O Conally's* Examinations, and the Proceedings thereupon, it will be Time to give you the Lord *Mac-Guire's*, though at first, when he was brought before the Council-Board, nothing could be wrung from him, till the 26th of *March* 1642, that his Examination was taken before *Charles* Lord *Lambert*, and Sir *Robert Meredith* Knight, Chancellor of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, by Direction of the Lords Justices and Council, in these Words :

Who being examined, saith, ' That about the Time when Mr. *John Bellew* came out of *England*, with the Commission for the Continuance of the present Parliament, *Roger Moore*, in the said *Moore's* Chamber, in the House of one *Peter de Costres*, of this City, acquainted him this Examinant, That if the *Irish* would rise, they might make their own Conditions, for the regaining of their own Lands, and Freedom of their Religion. ' At which Time the said *Moore* also acquainted him this Examinant, that he had spoken with sundry in *Leinster*, who would be ready for that Purpose ; and withal told him this Examinant, that he was assured a good Part of *Connaught* would do the like ; and thereupon moved this Examinant to join likewise with them, with all he could make ; unto which Motion he this Examinant yielded. And the next Day following, there was a Meeting in his the said *Moore's* Chamber aforesaid, where were Colonel *Mac-Bryan*, *Mac-mahon*, *Tirelagh O Neal*, *Philip Mac-Hugh O Relie*, this Examinant, and *Roger Moore*, where Discourse was had about that Business, yet nothing concluded on, save that *Roger Moore*, and the rest should go and prepare their Parties. And this Examinant further saith, that about May last, he this Examinant, *Roger Moore*, *Philip O Relie*, and *Roger Mac-Guire*, this Examinant's Brother, dispatched a Priest, one *Toole O Conley*, who lived in *Leinster*, unto *Owen O Neal* into *Flanders*, to acquaint him with the Business, concerning the general Rebellion then in Preparation ; which said Priest returned about a Month before the Time appointed for Execution thereof : And the Answer which the said Priest brought from the said *Owen O Neal*, was, that he would, within fifteen Days after the People were up, be with them, with his best Assistance and Arms : And it being demanded, why he the said *Owen* would bring Arms, considering the Castle of *Dublin* was to be taken, and the Arms therein ; this Examinant answered, that they so provided for Arms, that they might not want any in case they could not take the said Castle, whereof they doubted. And this Examinant acknowledgeth, that the Castle of *Dublin* was to have been surprised by himself, Captain *Bryan O Neal*, Captain *Con O Neal*, Captain *Mac-Mahon*, one *Owen O Relie*, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Mac-mahon*, Colonel *Phunkett*, and Captain *Fox* ; and likewise further acknowledgeth that *Hugh Mac-Phelim*, Captain *Con O Neal*, and *Bryan O Neal*, brought from *Owen O Neal*, out of *Flanders*, the very same Message which the Priest brought. And this Examinant further saith, that he was told by *Roger Moore*, that a Great Man was in the Plot, but he might not name him for the Present : And at another Time, and during the sitting of the Parliament the last Summer, he this Examinant was informed by one *John Barnewell*, a *Franciscan* Fryar, then Resident in this City, that those of the *Pale* were also privy to the

Plot,

Plot, meaning the present Rebellion. And lastly faith, that of those Persons who came to attend him this *Examinant*, for the Surprize of the Castle of *Dublin*, only *Cohonough Mac-Guire* was privy to the Business in Hand; and that the last Meeting, when the Day appointed for the Execution thereof was resolved on, was at *Logbrofs*, where were present only *Ever Mac-mahon*, Vicar-General of the Diocess of *Clogher*, *Thomas Mac-Kearnan*, a Fryar of *Dundalk*, *Sir Pbelim O Neal*, *Roger Moore*, and *Bryan O Neal*.'

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Charles Lambert, Robert Meredith. Concordat cum originali. Ex.
per *Paul Harris*.

Which Examination he also acknowledged before Judge *Bramston*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and Justice *Mallet*, the 22d of *June* 1642, in the Presence of *Jo. Conyers, W. Ayloff, Nath. Finch*. And being Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, he delivered to *Sir John Conyers*, then Lieutenant thereof, a Relation of the whole Scene, to be presented to the Lords in Parliament, which being stored with many remarkable Circumstances, sufficiently evidencing the Dissatisfaction, long Contrivance, and general Combination of the Natives, I shall commit to Posterity in his own Words, * that it may be seen, what *Fucus* soever is now endeavoured to be cast on the horrid Conspiracy, it was not any ill

* *The Relation of the Lord Maguire written with his own Hand in the Tower, and delivered by him to Sir John Conyers, then Lieutenant, to present to the Lords in Parliament.*

Being in *Dublin* *Candlemas-Term* last, was twelve Month, 1640, the Parliament then sitting, Mr. *Roger Moore* did write to me, desiring me, that 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 merely concern me, and on Receipt of his Letter, the new Commission for continuing the Parliament landed, and 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 Sufferings of them that were the more antient 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 over all the whole 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 Inconvenience, and get good Conditions for themselves, for regaining their Ancestors, or at least, a good Part thereof, Estates, they could never desire a more convenient Time than that Time, the Distempers of *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 Secresy; which I gave him, and thereupon he told me that he spoke to the best Gentry of Quality in *Leinster*, and a great Part of *Connaught* 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 Catholick 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

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ill Miscarriage of the State, at that Time, or any real Suspensions that the *Irish* had of any Violence to be obtruded on their Religion, or Persons, which drove the Natives into a general Revolt, but the deliberate

complotted

of our Religion, by which Persuasions he obtained my Consent. And so he demanded whether any more of *Ulster* Gentry were in Town, I told him that *Philip Reyly*, Mr. *Tirelagh O Neale*, Brother to Sir *Phelim O Neale*, and Mr. *Costoe Mac Mahon* were in Town, so for that Time we parted.

The next Day he invited Mr. *Reyly* and I, to dine with him, and after Dinner he sent for those other Gentlemen, Mr. *Neale*, and Mr. *Mac Mahon*, and when they were come, he began the Discourse formerly used to me, to them, and with the same Persuasions formerly used to me, he obtained 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 Number of able Men in the Kingdom, meaning *Inland*, what Succours they were, more then, 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 would send to the *Irish* in the *Low-Countries*, and *Spain*, to let them know of the Day, and Resolution, so that they be over with them by that Day, or soon after with a Supply of Arms and Ammunition, 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 Seas, who he said could not miss of Help 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 first they had sent 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 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 Reyly*, and I, did importune Mr. *Moore* for the Knowledge of that great Man, that he spoke of, and on long Intreaty, 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 *Connaught* wherein he lived, and that there was no Doubt to be made of him, no more than was of himself, and so we parted.

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. *Reyly*, and nothing was then done, but all Matters put off till the *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 *Neale O Neale*, 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 *Richelieu* 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

complotted Councils of many Years, that aniled out the Rebellion in Detestation of the *English*; that was the Sore, however skined, which they endeavoured again to exulcerate; to which End, *O Neale's* Regiment

did set on the Proceedings very much, so that Mr. *Moore*, Mr. *Reyly*, 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 *All-hallontide*, 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 Neale*, 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 Conely*, a Priest, as I think, Parish-Priest to Mr. *Moore*, was sent away to Colonel *O Neale*: 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 *Plunket*, Colonel *Burne*, and Captain *Bryan O Neale* came, but did not all come together; 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 Catholick 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 Barnewall* a Fryar, 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 of *England* and *Scotland* then, as they were informed, and to prevent any Attempt against Religion; and presently after I departed into the Country, and Mr. *Reyly* 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 *Barnewall* to me, for I did acquaint him with it, was true, and that he heard it from several there; also was *Ever Mac-mahone*, made firmly privy to all our Proceedings at Mr. *Reyly's*, lately come out of the *Pale*, where he met with the afore-named *John Barnewall*, who told him as much; and he formerly told me, and 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 their 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 that Assurance of that Doubt was all their Impediment. Then we three began to think, how we might assure them Help, and of the Assistance of *Ulster* Gentlemen; It was thought that 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 Country-woman, and would believe me, trust me sooner than other of their Parties, 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. Coming

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* Pryn's Ab-
breviation of
Archbishop
Laud, fol. 301.

giment in *Flanders*, consisting most of *Irish Papists*, was purposely raised, to train up the *Irish* in Arms, against a fitting Opportunity, as by *Henry Mac-Art's Examination*, * is most evident.

Thus

to Town, I met Sir *James Dillon* accidentally before I came to my Lodging, who was one of those Colonels; and after Salutations, he demanded of me where my Lodging was, which when I told him and 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 Catholick 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 in 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 were ready to raise our Men, and after to seize on the Castle, where there is great Store of Arms, and arm ourselves there. This was the first Motion that ever I heard of taking the Castle; for it never came into our Thoughts formerly, nor am I 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: 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 us, 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 that Afternoon; and on the Time and Place appointed, there met Sir *James* himself, Colonel *Bourne* and Colonel *Plunket*. And that former Discourse being renewed, they began to lay down the Obstacles to that Enterprize, and how they should be redressed. 1st, If there should War ensue, how there should be Money had to pay the Soldiers. 2dly, How and where they should procure Succours from foreign Parts. 3dly, How to draw in the *Pale* Gentlemen. 4thly, 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 that notwithstanding, that my Lord of *Tyrone* was dead, yet that he would continue the same Forwardness now.

To the second, it was answered by Colonel *Bourne*, that Help from abroad could not fail them. For, said he, Colonel *O Neal* told me that he had, or would procure in Readiness, I do not remember which of those the Colonel spake, or whether he spoke positively that Colonel *O Neal* 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 there then, and talking of their Troubles then afoot; 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 well remember I whether he spoke to them all, or no, then it was thought, that when they were both in Arms for Defence of the Catholick Cause, they would be succoured by the Catholick Princes of Christendom.

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

Thus was this inhumane and treacherous Rebellion unanimously com-
plotted, which broke forth the 23d of *October* 1641, *St. Ignatius* his
Day, that less than such a Patron might not be entituled to so close and
bloody

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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 Committees, and particularly to my Lord of *Gormanstown*, to let them know his Resolution, and they approved it very well. 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 *Bourne* 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 the Execution thereof; that was the fifth of the ensuing *October*, this being the latter end of *August*, or the beginning of *September*, Anno 1641. I do not know whether. And every one should make Provision to rise out that Day; and they were named, that should first succour them, that would take the Castle with Men presently, namely, Sir *James Dillon*, who did undertake to be with them within three, or at the 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 a 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 made, 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 again there the 20th of *September*, to give an Account of all Things, as well hopes as Impediments. And if on that Interview all Things should happen to be well, that they 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. And I in my Way home came to Mr. *Reily's* House, and there I received a Letter from Sir *Phelim O Neal*, 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, withal not provided to go to such a Meeting, as well, said he, to prevent any Jealousy from the Lady's Friends; as also, to confer with Sir *Phelim* touching all those Proceedings, for neither he nor I spoke to Sir *Phelim* concerning the Matters before, but to his Brother *Torilagh O Neal*, and coming thither, we found Captain *Brian O Neal*, lately come out of the Low-countries, sent over by Colonel *O Neal* to speak to, and 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 *Richelieu* 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 said 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 on any other Place, as well for those Reasons, as also that *Ever Mac-mahon*, formerly mentioned, told me, That presently after the Isle of *Ree'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 Marshal of *France*, that was General of the French Forces at the Isle of *Ree*, to deal with him for procuring of Aid to come then for *Ireland*, and that he received an Answer from the said Marshal, 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 within half a Year, or little more, and then my Lord should not doubt of any Thing, that he could do for his Assistance; but these continued a great deal longer, so for that Time that Enterprize failed.

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bloody a Conspiracy, forty Years before forewarned by the incomparable and pious Archbishop *Usher*, preaching, soon after the overthrow of the *Spaniards* at *Kinsale* 1601, on the Vision of *Ezek.* Chap. 4. Verf. 6. whence

failed. So 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 surprize *Londonderry*, they being near it, but could not then agree in the Manner ; and so Sir *Phelim* 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 thereon I parted home, but soon after came to *Dublin* to the fore-appointed Meeting with those Colonels. But first I took in my Way Sir *Phelim O Neal'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 that he would provide for the taking of *Londonderry* by that Day, and so came to *Dublin* to give an Account of what was done, and also know what further should be done. I was not two Hours in my Lodging when Mr. *Moor* came to me, who knew what was done by those Colonels formerly from Colonel *Bourne*, and told me that the Messenger sent to Colonel *O Neal*, 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. *Moor* moreover said, 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 the Colonels with them, 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. Colonel *Plunket* did affirm, and so by several Meetings it was resolved on by them to desist from that Enterprize for that Time, and to expect a more convenient Time : But before that their Resolution, Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and the aforesaid Captain *Bryan O Neal* followed me to *Dublin*, as they said, to assist, and advise me how to proceed with that Colonel, but neither they nor Mr. *Moor* 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. And moreover, they would not be known to be in the 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 Enterprize, they thought it convenient, that we should meet with Mr. *Moor* and Colonel *Bourne*, to see what was further to be done, concerning the further Intention of their own, and accordingly we did send to them that they should meet us ; and on that Meeting, it was, Where was only Sir *Phelim*, Mr. *Moor*, Colonel *Bourne*, Captain *Neal*, and my self. 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, 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 *Neal*, we would never venture to surprize 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 these 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* on the *Sunday* at Night, being the twenty sixth or twenty seventh of *September*, and the Meeting was appointed on the *Saturday* following at *Mac-Colloe Mac-Mahon's* House in *Farney* in the County of *Monaghan*. And thereupon we all left the Town, only Sir *Phelim* stayed 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. *Moor* should there meet to receive the final Resolution, and should acquaint them therewith : And in the mean Time Colonel *Bourne*, who had undertaken for Colonel *Plunket*, should inform them of all the Intention conceived, and dispose them in Readiness against that Day that should be appointed. On *Saturday* I came to Mr. *Mac-Mahon's* House ; there met only Mr. *Mac-Mahon* himself, Captain *Neal*, *Euer Mac-Mahon*, and my self, and thither that

same

whence, in reference to a Connivance of Popery following, he drew this Application, ' From this Year, a Day being for a Year, I will reckon the Sin of *Ireland*, that those whom you now embrace shall be

same Day came the Messenger that was sent to Colonel *Neal*, and did report the Colonel's Answer and Advice *verbatim*, as I have formerly repeated from Mr. *Moor*; and by Reason that Sir *Phelim*, his Brother, or Mr. *Phillip Reyly*, that were desired to meet, did not meet; we stayed that Night to expect them, and that Night I received a Letter from Sir *Phelim*, intreating us by any Means, not to expect him until the *Monday* following; for he had, nor could dispatch some Occasions merely concerning him, but whatever became of them, he would not fail of the *Monday*. And the next Day after Receipt of the Letter, being *Sunday*, by Mr. *Moor*'s Advice, we departed from Colonel *Mac-Mahone*'s House to prevent, as he said, the Suspicion of the *English* there, many living near to *Loghrofs* in the County of *Ardmagh* to Mr. *Torilagh O Neale*'s House, not Sir *Phelim*'s Brother, but Son to Mr. *Henry O Neale* of the *Fewes*, Son-in-law to Mr. *Moor*, and left Word, that if Sir *Phelim*, or any of those Gentlemen did come in the mean Time, they should follow us thither, whither only went Mr. *Moor*, Captain *O Neale* and myself, and there we expected until the *Tuesday* subsequent before any of those did come. On the *Tuesday* came Sir *Phelim*, and *Ever Mac-Mahone*, all the rest failing to come, Mr. *Mac-Mahone*'s Wife was dead the Night before, which was the Cause that he was not there, but I gave his Assent to what should be concluded to win therein, and execute what should be appointed him; and then we five, *viz.* Sir *Phelim*, Mr. *Moor*, Captain *O Neale*, *Ever Mac-Mahone*, and myself, assuring our selves, 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 Neale*, to seize on the Castle, and rise out all in one Day, and the Day was appointed on the 23d of that Month, this being the 5th 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 taken of People up and down the Streets; then began a Question who should be deputed for the surprisal of the Castle, and then Mr. *Moor* said he would be one of them himself, and that Colonel *Bourne* 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 Sir *Phelim* 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 Sir *Phelim* 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, say 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 Enterprize, and more, Sir *Phelim* 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 States which they seize on, of which Number Sir *Phelim O Neale* should send forty with an able sufficient Gentleman to conduct them: And likewise Captain *Neale* twenty, Mr. *Mac Mahone*, Mr. *Reyly* 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 into the Kingdom, it might safely be done; and to that Purpose Sir *Phelim O Neale*, Mr. *Moor* and the Captain had several blank Patents with Deputations to make Captains 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

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Dr. Bernard
in his Funeral
Oration on the
Primate, p. 39.

' be your Ruin, and you shall bear this Iniquity.' A little before which Time, this Reverend Primate went for *England*; I cannot say his reflecting on this Prophecy was the Cause of his Repair thither, No! many

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* to take that Day *Londonderry*, which Sir *Phelim* did undertake, and *Knockfergus*, which they thought Sir *Henry Mac O Neale* would do; and to that end Sir *Phelim's* Brother *Torilagh O Neale* should be sent to them; and the *Newry* which should be undertaken by Sir *Conne Magennis*, and his Brothers; for whom Sir *Phelim*, in regard they were his Brothers-in-law, his deceased Lady being their Sister, did undertake. Moreover, it was agreed, that Sir *Phelim*, Mr. *Reyly*, Mr. *Coll Mac Mahone*, 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. *Moor* should appoint *Leinster* Gentlemen to send like Supply of Men; then there was Fear of the *Scots* conceived, that they should presently 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 *Torilagh O Neale*, a Priest out of *Spain*, and that this, I take it, was the Time that he was in Treaty 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. *Torilagh O Neale*, Sir *Phelim's* Brother had Conference, from whom this Relation was had, that said Messenger went into *Scotland*, as I did hear from the said Mr. *Neale*, or from *Ever Mac-Mahone* 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, there 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 descended out of *Ireland*, holding the *Irish* Language and Manners still, and so we parted. The next Day being *Wednesday*, *Loghrofs*, 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. *Reyly* to let him know as much, and the 18th 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 *Conne O Neale*, sent out of the *Low-Countries* by Colonel *O Neale*, who was sent, after the Messenger sent by us formerly to the said Colonel was by him disappointed with 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 *Richelieu* twice, that some Men who gave very fair Promises to assure the Colonel's Expectations, with which he said, that the said Colonel was really with himself assured of the Cardinal's Aid, and that he was likewise commanded by the Colonel upon our Resolution of the Day to give Notice 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 Neale*, who made him acquainted with what was resolved; he did write all the Matter to Colonel *O Neale*, so as he was sure of his speedy coming: And so that Evening he and I came to meet the other Gentlemen:

many Things were thought to be in Dispute, which his Moderation might probably have composed. However, writes *Armachanus Redivivus*, towards the End, *Monitu proculdubio divino tempestivus ab Hibernia recessit, priusquam funestæ calamitates erupissent, & illi lupi bipedes, belluæque deprædatrices dispersas oves horribili Laniena jugulassent.* The Castle of *Dublin*, as you have read, was the chief Place they aimed at, as in the Lord Grey's Government, 1580, it was then the Design of the Rebels to have killed * him, and his Family, and to have surpris'd the Castle of *Dublin*, wherein was all the Provision of War. The like was intended by the Conspirators about the Beginning of the Reign of King *James*, Sir *Arthur Chichester* Lord Deputy.

The full Determination of the Conspiracy we now speak of, was, as Dr. *Jones*, in his clear and excellent Account he gives thereof, in his Depositions took the 3d of *March*, 1641, designed at the Abbey of *Multifernan*; notwithstanding that *Tyrone's* Son, who had long consulted it in *Flanders*, was suddenly strangled about that Time in *Brussels*, and the Earl of *Tyrconnel* drowned near the Time of the Earl of *Stratford's* Death; prime Instruments in anvilling the Design abroad, and great hopes of countenancing it at home, where there was a Convent of *Franciscans*, convened, it seems, on a pious Intent, in the County of *West-Meath*, after the last Sessions of Parliament; where, amongst many other Things there debated, the Question was, 'What Course should be taken with the *English*, and all others, that were found in the whole Kingdom, to be Protestants?' Some were only for their Banishment, as the King of *Spain* dismissed the *Moors* out of *Granada*, with some of their Goods. Others were urgent, that all the Protestants should be universally cut off; the King of *Spain's* Lenity being his and his Queen's Act, not the Advice of his Council, which, say they, afterwards cost Christendom dear, the *Moors* surviving to return with Swords in their Hands and infest them, as *Algiers* and *Sally* doth at present. Those Disputes held long; at last, some leaned a middle Way, neither to dismiss or kill. And we find by the Event, each of these Thoughts had some Execution; in some Places all being generally put to the Sword, or a more deplorable End: in other Places, Imprisonment, accompanied with the utmost Extremity of that Condition,

was

Gentlemen: and there were met Mr. *Moor*, Colonel *Bourne*, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, and other *Leinster* Gentlemen, a Captain I think of the *Bournes*, but I am not sure whether a *Bourne* or *Toole*, and Captain *Bryan O Neale*, and taking an Account of those that should have been there; it was found that Sir *Phelim O Neale*, Mr. *Coll Mac Mahone* did fail of sending their Men; and Colonel *Bourne* did miss Sir *Morgan Cavanagh*, 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 that were appointed, there were only eighty present, yet notwithstanding they were resolved to go on in their Resolution, and all the Difference was at what Time of the Day they would set on the Castle, and after some Debate, it was resolved in the Afternoon, and the rather hoping to meet the Colonel there then; for they said, if they should take the Castle, and be enforced by an 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 further what was to be done, and immediately thereon, I came to my Chamber, and about Nine of the Clock, Mr. *Moor* and Captain *Fox* came to me, and told me all was discovered, and that the City was 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 that they escaped, but how, and at what Time, I do not know, because I myself was taken that Morning.

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* Conspirare
ceperunt ad
Proregem cum
familia oppri-
mendum, Ca-
strum Dubli-
nense, ubi om-
nis apparatus
bellicus, ex
improviso in-
tercipiendum.
Camd. Eliz.
fol. 311.
P. 27.

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was the Lot of many; and others, who being dismissed with their Goods, were afterwards stript of all, exposed to Cold and Famine, worse than Sword or Halter.

Thus having determined what to do with the Protestants, which, in general, too sadly succeeded to their Wishes, they, according to the Presumption of the Event, consulted, in the next Place, what Course they would pursue in reference to their Government of the State.

First, they agreed, That their Loyalty to his Majesty should be still reserved, say they of the modest Sort; but both his Revenues and Government must be reduced to certain Bounds: His Rents none other than the ancient Reservations before the Plantations; and the Customs so ordered, as to them should be thought fitting.

Secondly, For the Government, such as would be esteemed Loyal, would have it committed into the Hands of two Lords Justices, one of the ancient *Irish* Race, the other of the ancient *British* Inhabitants in the Kingdom, provided that they be of the *Romish* Profession.

Thirdly, That a Parliament be forthwith called, consisting of whom they shall think fit to be admitted, wherein their own Religious Men shall be Assistants.

Fourthly, That *Poining's* Act must be repealed, and *Ireland* declared to be a Kingdom independent on *England*, and without any Reference to it in any Case whatsoever.

Fifthly, All Acts prejudicial to the *Romish* Religion shall be abolished, and it to be enacted, That there be none other Profession in the Kingdom but the *Romish*.

Sixthly, That only the ancient Nobility of the Kingdom shall stand; and of them, such as shall refuse to conform to the *Romish* Religion, to be removed, and others put in their Room. Howsoever, the present Earl of *Kildare* must be put out, and another put in his Place.

Seventhly, All Plantation Lands to be recalled, and the ancient Proprietors to be invested into their former Estates, with the Limitations in their Covenant expressed, That they had not formerly sold their Interests on valuable Considerations.

Eighthly, That the respective Counties of the Kingdom be subdivided, and certain Bounds or Baronies assigned to the Chief Septs, and other of the Nobility, who are to be answerable for the Government thereof: and that a standing Army may be still in being, the respective Governors are to keep a certain Number of Men to be ready at all Risings out, as they term it, they also being to build and maintain certain Fortresses, in Places most convenient within their Precincts: And that these Governors be of absolute Power, only responsible to the Parliament.

Lastly, For maintaining a Correspondency with other Nations, and for securing the Coasts, that also they may be rendered considerable to others, a Navy of a certain Number of Ships is to be maintained; that to this End, five Houses are to be appointed, one in each Province, accounting *Meath* for one of them, that to these Houses shall be allotted an annual Pension of certain Thousands of Pounds, to be made up of Part of the Lands appropriate to Abbeys; and a further Contribution to be raised in the respective Provinces to that End: That these Houses are to be assigned to a certain Order of Knights, answerable to that of *Malta*, who are to be Sea-men. And to maintain this Fleet, that all

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Prizes are to be apportioned, some Part for a common Bank, the rest to be divided; to which Purpose, the selling of Woods serviceable for this Use is forbidden. The House for this Purpose to be assigned to the Province of *Leinster*, is *Kilmainham*, or rather *Howth*, the Lord of *Howth* being otherwise to be accommodated, provided he join with them, that Place being esteemed most convenient in respect of Situation, which they have small grounds to hope for.

For the effecting of which, they considered, that the Forces of the Kingdom would easily amount to two hundred Thousand able Men, wanting only Commanders; which, as I have already took notice of, might be supplied from *O-Neal's* Regiment in *Flanders*, and other Places, breeding up the *Irish* in Arms and Rebellion. And for Money, the other Sinew of War, they were resolved not to want it, if it could be raised either from Tenant, or the Farmers of the Customs, who, having it then ready, were to bring it to their respective Banks. So as nothing was omitted, which rationally might further their Design: Which, after the State, by Proclamation, had made known, and many, on Suspicion, were daily seized on, Certainties of its Success were hourly brought to the State: That Night the Lord *Blany* brought the ill News of the Rebels seizing upon *Castle Blany* in the County of *Monaghan*, and his Wife, and Children, and Servants; as also of the Surprisal of *Carrick Mac-ross*, a House of the Earl of *Essex's*, and Sir *Henry Spotswood's* in the same County, burning divers Villages, robbing and spoiling many *English*, none but Protestants. On Sunday, Sir *Arthur Tirringham* gave Intelligence, that the *Irish* in *Newry* had broken up the King's Store of Arms, and had seized upon them and the Ammunition there, lifting themselves under the Command of Sir *Con Mac-Gennis* Knight, and one *Creely* a Monk. Thus almost every Hour some, like *Job's* Messengers, hastened to the State, as preserved only to acquaint them of the Disasters of their Relations, and the Sufferings of the Protestants; of which, with all Circumstances to it, the Lords Justices and Council gave his Majesty an Account by Sir *Henry Spotswood*, being then in *Scotland*, and sent *Owen O Conally* with Letters, dated the 25th of *October*, to the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* *, the Effect of which Letter you may see in its proper Place. In the Interim, the State being from all Parts terrified with the Insolencies of the Rebels, they scarce knew how to steer their Course, no Money being in the Treasury, and the main Part of the Citizens being justly suspected, for that being moved to advance Money on the Occasion, will Posterity believe it, their whole Community would not reach 50*l*. And such as had escaped the Violence of the Rebels, having nothing but their Persons for a Prey, could contribute little, many of which were so frightened with what they had seen and suffered, that, like inanimate Bodies, they appeared senseless and stupid. However, the Lords Justices and Council have secured the Castle by a Company of Foot, under the Command of Sir *Francis Willoughby*, one of the Privy Council, a known and experienced Soldier, and settled Sir *Charles Coote*, also of the Privy Council, in the Government of the City, wherein, as in other Services, he proved afterwards signally eminent and noble. They advertised the Earl of *Ormond*, whom the Rebels boasted they had made of their Party, then at his House at *Carrick*, of what had

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hitherto,

* Sir *John Temple's* History of the Rebellion, p. 28.

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hitherto happened, desiring him to repair to *Dublin* with his Troop, which he accordingly observed about the Beginning of *November*.

About the 27th of *October*, the Lords Justices and Council sent Commissions to the Lords Viscounts of *Clandeboys*, and of the *Ardes*, to raise the *Scots* in the Northern Parts; they also writ to Sir *William* and Sir *Robert Stewart*, with other Gentlemen of Quality 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 although by the said Commission, they gave them full Power thereunto, yet they did then let them know, that for those who were Chief among the Rebels, and Ring-Leaders 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 first consulting the Council-board, in proffering or promising Mercy to those, unless they the said Commissioners saw it of great and unavoidable Necessity.' They likewise writ to the Lords Presidents of *Munster* and *Connaught*, advising them to be upon their Guards: And that several of the Catholick Communion might not say, but that they also were confided in, the Lords Justices, who were willing to continue all Proofs imaginable of their Confidence in them, gave in *November* several Commissions of Government to the Lord *Gormanstown* in *Meath*, the Lord *Mountgarret* in *Kilkenny*, *Nicholas Barnewell* in *Dublin*, *Walter Bagnall* in *Catherlagh*, the Lord *Lowth* in *Lowth*, Sir *Thomas Nugent* in *Westmeath*, Sir *Robert Talbot* in *Wicklow*, the two Sir *James Dillon's* in *Longford*, and several others, as well in *Munster* as *Connaught* and *Ulster*; who, contrary to the trust reposed in them, forbore not to protect, or endeavour to reduce any, but soon after joined with the Rebels, and proved as violent, if not worse, against the Protestants, as those who first appeared in the Rebellion.

The Commission granted to the Lord *Gormanstown* was as follows.

By the Lords Justices, and Council.

W. Parsons. Jo. Borlase.

Right trusty and well beloved. We greet you well. Whereas divers and most disloyal and malignant Persons within this Kingdom, have traiterously conspired against his Majesty, his Peace, Crown, and Dignity; and many of them in Execution of their Conspiracy, are traiterously assembled together in a warlike Manner, and have most inhumanly made Destruction and Devastation of the Persons and Estates of his Majesty's good and loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, and taken, slain and imprisoned great Numbers of them. We out of our Care and Zeal for the common Good, being desirous by all Means, to suppress the said Treasons and Traitors, and to conserve the Persons and Fortunes of his Majesty's loving Subjects here in Safety; and to prevent the further Spoil and Devastation of his Majesty's good People here, do therefore hereby require and authorize you to levy, raise, and assemble all, every or any the Forces, as well Footmen as Horsemen within the County of *Meath*, giving you hereby the Command in Chief of all the said Forces, and hereby further requiring and authorizing

As in Sir J.
Temp. p. 57.
and in the An-
swer to the Re-
monst. at Trim.
p. 22.

thorizing you as Commander of them in Chief to arm, array, divide, distribute, dispose, conduct, lead and govern in Chief the said Forces according to your best Discretion; and with the said Forces to resist, pursue, follow, apprehend, and put to Death, kill and slay, as well by Battle as otherwise, all and singular the said Conspirators, Traitors and their Adherents according to your Discretion; And according to your Conscience and Discretion to proceed against them, or any of them, or by Martial Law, by hanging them or any of them till they be dead, according as it hath been accustomed in Time of open Rebellion; and also to take, waste, and spoil their or any of their Castles, Holds, Forts, Houses, Goods and Territories, or otherwise to preserve the Lives of them, or any of them, and to receive them into his Majesty's Favour and Mercy, and to forbear the Devastation of their, or any of their Castles, Holds, Forts, Houses, Goods, and Territories aforementioned, according to your Discretion: Further hereby requiring and authorizing you to do, execute and perform all and singular such other Things for Examination of Persons suspected, Discovery of Traitors and their Adherents, parlying with, and granting Protections to them or any of them, taking up of Carts, Carriages and other Conveniencies, sending and retaining Espials, victualling the said Forces, and other Things whatsoever conducing to the Purpose aforementioned, as you in your Discretion shall think fit, and the Necessity of the Service require, further hereby requiring and authorizing you, as Commander in Chief, to constitute and appoint such Officers and Ministers respectively, for the better Performance and Execution of all and singular the Premises, as you in your Discretion shall think fit: And do hereby require and command all and singular his Majesty's Sheriffs, Officers, and Ministers, and loving Subjects, of and within the County of *Meath*, and the Borders thereof, upon their Faith and Allegiance to his Majesty, and to his Crown, to be aiding, helping, and assisting to you in the doing and executing of all and singular the Premises. This our Commission to continue during our Pleasure only, and for the so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, November 1641.

To our very good Lord
Nicholas Gormanstown.
Vic. Com.

R. Dillon. Jo. Temple.

J. Ware. Rob. Meredith.

And because the Times required something extraordinary, beyond the Course of Common-Law, the Lords Justices and Council gave several Commissions of Martial-Law, to the prime Gentlemen of the Pale (all Roman Catholicks) as to *Henry Talbot* in the County of *Dublin*, *John Bellew* Esq; in the County of *Lowth*, *Richard Dalton*, and *James Tuit* Esq; in the County of *Westmeath*, *Valerian Wesley*, in the County of *Meath*, *James Talbot*, in the County of *Cavan*. And understanding of Sir *Phelim O-Neal*'s Proceedings in *Ulster*, (the only Person remaining of nearest Alliance to the Earl of *Tyrone*) how that he had surprized *Charlemont*, where the Lord *Causfield* lay with his Foot-Company, (afterwards basely butchered by him) the Lords Justices endeavoured to reduce many to their Obedience: But the Root of their Design being deeper laid, than on Threats or Encouragements to frustrate their Hopes, the
Lords

Commissions of
Martial-Law
granted to several of the prime
Irish.

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Strangers inhibited (by Proclamation) the City.

Lords Justices hourly endeavoured to fortify his Majesty's Interests, with the most powerful Forces they could raise. But in the Interim the Magistrates of the City of *Dublin* perceiving great Numbers of Strangers to come to Town from several Parts, (lingering in the Suburbs and Fields, to the Terror of the Inhabitants) they repaired to the Council-Board with much Fear and Astonishment, beseeching the Lords Justices and Council to inhibit the same, lest the Concourse of People (promiscuously gathering in such a Crowd) might threaten the Security of the City. Whereupon their *Lordships* (considering somewhat more than ordinary must necessarily be done in such an Exigence) caused some to be apprehended, and immediately published a Proclamation in his Majesty's Name, *commanding all Persons (not Dwellers in the City and Suburbs) to depart within an Hour after Publication thereof upon pain of Death*; in the Interim, and afterwards, receiving all (who applied themselves to the Lords Justices) with singular Friendship and Integrity: But the Magistrates, growing still jealous of the Concourse of People, applied themselves again to their former Refuge. Whereupon the State (that the Inhabitants might receive no Dis-encouragement, who were like to bear the Brunt of all Taxes, Levies, and Supplies) the 28th of *October*, published a Proclamation to the same Intent with the former, *with the Penalty of Death to such as wilfully harboured them*.

However, the Insolencies of the Rebels threatening even *Dublin* itself, most of the prime Gentry of the County (Justices of Peace) looking on in all Places, and giving Way to those hateful Actions; the State having Intelligence from Dr. *Jones* (a Service very remarkable) that, during his Imprisonment amongst the Rebels at *Cavan*, which ripened his Integrity, highly improved to the Service of the State, they intended to besiege *Tredagh*, the Lords Justices, the better to divert them from *Dublin*, appointed Sir *Henry Tichborn*, Col. and Governor of that Town, Sir *Faithfull Fortescue* (the former Governor) finding Supplies not hastened with that Speed he desired, having resigned up his Commission, not being willing to lose his Reputation, though he was forward enough to hazard his Person. So the Lords Justices designing the said Sir *Henry Tichborn* a Company of Foot, and to compleat his Regiment, ordered Sir *John Borlase* Junior Capt. Lieutenant Col. *Byron* Capt. Lieut. Col. *Wenmond* Capt. who though they had been all, in former Employments, Field Officers, yet out of their Zeal to the present Service, came as private Captains.

A Garrison sent to *Tredagh*.

Jacob Lovell Serjeant Major, who died in the Siege, Capt. *Chichester Fortescue*, Capt. *William Willoughby*, Capt. *Edward Billingsley*, Capt. *Lewis Owens*, Capt. *John Morris* to associate him. These they sent from *Dublin* the 3d. of *November*, who happily arrived at *Tredagh* the 4th, having been enabled thereunto by 3000 *l.* most opportunely in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurer, intended before the *Rebellion*, for the Satisfaction of a publick Engagement in *England*. Besides these, there were sent Troops under Capt. *John Slaughter*, Lieut. to Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Commissary-General, *Thomas Greimes*, Lieut. to Sir *Adam Loftus*; besides others, which in their due Time may be taken Notice of. These being gone to *Tredagh*, Sir *Charles Coote* had a Commission for a Regiment of the poor stripped *English*; so likewise had the Lord *Lambert*. A little while after arrived from *England* Sir *Thomas Lucas*, who commanded a Troop compleated with such

such Men as he found there; also Capt. *Armstrong* raised a Troop; Capt. *Yardner* soon after landed, Lieut. to the Lord Lieutenant's Troop, all very considerable; not long after Col. *Craford* came over also, and bringing with him Letters from the *Prince Elector*, then attending his Majesty in *Scotland*, also raised a Regiment of the Townsmen, and the poor despoiled *English*.

The State at that Time had Store of Arms and Ammunition, by which these Soldiers and the rest were seasonably furnished, tho', as I have took Notice, what, in Confidence of the Loyalty of the Pale, the Lords Justices had furnished many of the Lords and Gentlemen of Quality with, were either slenderly, if ever, restored, or made serviceable against his Majesty.

Yet for all this, the Outrages of the Rebels still increasing, adding to their Cruelties a pretended Commission under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, from the King, bearing Date at *Edinburgh*, the first of *October* 1641. though in his Majesty's Declaration to the Parliament's Resolution, of no further Addresses, * it appears, 'That the *Scot's* Great Seal, which is said 'thus to be made use of, had for many Months before and after that Date never sealed any Thing; of which notwithstanding Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, and *Rorie Mac-Guire*, from the Camp at *Newry*, the 4th of *November* following, gave Notice to their Confederates, within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, inclosing in their Letters a Copy of the Commission, a Copy of which is extant, but so improbable, as it needs an Expiation to mention it; 'the Lord 'Mac-Guire, equally privy to all Transactions, denying it to the last, with 'more Sense of Conscience, saith his Majesty in his Answer to the Parliament's 'two last Papers concerning *Ireland*, than they who examined him expected: However, one *Plunket* having taken an old Broad Seal from an obsolete Patent out of *Farnham-Abbey*, and fixed it to a forged Commission, it served to seduce the Vulgar into an Opinion of their Loyalty, when they had first incited them to a Rebellion, as in a parallel Case his Excellency takes Notice of, in his Answer to their Declaration at *James-Town*. * And saith his Majesty, in his Declaration to the Parliament's Answer at *Newmarket*, the 9th of *March*, 1641. 'We must think our self highly and 'causlessly injured in our Reputation, if any Declaration, Action or Expression of the *Irish* Rebels, any Letter from Count *Rossett* to the Papists, for Fasting and Prayer, or from *Tristram Whitcombe*, of strange Speeches uttered in *Ireland*, shall beget any Jealousy or Misapprehension in our Subjects, of our Justice, Piety and Affection; it being evident to all Understandings, that those mischievous and wicked Rebels 'are not so capable of great Advantage, as by having their false Discourses so far believed, as to raise Fears and Jealousies, to the Distraction 'of this Kingdom, the only Way to their Security.' Wherefore the Lords Justices and Council detesting such Umbrages, the 30th of *October* published a † Proclamation, to take off the People from being seduced by seditious and scandalous Reports fathered on the Crown.

The Rebels pretend a Commission under the King's broad Seal.

* Fol. 289.

* *Walsh* 121.

And

† By the Lords Justices, and Council.

W. Parsons. *Jo. 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

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1641.

And that none, ignorantly involved in so detestable a Guilt, as the publick Conspiracy, might suffer, the State yet further to manifest their Desire, of reducing all into a general Obedience, having never drawn his Majesty's Sword upon Jealousies or Presumptions, till the highest Extremities and unparalleled Outrages compelled them thereunto, published, the First of *November*, a Proclamation, declaring, That all in the Counties of *Meath*, *Westmeath*, *Lowth*, and *Longford*, being no Free-holders, nor now in Prison, who had taken any Goods from his Majesty's faithful Subjects, not having shed Blood in the Action, and came in within ten Days

Lives of Us, the Lords Justices, and Council, and many others of his Majesty's faithful Subjects, especially in *Ulster*, and the Borders thereof; and for the surprizing, not only of his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, his Majesty's principal Fort, but also of other Fortifications in several Parts, and although 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 surprized some of his Majesty's Forts and Garrisons in the North of *Ireland*, slain divers of his Majesty's good Subjects, imprisoned 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 those 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 Traytors, 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 the Government of 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 with 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 Darkeness, 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, intrusted with us. But in case those Persons which were no Plotters, nor Contrivers of the said Treason, but were since seduced to join with them as aforesaid, lay not hold of this his Majesty's Grace and Favour, now tendred 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 30th of *October* 1641.

<i>La. Dublin.</i>	<i>J. Temple.</i>
<i>R. Ranelagh.</i>	<i>P. Crosbie.</i>
<i>Ant. Midenfis.</i>	<i>Ja. Ware.</i>
<i>John Rophoe.</i>	<i>Rob. Meredith.</i>
<i>R. Dillon.</i>	

Days after this Proclamation, should be received to his Majesty's Mercy, and no further prosecuted.

1641.

Which, as others of the like Nature, little prevailed to undeceive the Rebels, they being before linked in an undissolvable Tye of Animosity and Superstition. Thus every Day, notwithstanding that the Conspiracy was discovered, and all Endeavours used to reclaim them, the *Irish* proceeded in their Massacres and Rebellion, though they did not, after the Knowledge of the Detection of their Plot, execute so generally their Villany with such open Slaughters and Cruelties, as they did at first; but stripping, wounding, and turning the *English* and Protestants out of their Houses, they sent them naked and desolate, in miserable Weather, to *Dublin*, where their Numbers, at length, grew so burdensome, as though Thousands were shipped away soon after they arrived there, and such as could serve in the Army were daily enlisted, yet they brought so great an Extremity, and want of all Provisions to *Dublin*, as the Inhabitants were reduced to great Exigencies, inasmuch as the Mercies of the Rebels were extreme Cruelty, Thousands of the dispoiled *English* dying afterwards by lingering Diseases, contracted by the inhumane and cruel Usage of their Enemies.

Miseries still increasing, the Lords Justices and Council sent a second Dispatch to the King, the 5th of *November*, then in *Scotland*, directing also their Letters to his Privy Council in *England*, there being an absolute Necessity to invoke all Powers, that might stand with his Majesty's Honour. They then, and not before, directed Letters to the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, inclosing in those they writ to his Majesty, what they had signified by Letters to the Lords of the Council, or to the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament.

About the 6th of *November* 1641, the Rebels of *Cavan*, commanded by *Philip Mac-Hugh*, *Mac-Shane O Relie*, Knight of the Shire for that County, and others of the *Sept* of *O Relies*, proffered an humble Remonstrance, so they entituled their presumptuous Paper, to the Lords Justices and Council, to be recommended by them to his Majesty; which *Dr. Jones* and *Mr. Waldrone* then delivered to their Lordships, the Doctor being obliged to that Service, he, his Wife and Children lying at the Rebels Mercy: To which their Lordships answered, with all the Moderation and Satisfaction that could stand with their Duty, and the weak Conditions of Affairs in *Dublin*, the Safety whereof wholly depended on the gaining of Time; and, saith my Author *, he assured himself, the Remonstrants expected not any other Answer, the Remonstrance being tendred rather to win upon the People, whose Cause they pleaded, than to give any reasonable Account or Satisfaction to the Lords concerning their Proceedings; which yet their Lordships forthwith certified, with their Answer, to the Lord Lieutenant, to whom his Majesty had expressly commanded all Affairs of *Ireland* should be addressed. However, they, during the presenting of this Remonstrance, mustered their Forces, summoning all from sixteen to sixty Years of Age to appear the *Monday* following at *Virginia*, a Place distant from *Cavan* twelve Miles, and in the Way to *Dublin*, notwithstanding that they had impowered *Dr. Jones* to assure their Lordships, *That there should be a Cessation of all Things, until the return of their Lordships Answer*. Thus no Faith or Confidence could ever be reposed in them. And afterwards it fell out, that none were more

treacherous

The Rebels of
Cavan's Remonstrance.

* *Dr. Jones's*
Relation of *Cavan*,
p. 17.

1641.

Keilagh and Crohan Castles notably defended.

* Who having shaken off his Obedience to the English Government, quits Miles, founding English, and takes Mulmore.

Since Annis fell. 1671, & 1672, one of the Lords Justices, as now Viscount Grannard, who then not above 17 Years of Age, had been on all Services.

§ Printed at London, August 11, 1642.

treacherous and fierce than they, as great Inhumanity and Cruelty being acted by them of *Cavan*, as of any other Place; that County, by the 11th of *December*, being wholly reduced into the Hands of the Rebels, excepting the two Castles of *Keilagh*, and *Crohan*, belonging to Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Knight and Baronet, and Sir *James Craig* Knight, who so nobly defended each their own, and alternatively succoured one another, that they perpetually furnished the Rebels with work sufficient, notwithstanding whatsoever *Mulmore O Relie* the Sheriff *, or *Edmond O Relie* his Father, or *Philip Mac-Hugh O Relie*, their Chief Commander, could possibly do with all their Horsemen, whom these gallant Men often beat, though encountered with much Disadvantage; Sir *Francis Hamilton* not losing in the whole Service, from the 23d of *October*, 1641, to the 15th of *June*, 1642, setting aside such as were cut off in stragling, more than five Men belonging to this Castle, one of them being a Serjeant, who being taken at an Advantage, was barbarously mangled with thirty six Wounds; so that all that the Rebels could do, effected no Conquest on these Places, till the 8th of *April* 1642, that Sir *James Craig*, a Gentleman of singular and the best Abilities, died, and the Store in both Castles fell short, Water growing scarce, a mortal infectious Sickness increasing, the Rebels having tainted their Well with dead Carcases. And now the Care of both Castles fell unto Sir *Francis Hamilton's* Charge, which being impossible to be relieved from *Dublin*, or to hold out longer, their Straits daily increasing, both these Castles were delivered up the 4th of *July* 1642, to *Philip Mac-Hugh*, *Mac-Shane O Relie*, and others, on honourable Conditions, Sir *Francis Hamilton*, the Lady *Craig*, Sir *Arthur Forbes* Baronet, § and others, marched thence with credible Articles, faithfully set down by Dr. *Jones*, in his Relation of the Rebellion in *Cavan*, worthy perusal. Those, with others that came from these Castles, were 1340 in Number, who being conveyed towards *Tredagh*, were all received by Sir *Henry Tichbourn*, eight Miles from *Tredagh*, and afterwards disposed of as was most convenient. One of the Places most considerable in this County, first surprized, was *Cloughouter*, whereof *Arthur Culme Esq;* was his Majesty's Captain; a Fort certainly of great Strength, environed with a deep Water, and distant from Shore more than Musket-shot, in which the Lord Bishop of *Kilmore* Dr. *Bedel* was imprisoned, though afterwards exchanged by Sir *James Craig*, and, contrary to Articles, seized on again, who died near *Kilmore* about the midst of *March* 1641, and was buried in the Cathedral Church-yard; a worthy Person, as formerly we had Occasion to take notice of, 'One of the brightest Lights of that Church, both for Learning and a shining Conversation, and, in his constant Diligence in the Work of the Ministry, a Pattern to others.' In the Beginning of the Troubles in this County, Captain *Richard Rives*, Commander in Chief of Sir *John Borlase*, Lord Justice, his Troop, garrison'd at *Belturbet*, acted very close and gallantly, attending the *English* with much Faithfulness, till by the Command of the State, who suspected his Surprizal, he was recalled to *Dublin*, marching thither, through the Enemy, over many dead Bodies that with Famine had perished in the Way; performing afterwards, being Sir *John Borlase's* Junior's Lieutenant Colonel, very many honourable Services, as at *Athboy* near *Trim* with the Lord *Lisle*, where they notoriously beat up the Rebels Quarters, as else-where, viz. *Kells*, *Carrickmacross*,

macrofs, the Earl of *Essex*'s Castle in *Monaghan*, which they took from the Rebels, with a considerable Advantage, in *October* 1642, highly deserving the publick Notice; though since he was unfortunately put away, heading Colonel *Penruddock*'s and Sir *Joseph Wagstaff*'s Party in the *West of England*, about the 14th of *March*, 1654.

And now by Reason that more People flocked to the City, and that the Lords Justices and Council had frequent Intelligence from several Parts, of the insolvent Proceedings of the Rebels against the *British* and Protestants in the Borders of the *Pale*, as well as the adjacent Counties, they, the 11th of *November*, prohibited the Access of unnecessary Persons, not any way restraining such, as by their Quality or Business, gave no grounds of Exceptions, as by the * Act it self is evident.

1641.
The States
Proclamation
against unneces-
sary Persons
flocking to the
City.

However

* By the Lords Justices, and Council.

A Proclamation for the Discovery and present Removal of all such as do or shall continue in the City of Dublin or Places adjacent, without just or necessary Cause.

W. Parsons. Jo. Borlase.

Whereas through the great Concourse of People to this City of *Dublin*, the Country is deprived of Defence, and left open to the Rapine and Depredation of the Rebels now in Arms in this Kingdom, the Poor of those Parts are destitute of Succour and Relief, and divers other Inconveniences do and may thence arise, unless some timely Remedy be applied thereunto. Wherefore we do hereby in his Majesty's Name, and under the Pains and Punishments hereafter mentioned, command, That all and every Person and Persons whatsoever, not having necessary Cause of residing in this City of *Dublin*, and the Suburbs thereof, and the Places within two Miles about the same, as well within Liberties as without, to be approved of by our very good Lord *James* Earl of *Ormond* and *Offory*, who is appointed Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Army in this Kingdom, and the Council of War here for the Time being, or by such other Persons, as shall be by them appointed for Examination thereof, do within four and twenty Hours after Publication hereof, repair to their respective Homes and Dwellings. And also that no Person or Persons of what Quality or Condition soever, do keep with him, or them, any more, or other than his, or their own domestick Servants.

And that this Proclamation and the Service hereby intended be not in any wise eluded or evaded, We do hereby in his Majesty's Name, and under the Pains and Punishments hereafter mentioned, charge and command, That all and singular the Citizens, Inhabitants and Residents of, and within this City of *Dublin*, the Suburbs thereof, and all Places within two Miles about the same, do within four and twenty Hours after Publication hereof, return under their Hands unto the next Alderman of the Ward or Seneschal, or other chief Officer of Liberty respectively, the Names, Surnames, Quality, and Condition of all Persons now lodged, and remaining in their Houses, and also that they, and every of them for the future, until Declaration be made to the contrary, do within two Hours after the Receipt or Entertainment into his or their House or Houses, of any Stranger or Strangers, not being of his or their Family or Families, return under his and their Hand and Hands, unto the next Alderman of the Ward, Seneschal, or other chief Officer, as aforesaid, the Names, Surnames, Quality and Condition of all, and every Stranger and Strangers so received or entertained. And We do hereby in his Majesty's Name, and under the Pains and Punishments hereafter mentioned, command all Aldermen of Wards to transmit all Returns and Certificates, made by the Citizens, Inhabitants, and Residents aforesaid, to the Major, or Recorder of the City of *Dublin*, within twelve Hours after Receipt thereof, or sooner if they conceive any sinister Suspicion of the Persons returned, together with the Names of such of the said Citizens, Inhabitants, and Residents, as shall not, within the Time afore limited, make such Returns unto them. And We do further in his Majesty's Name, and under the Pains and Punishments hereafter mentioned, command the said Major, and Recorder of the said City of *Dublin*, and also the Seneschals,

1641.

The Parlia-
ment meet.

However there were some, venom'd with the Vigilancy of the State, who endeavour'd to cast a Blemish on this Proclamation, though afterwards it appear'd to be his Majesty's Sense in his Letters to the Lords Justices in *December* following. Yet the 16th of *November* the Parliament freely met according to the Adjournment, Mr. *Darcy*, Mr. *Burk*, and other active Members of the House of Commons having exceedingly importuned the same; the deferring thereof being, as they urg'd it, an Injury to the whole Nation, as hindring them from expressing their Loyal Affections to his Majesty, and shewing their Desires to quell this dangerous Rebellion; withal engaging, that there should be, on their Meeting, a clear Protestation against the Rebels; else, for fear there should have been some prejudice to the State, by the Concourse of People at that Time, the State was once resolv'd, having Power from his Majesty so to do, by a Proclamation of the 27th of *October*, to have deferred the Parliament to the 24th of *February* next ensuing, for several Causes therein mentioned, but especially, for that his Majesty desired the Lord Lieutenant should be there. As by another Proclamation the same 27th of *October*, The Lords Justices and Council had adjourn'd *Michaelmas-Term*, 'To avoid, in that Exigency, those great and manifold Perils and Dangers, that might have ensued to the State by such Concourse of People, out of all the Parts of the Kingdom unto the City of *Dublin*, as the holding of the Term would necessarily require, by Reason of the late most disloyal and detestable Conspiracy, plotted by a Multitude of evil-affected mere *Irish* Papiests.' But however, the Parliament met. And here it was visible, that more were tainted with the Infection, than appear'd in Rebellion. Lord! what Artifice? what Cunning? what Varnish was put upon all the Rebels Actions and Cruelties? Those who seem'd to be most affected with the Insurrection, cover'd it with such a Vail, treated of it so nicely, with such Tendernefs, as if they themselves, being all indeed of the Conspiracy, had

or other chief Officers afore-mentioned, to cause all Returns and Certificates that shall come to their Hands, to be deliver'd to the said *James* Earl of *Ormond* and *Offory*, within twelve Hours after Receipt thereof, or sooner upon Suspicion as aforesaid, together with the Names of such Aldermen of Wards, Inhabitants, and Residents, as shall not make such Returns, and Deliveries of Certificates as aforesaid respectively. And if the said Major, or Recorder, or any Seneschal, chief Officer, Alderman of any Ward, or any Citizen, Inhabitant, or Resident of, or within this City, the Suburbs thereof, or two Miles about the same, or any other Person or Persons whatsoever shall offend, contrary to the Tenor of this Proclamation, in not repairing to their Dwellings, in keeping any unnecessary Retinues, in not making any Return or Certificate, in making any false or partial Return or Certificate, in not returning the Names of those who shall not, in not making Delivery of the said Returns and Certificates to the Persons aforesaid, in manner, and within the Times afore-limited respectively, they and every of them shall respectively, incur and suffer such Pains of Death, or such other severe Pains and Punishments, as the said Earl, and the Council of War for the Time being, shall think fit to inflict and impose, and as the Danger of the Persons, and Times shall require.

Given at His Majesty's Castle of *Dublin* the 11th Day of *Novemb.* 1641.

Ormond Offory.

R. Dillon.

Cha. Lambert.

J. Temple.

Cha. Coote.

P. Crossie.

God save the King.

had been to participate immediately of the Punishment, as well as they were clandestinely involved in the Plot; 'By always contesting, that they might not be called Traitors and Rebels, being privy to what themselves had formerly, with these Rebels, contrived to be done.' And fearing it might move the Rebels to recriminate, writes a most judicious Instrument of State *, That the Appellation of discontented Gentlemen was the worst that could be wrung from them; till one, heartily detesting the Fig-leaves thrown over this Nakedness, told the Speaker, 'That though he had not arrived at that Consistency of Years, as that his Words might challenge there an Audience; Days should speak, and Multitude of Years should teach Wisdom; yet he could not but observe many Passages in that Assembly, too like Catilines in the Senate; and therefore moved, that it might not be told in that House, or published at Askelon, that so general a Revolt, accompanied with such horrid and barbarous Circumstances, should be took Notice of with a more favourable Expression than Treason and Rebellion.' He added further, 'That he did not know, but that was the Season wherein they were cast on their Trial, whether Allegiance or Rebellion, God or the Pope were to be owned. And that as to any Thing that might soften the Rebels, he conceived they were hardened with so much Villany, that they esteemed all Things justifiable that were attainable. *Iram atque animos à crimine sumunt.* And therefore it was fit, that that House should act as sensible of the Rebels Cruelties, and trust God to vindicate his and his Peoples Cause.' Upon which, and other Arguments, too shameful for them to palliate, the Parliament discovered their Resentment in these Words.

* The Irish Remonstrance answered, p. 65.

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

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 Tranquility thereof; who, contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty, and against the Laws of God, and the fundamental Laws of this Realm, have traiterously and rebelliously raised Arms, seized upon his Majesty's Forts and Castles, and dispossessed many of his faithful Subjects of their Houses, Lands and Goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhumane 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 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 the Peace and Safety thereof, as well against the Persons aforesaid, their Abettors, 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 Arms, and become humble Suitors to his Majesty, for Grace and Mercy, in such convenient Time, and in such Manner and Form,

1641.

Form, as by his Majesty, or the Chief Governor or Governors, and the 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 excellent Majesty, or of his Majesty's Chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, shall be thought most effectual.

*Copia vera exam. per Phil. Percivall,
Cleric. Parliament.*

And after that the Parliament had sate two Days, to whom the Lords Justices had imparted his Majesty's gracious Intentions, not to depart from any his former Favours promised to them for settling their Estates, who should remain faithful and loyal; and that the Lords Justices had shortened the Prorogation to the 11th of *January*, the Lord Viscount *Costelough*, impowered by the Lords, went for *England*, not long before having been sworn a Privy Counsellor in *Ireland*, even since the Rebellion; with whom the Lord *Taaff* also embarked, having before presented to the Lords Justices and Council, from many of the Gentry and Inhabitants of the County of *Longford*, in Rebellion, a rebellious and scandalous Letter, in the Nature of a Remonstrance, full of pretended Grievances, and unreasonable Demands, as namely, to have Freedom of Religion, a Repeal of all Laws made to the Contrary, and the like.

The Contents
of the *Longford*
Letter.

Upon the Information of which, especially that there should be a Toleration of the Popish Religion in *Ireland*, it was resolved on the 8th of *December* 1641, upon solemn Debate by the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England*, 'That they would never give Consent to any Toleration of the Popish Religion in *Ireland*, or in any other his Majesty's Dominions.' Which Vote hath been since adjudged a main Motive for making the War a Cause of Religion, consequently of calling in foreign Princes to their Aid and Assistance; which before ever this Vote past, to ground the least Pretence thereupon, the *Irish* made Religion the principal End of their Insurrection; and this Proposition was, as you see, one of the First to be demanded, which gave the Parliament a Cause for the Vote fore-mentioned. In Pursuance of which, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, whom the Cause ever made eloquent, thus delivered his Sense.

Mr. Speaker,

Sir Ben. Rudyard's Speech in Defence of Religion.

PEradventure I could have wished, that Toleration of Religion had not at this Time come in Question; but now it is brought on the Stage, I am brought to the Stake. When Religion is so nearly concerned, I love not to take any civil or politick Respects into Consideration: Reason of State hath almost eaten up all the Laws and Religion in Christendom.

I have often heard it discoursed, whether we should make Religion an Argument of any of our Undertakings abroad, wherein the wiser Sort have been very nice and tender, believing, that the Over-number of Papists would overwhelm us; yet I have been long of Opinion, that
our

our Attempts and Assistances have so often miscarried, because we have not boldly and publicly avowed our Religion. It may be, God thinks we are too many, who can conquer as well with few as with many. Shall the *Irish* now make their Religion the Cause of their Rebellion, and shall we be ashamed or afraid to maintain our Religion, in reducing them to their Duty and Obedience? God will not honour them who do not honour him. Let us remember that Expostulation in the *Chronicles*, *Why transgress ye the Commandments of God, so that ye cannot prosper?* This is a great Transgression, to shrink from God in his Truth.

When we deny the *Irish* a Toleration, we do not withdraw the Eases and Favours they have heretofore enjoyed; greater, I am sure, than they would afford us, if we were in their Power. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, let us uphold our Religion, and trust God with the Success.

Upon which, and other Motions thereupon, the Vote mentioned proceeded without Dispute; and that the Cause thereof might appear, we shall refer you to the *Longford* * Letter it self.

What

A Copy of a Letter directed to the Lord Viceco, Costilough from the Rebels of the County of Longford in Ireland, which he presented to the State in their Behalf. November 10, 1641.

Our very good Lord,

Our Alliance unto your Lordship's Ancestors, and yourself, and the Tryal of your and their Performance of Trust unto their Friends in their greatest Adversity encourage us, and engageth your Honour to our Fruition of your future Favours; The Fixion of our Confidence in you before any other of the Peers and privy Councillors of the Kingdom doubleth this Obligation. Your Lordship may therefore be pleased to acquaint the Lords Justices and Council, to be imparted unto his Sacred Majesty, with our Grievances, and the Causes thereof, the reading of which we most humbly pray, and the manner of it.

First, The Papists in the neighbouring Counties are severely punished, and their Miseries might serve as Beacons unto us to look unto our own, when our Neighbours Houses are on Fire: And we and other Papists are, and ever will be as loyal Subjects as any in the King's Dominions; for Manifestation whereof we send herein inclosed an Oath solemnly taken by us, which as it received indeleble Impression in our Hearts, shall be signed with our Hands and sealed with our Blood.

Secondly, There is an Incapacity in the Papists, of Honour and the Immunities of true Subjects, the royal Marks of distributive Justice, and a Disfavour in the Commutative which raised Strangers and Foreigners, whose Valour and Vertue was invincible, when the old Families of the *English*, and the major Part of us the meer *Irish*, did swim in Blood to serve the Crown of *England*; and when Offices should call Men of Worth, Men without Worth and Merit obtain them.

Thirdly, The Statute of the 2. *Eliz.* of Force in this Kingdom against us, and they of our Religion, doth not a little disanimate us and the rest.

Fourthly, The Avoidance of Grants of our Lands and Liberties by Quirks and Quiddities of the Law, without reflecting upon the King's royal and real Intention, for confirming our Estates, his Broad Seal being the Pawn betwixt his Majesty and his People.

Fifthly, The Restraint of Purchase in the meer *Irish* of Lands in the escheated Counties, and the Taint and Blemish of them and their Posterities doth more discontent them than that Plantation Rule; for they are brought to that Exigence of Poverty in these late Times, that they must be Sellers and not Buyers of Land.

And we conceive, and humbly offer to your Lordship's Consideration, *Principiis obsta*, that in the Beginning of this Commotion, Your Lordship, as it is hereditary for you, will be a Physician to cure this Disease in us, and by our Examples it will doubtless beget the like auspicious Success in all other Parts of the Kingdom: For we are of Opinion it is one Sickness and one Pharmach will suffice, *Sublatâ causâ tollitur Effectus*:

1641.

What Reception it had at the Council-board may easily be conceived, by these Lords speedy Repair into *England*; who afterwards centred in that, which in Time brought on a Cessation of Arms with the Rebels, in its own Place to be spoke of. The Lord *Dillon*, upon his coming into *England*, was seized on by the Parliament, and his Papers rifled, according to a Vote in Parliament the 3d of *November*, which, by the Confederates, was looked upon as a heinous Crime, though the Discovery of the Concerns in *Ireland*, as well as the Management of the War, were entrusted to the *English* Parliament, so no Crime in them. But he escaped from them at last, and went to the King; having in his private Instructions Orders to move, that no Forces might be sent over out of *England*, but that the whole Work might be left to the Remonstrants, and that they would then undertake to suppress the Rebels themselves.

The Parliament
prorogued.

In the Interim, we must not omit, that some of both Houses of Parliament in *Ireland*, lately met, but now prorogued, were appointed to treat with the Rebels; 'So they received their Instructions from the Lords Justices, who were to empower them under the great Seal thereunto.' But instead of any happy Effects thereon, the Rebels were so puffed up with their Victories over the poor, surprized, unresisting, innocent *English*, as they barbarously tore the Order of Parliament, together with the Letter sent unto them, promising themselves Success and Dominion in all their Attempts.

By this Time the State had received an Answer from the Lord Lieutenant, of the Account they had given him of the Rebellion, wherein he certified the Lords Justices, that he understood his Majesty had received

And it will be recorded, that you will do Service unto God, King, and Country; and for salving every the aforesaid Sores, your Lordship is to be an humble Suitor in our Behalf, and of the rest of the Papists, that out of the Abundance of his Majesty's Clemency, there may be an Act of Oblivion and general Pardon without Restitution or Account of Goods taken in the Time of this Commotion, a Liberty of our Religion, a repeal of all Statutes formerly made to the contrary, and not by Proclamation, but parliamentary Way; A Charter free Denizen in ample Manner for meer *Irish*: All which in succeeding Ages will prove an Union in all his Majesty's Dominions instead of Division, a Comfort in Desolation, and a Happiness in Perpetuity for an imminent Calamity. And this being granted, there will be all Things, *Quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari*, and *Quæ sunt Dei Deo*. And it was by the Poet written, though he be prophane in other Matters, yet in this, prophetically, *Divisum Imperium cum Jove, Cæsar habet*; All which for this present we leave to your honourable Care: And we will, as we ever did, and do remain,

Your very humble and assured, ever to be commanded,

Hugh Mac Gillernow Farrall

James Farrall.

Bryan Farrall.

Readagh Farrall.

Edmond Mac Cael Farrall.

John Farrall in Carbuy.

Garret Farrall.

Lisagh Mac Conel Farrall.

Bryan Mac William Farrall.

John Mac Edmund Farrall.

John Farrall.

Roger Mac Bryne Farrall.

Barnaby Farrall.

James Mac Trig Farrall, his Mark.

Morgan Mac Carbry Farrall.

Donnagh Mac Carbry Farrall.

Richard Mac Conel Farrall.

William Mac James Farrall.

James Farrall.

Taghna Mac Rory Farrall.

Cormack Mac Rory Farrall.

Conock Mac Bryne Farrall.

Readagh Mac Lisagh Farrall.

Connor Oge Mac Connor Farrall.

Edmond Mac Connor Farrall.

Cabel Mac Bryne Farrall.

ceived some Advertisements out of the *North of Ireland*, of the present Rebellion; 'and that the Business of *Ireland* might not suffer by his Stay in *Scotland*, which was somewhat longer than he expected, his Majesty had referred the whole Business of *Ireland*, to the Parliament of *England*,' who, after a most serious and solemn Information of this horrid Plot, by a select Committee * of the Lords seated in the House of Commons, in an extraordinary Manner, undertook the Charge and Management thereof, ordering at that Time five hundred Pounds in present for *Owen O-Conally*, and two hundred Pound *per Annum*, till Lands of greater Value could be ordered for him, designing for the present Supplies of *Ireland*, the Sum of fifty thousand Pounds, and had taken order for all Provisions necessary thereunto, as by the Order of Parliament it appears.

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament in England, concerning Ireland.

THE Lords and Commons in this present Parliament, being advertised of the dangerous Conspiracy, and Rebellion in *Ireland*, by the treacherous and wicked Instigations of *Romish* Priests and Jesuits, for the bloody Massacre and Destruction of all Protestants living there, and other his Majesty's Loyal Subjects of *English* Blood, though 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 Considerations, how those 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 of this wicked Rebellion, in such way as shall be thought most effectual by the Wisdom and Authority of the Parliament: And thereupon have ordered and provided for a present Supply of Money, 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 for providing Arms and Ammunition, not only for those Men, but likewise for his Majesty's faithful Subjects of that Kingdom, with store of Victuals, and other Necessaries, as there shall be Occasion. And that these Provisions may more conveniently be transported thither, they have appointed three several Ports of this Kingdom, that is to say, *Bristol*, *West-Chester*, and another in *Cumberland*, where the Magazines and Store-houses shall be kept, for the supply of the several Parts of *Ireland*. They have likewise resolved to be humble Mediators to his most excellent Majesty, for the Encouragement of the *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

* The Lord
Keeper.
The Lord Privy-
Seal.
The Lord High-
Chamberlain.
Lord Admiral.
Lord Marshal.
Lord Chamber-
lain.
Earl of Bath.
Earl of Dorset.
Earl of Leice-
ster.
Earl of War-
wick.
Earl of Holland.
Earl of Berks.
Earl of Bristol.
Lord Visc. Say.
E. Mandevile.
Lord Goring.
Lord Wilmot.
All of his Ma-
jesty's most
Honourable Pri-
vy Council.

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bly rewarded with Lands of Inheritance in *Ireland*, according to their Merit. And for the better inducing of the Rebels to repent of their wicked Attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or in his Absence, to the Deputy, or Lords Justices there, according to the Power of the Commission granted to 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 of *Ireland*, or in his Absence, by the Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices there, according to the Power of the Commission, shall return to their due Obedience, the greatest Part whereof they conceive to have been seduced on false Grounds, by the cunning and subtil Practices of some of the most malignant Rebels, Enemies to this State, and to the reformed Religion; and likewise to bestow such Rewards as shall be thought fit, and published by the said Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices and Council there, 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 in that Kingdom, to remember their Duty and Conscience to God and his Religion, and the great and eminent Danger which will befall this whole Kingdom in general, and themselves in particular, if this abominable Treason be not timely suppressed, and therefore with all Readiness, Bounty, and Cheerfulness, to confer their Assistance in their Persons, or Estates, to this so important and necessary Service, for the common Good of all.

Jo. Browne, Cleric. Parliament.

And that the Army might be led by an honourable and promising Person, the Lord Lieutenant, being not permitted to come over speedily himself, made the Earl of *Ormond* Lieutenant-General of the Army, approved of afterwards by the King, as one who, by his Relation, Integrity and Quality, was pitched on as the fittest Person for that Employment, of whose Affection to the Protestant Religion, and his Majesty's Service, his Majesty had great Cause to be assured*.

Soon after his Settlement in that Place, he had Notice from Sir *Henry Tichborn*, that the Rebels with one thousand three hundred Foot had sat down before *Mellifont*, the 24th of *November*, intending to surprize it; but the Lord *Moor*, whose House it was, having placed twenty-four Musketeers and fifteen Horsemen therein, defended it with much Resolution, as long as their Powder lasted, and at last the Foot yielded on Quarter the same Day, never observed by the Rebels, but the Horse charged vigorously through the Enemy, and came safe to *Tredagh*.

This Siege of *Mellifont* somewhat retarded the Rebels unanimous approach to *Tredagh*; upon which the Lords Justices forthwith designed six hundred Foot and a Troop of Horse, for the further Strengthening of that Garrison. They marched from *Dublin* the 27th of *November*, but under such a Conduct, being newly raised and unexperienced, that most unfortunately, the Lord *Gormanstown's* Groom giving Intelligence of their Approach to the Rebels, not without his Lord's Privity, they were defeated the 29th of *November*, near *Julians-Towns*,

* As in his Majesty's Reply to the House of Commons Answer, concerning Licences to Persons to go into *Ireland*, is at large expressed upon Mr. *Pym's* Speech, at a Conference with the Lords, the 25th of *Jan.* 1641. therein affirming, That since the step upon the Ports, against all *Irish* Papists, by both Houses, many of the Chief Commanders, then in the Head of the Rebels, had been suffered to pass, by his Majesty's immediate Warrant; sufficiently detected in his Answer. The Party sent to re-inforce *Tredagh*, betrayed to the Rebels.

at *Gellingstone-Bridge*, not above an hundred of the Men, besides the Major that led them, and two Foot-Captains, escaping to *Tredagh* *, This unhappy Defeat put such a disheartning on the State, as it begat sad Suspicions ; who being furrounded with Rebels, Sir *Charles Coote* the same Day was commanded into *Wicklow*, with such Forces as the State could then raise, to relieve the Castle of *Wicklow*, then besieged by the Rebels, who, some Days before, had, with miserable Slaughter and Cruelty, surprized his Majesty's Forts of *Cairis* Fort, *Arklow* Fort, *Chichester* Fort, and all the Houses of the *English* in that County, the Lord *Esmond's* House, and the adjacent Parts of *Wexford*, threatening to assault *Dublin*, approaching within two Miles thereof in actual Hostility. Upon which Service Sir *Charles Coote* vigorously advanced, and fought with the Rebels, under the Command of *Luke Toole*, conceived to be a Thousand strong, himself not being many Hundreds ; yet defeated them so shamefully, as the Terror thereof raised a Fear in the Rebels ever after of Sir *Charles Coote*, who thenceforwards so well attended his Commands, as to the Government of the City, and other Charges, his particular Vigilance proved a good Guard ; and that *Dublin* might be fortified, the 22d of *November* 1641, the Lords Justices and Council by their Proclamation enjoined the same.

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* With the Troop of Horse, which some accuse of much Negligence, not to say worse. Sir *Charles Coote* sent to relieve *Wicklow* Fort. Beats the Enemy there.

Now the State finding the Storm to increase, and that, though they had some Glimmerings of Comfort by the Success of their Forces in *Wicklow*, under Sir *Charles Coote*, the Rebellion grew general, the Lords Justices and Council published a Proclamation the 27th of *November*, ' For a weekly Fast every *Friday*, to be devoutly and piously observed ' and solemnized, in and through the whole City of *Dublin*, and the ' Suburbs thereof ; ' That being humbled for their Sins, the Affliction might be removed.

The 28th of *November*, the State had an Account of Sir *Phelim O Neal's* and Sir *Con Mac-Gennis's* Approach to *Lisnegarvey*, with about four thousand Men ; who being fearful of the Garrison's Field-Pieces, drew out two considerable Divisions of Men, to fall on the Town on both Sides at once : The Strength of the Town exceeded not four hundred Foot, besides the Lord *Conway's* Troop, and part of Captain *St. John's*, who made up about three hundred and eighty, generally mounted on small Nags ; yet so well maintained they the Place, as having skirmished with the Rebels without the Town on one Side, the rest charged others in the Street, and in a short Time drove them to the Body of their Army, faced by Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and Sir *Con*, who played upon them with their Field-Pieces, but were so pelted with Muskets, as they gave ground, the main Body of the *English* still securing the Market-place. We took six Colours, killed many, without any considerable Loss on our Side, more than that Captain *Boid* and Captain *St. John* were killed, Mr. *Rawden* and Captain *Burly* hurt, Sir *Arthur Tirringham* managing the whole with excellent Conduct.

By this Time, his Majesty, then in *Scotland*, having, as is before mentioned, recommended the Affairs of *Ireland* to his Parliament of *England*, immediately, on the first Intelligence of that Rebellion, sent over several Commissions to Sir *Robert Stewart*, and other Persons of Honour and Trust in the *North* ; and, assisted by the Duke of *Richmond*, caused some Proportions of Arms and Ammunition to be conveyed thither out of *Scotland*, with what Money he could spare, a Care and Pro-

His Majesty sends Money, Arms and Ammunition, into *Ireland* out of *Scotland*.

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* Fol. 290.

vidence worthy so sensible a Prince, which though it were little, will be found to have done much Service, testified in his Majesty's Answer to a Pamphlet, intituled, *A Declaration of the Commons, touching no further Addresses* *. At the same Time he moved all the Parliament in Scotland, as being nearest to a speedy Help; but they excused their Aids, because *Ireland* was dependent upon the Crown of *England*, intending rather, as it seemed, by the Sequel, to afford their Service upon Hire, than Compassion or Conscience.

Yet, notwithstanding his Majesty, the State and Parliament of *England*'s appearing thus incensed against the Rebellion, all fair Means of Exceptions being removed, and a Desire of its Suppression endeavoured, the *Irish* finding, as yet, no considerable Relief sent to the *English*, and being exceedingly flushed with the Defeat of those commanded to reinforce the Garrison of *Tredagh*, they unanimously drew down their Northern Forces to infect that Town. And that you may see with what Union even the Lords of the *Pale*, formerly faithful to the Crown, conspired in this Rebellion, though by their humble Apology, fraught with many vain Pretences, they would evade the Conspiracy, we must here render you an Account of the Truth, given in upon Oath, *March* 1641, before Sir *Robert Meredith*, Kt. Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall* Esq; a Person of great Esteem amongst them.

§ *Nicholas Dowdall.*

‘ He deposeth, That some three or four Days after the Defeat of
 ‘ the *English* Soldiers, at the Bridge of *Gellingstone*, there issued a War-
 ‘ rant from the Lord of *Gormanstown*, to the § Sheriff of the Coun-
 ‘ ty, for a general Meeting of all the County at *Dulick*; but the Place
 ‘ of Meeting was afterwards changed to the Hill of *Crofty*, where all
 ‘ the Lords and Gentry of the County met, viz. The Earl of *Fingal*,
 ‘ the Lord Viscount *Gormanstown*, the Lord *Slane*, the Lord *Lowth*,
 ‘ the Lord *Dunsany*, the Lord *Trimblestone*, the Lord *Netterville*:
 ‘ And of the Gentry, Sir *Patrick Barnewall*, Sir *Christopher Bellow*,
 ‘ *Patrick Barnwall* of *Killbrew*, *Nicholas Darcy* of *Plattin*, *James*
 ‘ *Bath* of *Acharn*, *Garret Ailmer* the Lawyer, *Cusack* of *Gormanstown*,
 ‘ *William Malone* of *Lefsmullin*, *Sedgrave* of *Kileglan*, *Linch* of the
 ‘ *Knos*, *Lynam* of *Adams-Town*, *Lawrence Dowdall* of *Athulmney*,
 ‘ *Nicholas Dowdall* of *Browns-Town*, This Examinant's Brother, and
 ‘ him this Examinant, with a Multitude of others, to the Number
 ‘ of a thousand Persons, at least, whose Names he this Examinant
 ‘ cannot for the present call to Mind. And after about two or three
 ‘ Hours spent upon the said Hill of *Crofty*, by the Lords and Gentry
 ‘ aforesaid, there came unto them Colonel *Mabone*, *Philip O-Relie*,
 ‘ *Hugh Boy-Relie*, *Roger Moor*, *Hugh Birne*, and Captain *Fox*, at-
 ‘ tended on with a Guard of Musketeers: And this Examinant saith,
 ‘ That as soon as the Parties drew near unto the said Hill, the Lords
 ‘ and Gentry of the *Pale* rode towards them, and the Lord *Gorman-*
 ‘ *stown*, being one of the first, spake unto them, and demanded of
 ‘ them, why, and for what Reason, they came armed into the *Pale*;
 ‘ unto whom *Roger Moor* made present Answer, That the Ground of
 ‘ their coming thither, and taking up Arms, was for the Freedom and
 ‘ Liberty of their Consciences, the Maintenance of his Majesty's Pre-
 ‘ rogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and the making
 ‘ the

‘ the Subjects of this Kingdom as free as those in *England* were. Whereupon the said Lord *Gormanstown*, desired to understand from them truly and faithfully, whether these were not Pretences, and not indeed the true Grounds of their so doing ; and likewise whether they had not some other private End of their own : Which being all denied, upon Profession of their Sincerity to his Lordship, the Lord *Gormanstown*, then told them ; seeing these be your true Ends, we will likewise join with you therein, unto which Course all agreed : And thereupon it was publickly and generally declared, That whosoever shall deny to join with them, or refuse to assist them therein, they would account him as an Enemy, and to the utmost of their Power labour his Destruction. And this Examinant saith, That after the Agreement made as aforesaid, there issued another Warrant to the Sheriff of the County of *Meath*, to be at the Hill of *Taragh*, about a Week after ; and accordingly there met at the same Place the Earl of *Fingal*, the Lord *Gormanstown*, and the rest of the Lords and Gentry aforesaid, together with Sir *Thomas Nugent*, and *Nicholas Plunket* the Lawyer, *Birford* the Lawyer, and a Multitude of others. And the Work of that Day was first, to make Answer to a Summons made by the State, for the calling of the Lords of the *Pale* to *Dublin* ; which Answer was brought ready drawn by the Lord *Gormanstown*, and presented by his Lordship ; and being perused by the said Council at Law, was signed by the Lords.

To which we will add, passing by many other Testimonies of their Conjunctions, that which is confirmed by a very credible Person, of Colonel *Richard Plunket* of *Dunsfaghly*, in the County of *Dublin*, within the *Pale*, one destined for the taking of the Castle of *Dublin*, who affirmed openly, ‘ That he had a Contract under the Hands of all the Lords of *Ireland*, that were Catholics, to stand firm in this Infurrection’ ; most of their Actions confirming his Words.’ And *Philip O Relie*’s Wife, told *James Talbot*, a Person of eminent Note amongst them, ‘ That if those of the *Pale* would have let them alone, and not set them on Work, they were so well at ease, as they would never have begun that troublesome Task.

Upon which it is evident, though some * would insinuate the contrary, that both the old *Irish* and old *English*, what Ends they would severally pretend to have, centered in the Destruction of the Protestants ; and that the old *English* Papists were a little backwarder than the *Irish* were, in that they had something more to lose than the other, and so would put them first upon the Work, wherein themselves were equally engaged : Which the Lords Justices and Council perceiving, writ, the 3d of *December*, to the Earl of *Fingal*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstown*, and the rest of the Lords of the *Pale*, ‘ To come to *Dublin*, and consult for the Safety of the Kingdom.’ *Luke Netterville* and others having caused Proclamation to be made at *Lusk*, twelve Miles from *Dublin*, that all the Gentry of the County should, upon Pain of Death, meet within three or four Days at *Swords*, within six Miles of *Dublin*, which accordingly they did, constituting Captains, *Richard Golding*, *Thomas Russel*, *Francis Russel*, *Robert Travers*, *Christopher Hollywood*, and other Commanders ; their Militia amounting, on that short Warning, to twelve hundred, which would have been impossible to have raised,

* The Author of the *English* and *Scotch* Prefbytery, p. 222.

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raised, had they not before been armed and instigated to that Cause. Upon which, these Lords of the *Pale*, Conspirators with the first, returned to the Lords Justices the 7th of *December* this Answer, received the 11th.

May it please your Lordships,

WE have received your Letters of the 3d Instant, intimating, that you had present Occasions to confer with us concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the Safety thereof in these Times of Danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the 8th of this Instant. We give your Lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented our selves before your Lordships, and freely offered our Advice and Furtherance towards the Particulars aforesaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us Cause to conceive, that our Loyalty was suspected by you. We give your Lordships further to understand, that we have received certain Advertisement, that Sir *Charles Coote* Knight, at the Council-board, hath offered some Speeches, tending to a Purpose and Resolution, to execute upon those of our Religion a general Massacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your Lordships, not having any Security for our Safety from those threatned Evils, or the Safety of our Lives, but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best Guard, until we hear from your Lordships how we shall be secured from those Perils. Nevertheless we all protest, that we are and will continue faithful Advisers, and resolute Furtherers of his Majesty's Service, concerning the present State of this Kingdom, and the Safety thereof, to our best Abilities. And so with the said Tender of our humble Service, we remain,

Your Lordships humble Servants,
Fingall Gormanston, Slane,
Dunsany Netterville, Oliver
Lowth, Trimblestone.

And *Luke Netterville* Esq; *George Blackney* of *Rickenbore* Esq; *George King* of *Clantarfe*, Gent. and others, met at *Swords*, being charged on their Allegiance the 9th of *December*, immediately on sight of the Lords Justices Warrant to separate, and not to unite any more in that Manner without Direction from the State. They, instead of Obedience to the States Command, returned this Answer, ' That they were constrained to meet ' there together for the Safety of their Lives; That they were put in- ' to so great a Terror, by the rising out of some Horse-Troops and Foot- ' Companies at *Dublin*, who killed four Catholicks, for no other Reason, ' than that they bore the Name of that Religion, as they durst not, ' as they pretended, stay in their Houses, and therefore resolved to continue together, till they were assured by their Lordships of the Safety of their Lives, before they ran the Hazard thereof; by manifesting ' their Obedience due unto their Lordships.' Upon which the Lords Justices and Council published a Proclamation the 13th of *December*, to satisfy the World of the Innocency of the State from the Guilt of any Man's Blood; and concerning the Four they alledged were killed as Papists, they were such as were found faulty in rebellious Actions, of which, one was a Protestant: Commanding them furthermore, on the Allegiance to his Majesty, to separate upon the Sight of their Warrant; and

The States
 Manifest, in Answer to *Netterville* and his Accomplices Fears.

and that *Luke Netterville* and his Accomplices should appear before the State on the 18th of the said Month, to the End they may be fully heard by the State; To which End the Lords Justices and Council, 'thereby gave them, and every one of them, the Word of the State, 'that they might then securely and safely repair thither, without Danger 'of any Trouble or Stay whatsoever.'

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And that the Lords of the *Pale* might not be less satisfied in what they objected, the same Day also the Lords Justices and Council published a Proclamation, and sent it to those Noblemen, positively affirming, 'That the Lords Justices and Council did never hear Sir *Charles Coote*, any or other, utter at the Council-board, or else-where, any Speeches tending to a Purpose or Resolution, to execute on those of their 'Profession, or any other, a general Massacre; nor was it ever in their 'Thoughts to dishonour his Majesty, or the State, by so odious, impious, and detestable a Thing; giving them Assurance of their Safety, 'if they would repair thither the 17th of that Month.'

The Lord Justices Vindication of Sir *Charles Coote*,

Yet notwithstanding these Condescensions, or whatsoever else the State could do, whereby the Doubts of those Men might be removed, and their Security ascertained, still the Torrent of the *Pale* ran to make up the intended Deluge, despising whatsoever Security or Faith the State was pleased to promise them. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council were enforced to send this Warrant to the Earl of *Ormond* and *Offory*, to send out a Party of Soldiers, Horse and Foot, against those that dared so impudently to affront them.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons, John Borlase.

FOrasmuch as divers of the Inhabitants of *Clantarfe*, *Rhabeny*, and *Kilbarrock*, have declared themselves Rebels, and having robbed and spoiled some of his Majesty's good Subjects, are now assembled thereabouts in Arms in great Numbers, mustering and training of their rebellious Multitudes to the Terror and Danger of his Majesty's good Subjects, as well at Land as at Sea, which their Boldness is acted in such manner, as to put Scorn and Affronts upon this State and Government; they acting such Depredations even before our Faces, and in our View, as it were in despite of us. It is therefore ordered, That our very good Lord, the Earl of *Ormond* and *Offory*, Lieutenant General of the Army, do forthwith send out a Party of Soldiers, of Horse and Foot, to fall upon those Rebels at *Clantarfe*, and thereabouts, who, in such disdainful Manner, stand to outface and dare us, and to endeavour to cut them off, as well for Punishment as Terror to others, and to burn and spoil the Rebels Houses and Goods. And to prevent their farther annoying any Shipping going out and coming in, and lying in Harbour, those Soldiers are to bring up, or cause to be brought up to the new Crane at *Dublin*, such of the Boats and Vessels now lying there, as they can upon the sudden, and to burn, spoil, sink, and make unserviceable the rest. Given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, December the 14th 1641.

*Ormond Offory, Rob. Dillon, Char. Lambert,
Ad. Loftus, John Temple, Charles Coote,
Francis Willoughby.*

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See Sir J. Temple, part 2. p. 30. as the Answer to the 9th Article of the Rebels Remonstrance at Trym, p. 78.

The Lords of the *Pale* however effectually endeavour'd to strengthen the *Northern* Rebels, and thereupon declared the Lord Viscount *Gormanstown* General of the Forces to be raised in the *Pale*, *Hugh Byrn* Lieutenant General, the Earl of *Fingall* General of the Horse; who, in several Baronies raised Captains accordingly, and Provisions suitable, to every hundred Men in a Company for their daily Allowance, one Beef, and half a Barrel of Corn, during the Siege of *Tredagh*.

And that nothing might be wanting to straighten the State, *Netterville* and his Party, being increased by their Confederacy with *Wicklow* and *Kildare*, the 15th of *December*, sent two strong Parties to *Santry* and *Finglass*, where they continued till the 22d of the said *December*, when they were beaten by Colonel *Crafford* from *Finglass*, two Miles from *Dublin*, after they had like to have put us to a shameful Retreat. Those at *Santry* hearing of Sir *Charles Coot*'s Approach, saved themselves by a cowardly quitting of their Quarters, leaving their best Equipage and Provisions behind them; whilst near three hundred Men shewed themselves at *Clantarfe*, a Village on the Sea-side, about a Mile and half from *Dublin*: The Inhabitants strengthening the Rebels Confidence with store of strong Fishing-boats, having the Day before spoiled two *English* Barks lying at Anchor near *Clantarfe*, in the Road of *Dublin*, much to the Disquiet of the Lords Justices and Council, suspecting thereby, that the Port to *Dublin* might have been blocked up: Robberies also of that Nature having been committed at *Skirries*, twelve Miles from *Dublin*, and the Prey of those Barks carried to *Barnewell* of *Brimore*, a prime Man, as the Prisoners to the Lord *Gormanstown*'s, who sent them to *Balrothry*, sufficient to prove the Robberies, Murthers, and other Outrages committed on the *British* Protestants, were by the Allowance and Privity of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*, if not their Command; how speciously soever, in their humble Protestation, a Piece of as much Vanity as Falshood, against the States Proclamation, the 8th of *February* 1641, they would insinuate, 'That none of the better Sort had robbed or pillaged any of them, nor dispossessed them of their Estates.' Whereas by the Example of what is here produced, the Falshity of all they assert is clearly proved, though further Particulars, without much sifting, may easily be exposed, were not the Story like to be tedious. And the Truth of these Assertions may be fully read in the End of the Answer to the Eighth Article of the Rebels Remonstrance of Grievances at *Trym*, 1642.

Whereupon the Lords Justices found it absolutely necessary, that some Forces should be sent against them at *Clantarfe*; which Forces were commanded by Sir *Charles Coote*, the 15th of *December*, who burnt the Village, destroyed their Boats, and Excellently well quitted the Service in-joined him, clearing that Place of Piracy and Rebels: Though in the Interim, *Netterville*, being frightened from *Santry*, lay with near two thousand Men at *Swords*, and possessed himself of the Castle of *Artain*, and some other Places, within two Miles of *Dublin*. On the *West-side* of which, at *Tassagard*, *Rath-Coole*, *Castle-Lyons*, and other Villages, there lay two thousand more of the Rebels out of the Counties of *Catherlagh*, *King's-County*, and *Kildare*, under the Command of *Roger Moor*, and *Sutton Eustace* of *Castle-Martin*, and others. The *Clandonnells*, *Byrns* and *Tooles* from *Wicklow*, towards the Sea, three or four Miles on the *South* of *Dublin*, came also down, blocking up, on all Sides,

Sides, Passages thereunto; their Forces in *Leinster* amounting to twenty thousand Men. So as the State being now put in imminent Danger, few Hopes survived of her Recovery. The *Naas* and *Kildare*, as *Trim*, and *Ashboy* in the County of *Meath*, being taken by the Rebels: Which in a Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, dated the 14th of *December*, the Lords Justices and Council very emphatically expressed; adding in the Close, 'That if notwithstanding all this, so often and truly made known by us to your Lordship, we shall perish for want of Supplies, we shall carry this Comfort with us to our Graves, or any other Burial we shall have, That your Lordship can witness for us to his Royal Majesty, and all the World, that we have discharged our Duties to God, to his Majesty, and to that Nation, and to this, in humbly representing to his Majesty, by your Lordship, (the chief Governor of the Kingdom) the Extremities and Dangers, wherein his Kingdom and People stand, and the Necessities of hastning Supplies hither by all possible Means, for Preservation of both; so as whatever become of our Persons, our Memory cannot be justly stained with so wretched a Breach of Faith and Loyalty to the King our Master, as to forbear representing thither the Extremities wherein we are, whether we have received Credit to be believed or no; and that we write Truth, and most needful Truth will be found true, when perhaps we shall perish, and which is more considerable, the Kingdom also, for want of being believed and succoured in Time.

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The Consideration of which, long before presented to his Majesty, wrought so sensibly on him, that being then newly returned out of *Scotland*, before the Letter mentioned arrived at the Parliament, he took the first Opportunity, which was the 2d of *December* 1641, to tell the Lords and Commons in Parliament, other Things being rehearsed, 'That he had one Particular more to recommend unto them, which was *Ireland*, for which, *said he*, I doubt not your Care, yet methinks the Preparations for it go on but slowly.'

His Majesty's Works, fol. 393.

And being touched with the Truth of what he had observed in this Business, he came to the Parliament the 14th of *December*, and thus expressed his Resentment.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE last Time I was in this Place, and the last Thing that I recommended unto you, was the Business of *Ireland*, whereby I was in good Hope, that I should not have needed again to have put you in Mind of that Business: But still seeing the slow Proceedings therein, and the daily Dispatch that I have out of *Ireland*, of the lamentable Estate of my Protestant Subjects there, I cannot but again earnestly recommend the Dispatch of that Expedition unto you, for it is the chief Business that at this Time I take to Heart, and there cannot almost be any Business that I can have more Care of.

I might now take up some of your Time, in expressing my Detestation of Rebellions in general, and of this in particular: But knowing that Deeds and not Declarations must suppress this great Insolency, I do here in Word offer you, whatsoever my Power, Pains or Industry, can contribute to this good and necessary Work, of reducing the *Irish* Nation to their true and wonted Obedience.

And

1641.

And that nothing may be omitted on my Part, I must here take Notice of the Bill for pressing of Soldiers, now depending among you, my Lords, concerning which I declare, that in Case it comes so to me, as it may not infringe or diminish my Prerogative, I will pass it. And farther, seeing there is a Dispute raised, I being little beholding to him whosoever at this Time began it, concerning the Bounds of this ancient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further Debate at this Time. I offer that the Bill may pass with a *Salvo Jure*, both for King and People, leaving such Debates to a Time that may better bear them. If this be not accepted, the Fault is not mine that this Bill pass not, but theirs that refuse so fair an Offer.

To conclude, I conjure you by all that is or can be dear to you or me, that laying away all Disputes, you go on chearfully and speedily for the reducing of *Ireland*.

A Charm, one should think, sufficiently powerful : Yet the Lords and Commons in Parliament, from his Majesty's Speech took great Exceptions, suffering the Supplies of *Ireland* to be retarded, 'demanding of the King, the Names of those, who had counselled him to take Notice of any Debate in the House, before it was formed into a Bill;' whence began the Cry against evil Counsellors, afterwards the Pretext of the Misery that ensued. Some Forces indeed the Parliament had sent to the Sea-side, and others were on their March, yet Winds and Tides, Votes and Councils, did not equally agree, so as the Exigences, by this Means, that the State of *Ireland* was cast upon, almost split them. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council published a Proclamation, dated the 28th of *December* 1641, 'Requiring all Persons, other than such as had necessary Causes to *Dublin*, such as the Lords Justices, the Lieutenant-General of the Army, or the Governor of his Majesty's Forces in the City of *Dublin*, should approve, or other than such as should bring Provision to the City to be sold, should forbear coming to the City or Suburbs thereof, upon Pain of Death.' Which was done in Time of high Necessity, Provision being scarce, and few repairing to the City but what were Spies and Traitors.'

And because what his Majesty had proposed, before-mentioned, for the Service of *Ireland*, seemed to have little Effect, he again sends a Message to the Lords House, by the Lord Chamberlain, the 28th of *December* : 'That being sensible of the Miseries of *Ireland*, the Successors for which went on slowly, he offered to raise ten thousand Volunteers, if the Commons would undertake to pay them : ' A Proposition rather heard than consented to.

About this Time Sir *Thomas Carey* and Dr. *Cale*, a *Sorbonist*, offered from the Rebels these Propositions, to the Council Board, for a Treaty.

- 'First, That there should be a Toleration of Religion.
- 'Secondly, That Popish Officers, as well as Protestant, should be admitted to all Employments.
- 'Thirdly, That the Wrongs of Plantations should be repaired, since 1610.
- 'Fourthly, That there should be a Proclamation to take off the File, The Title of Rebels and Traitors.'

All which passed somewhat currently, till one, being then absent through Sickness, hearing thereof, repaired to the Council Board, though at that Time much indisposed, and upon strong Arguments, Arguments that would admit of no Sophistry, stopped the Proceeding of so dishonourable a Motion; so early did some endeavour to force on the State, a Necessity of complying with the insolent Demands of the Rebels, by this faithful Minister of State confidently rejected. And here that you may see, what the Rebels afterwards thought the only Means to reduce *Ireland* into Peace and Quietness, we shall here present you with their Propositions, methodically digested.

The Means to reduce Ireland unto Peace and Quietness.

I. **T**HAT a general and free Pardon, without any Exception, be granted to all his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom, and that in Pursuance thereof, and for strengthening the same, an Act of Abolition may pass in the Parliament here.

II. That all Marks of national Distinction between *English* and *Irish*, may be abolished and taken away by Act of Parliament.

III. That by several Acts of Parliament to be respectively passed here and in *England*, it may be declared, that the Parliament of *Ireland* hath no Subordination with the Parliament of *England*, but that the same hath in it self supreme Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, as absolute as the Parliament of *England* there hath.

IV. That the Act of the 12th of *Henry* 7th, commonly called *Poining's* Act, and all other Acts expounding or explaining the same, may be repealed.

V. That as in *England* there passed an Act for a Triennial Parliament, so there may pass in *Ireland* another for a Sexennial Parliament.

VI. That it may be enacted by Parliament, that the Act of the 2d of *Queen Elizabeth* in *Ireland*, and all other Acts made against Catholics, or the Catholick Religion, since the 20th Year of *Henry VIII's* may be repealed.

VII. That the Bishopricks, Deanries, and all other spiritual Promotions in this Kingdom, and all Friaries and Nunneries, may be restored to the Catholick Owners, and likewise all Impropriations of Tythes, and that the Scits, Ambits, and Precincts, of the Religious Houses of the Monks, may be restored to them; but as to the Rest of their temporal Possessions, it is not designed to be taken from the present Proprietors, but to be left unto them, till God shall otherwise incline their own Hearts.

VIII. That such as are now entituled Catholick Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, or other Dignitaries in this Kingdom, by Donation of the Pope, may, during their Lives, enjoy their spiritual Promotions, with Protestation nevertheless, and other fit Clauses to be laid down, for Preservation of his Majesty's Patronages, First-Fruits, and Twentieth-Parts, in Manner and Quantity, as now his Highness receives Benefit thereby.

IX. That all Inquisitions taken since the Year 1634, to entitle his Majesty to *Connaught*, *Thomond*, *Ormond*, *Eliogartie*, *Kilnemanagh*, *Dubeara*, *Wicklow*, and *Idvagh* may be vacated, and their Estates secured, according to his Majesty's late Graces.

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X. That an Act of Parliament may pass here, for securing the Subjects Title to their several Estates against the Crown, upon any Title accrued unto it before sixty Years, or under colour or pretext of the present Commotions.

XI. That all Plantations made since the Year 1610, may be avoided by Parliament, if the Parliament shall hold it just, and their Possessions restored to them or their Heirs, from whom the same were taken; they nevertheless answering to the Crown the Rents and Services proportionable, reserved upon the Undertakers.

XII. That the Transportation of all native Commodities to all Places of the World in Peace with his Majesty, may be free and lawful, his Customs first paid; and that the Statutes of 10, 11, and 13 of Queen *Elizabeth*, for restraining the Exportation of native Commodities, be repealed.

XIII. That all Preferments Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Martial in this Kingdom, that lye in his Majesty's Gift, may be conferred on the Natives of this Kingdom only, such as his Majesty shall think meet, without any Distinction for Religion: Provided always, that upon the Princes of his Blood of *England*, he may bestow what Places he shall think meet.

XIV. That a Martial and Admiral of this Kingdom may be elected in it, to have perpetual Succession therein, with the same Preheminency, Authority, and Jurisdiction, as they respectively have in *England*; and that the said Places be ever conferred upon Noblemen, Natives of this Kingdom.

XV. That there may be Train'd-bands in all Cities, Towns Corporate, and Counties of this Kingdom, armed and provided for at the Charge of the several Counties, Cities, and Towns, and commanded by the Natives of the same, who shall be named by the Counties, Cities, and Towns respectively.

XVI. That his Majesty may release all *Tenures in Capite*, and by Knights Service; in Consideration whereof, he shall receive a settled Revenue of 12000 l. *per Annum*, being double the Sum which he casually receives by them; Reliefs, Seismes, Licenses for Alienations, Escheage and Aids nevertheless to remain.

XVII. That all Monopolies may be for ever taken away by Act of Parliament.

XVIII. That such new Corporations, that have not the Face of Corporate-Towns, and were erected to give Voices in Parliament, may be dissolved, and their Votes taken away, and hereafter none such to be admitted to Voices in Parliament.

Lastly, That there may be Agents chosen in Parliament, or otherwise, as thought meet to attend continually his Majesty, to represent the Grievances of this Nation, that they may be removable by such as did elect them; and in Case of Death or Removance, others may be for ever successively substituted in that Place.

Propositions so destructive to the Crown of *England*, the *English* Interest, and Protestant Religion, as I conceive none are so hardy as to maintain their Rationality, as long as the Crown of *England* is able to improve the Power of her Conquest. More I might add, but each Proposition carrieth in it self its Insolency and Vanity; which, by the Rebels

bels Success on the *British*, through their Treacheries and Surprisals, they were encouraged to propose with such Audacity.

However, the State, in Hope to gain Time, till Supplies might come, listened to an Offer made by some popish Priests to treat with the Rebels: Whereupon Dr. *Cale*, pretending how far he could prevail with the Rebels, was admitted thereunto by a Warrant from the State, in Confidence that he could obtain better Terms than the former. But Sir *Phelim O-Neal* would yield to no Treaty, unless the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Mac-Mabon*, and the rest in the Castle might be freed: Which the State refusing with Indignation, that Design ended.

And that the City of *Dublin* might be supplied with Corn, the Market growing very thin, through the Confederates seizing on the Protestants Corn in the Haggard, the Lords Justices and Council, having that Example, published a Proclamation the 28th of *December* 1641. That all Corn-Masters within fifteen Miles of *Dublin*, should be careful to send their Corn to the City, to be sold at the Rates following, viz. Wheat, Pease and Beans, at 20 s. a *Dublin* Peck, and Oats at 6 s. 8 d. a Barrel. Whereupon the Market was somewhat, tho' not considerable to their urgent Occasions, relieved; rather than the *Irish* would suffer their Corn to be thrashed out by Warrants from the Lord *Gormansdown*, for the Use of the *Irish* Army then lying before *Tredagh*, or burned by the State to prevent that Inconvenience.

And that nothing irregular might justly be imputed to the State, who studied the Preservation of his Majesty's Subjects; or those indeed who but pretended, without Appearance to the contrary, a Submission to his Ministers, the 14th of *January*, 1641, they published a severe Proclamation against Pillagers, and Volunteers not listed under some Colonel or Commander: So early was the Vigilancy of the State in what might preserve their Integrity and Repute: Which some finding contrary to their envious Licentiousness, wanted not Boldness to encourage the Soldiers to a Return for *England*. Which the Lords Justices and Council having Notice of, published this Proclamation.

By the Lords Justices, and Council.

W. Parsons. Jo. Borlase.

WE do hereby in his Majesty's Name charge and command all his Majesty's Soldiers of this Army, that upon Pain of Death none of them presume to depart hence for *England*, without express Licence in that Behalf from the Lieutenant General of the Army. And we command all Owners and Masters of Ships, Barques, and other Vessels, that upon Pain of Death none of them do permit or suffer any of the said Soldiers to go aboard them, or to be carried from hence into *England*. And we require the Searcher, and all other Officers and Waiters of the Customs, that they, and every of them, do take special Care to prevent the shipping or importing of any of the said Soldiers, as aforesaid; whereof they may not fail.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, 18th *January*, 1641.

*Ormond Ossory, R. Dillon, Ad. Loftus, J. Temple,
Charles Coote, Fran. Willoughby, Rob. Meredith.*

And

1641.

About the
midst of De-
cember the Re-
bellion breaks
forth in Mun-
ster.

And now the Flame having marched through *Ulster* and *Leinster*, it discovers its Fury about the Beginning of *December* 1641, in *Munster*, which Province till that Time, by the Moderation of the State, had stifled its Rage, then expressing its Consent with the other Provinces; The Rebels of *Wexford*, *Kilkenny*, and *Catherlough* coming over the River to prey and spoil the County of *Waterford*: To resist which, the Lord President of *Munster*, Sir *William Sellenger*, who to that Time had behaved himself with much Prudence, Vigilance, and Honour, hastened to encounter them, whom, tho' he was far inferior to in Number, he then discomfited, and restored to the Owners what Prey he recovered; in which Action he found many of his Provincials, yet suffered none of them to be hurt, supposing they came to save their Goods, not being interested in the Conspiracy, which afterwards he found general, Mr. *Purcell*, called the Baron of *Loghmo*, exciting, about the 9th of *December*, in *Tipperary*, the *Irish* to rob and spoil the *British* and Protestants, acting, with many others, daily Villainies, being armed by a long Provision underhand, and furnished with the Wealth of the *British* and Protestants in that Province, which was very great and considerable.

The Rebelli-
on appears in
Connaught.

And that *Connaught* might not be said to be quiet, the Lord President of that Province, the Lord *Rannelaugh*, coming thither from *Dublin*, about the Beginning of *November*, after the Rebellion broke forth, found there many of the inferior *Irish*, and some of the Gentry in Rebellion in the Counties of *Roscommon* and *Sligo*, with whom he dealt mildly, presuming his former intimate Friendship, and some Alliance, might work on them: but nothing prevailed, they were otherwise hardened; nor had he Force sufficient, which they well knew, to compel them, their Swarms were so numerous, their Cruelties so outrageous; so that at last, they blocked him up in the Castle of *Athlone* by the Help of the Conspirators of *Westmeath*, notwithstanding the Commissions of Government, the Lords Justices and Council, that nothing still might be wanting on the States Side, to evidence the Confidence and Trust they were willing to repose in the prime Natives, entrusted the Earl of *Clanrickard*, the Lord *Mayo*, the Lord of *Costiloe*, and others with; in which Condition he remained, till the Earl of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Army, carried down two thousand Foot, and some Troops of Horse to his Relief, the Spring following. Notwithstanding the Commission the Lord *Rannelaugh* had from those, whom his Majesty entrusted of the Parliament in *England*, to raise five hundred Protestants nearest adjoining, for the Defence of the said Province, and to name the Officers, his Son *Arthur Jones Esq*; being at the same Time made Constable of the Castle of *Roscommon*, in the County of *Roscommon*, and allowed thirty one Protestant Warders to guard the Town and Castle: As Sir *Robert King*, at the same Time, was appointed in the like Command for the Castle of *Abbey-boyle*: Yet the Rebels, in the Interim, burnt the Town of *Roscommon*, and the Bishops Town of *Elphin*, besides many other *Englishmen's* Habitations; surprizing also several Castles of the Earl of *Clanrickard's* in the County of *Galway*. However, Sir *Charles Coote* Junior, vigilant in all Concerns, so manned and guarded *Castle-Coote*, as that being in *January* 1641, besieged by *Con O'Rourk* with one thousand two hundred Men, he so notably encountred him, as within a Week he raised the Sieged; as he did

Hugh

Hugh O Connor, Son of *O Connor Dun of Balintober*, titular Prince of *Connaught*; lineally, as he would have it, descended from *Rodderick O Connor*, King of *Connaught*, and Monarch of *Ireland*, never afterwards durst make any formal Approach against the Castle; inasmuch as *Sir Charles Coote* fetched in Corn and Cattle at Liberty: Yet the Second of *March* following, *O-Rourk* came with all his Forces to fetch away the Prey of *Roscommon* before Day, hurrying them almost to *Molinterim*, before our Forces could come up to him, endeavouring to make good a Pass against our Men, who soon broke their stoutest Ranks, and, killing most of the Rebels, recovered the Prey, took many Prisoners, and among the Rest *Con O-Rourk*.

Thus each Province was in a Flame, and that it burst not forth all at once, was partly out of the Backwardness of some, who would first, in the Proceedings of the others, see how far, and with what Security, they might put themselves on the Work: A horrid Work! that had no promising or good Aspect: And then others in the Counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Lowth*, who, by the aforesaid Compact, should have furnished themselves with Arms from the State, under pretence of Service against *Ulster*, missing of their Design in full, halted a Time; and many declared not themselves at first, by Reason the surprising of the Castle of *Dublin* was prevented; Nor did the noble and solemn Resentment of the Parliament in *England* a little startle others, though after that the Winter came close upon them, and that the *English* were almost every where harrassed; and the Succours from *England* came not so soon as they were expected, the *Irish* every where gathered that heat as in all Places, to express their Virulency.

Some * will have it that the Gentlemen at *Westminster*, instead of suppressing the *Irish* speedily by Arms, made an Ordinance wholly to extirpate them, whereby the *Irish* extirpated most Part of the Protestant Colonies, killing Man, Woman, and Child, with most horrible Barbarousness: Whereas it is apparent that the greatest, and most horrid Massacres, were acted before the Parliament could possibly know there was a Rebellion, for after that the Plot was detected, the Rebels somewhat slackened their first Cruelties; though then they proclaimed, 'That if any *Irish* should harbour, or relieve, any *English* suffered to escape them with their Lives, that it should be penal, even to Death, to such *Irish*.' So that though they put not those *English* actually to the Sword, yet by that Design, they cut them off more cruelly: It being a certain Truth, not subject to the Evasion of the Sophister, that in all the four Provinces, the horrid Cruelties used towards the *British*, either in their bloody Massacres, or merciless dispoiling, stripping, and extirpation of them, were generally acted in most Parts of the Kingdom, before they could gather themselves together, to make any considerable Resistance against their Fury, and before the State had assembled their Forces, or were enabled by the Power of his Majesty's Arms, to make any Inroads into the Countries possessed by the Rebels: A Circumstance, which totally destroyeth all those vain Pretences, and fond Recriminations, which they have since most falsely taken up to palliate this their most abominable Rebellion, or actings thereupon; Besides, in the first Order of the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England*, touching this Concern, for the better inducing of the Rebels to repent of their wicked Attempts, they did thereby commend it to the Lord

T

Lieutenant

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The Reasons, why each Province burst not, at once, into a Flame.

* The Author of the *English and Scotch Presbytery*, p. 222.

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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 any of the said Magistrates, should return to their due Obedience : ' Which Rule the Lords Justices in all Commissions, either to Officers, or Marshals, they had also before observed, that if, amongst them, there had been any relenting, they might have experienced the Mercy of the State.

And thus much may be said even for the Parliament, that after the Expence of much Blood and Treasure, for Suppression of the horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, when they had brought that Affair to such an Issue, as that a total Reducement, and Settlement of the Nation was effected, whereby they came to divide the Rebels Estates ; they manifested, ' That it was not the Parliaments Intentions, to extirpate that whole ' Nation, but they ordered Mercy and Pardon, both as to Life and ' Estate, should be extended to all Husband-Men, Labourers, Artificers, yea, to higher Rank and Quality, according to the respective ' Demerits, and Considerations, under which they fell, and that all ' should enjoy the Benefit of their Articles.'

Scobels Acts.
fol. 197.

It is indeed enacted, in the Act of Subscriptions for *Ireland*, ' That ' every Person who shall make, enter into, or take any Compact, Bond, ' Covenant, Oath, Promise or Agreement, to introduce, or bring into ' the said Realm of *Ireland*, the Authority of the See of *Rome*, in any ' Case whatsoever, or to maintain, or defend the same, shall forfeit his ' Lands and Goods, as in Case of Rebellion : ' Before which, there was no Pretence, some thought, to make the War a Matter of Religion ; Whereas I do not conceive, that that Clause is any more than what was in several Acts provided, as *Anno 28. Henry VIII. Capite 13. Anno 2. Elizabeth Cap. 1.* as else-where : And by his Majesty's Letter to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the 15th of *December 1644*, is there specified, ' That many ' Acts in Favour of the *Irish* should be repealed, but those against Appeals to *Rome*, and *Præmunire*, should stand.' That had not the Rebels first intended, what afterwards they pursued, that Clause could not have made them more obstinate Rebels, nothing being in it, but what was before in Force.

Now besides other Miseries, which aggravated the Unhappiness of the State at that Time, there flocked to the City, from all Parts, such as having escaped the Fury of the Rebels, sheltered themselves there, of which, by Reason of the Diseases they had contracted by their Journey, and ill Usage, there died many, else proved a Burthen to the City ; which the Confederates of the *Pale* would have the World believe, was Mercy and signal Humanity in them, not to have imbrued their Hands in the Blood of any *British* Protestants, when as the lingering Deaths, and Exigencies these were put to, exceeded any Death, which at once might have been inflicted : Though after the Siege of *Tredagh*, that the old *English* Papists of the *Pale*, were driven into *Ulster*, they, as a meritorious Act, vaunted that they had killed more *English* and Protestants in *Fingall*, than were killed in many other Counties ; for the Discoveries of whose Miseries, and what besides others had suffered by the Rebels, the Lords Justices authorized several Commissioners to state their Case, and the State of the deplorable *English*, by two Commissions, the one bearing Date the 23d of *December*, the other the 18th of *January*, both in the

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the 17th Year of his Majesty's Reign, whereby the Murders, Losses and Cruelties, committed upon the *English* and Protestants, were discovered on Oath, and presented in a Remonstrance by the despoiled Clergy of *Ireland*, to the honourable House of Commons in *England*; And lest the Remonstrance should seem the Act of a few Persons, highly interested in their own Concerns, it was accompanied with a Letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated at *Dublin* the 7th of *March* 1641, to the Speaker of the said House of Commons; the Remonstrance shewing 'such Depredations of Goods, such Cruelties exercised on the Persons and Lives of the loyal Subjects, 'such wasting and defacing of all Monuments of Civility, with 'such Prophanation of holy Places and Religion, that by the 'most barbarous and heathenish Nations, the like could not in 'any Age be found to be perpetrated:' of which I might say more, having not yet forgot the Cruelties legible in most noble and ancient Families; But the Day would fail us, should we sum up what is in the Clergy's Remonstrance, printed at *London* 1641, briefly mentioned, to which, and the History of the *Irish* Rebellion 1646, from p. 84 to 136, we must refer you, that the Proofs of all may be before your Eyes; May they be writ on the Posts of our Houses, and our Gates; that they may be looked upon, and remembered for ever; *what Amalek did when we were faint and weary, and he feared not God!*

Thus the State having, to their Power, supported his Majesty's Authority, and the *English* Interest, searching out whatsoever might fathom the Bottom of this Conspiracy, they being driven to great Necessities, trampled on by the Enemy, not further able to support their own Miseries. When the last of *December* 1641, arrived at *Dublin*, from the Parliament of *England*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, with a Regiment of 1200 Foot, a Gentleman of good Extraction, long bred in the *Low-Countries*, the School of War, under Sir *Horatio* the Lord *Vere*, that renowned and excellent Person, one of the most noted and eminent Commanders of the late Age: He was designed Governor of *Dublin*, much to the Comfort of the Protestants, and Terror of the Rebels; soon after whose Arrival, the City being secured thereby, the Lords Justices commanded forth Sir *Charles Coote*, with such Forces as could be spared to *Swords*, about the 10th of *January* following, the better to let them know how far the State resented their Insolencies, whom no Assurance, Fair or open Resolves, or any free Course could satisfy; Sir *Charles Coote* found the Access to the Village straitly blocked up, yet so managed the Attempt, as he soon forced them to a Flight, beating them out of their Fortifications, and killed two hundred of their Men, without any considerable Loss on his Side, more than Sir *Laurenzo Carey*, second Son of the Lord *Falkland*, late Lord Deputy, a Gentleman of excellent and ingenious Parts, well principled, and one whose Virtues and Resolution, promised much Happiness to the State: After settling of which Place, Sir *Charles Coote* returned to *Dublin*, and ere long, there arrived from *England* by Order of the Parliament, three Regiments of Foot, the Lord-Lieutenant's Regiment, under the Conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel *Mork*, since Duke of *Albemarle*, the second under the Command of Sir *Michael Earnely*, and the other under the Command of Colonel *Cromwell*; and two Regiments of Horse, one belonging to *Philip* Lord *Lisle*, General of the Horse,

Sir *Simon Harcourt* arrived out of *England* with the first Forces.

Sir *Charles Coote* goes to *Swords*.

Five Regiments more arrived out of *England*.

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Horfe, and the other under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenville*. That now the *English* Interest began to revive, the *Irish* being much disheartened thereby, yet grew confident in their Allies and Confederacy, they had made through the whole Nation, to weaken which, and vindicate his Majesty's Honour, the State received the 20th of *January* a Proclamation from his Majesty, dated the first of the same Month, declaring them Rebels and Traitors: And that it might want no Solemnity to impress the greater Character of Obedience, his Majesty was pleased to sign all the Proclamations with his Royal Hand, affixing also thereto his Privy Signet, a Circumstance scarce preceded, the Original of which I have in my Custody.

CHARLES R.

His Majesty's
Proclamation a-
gainst the Re-
bels, the first of
January.

WHEREAS divers lewd and wicked Persons, have, of late, risen in Rebellion in our Kingdom of *Ireland*, surprized divers of our Forts and Castles, possessed themselves thereof, surprized some of our Garrisons, possessed themselves of some of our Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, dispossessed many of our good and loyal Subjects of the *British* Nation, and Protestants of their Houses and Lands, robbed and spoiled many thousands of our good Subjects of the *British* Nation, and Protestants of their Goods, to great Values, massacred Multitudes of them, imprisoned many others, and some who have the Honour to serve us as Privy Counsellors of that our Kingdom; We therefore having taken the same into our royal Consideration, and abhorring the wicked Disloyalty, and horrible Acts committed by those Persons, do hereby not only declare our just Indignation thereof, but also do declare them, and their Adherents, and Abettors, and all those who shall hereafter join with them, or commit the like Acts on any of our good Subjects in that Kingdom, to be Rebels, and Traitors against our Royal Person, and Enemies to our royal Crown of *England* and *Ireland*.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all those Persons, who have so presumed to rise in Arms against us, and our royal Authority, which we cannot otherwise interpret than Acts of high Rebellion, and detestable Disloyalty, when therein they spoil and destroy our good and loyal Subjects of the *British* Nation, and Protestants, that they immediately lay down their Arms, and forbear any further Acts of Hostility; wherein if they fail, we do let them know, that we have authorized our Justices of *Ireland*, and other our chief Governor or Governors, and General, or Lieutenant-General of our Army there, and do hereby accordingly require, and authorize them, and every of them, to prosecute the said Rebels and Traitors with Fire and Sword, as Persons who, by their high Disloyalty against us their lawful, and undoubted King and Sovereign, have made themselves unworthy of any Mercy or Favour; Wherein our said Justices, or other chief Governor or Governors, and General, or Lieutenant-General of our said Army, shall be countenanced, and supported by us, and by our powerful Succours of our good Subjects of *England* and *Scotland*, that so they may reduce to Obedience, those wicked Disturbers of that Peace, which by the Blessing of God, that Kingdom hath so long, and so happily enjoyed, under the Government of our royal Father, and us. And this our royal Pleasure, we do hereby require our Justices, or o-
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ther chief Governor or Governors, of that our Kingdom of *Ireland*, to
cause to be published, and proclaimed in and throughout our said
Kingdom of *Ireland*.

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Given under our Signet, at our Palace at
Westminster, the 1st of *January*, in the
17th Year of our Reign, 1641.

Which coming forth so late, and but forty of them only ordered to
be printed, was by the Parliament, in their Declaration of the 19th of
May 1642, interpreted as a Countenance to that Rebellion, in answer
whereunto, his Majesty in his Reply to that Declaration, ' shews, That
' the Proclamation not issuing out sooner, was because the Lords Jus-
' tices of that Kingdom desired them no sooner, and when they did,
' the Number they desired was but twenty, which they advised might be
' signed by us, which we, for the Expedition of that Service, com-
' manded to be printed, a Circumstance not required by them, there-
' upon we signed more of them than our Justices desired.'

His Majesty's
Reasons, why
his Proclama-
tion came out
so late.

And that it might further appear how deep a Sense his Majesty had
' of the Rebellion, which ' called upon him and his People of *Eng-*
' *land*, for a general Humiliation of all Estates before Almighty God,
' in Prayer and Fasting, for drawing down his Mercy and Blessing
' upon *Ireland* : ' His Majesty was pleased by a Proclamation, dated
' at *Whitehall* the 8th. of *January* 1641, ' Straightly to charge and
' command, That the last *Wednesday* of every Month during the
' Troubles in *Ireland*, a solemn Fast should be observed through his
' Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, ' shewing in his own
Person and the Court, an Example thereof ; which accordingly, for
some Years, was observed, and considerable Collections were gathered
at most Churches that Day, for the miserable People of *Ireland* :
Several, but especially Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, excellently speaking on
that Subject, which being much in a little, accept of in his own
Words.

Mr. Speaker,

THIS Day is appointed for a charitable Work, a Work of Bowels
and Compassion ; I pray God, we may never have the like Oc-
casion to move, to stir up our Charity.

These miserable People are made so, because of their Religion : He
that will not suffer for his Religion, is unworthy to be saved by it ;
and he is unworthy to enjoy it, that will not relieve those that suffer
for it.

I did know but the last Year here in *England*, some, and they no Pa-
pists, who were resolved to make *Ireland* their Retreat, as the safer
Kingdom of the two.

We do now see a great, a dismal Change, God knows, whose Turn
shall be next, it is wrapped up in his Providence ; that which happens
to one Country, may happen to any ; Time and Chance comes upon all,
though guided by a certain Hand.

The right Way to make a Man truly sensible of another's Calamity, is
to think himself in the same Case and Condition, and then to do as he
would be done unto.

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Wherefore,

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Wherefore, *Mr. Speaker*, let our Gift be a Matter of Bounty, not of Covetousness, that it may abound to our Account in the Day of Reckoning: He that sows plentifully, shall reap plentifully; I am sure, he that lends to the Lord, hath the best Security, and cannot be a loser.

The first Precedent of the Fast before-mentioned, which ushered in the Charity that succeeded, was, before it came to be Monthly, by the Lords House, kept in the Abbey of *Westminster*, where the Archbishop of *York*, and the Lord Primate of *Ireland*, preached to the Lords, as in *St. Margrets Westminster*, *Mr. Calamy*, and *Mr. Marshall*, to the House of Commons. Though when his Majesty afterwards found by the ill Use made thereof, that the Lecturers in their Sermons and Prayers stirred up, and continued the War raised against him in *England*, the great Promoters too thereof deserting the Care of *Ireland*, He, the 6th of *October*, 1643, forbid it to be kept, and instead thereof expressly commanded a solemn Fast to be observed, every second *Friday* of the Month, through *England* and *Wales*.

But to return to the King's Proclamation against the Rebels, which the bleeding *Iphigenia*, and others of that lying Spirit, would have to be grounded 'on the Information of a malignant Part of the Council, informing his Majesty, that the Catholics of *Ireland* without Discrimination, had entered into a Rebellion;' whereas there was never any such general Information: Nay, in all the Accounts they gave to his Majesty, they still intimated, 'That they hoped the *Pale* and other Parts would continue their Loyalty,' affording the Lords of the *Pale*, as other Towns, which afterwards shamefully revolted, Arms, Ammunition, Commands, informing his Majesty only of what they had discovered in the *North*, with the Suspicions that they had learned on Examinations from others, which would have been Treachery in them to have concealed, and grand Disloyalty. Nor doth his Majesty take notice in his Proclamation of any other, than, 'That divers lewd and wicked Persons had of late risen in Rebellion in his Kingdom of *Ireland*,' not so much therein as naming Papists or Catholics, that thence any of that Profession should take Umbrage: Nay, so circumspect were the Lords Justices and Council at that Time, that they avoided all Expressions, which might any ways encourage the *Irish* to apprehend, the *English* intended to make it a War of Religion.

However, the Rebels were so far from paying Obedience to his Majesty's Proclamation afore-mention'd, saying, it was counterfeit, or done by Coertion, as they acted now, not as before apart, but united in one Body, under the Style of the *Confederate Roman Catholics of Ireland*, binding themselves also in that Confederacy, by the following Oath of Association.

'I *A. B.* do, in the Presence of Almighty God, and all the Saints and Angels in Heaven, promise, vow, swear and protest, to maintain and defend as far as I may with my Life, Power, and Estate, the publick and free Exercise of the true *Roman Catholick* Religion, against all Persons that shall oppose the same. I further swear, that I will bear Faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, his Heirs and Successors, and that I will defend Him and Them, as far as I may with my Life, Power and Estate, against all such Persons as shall attempt

‘ attempt any Thing against their Royal Persons, Honours, Estates, and Dignities, and against all such as shall directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress their Royal Prerogatives, or do any Act or Acts contrary to Regal Government; as also the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Privileges of the Subjects, and every Person that makes this Vow, Oath and Protestation, in whatsoever he shall do, in the lawful Pursuance of the same. And to my Power, as far as I may, I will oppose, and by all Means and Ways, endeavour to bring to condign Punishment, even to the Loss of Life, Liberty, and Estate, all such as shall, either by Force, Practice, Counsels, Plots, Conspiracies, or otherwise, do or attempt any Thing to the Contrary of any Article, Clause, or any Thing in this present Vow, Oath, or Protestation contained.

So God help me.

This is the Oath the Confederates thought so loyal, so worthy their owning; whereas never any Thing was more pernicious, more destructive to his Majesty, and his Protestant Subjects, the Close of it, after all their insinuating and fair Pretensions of Faith and Allegiance to their Sovereign, his Heirs and lawful Successors, ‘ vowing to bring to condign Punishment, all that should attempt any Thing to the Contrary of any Article therein;’ whereas the first Thing, they insist on in this Vow, ‘ is the free Exercise of the Catholick *Roman* Religion,’ which if the King shall not admit of, He is, by the issue of this Vow and Protestation, to be opposed, ‘ all being to be opposed, that shall be against, do, or attempt any Thing to the Contrary of any Article, Clause, or any Thing in this present Vow, Oath, or Protestation, contained.’ And if in a more favourable Sense this were not, as to his Majesty, to be so interpreted, yet his Protestant Subjects were doubtless to be fallen upon with Fire and Sword, resisting the Ends the Rebels proposed to themselves by this Oath, and without which no Peace was to be accepted. How loyal and acceptable this could be to a Protestant Prince, who in Testimony of his Faith laid down his Life, is legible without Spectacles; so that in Conclusion, this Oath could really deceive none but those who seeing will not see, and hearing will not understand.

Thus their Strength, notwithstanding whatsoever his Majesty had proposed in his Proclamation, by endeavouring to break it, was united; their Armies were now formed, the most considerable Persons among them had openly declared themselves, and the meanest of their Soldiers were flushed in the Slaughter of the *English*; they had likewise almost all their Goods in their Possession, and the strongest Places of the Kingdom with the whole Country at their Devotion; so as they now counted themselves powerful enough to go through with the Work, and resolved to expel all the *British* and Protestants out of the Kingdom, to make themselves absolute Masters, or there to die ingloriously as Traitors and Murderers; which is fallen to their lot; for few of those inhumane Butchers have come with dry Throats to their Graves, there being no more ordinary Dispensation to be observed in the Revolutions of Things here below, than Returns of Blood for Blood, their Blood being violently to be poured forth, who have maliciously contrived, or wantonly delighted, in the Slaughter of others, which will appear by the sequel of the Story.

The Rebels notwithstanding his Majesty's Proclamation, grew more united.

Though

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* The Informations of the Politician's Catechism briefly reflected on, and what the *English* are charged with.

Though the Politicians Catechism * a Piece of as much Venom as Art or Malice can connect, would insinuate, that the Murders and Massacres done in *Ireland* by Protestants, far exceeded without Comparison those committed by Catholics, as well in Respect of Brutishness as Numerousness; I may admit, that many Things, contrary to the Law of Arms and Christianity, during the Rebellion, were severely committed by the *English*: But then it must be considered, That whatsoever was rashly done by them, was either acted in open Hostility, or had the Anguish and Memory of former Villainies first commenced on their Relations, Friends or Countrymen without the least Provocation for their Ground, instigating them thereunto. Inasmuch as *Mulmore O-Reilie*, *O-Sule-van*, and others, being at a Meeting at *London*, immediately after the King's happy Restoration, a Colonel, a Person of great Ingenuity and exemplary Virtue, who had served faithfully against the *Irish*, coming into their Company, was acquainted by them, that they were met together, to draw up a Remonstrance of the Cruelties the *English* Army had offered to the *Irish*, which, say they, indeed nothing concerned him, he having been a noble and generous Enemy. Upon which he advised them to desist, in that they might be certain to have an Answer much to their Disadvantage, considering, that if any Violencies or Irregularities were offered, they might thank themselves, in respect that after Castles, or any Places were delivered up upon Composition, it was an usual Custom with them to spoil the Meal and Food, which they should have left entire, and to have wet the Powder, as also to have made the Guns unserviceable; all which were Violations of Articles no ways justifiable, and might require a severe Return: Upon which, they being confounded, this worthy Person heard no more of their Design. And for what the Politician's Catechism would infer from a Daughter of *O-Hara*, an *Irish* Lord, being barbarously murdered, as a Precedent for what succeeded; it is evident, that the Rebellion commenced in Blood, *Rowry Mac-Guire*, that Day, in which the Rebellion, began, hanging not less than eighteen Persons in the Church of *Clownish*, and afterwards burned it; several other Examples may be produced of the same Nature. And for what this insolent Assertor braves the World with, from the *Irish* Remonstrance offered by Viscount *Preston*, and Sir *Robert Talbot*, the 17th of *March* 1642, 'That they desired the Murderers on both Sides should be punished,' is mentioned but for a Flourish; those Testimonies of their Cruelties being given in upon Oath, in several Remonstrances, which must remain an Evidence to Posterity of their Villainy; whatever *R. S.* in his Collections of Murders, would, by Way of Recrimination, charge the *English* with: Inasmuch as what Cruelties he affirms to be acted after Protection had been given, and Articles at this or that Place allowed, will be found upon due Enquiry, which they durst never stand to, to be raised on Breach of Faith and under Colour of Protection to act the greatest Villainies imaginable, some of which being found out, the Authors were punished, and it may be others, upon the same Reason only suspected, were Partners in equal Sufferings. Nor could the State, in such a confused distracted Time, be justly blamed, that some Irregularities, how cautiously soever looked after, were not in each Particular prevented, seeing the Rage of the Soldier had

had exceeded the Justice and Providence of the State. Besides can it be reasonable, that those who began and pursued so bloody a Conspiracy, with such unheard of Aggravations, should be put in Balance with such, as only to vindicate his Majesty and his People's Right, sometimes proceeded beyond their own Temper? Nor is it here to be omitted, That those whom they pretend should be singled out, and particularized for barbarous and inhumane, should by vertue of their 18th Article, be tryed by the Lord Lieutenant, and several Commissioners, some of which were chargeable with the same barbarous and inhumane Crimes, and all of them nearly interested in such as may be so charged, if to abett, aid, or countenance those, be in the Eye of the Law accounted equally involved; so that from such, what Justice could be expected, were easie to be conceived, how entire soever the Lord Lieutenant were in his Principles. And whereas this *R. S.* would free *Kilkenny*, and other Places, from the horrid Actions which were committed there, the Testimony of such as avows them, makes whatsoever he would extenuate as to them, and aggravate as to others, mere fabulous and vain; though to make up his Fardle, he takes in whatsoever *Cromwel* and his Party afterwards committed in *Ireland*. Thus confounding Actions with Times, an Artifice so shaped to his Humour, as who is he that cannot see, but that those Actions of *Cromwel's* no whit concerned the *British*, or could be any Encouragement for what the *Irish* did long before; *Cromwel's* Proceedings being on a Ground well known, extending to the *English* as well as the *Irish*; such as if the Rebellion of *Ireland* had not been, no Sect had been able to have done any harm in *England*. Indeed his whole Piece is such a Web, as unraveled, would be found mere Fictions and Imposture, after what is accounted for breach of Protection, Forfeiture of Articles, Treachery, and the like. That which he writes of the *Scotch* Forces in *Knockfergus*, murdering, if you will believe him, in the Isle of *Mac-Gee*, 3000 innocent Persons, in the Beginning of *November*, to be the first Massacre in *Ireland* on either Side, it seems he heard nothing then of *O-Hara's* Daughter, is so false, as he that will read *John Carmick's* Testimony, at the Tryal of *Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon*, the 18th of *November*, 1644, attested by *Sir William Cole*, *Sir William Hamilton*, *Sir Arthur Loftus*, *Sir Charles Coote*, and others, upon Oath, besides what the Clergy's Remonstrance clears, will plainly perceive the Vanity and Falseness of that Assertion, as, amongst others, appears by *John Cardiff*, Rector of the Parish of *Diserteragh* in *Tyrone*, a Person of known Integrity, who deposeth, That the very first Day *Mr. Mader*, Minister of the Parish of *Donnogbmore*, was murdered by the *Donnelies*; and within a while after, *Mr. New*, Curate to *Mr. Bradley*, of the Church of *Ardira*, as *Mr. Blyth*, with eight more; not to say any Thing of *Rowry Mac-Guire's* Dealing with *Mr. Middleton*, the 24th of *October*, at *Castle-Skeagh*, alias *Ballibalfure*, where, after he had by Treachery got into the Castle, seized on his Money, burnt the publick Records, and compelled him to acknowledge the Mass, he caused him, his Wife and Children, to be hanged, besides a Hundred to be murdered at least in that Town: And thence daily proceeded in such outrages.

Thus for the Present all Things seemed, in their Sense, to prosper under their Hands; for they had in this short Time made themselves Ma-

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sters of the whole Province of *Ulster*, except the Cities of *Londonderry* and *Coleraine*, the Town and Castle of *Eniskillin*, and some other Places and Castles, which were at first gallantly defended by the *British* Undertakers, though afterwards, for want of Relief, surrendered into the Rebels Hands.

The Rebels endeavour principally to make themselves Master of *Leinster*.

The Fire thus kindled, shortly after spread its Fury in the Provinces of *Munster* and *Connaught*, of which we have given you a Touch, where the *English* were quickly dispoiled of all their Substance, and either driven naked out of their Habitations, or most barbarously murdered or starved in them. But their main Design at present was, to make themselves Masters of the Province of *Leinster*, which was the chiefest and most flourishing Part of the Kingdom; and having advanced their Work, they so far prevailed therein, as they had in a Manner gained it wholly, except the Cities of *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, against which they applied their whole Strength: For *Dublin*, it being the Seat of the State, by the great Care of the Lords Justices, had the best Provisions made for the strengthening of it, that those crazy Walls, and their want of Forces, would admit. The Rebels contented themselves to block it up at a Distance with their Forces, and to make some Attempt to hinder Shipping from coming into the Harbour; but for *Tredagh*, having over-run the County of *Meath*, and surprized the Towns of *Trim*, *Kells*, *Navan*, *Ardracan*, *Ashboy*, &c. the Rebels sat down on both Sides that Town, the last of *November*, or the first of *December*, drawing very near the Walls, blocking up the Passage of the River which runs into the Sea, that no Succour could be brought in to them either by Sea or Land, no, nor Intelligence be gotten out of Town; so as Sir *Henry Tichborn*, as we have before mentioned, with the Provisions he had there, and the Forces he carried with him, which were not above one thousand Men, remained close besieged, without any Hopes of Succours, or further Supplies.

The Rebels begirt *Tredagh*.

The Situation of *Tredagh*.

Tredagh is an ancient City, of great Circuit, the River of *Boyne* passeth through the midst of the Town; it is encompassed about with an old Stone-Wall, without Bulwarks or any Kind of Rampiers, or other Fortifications than an ordinary Ditch; it lies about three Miles from the Sea, the Harbour is but ill, yet such as would admit Vessels of good Burthen, and such as exceed not sixty Tuns, may come up to the very Bridge in the Town: It is situated in a plain open Country, plentiful for all Manner of Provisions, no Bogs or Marsh-ground near it; so as the Rebels had all the Opportunities and Advantages they could desire, for making their Approaches to the Place: But so unhappy were they in their Undertakings, and so unprosperous in their Executions, as notwithstanding the Weakness of the Place, and the small Numbers of Men that kept it, they lay before it, after they had thus closely begirt the Town almost three Months, without doing any Thing of Moment, being resolved, either in regard of their want of great Guns to batter the Walls, skill to undermine them, or courage to scale them, to sit still, till Famine within had made them an Entrance.

The Siege of *Tredagh*, and its Strength.

The State being very sensible of what this poor Place suffered, consulted in the first Place, after the Landing of Sir *Simon Harcourt*, which way was most likely to weaken the Rebels Strength, the Main of which *Tredagh* had long felt; therefore they resolved now with their new Forces

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Forces to relieve that Town. But before we come to the Result of that Determination, it will not be unpleasant to shew, against how many Troubles that Place incredibly extricated itself. And here we are, obliged first to take Notice what Forces *Tredagh* had.

The 26th of *October* 1641, *Henry* Lord Viscount *Moor* of *Tredagh*, with his Troop of Horse, consisting of sixty six, entered the Town in its Defence : As did

Sir John Netterville, Captain, and ----- *Rockley* Captain, with their two half standing Companies.

Seafoul Gibson, Captain, whose Company of the *English* Inhabitants, and other Protestants to the Number of one hundred and twenty.

November the 4th following, *Sir Henry Tichborn*, Colonel and Governor of the Town, with the Regiment and two Troops of Horse, formerly mentioned, came in.

November the 10th, Captain *Henry Bryan*, Captain *Patrick Trevor*, Captain *Foulk Martin*.

November the 22d, *Christopher Roper* Serjeant Major, Captain *William Cadogan*, Captain *Charles Sounsley*, these escaped from the Defeat of *Gellingstone*.

Fifty Horse under the Command of *Sir Patrick Weams*, Captain Lieutenant to the Earl of *Ormond*.

All these, with three Companies more which came in with the second Relief, were under the Lord *Moor* ; those excepted which *Sir Henry Tichborn* brought in.

The Lord *Moor*, upon the first Discovery of the Plot, having Notice of his Sister the Lady *Blany's* and her Childrens Imprisonment, with Surprisal of her Castle, *Castle Blany*, the Town and Castle of *Newry*, *Carrick Macross*, *Charlemont*, Town and Castle of *Monaghan*, *Tonrages*, *Mountjoy*, *Cloughoter*, *Dungannon*, and Multitudes of Castles and Houses of Strength, Towns and Villages in the North, repaired in the midst of the Night from *Millefont* to *Tredagh*, and knocking up the Mayor and Aldermen, invited them to a speedy Defence ; who at first promised him fair but proceeded slowly, producing few Arms, who, on a Muster-day before, could appear with some hundreds. His Lordship, conceiving his Presence necessary, drew his whole Family thither ; and having regained some old Pieces of Ordnance, cast into a Dungeon, he fitted them, and four took out of a Merchant's Ship for Service ; and placing some at one Gate, some at another, making up the North-port, and strengthening the Walls, which he effected with singular Diligence and Speed ; one * of the two half Companies in the Town proving afterwards false, the Citizens themselves, Papists, being no way real, which put his Lordship on a perpetual Watch, there being little Relief, so that he was with his Troop constantly scouring the Streets, the Inhabitants being no Ways assisting : Yet so managed he his Affairs, as he kept all Passages free for *Sir Henry Tichborn's* Admittance, who, entering Governor there the 4th of *November* with his Forces, was coldly received by the Citizens, not admitted into any Quarters, till himself, after many Hours being in the Streets, found one. Having first drawn out several Companies to continue the Watch that Night, never excusing his own Vigilance or Pains : The next Day after he entered. He endeavoured to make the Town as defensible as might be, where-

* *Sir John Netterville's*.

Sir Henry Tichborn enters the 4th of *November* Governor of *Tredagh*.

in

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in he and his Officers ordered much to its Security, though many Things conspired to make it, in so short a Time, not artificially tenable; which yet they afterwards made good with their Bodies and Valour. He expelled many of the Popish Inhabitants, which held Intelligence with the Rebels without, and got in all the Provisions he could, ordering them with the greatest Parsimony imaginable. He and the Lord *Moor*, who accompanied him in all Services, alternately walked the Rounds, performing all Duties so industriously, as they disappointed all the frequent little Plots which the Rebels had upon them; and so careful were they to encourage and provide for their Soldiers, as they raised them up to a far greater Confidence of their Abilities to defend the Place, against so numerous an Enemy, than there was just Reason for. That which discouraged the Soldiers most, was, the constant Duty which they performed in their Night-watches; the Circuit of the Wall was very large, the Weather, being the Depth of Winter, was very sharp, and the Numbers of the Soldiers, who were to watch, were but small, and those very ill cloathed, so as it came oftener to their Turns than usual, which bred Sickness and Diseases, and some even fell down and died upon the Walls.

The third of *December*, there being a want of Corn, there issued forth a Party at *St. Lawrence* and the *West-gate*, of three hundred and fifty Foot, and two Troops of Horse, to secure some Carriages sent out for Corn at the *Green Hills*, about half a Mile off; where unexpectedly, the Citizens having been treacherous in their Intelligence, there appeared in View three thousand Men: Whereupon some Officers advised to retreat, and many of the Horse, Papists, in the Rear running back with a confused Cry exceedingly disturbed those that were at the Gates drawing out. To remedy which, Sir *Henry Tichborn* presently lights off his Horse, and in the Front, to the Hazard of his Person, marched before the Foot, commanding the Musketeers up the Hill, and his Pikes in that narrow Passage to open for the Horse, and so with all Expedition made ready to charge the Enemy, giving the Rebels so home a Charge, as they betook themselves to their Heels, with the Loss of above two hundred of them, but not one of ours, though before we charged them they had set twice on us: The Victory exceedingly animated our Soldiers, notwithstanding afterwards many Soldiers, Papists, daily revolted from us; and we received frequent Alarms, which we finding frivolous, afterwards neglected. Then the Confederates sent to parley; upon which, one *Darcy* a Friar, and a Captain of his Name, demanded the absolute Surrender of the Town for his Majesty's Use and Service, in the Name of the Commanders of the Catholick Army, expressing how impossible it would be to keep it against their Forces. The Governor with the Captains returned an Answer as short, That they had a Commission from his Majesty for the Defence of the Town, and without his Majesty's Command, or the Lords Justices to the contrary, they would keep it; if the Rebels attempted it by the Sword, they would defend it; if by Famine, they should hear they eat their Horses Hides. In Prosecution of which, the Governor and Captains of that City, made this unanimous Protestation in its Defence, for his Majesty's Use and Service.

Whereas

WHEREAS we are beset with such, who pretend their Attempts, in taking of this Town, to be for the Advancement of his Majesty's Service, which notwithstanding we believe is but a Pretext to delude the Vulgar, We the Governor and Captains of the said Town, for the further Manifestation and Approbation of our Loyalty, and Thankfulness to his Majesty, by whose immediate Command we are charged for the Defence of his just and Royal Title in it ; do likewise hereby unanimously make this following Protestation and Oath, and do enjoin it to be taken by every Soldier and Inhabitant of this Town, as the Evidence of their Faith and Truth to the King's Crown and Dignity, which we shall maintain with our Lives and Estates ; and that such as shall refuse it, be put out of the Gates.

The OATH.

I Shall, to my uttermost, endeavour the Defence of this Town against all outward and inward Attempts whatsoever, for his Majesty's Service. I shall forthwith discover any Plot, Conspiracy, or Combination, which may or shall come to my Knowledge, from without or within, which may any ways be intended to the Prejudice of the whole Town, or to the Person of the Mayor, Governor, Aldermen, or any of the Captains or Officers garrisoned in it.

I shall not attempt or consent, that the Town shall be given, upon any Pretence or Cause whatsoever, without Consent of the Governor, Mayor, and greater Part of the Captains and Aldermen in it, or without special Command from his Majesty, or Chief Governor or Governors of the Kingdom.

All which I do hereby swear truly and faithfully to observe and keep, without any Fraud, Deceit, or mental Reservation whatsoever.

Notwithstanding which, some, who took it, were afterwards perjured, not without Example ; and the Mayor and Aldermen refused it.

On St. *Thomas's* Eve, the Rebels, being encouraged from the Popish Inhabitants within, about one of the Clock at Night, after a Watch-word, approached the Walls with a terrible Shout, which the Governor answered from the Mount with a Cannon, continuing the same for some Hours ; the Towns-men, in the Interim, being upon pain of Death commanded to keep within Doors. Towards Morning, the Rebels fled, being pursued by our Bullets, from all Quarters, so that many dropt, the Number of their slain is not certain ; certainly many fell by that Attempt ; of ours, not one ; notwithstanding at St. *John's* Gate, which was most naked, and where Captain *Morris* * excellently well performed his Command, was the hottest work. This Deliverance was no sooner over, but new Conspiracies were hatched in the Town, a clandestine Oath being imposed on some to seize on the Soldiers Arms as they were asleep, and kill others in their Beds ; happily discovered by a Priest, not so bloody as the Rest : Yet Necessities of all Sorts, as well for Beasts as Men, grew so urgent, that within few Days no Enemy but those need to do Execution : In which Extremity, God was particularly flown to, and even in the midst of their Devotion, the 11th of *January*, there came in from the State, vigilant in whatsoever might concern them, a Pinnace, a Frigate, a Gabbard,

* This Captain *John Morris* was Page to the Countess of *Strafford*, one of singular Courage through the whole War, and a Colonel in *England*, and Governor of *Pontfract* Castle, for which Service, having past many Fortunes, he was condemned and executed at *Tork*, the eighth of *August* 1649. The first Relief of *Tredagh*, the 11th of *January*.

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bard, with two Shallops, and a Vessel loaden with Bisket, Powder, and Ammunition; whereby the Garrison was seasonably relieved in the midst of great Extremities; which at the first Appearance, the Towns-men, well-wishers to the Rebels, would needs have persuaded the Soldiers, that they had been Ships from *Spain* in favour of the Rebels, and appeared chearful. But the Mercy proving otherwise, the Soldiers grew hearty, which, without an especial Providence, might have proved their Ruin; for, contrary to the Command of the Governor, and his Vigilance, which was never more remarkable than then, the Soldiers caroused it too liberally, being, by the Friars themselves, made to drink, inasmuch as Sentinels, from their Guards were drawn in: So as the Rebels, *January* 12, by the help and treacherous Intimation of their own within, made a Breach in the Wall about four in the Morning, at which, many of their best Soldiers and chief Commanders, to the Number of five Hundred, entered unheard, till, having marched as far as the Key, they gave a Shout; which the Governor hearing, instantly ran down unarm'd, only with his Pistols in his Hands, and was the first that caused a Drum to beat, at which all was soon alarmed; and finding their Pikes to be short of ours by a Yard, we charged home, and forced them to a Retreat, though they had overturned a Drake of ours, that lay there, off its Carriage. Soon came in my Lord *Moor* with fifteen Horse, all that could of a sudden be got ready, with which, and the rest, that were now got together, they quickly repulsed them. Sir *John Borlase* hasting so speedily, undrest, and with that Courage, to the Breach made by the Nunnery, that his Service there in falling upon the Enemy, who fought it stoutly, was very remarkable. Here the besieged killed many of the Rebels, as well those who came near the Walls for the Succour of those that first entered, as they that invaded it; and great was the Deliverance, the Rebels Party within, very considerable, having their Doors marked with Chalk, as a Token to the Rebels, should they have prevailed: The besieged lost few if any. Though the Pinnacle, on its Return, ran aground, upon which, the Rebels plaid thick upon her from both Sides the River, desperately approaching her very Stern with Pick-axes and Crows of Iron; at which, Captain *Stutfield*, Comptroler of the Ordnance, an excellent Engineer, a stout and daring Person, presently threw some Granadoes amongst them, which did such Execution, as thoroughly frightened them; yet chased them not away till the Seventh was flung; after which they parted, but were so pursued by our Musket and Cannon, that many were slain.

After this Relief, for some Time, *Tredagh* enjoyed reasonable Peace, though at a Distance they had often Alarms, and within a Fortnight, what Quantity of Bisket and Meal was brought to the Garrison, was easily spent, Famine, Fluxes, with other Diseases return again, in as much as diverse of the *English* Inhabitants, especially such as had flown thither for Relief, died daily, and now the Town was narrowly searched for Provisions, in which Scrutiny the Friars, against their Vow of Poverty, were found full of Trunks of Plate, Money, and other Treasure, which they not owning, being the Goods of the Rebels, were equally distributed amongst the Garrison, but could not supply the want of Food, which raised Mutinies, speedily allayed by the Vigilance of the Governor. However many *English* as well as *Irish*, fled to the Rebels out of

of mere Necessity. In as much as Sir *Phelim O Neal* writ into the *North*, and gave it out amongst his Soldiers, that he was certain of the sudden Surrender of *Tredagh*; so as the Town being now driven to great Streights, the best Expedient that could be thought of, was to Man out a Boat for *Dublin*, that the State might be rightly informed of its Condition, in endeavouring which, the Aldermen and Mariners of the Town seemed very backwards, till the Governor threatned to make some of the Aldermen themselves prove Mariners in that Service; whereupon at last Men were found, and Commissioners sent to the Lords Justices, to inform them of the Misery of the Town, in which Service Sir *John Borlase*, Junior, and others were imployed, who, having obtained some Men, and two Pieces of Battery, returned with a very satisfactory Supply.

The same Day they weighed Anchor for *Dublin*, a Part of the Garrison made a Sally on the Rebels, *Northward*, who encountred them sharply, but were soon affronted by ours; many of the Enemy were slain, but of ours none, only by the breaking of a little Brass-Piece, a Gunner was hurt, which yet gave them so rugged a Salute, that they took leave of us, and we recovered some Provisions: Sir *Henry Tichborn* that Night with some Musketers, falling on their Court of Guard, killed some of their Sentinels; as the 11th of *February*, Lieutenant *Greenham*, with a Party of Horse and Foot, routed sixty of the Enemy, taking a Lieutenant, Ensign, and several other Prisoners, falling also forth the next Day, with the like Success, getting in some Grain, and burning the Country.

By these Sallies though some were relieved, the Soldiers, in general, fell into great Extremity, Horse-flesh, Dogs, and Cats, being greedv Food, yet, having but an Intention to seek God, *February* the 14th, a Booty of eighty Cows, and two hundred Sheep being offered, they were, though with much Hazard, soon recovered of the Enemy: And from the worst of Winds, a *Northwest*, it instantly turned to the best, a *S. E.* and so continued, till in the Evening, that Sabbath, having all that Day craved the Blessing from God, tidings came in that our Relief was come within the Bar: viz. two Pinnaces, six Gabbards, three Frigates, with one Shallop, with a plentiful Relief for three Months, a large Fisher-Boat of the Rebels, loaden with Herring, going to the Confederates, being also brought in, notwithstanding what Cables, Masts of Ships, and other Things they had chained over the River, to prevent their Arrival; so faithful and fortunate was Captain *Stutfield*, whose happy Conduct, *Tredagh* had now twice experienced in the Height of Misery, a Mercy not to be forgot no more than that, that *Sunday* Morning about four of the Clock, Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, marching silently with all the Strength he could make, made so bold an Attempt, as to apply scaling Ladders to the Walls, especially near *St. Lawrence Gate*, where, sometimes, a Sentinel had been omitted, two of which they had presently fixed, and on each one mounted, the Sentinel, missing fire, the Assailants presumed higher, till the Sentinel knocked them down with the Butt of his Musket, and cried out to the Guard, who instantly plyed the Rest with their fill of shot, so that they left thirteen of their Ladders, and many of their Dead behind them; nor could all that the Rebels Officers could say, encourage their Soldiers to return.

The second
Relief *February*
the 14th.

With

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With the last Relief, there came a * Proclamation, dated the 8th of February 1641, from the State, prizing Sir *Phelim O-Neal's* Head at 1000 *l.* *O-Reiley's*, and others at 600 *l.* and the Rest of the Principals at 400 *l.* if they were brought in before the 25th of *March* next, which made the Soldiers ready to be abroad. After that the Lords Justices and Council had thus particularly named those then in Rebellion, and set a Price

* By the Lords Justices, and Council.

W. Parsons. Jo. Borlase.

It is well known to all Men, but more particularly to his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom, who have all gathered plentiful and comfortable Fruits of his Majesty's blessed Government, how abundantly careful his Majesty hath been, in the whole Course of his Government, of the Peace and Safety of this his Kingdom, and how graciously he hath laboured to derive to all his Subjects therein, all those Benefits and Comforts, which from a most gracious King could be conferred on his Subjects, to make them a happy People, whereof he hath given many great Testimonies. And as at all Times he endeavoured to give them due Contentment and Satisfaction, so even then whilst the Rebels now in Arms were conspiring Mischief against him, and his Crown and Kingdom, he was then exercising Acts of Grace and Benignity towards them, granting to his Subjects here the Fulness of their own Desires in all Things, so far as with Honour or Justice he possibly could, and particularly when the Committees of both Houses of Parliament here this last Summer attended his Majesty in *England*, at which Time, amongst many other Things graciously assented to by him, he was content, even with apparent Loss and Disadvantage to himself, to depart with sundry his Rights of very great Value, which lawfully and justly he might have retained; and as his continual Goodness to his People, and his princely Care of their Prosperity and Preservation shall, to the unspeakable Joy and Comfort of all his good Subjects, render him glorious to all Posterity, so the wicked Ingratitude and treacherous Disloyalty of those Rebels shall render them infamous to all Ages; and utterly inexcusable, even in the Judgment of those, who for any Respect either formerly wished well to their Persons, or now pity them in their Transgressions. And altho' the said Persons now in Rebellion were in no Degree provoked by any just Cause of publick Grief received from his Majesty or his Ministers, to undertake such desperate Wickedness, neither can justly assign any Severity or Rigour in the Execution of those Laws which are in Force in this Kingdom against Papists, nor indeed any Cause at all, other than the unnatural Hatred, which those Persons in Rebellion do bear the *British* and Protestants, whom they desire and publicly profess to root out from amongst them. The more strange in that very many of themselves are descended of *English*, whence is the Original and Foundation of all their Estates, and those great Benefits which they have hitherto enjoyed, and whence their Predecessors, and others then well affected in this Kingdom, have been at all Times since the Conquest cherished, relieved, countenanced, and supported against the ancient Enemies of the King's People of *England*: Many of the *Irish* also having received their Estates and Livelihood from the unexampled Bounty and Goodness of the Kings of *England*. Yet such is their inbred Ingratitude and Disloyalty, as they conspired to massacre us the Lords Justices and Council, and all the *British* and Protestants universally throughout this Kingdom, and to seize into their Hands, not only his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the principal Fort in this Kingdom, but also all other the Fortifications thereof, though, by the infinite Goodness and Mercy of God, those wicked and devillish Conspiracies were brought to light, and some of the principal Conspirators imprisoned in his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, by us by his Majesty's Authority, so as those wicked and damnable Plots are disappointed in the chief Parts thereof, his Majesty's said Castle of *Dublin*, and City of *Dublin* being preserved, and put into such a Condition of Strength, as if any of them, or their Adherents shall presume to make any Attempt thereupon, they shall, God willing, receive that Correction, Shame, Confusion and Destruction, which is due to their treacherous and detestable Disloyalty. And in Pursuit of their bloody Intentions, they assembled themselves in Arms in a hostile Manner, with Banners displayed, surprized divers of his Majesty's Forts and Garrisons, possessed themselves thereof, robbed and spoiled many thousands of his Majesty's good Subjects, *British* and Protestants,

of

Price on their Heads, few, if any, were ever brought in, so entire were the Confederates; though in former Rebellions this Policy produced good Effect: Whereupon, the Commons in Parliament, ordered all rotten

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of all their Goods, dispossessed them of their Houses and Lands, murdered many of them upon the Place, stripped naked many others of them, and so exposed them to Nakedness, Cold and Famine, as they thereof died; imprisoned many others, some of them Persons of eminent Quality; laid Siege to divers of his Majesty's Forts and Towns yet in his Majesty's Hands, and committed many other barbarous Cruelties and execrable Inhumanities, upon the Persons and Estates of the *British* and Protestant Subjects of the Kingdom, without regard of Quality, Age or Sex. And to cover their Wickedness, in those cruel Acts, so to deceive the World, and to make Way, if they could, to the effecting of their mischievous Ends; they add yet to their Wickedness a further Degree of Impiety, pretending outwardly that what they do, is for the Maintenance and Advancement of the King's Prerogative; whereas it appears manifestly, that their Aims and Purposes inwardly are, if it were possible for them so to do, to wrest from him his royal Crown and Scepter, and his just Sovereignty over this Kingdom and Nation, and to deprive him, and his lawful Ministers of all Authority and Power here, and to place it on such Persons as they think fit, which can no Way stand with his Majesty's just Prerogative; nor can any equal-minded Man be seduced to believe that they can wish well to his royal Person, or any Thing that is his, who in their Actions have expressed such unheard-of Hatred, Malice, and Scorn of the *British* Nation, as they have done. And such is their Madness as they consider not, that his sacred Majesty disdains to have his Name or Power so boldly traduced by such wicked Malefactors, Rebels having never in any Age been esteemed fit Supporters of the King's Prerogative, much less these, who, under Countenance thereof, labour to deface and shake off his Government, and extirpate his most loyal and faithful Subjects of his other Kingdoms and here, whose Preservation, above all earthly Things, is and always hath been his Majesty's principal Study and Endeavour, which even these Traitors themselves have abundantly found, with Comfort, if they could have been sensible of it. And whereas divers Lords and Gentlemen of the *English* Pale preferred Petition unto us, in the Behalf of themselves and the rest of the Pale, and other the old *English* of this Kingdom, shewing, that whereas a late Conspiracy of Treason was discovered, of ill-affected Persons of the old *Irish*, and that, thereupon Proclamation was published by us; wherein, among other Things, it was declared that the said Conspiracy was perpetrated by *Irish* Papists, without Distinction of any, and they doubting that by those general Words of *Irish* Papists, they might seem to be involved, though they declared themselves confident, that we did not intend to include them therein, in regard they alledged they were none of the old *Irish*, nor of their Faction or Confederacy; but, as they then pretended, altogether averse and opposite to all their Designs, and all others of like Condition. We therefore to give them full Satisfaction, having indeed at that Time great Confidence in their Loyalty, did by Proclamation, dated the 29th of *October* 1641, declare and publish, that by the Words, *Irish* Papists, we intended only such of the old meer *Irish* in the Province of *Ulster*, as were then Actors in that Treason, and others who adhered 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, then esteemed good Subjects, we being then, as we conceived, well assured of their Fidelity to the Crown, and having Experience of the good Affection and Services of their Ancestors, in former Times of Danger and Rebellion. And indeed, so believing were we in their Faithfulness and Loyalty to the Crown, as we then also represented it unto *England* for their Advantage; and thereupon in the Order of the Lords and Commons in the Parliament in *England* concerning *Ireland*, his Majesty's loyal Subjects of *English* Blood, though of the *Romish* Religion, being ancient Inhabitants within several Counties and Parts of this Realm are mentioned as those who have always in former Rebellions given Testimony of their Fidelity to the Crown of *England*. And in further Testimony of the good Affiance we had in their Loyalty, we issued Arms to the several Counties of the *English* Pale, the better to enable them to discharge their Duties in defending those Parts, and his Majesty's good Subjects therein, against the Rebels, upon deep Professions of Loyalty made by them, and their seeming Detestation of the Loathsomeness of the Crimes, and bloody Guilts of the Rebels, which they for their Parts professed, with many Oaths and Protestations, to abhor, and promised to oppose and resist them with all their Power. And we issued Arms also to

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many

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* In his Speech
the 13th of
February 1662,
p. 17. 38.

rotten Members fit to be cut off, and new to supply their Places, publicly affixing in their Orders, their Names whom they knew engaged in the Rebellion, which Sir *Audley Mervin* * brings in 'as just Evidence

many Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, and elsewhere of the *Romish* Religion, for the Defence of their Houses against the Rebels. Yet much contrary to the Expectation of all equal-minded Men, and in Deceit of the Trust reposed in them by this State, and directly contrary, as to their Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty, so to the great Professions which they had so lately before made at this Council-Board, many of those, as well whole Counties, as particular Persons intrusted with those Arms, revolted to the Rebels, carried his Majesty's Arms with them, and so the Arms which were intrusted into their Hands, for the Protection of his Majesty's good Subjects, they converted to the Annoyance and Destruction, as much as in them lay, of those good Subjects they were trusted to protect, and of this State and Government, and have not only not resisted the Rebels, but have also joined with them, and they and the Rebels assembled in Arms in a hostile Manner, with Banners displayed against his Majesty in besieging some of his Towns, taking into their Possession by Force or Fraud, many of his Majesty's Boroughs, walled and unwalled, and in committing Murders, Spoils, Robberies, and many detestable Cruelties on his Majesty's good Subjects. And altho' those of the *Pale*, pretended that they were not able to assemble or arm any Strength against the Rebels, yet lately they found Means to assemble and arm great Multitudes to assist the Rebels against his Majesty's Forces and against his Majesty's Government, and this State, and as well the Persons who were the first Actors in this Rebellion, as also many others in the *English Pale*, and several other Parts of the Kingdom, forgetting those Duties which, by the Laws of God and Man, are due from them to his sacred Majesty, are so ungrateful to his Majesty for the great and abundant Benefits and Favours from him and his royal Father, and Predecessors derived to them, so insensible of the Happiness which they, with all others in this Kingdom, enjoyed by his blessed Government, and so improvident to themselves and their Posterity, as they have presumed most unnaturally to conspire, raise, and act those abominable Treasons and Rebellion against his Majesty, as is herein formerly mentioned. And forasmuch as those Rebels, and particularly Sir *Con Magenis* of *Newcastle* in the County of *Down*, Knight; *Patrick mac Cartan* of *Loughmelan* in the said County, *Art oge mac Glasny Magenis* of *Ilandery* in the said County, *Ever mac Phelim Magenis* of *Castlewelan* in the said County, *Rory mac Brian oge Magenis* late of *Edenteecullagh* in the said County, *Philip mac Hugh mac Shane O Rely* of *Ballynecarrig* in the County of *Cavan*, *Philip mac Mulmorry O Rely* of *Lismore* in the said County, *Mulmorry mac Edmond O Rely* of *Cavet* in the said County, *Hugh Boy mac Shane O Rely* of *Kilmore* in the said County, *Owen mac Shane mac Philip O Rely* of the same, *Rory Magwyre* of *Hassets-Town* in the County of *Fermanagh*, Brother to the Lord *Magwyre*, *Donogh bane Magwyre* of *Carrow* in the said County, Uncle to the said Lord *Magwyre*, *Brian mac Cowconnaght Magwyre* of *Tempoe* in the said County, Sir *Phelim O Neal* of *Kinnard* in the County of *Tyrone*, Knight, *Tirlagh Roe O Neal*, Brother to the said Sir *Phelim*, *Tirlagh Groom O Quin* of *Donoghmore* in the said County, *Cormock mac Owen oge O Hagan* of *Mullinecor* in the said County, *Patrick Modder O Donelly* of *Croscanena* in the said County, *Art mac Tirlagh mac Henry O Neal* of *Davernagh* in the County of *Armagh*, *Tirlagh mac Tirlagh O Neal* of the *Fues* in the said County, *Hugh oge O Neal* of *Aghadamph* in the said County, *Donogh oge O Murchie* of *Cashell* in the said County, *Collo mac Brian mac Mahowne* of *Balloghie* in the County of *Monaghan*, *Neal mac Kena* of the *Trough* in the said County, *Coolo mac Ever Mahowne* of - - - - in the said County, *Art Rowe mac Patrick mac Art*, *Moyle mac Mahowne* of *Fanaha* in the said County, Captain *Hugh mac Phelim Birne* late of *Ballinecor* in the County of *Wicklow*, *Shane mac Brien mac Phelim Birne* late of *Carrigocroe* in the said County, *Luke* alias *Feagh O Toole* of *Castlekuen* in the said County, *Luke* alias *Feagh mac Redmond Birne* of *Kilcloghran* in the said County, *Redmond mac Feagh Birne* late of *Kilvane* in the said County, *Phelim mac Redmond Birne* late of the same in the said County, *Dermot mac Dowlin Cavenagh* of *Ballidony* in the County of *Wexford*, *Lewis* alias *Lisagh mac Owny Dempsey* of *Rahynne* in the *King's-County*, *Art O Molloy* of *Rathlian* in the said County, *Hubert Fox*, of *Kilcoursy* in the said County, *Owen O Molloy* of *Clonekeene* in the said County, *Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick* of *Castle-Town* in the *Queen's-County*, *Barnaby Dempsey* of *Knockardegur* in the said County, *Daniel Doine* of *Tinehinche* in the said County, *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick* of *Raghdawn* in the said County, *James mac Fegus mac Donell* of *Taghnekilly* in the said County, *Francis mac Faghny O Farrall* of the *Mote* in the County of *Longford*, *William Farrall* of *Ballingtobber* in the

‘ dence of their Conviction, from undeniable Precedents of Parliament,
 ‘ how many nocent Persons soever have since passed in triumphant In-
 ‘ nocency, whilst those stand by, whose Evidence, if admitted, would
 ‘ write

the said County, *James mac Connell Farrall* of *Tenelecke* in the said County, *Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerald* - - - - in the said County, *Pierce Fitz-Gerald* of *Ballysonnan* in the said County of *Kildare*, *Maurice Eustace* of *Castle-martin* in the said County, *Nicholas Sutton* of *Tipper* in the said County, *Roger* alias *Rory O More* of *Ballynagh* in the said County, *William Fitz-Gerald* of *Blackhall* in the said County, *Robert Preston*, Brother to the Lord Viscount *Gormanstown*, *James Flemin* late of *Slane* in the County of *Meath*, Brother to the Lord Baron of *Slane*, *Patrick Cusack* of *Gerard's Town* in the said County, *Edward Betagh* of *Monalty* in the said County, *Gerrald Leins* of the *Knock* in the said County, *Luke Nettervill* of *Corballies* in the County of *Dublin* Son to the Lord Viscount *Nettervill* *George King* of *Clontarfe* in the said County, *Richard Barnewall* of *Lespapel* in the said County, Colonel *Richard Plunket* late of *Dunsoghlie* in the said County, *Matthew Talbot* late of *Kilgobban* in the said County, *John Stanley* of *Mallets-Town* alias *Marletts-Town* in the said County of *Louth*, *John Bellew* of *Willets-Town* in the said County, *Christopher Barnewall* of *Rathaskeit*, alias *Rathasker* in the said County, and *Oliver Casbell* of *Dundalk* in the said County : Instead of that Duty and Loyalty which his Majesty's good and gracious Government might justly have wrought in them, have returned nothing but those Fruits of Treason and Rebellion, to the Disturbance of the publick Peace and Happiness of this Kingdom, and to the Destruction, as much as in them lay, of this State and Government, and of the Persons and Estates of many Thousands of his Majesty's good and faithful Subjects therein, whereby they have shewed themselves to be most ungrateful, detestable, vile, and unnatural Traitors and Rebels. We therefore, according to the Custom of this Council-Board in Cases of this Nature, though no former Rebellion can parallel this for Acts of Cruelty and horrid Crimes, do by this present Proclamation in his Majesty's Name, and by his Majesty's Authority, declare, publish and proclaim them, the said *Sir Con Magenis*, *Patrick mac Cartan*, *Art oge mac Glasny Magenis*, *Ever mac Phelim Magenis*, *Rory mac Brien oge Magenis*, *Philip mac Hugh mac Shane O Reily*, *Philip mac Mulmorry O Reily*, *Mulmorry mac Edmond O Reily*, *Hugh Boy mac Shane O Reily*, *Owen mac Shane mac Philip O Reily*, *Rory Magwire*, *Donogh Bane Magwire*, *Brian mac Cowcannaght Magwire*, *Sir Phelim O Neale*, *Tirlagh Roe O Neale*, *Tirlagh Groom O Quin*, *Cormock mac Owyn O Hagan*, *Patrick Modder O Donnelly*, *Art mac Tirlagh mac Henry O Neale*, *Tirlagh mac Henry mac Tirlagh O Neale*, *Hugh oge O Neale*, *Donnogh oge O Murchie*, *Collo mac Brien mac Mahowne*, *Neale mac Kena*, *Coolo mac Ever mac Mahowne*, *Art Roe mac Patrick Art Moile mac Mahowne*, Captain *Hugh mac Phelim Birne*, *Shane mac Brien mac Phelim Birne*, *Luke* alias *Feogh O Toole*, *Luke* alias *Feogh mac Redmond Birne*, *Redmond mac Feogh Birne*, *Phelim mac Redmond Birne*, *Dermot mac Dowlin Cavenagh*, *Lewis* alias *Lisagh mac Owyn Dempfie*, *Art O Molloy*, *Hubert Fox*, *Owen O Molloy*, *Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick*, *Barnaby Dempfie*, *Daniel Doine*, *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, *James mac Fergus mac Donell*, *Francis mac Faghny O Farral*, *Will. Farrall*, *James Connell Farrall*, *Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerrald*, *Pierse Fitz-Gerrald*, *Maurice Eustace*, *Nich. Sutton*, *Roger* alias *Rory O More*, *Will. Fitz-Gerald*, *Robert Preston*, *James Fleming*, *Patrick Cusacke*, *Edward Betagh*, *Gerrald Leins*, *Luke Nettervill*, *George King*, *Richard Barnewall*, Colonel *Richard Plunket*, *Matthew Talbot*, *John Stanly*, *John Bellew*, *Christopher Barnewall* and *Oliver Casbell*, and every of them, and all their and every of their Partakers, Aiders, Maintainers, Comforters, Confederates, Complices and Associates, apparent, notorious, ungrateful, wicked, vile, and unnatural Traitors and Rebels, against our most gracious Sovereign Lord *Charles*, by the Grace of God King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. His Royal Crown and Dignity of this Realm, and malicious Oppugners of His Majesty's Royal Sovereignty, Preheminences and Prerogatives, willing therefore, requiring, warranting and authorizing, all His Majesty's good and loving Subjects, to pursue and plague with Fire and Sword, apprehend, destroy and kill, by all the Ways and Means they may, all the said Persons, their Partakers, Aiders, Maintainers, Comforters, Confederates, Complices and Associates, as apparent, notorious, ungrateful, wicked, vile, detestable and unnatural Traitors and Rebels.

And we do hereby make known to all Men, as well good Subjects as all others, that whatsoever he or they be that shall betwixt this and the five and twentieth Day of *March* next, kill and bring, or cause to be killed and brought unto Us, the Lords Justices, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the Time being, the

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‘ write the Letter of Condemnation on their Foreheads.’ However, the Catholick Lords of the *Pale*, could Words make them innocent, framed a Protestation against the Proclamation of the 8th of February, but

Head of the said Sir *Phelim O Neal*, or of the said Sir *Con Magennis*, or of the said *Rory Magwire*, or of the said *Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shane O Reyly*, or of the said *Collo Mac Brien Mac Mahon*, who were of the Principal Conspirators, and have been the first and principal Actors in this present Rebellion, he or they shall have by way of Reward, for every of the said last named Persons, so by him to be killed, and his or their Head or Heads brought to Us, the Lords Justices, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, as aforesaid, as followeth: viz. for the Head of the said Sir *Phelim O Neal* one thousand Pounds, for the Head of the said Sir *Con Magennis* six hundred Pounds, for the Head of the said *Rory Magwire* six hundred Pounds, for the Head of the said *Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shane O Reyly* six hundred Pounds, for the Head of the said *Collo Mac Brian Mac Mahon* six hundred Pounds, and Pardon for all his or their Offences, that shall kill, and so bring in, or cause to be killed, and so brought in, the said Head or Heads.

And whosoever shall within the mean Time by any Means slay or kill, as aforesaid, the said Sir *Phelim O Neal*, Sir *Con Magennis*, *Rory Magwire*, *Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shane O Reyly*, and *Collo Mac Brian Mac Mahon*, or any of them, though such Person or Persons, so slaying or killing the said Traitors, or any of them, bring not, or cause not to be brought to Us the Lords Justices, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, the Head or Heads of the said Traitor or Traitors; yet being justly proved, shall forthwith upon Proof so made, receive the Reward, for the said Sir *Phelim O Neal*, eight hundred Pounds, for the said Sir *Con Magennis* four hundred Pounds, for the said *Rory Magwire* four hundred Pounds, and for the said *Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shane O Reyly*, four hundred Pounds, for the said *Collo Mac Brian Mac Mahon*, four hundred Pounds, and Pardon for all his or their Offences, that shall kill the said last mentioned Persons, or any of them. And forasmuch as the other Rebels above named, have most traiterously combined in the wicked and abominable Councils of the said five other Persons last above named, and have been Partakers with them in their most bloody Design, for the extirpating of the *British* and Protestants, and depriving his Majesty of the Sovereignty of this His Kingdom of *Ireland*, many of which Rebels stand indicted of High Treason. We do therefore make known and declare unto all Men, as well his Majesty’s loving Subjects, as all others, That whosoever, under the Degree of a Knight, other than the said *Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shane O Reyly*, and *Collo Mac Brian Mac Mahon*, and other than the said *Luke Tool*, and other than the Children and Grand-children of the late traiterously descended Traitor, *Feagh Mac Hugh Birne*, and other than the said *Rory* alias *Roger More*, We not holding it fit that the most malignant Conspirators should obtain Pardon for so high and heinous Offences, and the causeless Destruction of so many Thousands of Innocents, upon the only Service of cutting off Persons of no greater Consideration, shall, betwixt this and the 25th Day of *March* next, kill and bring, or cause to be killed and brought in to Us the Lords Justices, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, as aforesaid, the Head or Heads of the said *Patrick Mac Cartan*, *Art oge Mac Glasny Magennis*, *Ever Mac Phelim Magennis*, *Rory Mac Brian oge Magennis*, *Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shane O Reyly*, *Philip Mac Mulmorry O Reyly*, *Mulmorry Mac Edmond O Reyly*, *Hugh Boy Mac Shane O Reyly*, *Owen Mac Shane Mac Philip O Reyley*, *Rory Magwire*, *Donogh Bane Magwire*, *Brian Mac Cowcannaght Magwire*, *Tirlagh Roe O Neal*, *Tirlagh Groom O Quin*, *Cormock Mac Owen O Hagan*, *Patrick Modder O Donnelly*, *Art Mac Tirlagh Mac Henry O Neal*, *Tirlagh Mac Henry Mac Tirlagh O Neal*, *Hugh oge O Neal*, *Donnogh oge O Murchie*, *Collo Mac Brian Mac Mahowne*, *Neal Mac Kena*, *Coolo Mac Ever Mac Mahowne*, *Art Roe Mac Patrick Mac Art Moile Mac Mahowne*, *Captain Hugh Mac Phelim Birne*, *Shane Mac Brien Mac Phelim Birne*, *Luke alias Feogh O Toole*, *Luke alias Feogh Mac Redmond Birne*, *Redmond Mac Feogh Birne*, *Phelim Mac Redmond Birne*, *Dermot Mac Dowlin Cavenagh*, *Lewis alias Lisagh Mac Owny Dempsey*, *Art O Molloy*, *Hubert Fox*, *Owen O Molloy*, *Florence Mac Shane Fitz Patrick*, *Barnabie Dempsey*, *Daniel Doine*, *Barnabie Fitz-patrick*, *James Mac Fergus Mac Donell*, *Francis Mac Faghny O Farrall*, *Will. Farrall*, *James Mac Connell Farrall*, *Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerrald*, *Pierse Fitz-Gerrald*, *Maurice Eustace*, *Nicholas Sutton*, *Roger alias Rory O More*, *William Fitz-Gerald*, *Robert Preston*, *James Fleming*, *Patrick Cusake*, *Edward Betagh*, *Gerald Leins*, *Luke Netterwill*, *George King*, *Richard Barnewall*, *Colonel Richard Plunket*, *Matthew Talbot*, *John Stanley*, *John Bellew*, *Christopher Barnewall* and *Oliver Cashel*, or any of them, he shall have by way of Reward for every of the said last mentioned Persons, so by him to be killed

but so false, scandalous, and insinuating, that no Answer, further than every intelligent Man's Abhorrency thereof, is requisite or expedient.

Since the last Relief, the Rebels, as to their Menaces, were somewhat milder; and Relief and Hope, having now animated the Soldiers, the 26th of *February*, the Governor issued out with two hundred and twenty Foot, and a hundred and twenty Horse to *Beaubeck*, securing thereby some Corn and Hay for the Service of the Town, and then advanced to *Smithstown*, where they met a Party of the Rebels, fought them, and slew three hundred, Serjeant Major *Fortescue* took two Colours, Captain *Bryan* a Drum, and eight score Cows near *Gellingstone*, where not long before they had defeated our Men; Colonel *Preston* was there hard put to it: The Victory, that it might tend to the raising of the Siege, was pursued by six hundred Foot, and a hundred and twenty Horse, under the Conduct of my Lord *Moore*, with Carriages and two Field Pieces, who assailed *Stanime*, which they found so unexpectedly fortified, as having only slain some of their Men, abundance of Rain falling, the great Guns did small Execution, that thence the

Party

killed, and his or their Head or Heads brought to Us, the Lords Justices, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, as aforesaid, four hundred Pounds, and Pardon for all his or their Offences, that shall bring in, or cause to brought in, the said Head or Heads, and whosoever under the Degree of a Knight, as aforesaid, other than the said *Philip mac Shane O Reily*, *Collo mac Brien mac Mahowne*, *Luke Toole*, and the Children and Grand-children of *Feagh mac Hugh* aforesaid, and the aforesaid *Rory*, alias *Roger O More*, shall by any Means within the said Time, slay or kill the said Traitors, viz. *Patrick mac Cartan*, *Art oge mac Glasny Magennis*, *Ever mac Phelim Magennis*, *Rory mac Brien oge Magennis*, *Philip mac Mulmorry O Reily*, *Mulmorry mac Edmond O Reily*, *Hugh Boy mac Shane O Reily*, *Owen mac Shane mac Philip O Reily*, *Donogh Bane Magwire*, *Brian mac Cowcannaght Magwire*, *Tirlagh Roe O Neal*, *Tirlagh Groome O Quin*, *Cormock mac Owen oge O Hagan*, *Patrick Modder O Donnelly*, *Art mac Tirlagh mac Henry O Neale*, *Tirlagh mac Henry mac Tirlagh O Neal*, *Hugh oge O Neale*, *Donnogh oge O Murchie*, *Neal mac Kena*, *Collo mac Ever mac Mahowne*, *Art Roe mac Patrick mac Art Moyle mac Mahowne*, *Captain Hugh mac Phelim Birne*, *Shane mac Brien mac Phelim Birne*, *Luke alias Feagh O Toole*, *Luke alias Feagh mac Redmond Birne*, *Redmond mac Feagh Birne*, *Phelim mac Redmond Birne*, *Dermot mac Dowlin Cavenagh*, *Lewis alias Lisagh mac Owny Dempsey*, *Art O Molloy*, *Hubert Fox*, *Owen O Molloy*, *Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick*, *Barnabie Dempsey*, *Daniel Doine*, *Barnabie Fitz-Patrick James mac Fergus mac Donell*, *Francis mac Faghny O Farrall*, *William Farrall*, *James mac Connell Farrall*, *Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerrald*, *Pierse Fitz-Gerrald*, *Maurice Eustace*, *Nicholas Sutton*, *Roger alias Rory O More*, *William Fitz-Gerrald*, *Robert Preston*, *James Flemen*, *Patrick Cusacke*, *Eawara Betagh*, *Gerrald Leins*, *Luke Nettervil*, *George King*, *Richard Barnewall*, *Colonel Richard Plunket*, *Matthew Talbot*, *John Stanley*, *John Bellew*, *Christopher Barnewall*, and *Oliver Casshell*, or any of them, though such Person or Persons, so slaying or killing the said Traitors, or any of them, bring not or cause not to be brought to Us the Lords Justices, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, as aforesaid, the Head or Heads of the said Traitor or Traitors, yet being justly proved, shall forthwith upon Proof so made, receive the Reward of three hundred Pounds, for every of the said last named Persons so killed and proved, and shall have Pardon for all his or their Offences, that shall slay or kill the said Traitors, or any of them.

Given at His Majesty's Castle of *Dublin* the 8th Day of *February*, 1641.

<i>Ormond Ossory.</i>	<i>Tho. Rotheram.</i>
<i>R. Dillon.</i>	<i>Fra. Willoughby.</i>
<i>Cha. Lambert.</i>	<i>Rob. Meredith,</i>
<i>Ad. Loftus.</i>	<i>J. Temple.</i>
<i>Cha. Coote.</i>	

God save the King.

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Party returned that Night, and called in upon *Colp*, a little Village, where they loaded themselves with Corn, and returned without any Opposition. Those of *Stanime* hearing of our Supplies, and Resolution to come on, quitted the Castle few Days after, which without further Work fell into our Hands; scarce a Day now passed, without some Attempt upon the Enemy.

The first of *March*, Sir *John Borlase* junior Lieutenant Colonel, had the Command of four Companies, with which he faced the Enemy, and beat them with much Disadvantage, securing at that Time 200 *l.* worth of Corn, burning withal, such of their Lodgings as remained of the former Days Work at *Colp*, and returned with great Satisfaction: Whilst the same Day the Lord *Moor*, and the Governor marched further, and the Rebels having lined Hedges and Ditches, Captain *Billingsley* very resolutely scoured those Places with eighty Musqueteers, soon routing them, a Lieutenant with thirteen Soldiers were slain, and a Captain of the *O-Neals* taken Prisoner: The Castle of *Colp*, after much hazard, was taken, and all therein, *viz.* twenty six, were slain, save the Captain who was taken Prisoner.

The third of *March* some Forces marched out, under the Command of Colonel *Waineman* to *Marlington*, three Miles off *Tredagh*, with whom all Persons were permitted to pillage, and returned home with all Sorts of Grain, having burnt *Draicot's* House, and some other Places considerable: At which Time the Rebels forsook many of their Houses, and we began to be at pretty Ease.

The first of *March*, the Lord *Moor* commanded out a Party of four hundred Foot, and eighty Horse on the North Side, amongst his traiterous Tenants, to *Talagh-hallon*, where Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, with Colonel *Mac-Bryan*, had that Night confederated together, eight Colours instantly appeared, being intrenched much to their Advantage, but our Men, Lieutenant Colonel *Byron* commanding the Foot, drew up boldly, and gave such sure Fire, as they soon betook themselves to their last Refuge, their Heels, near four hundred with seven Captains, were slain, and one taken Prisoner, *viz.* *Rory-mac-Art-mac-Cross-mac-Mahon*, and one Colour; one hundred Muskets were taken, and Pikes covered the Ground, others securing themselves by a Bog near at Hand, were so roughly admonished by a Drake from us, that they soon removed their Standing: This hot Skirmish was in Sight of our Walls, the Lord *Moore* in this Encounter behaving himself most gallantly, indeed no Man braver; for after he was known by the Rebels, they endeavoured to have seized on him; yet though he had but seven in his Company, being then at a Distance from the main Body, charged them home, killed many, scattered the rest, and got off clear.

Tredagh being freed, several of the Lords of the *Pale* offer, upon Conditions to come in.

After that *Tredagh* had relieved itself, and his Majesty's Forces became full Masters of the Field, several, as the Lord *Netterville*, Lord *Slane*, and others, writ Letters to the State to excuse themselves, as did those with the Lord *Gormanstown*, about the 21st of *March*, to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, under the Name of the united Lords, that he would move the State for a Cessation of Arms, and to know upon what Conditions they might come in and submit; which the Lords Justices and Council thought a Demand full of Insolency, they

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they having, till then, acted with the forwardest of the Rebels, notwithstanding whatever Dehortations or Encouragements, the State gave them to the contrary, so that then the State had no Power to mitigate their Crimes; nor did the Lords Justices and Council then think fit to prostitute his Majesty's royal Grace, to Men so ungrateful and unnatural: Besides, the State in their Commission and Instructions, found no express Warrant to pardon such pernicious Traitors, as, before they inclined to come in, hoped to carry all before them, by Surprizal or open Force.

In the last Service of my Lord Moor's *Barnewell* of *Rahasket*, one of dangerous Parts, was taken, with some Priests and Friars; *Darcy* of *Platten* in *Meath*, about two Miles from *Tredagh* was soon after summoned, who denied the Surrender of his House to the Earl of *Ormond*, yet after hearing of two Pieces of Battery, surrendered it. However, at *Atherdee*, the Rebels killed all the Protestants, whilst the Earl of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General, leaving *Dublin* the 7th of *March*, prosecuting the Design formerly mentioned, upon the Arrival of the Forces out of *England*, that they might not be idle in the City, was not far from *Tredagh*, with three thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, burning the County of *Meath*, and several of the Lords of the *Pale*'s Houses in their March, who came to *Tredagh* the 11th of *March*, exceedingly admiring that such weak Walls should be able to resist so potent an Enemy. His Lordship with the Governor, the Lord Moor, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Sir *Robert Ferrall*, and others, in a Council of War, determined to prosecute the Rebels: But the Earl of *Ormond*, with the rest of his Forces, being summoned to *Dublin*, on Business of great Importance, beneath the Capacity of those who would have had it otherwise, the Work fell wholly on the Lord Moor, and the Governor, who were by the Earl of *Ormond* recruited with four Companies of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, and two Pieces of Battery; and upon the 21st of *March*, with one thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, they marched forward, finishing what they had left unburned at *Slane* and other Villages in the Way. And the 23d of *March*, they advanced with Fire and Smoak towards *Atherdee*; about a Mile from the Town, the Enemy was descried to be drawn up into two Divisions, reported to be eleven hundred or fifteen hundred, upon which Sir *Henry Tichborn* drew his Soldiers into Battalia, sending up a Forlorn Hope before to scour the Ditches, which they so effectually did, as stumbling upon an Ambuscado of the Enemy's Musketeers, they beat them out of their Holes, drawing so nimbly upon them, as they killed about four hundred of them in a Mile's Space. At the Foot of the Bridge our Foot found some Resistance, by Musketeers placed in a Tower; upon which Sir *Henry Tichborn*, finding a Passage over the River, galled them so on the other Side that they soon abandoned it. The Passage thus opened, the Horse entered, and with a full Career chased them thro' the Town, where one Lieutenant Colonel, and five Captains of the Rebels were slain, the Lord Moor doing much Execution with his own Hands. Now the Passage being clear, our Forces made an Assault on *Dundalk*, fortified by the Rebels, with a double Wall, double Ditch, Marsh-ground on one Side, and Sea on the other, so that

The Earl of Ormond visits *Tredagh* with 3000 Foot and 500 Horse.

Dundalk assaulted and gained.

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that our Difficulty was great. Yet we approached the Town the 26th of March, about Nine in the Morning, planted our Ordnance on a little Hill near the Gate, which five hundred of them defended a while against a Forlorn Hope of ours, till they pursued their Work so close, as they made many of the Rebels fall, at which they retired; which our Men perceiving, increased their Fears by shouting, that at length a Division, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Waineman*, of about three hundred resolutely approached the Gate with Pick-Axes, and after a strong Encounter, entered with the Horse, who pursued the Enemy with a full Gallop, killing many; but, upon the turning towards the next Gate, seeing two or three Brass Pieces planted, and five hundred of the Rebels ready to receive us, we fairly retreated, whilst a Castle placed at the Head of that Street, manned with their best Musketeers, in our return played very hot upon us, whereby ten of our Men were slain, and Ensign *Forrescue*, a sprightly Gentleman, one Serjeant, and one that carried the Colours for another; Lieutenant *Francis Moor* was there also shot upon the Shoulder-piece of his Armour, without much Hurt, a Gentleman that merits much for his Service through the whole Business. At this, we being not subject to lose any Men, the Governor and the Lord *Moor* were so enraged, that they set the Houses near the Castle, the only *Remora*, on Fire, through which, the Wind blowing the Smoak on the Castle, and the Soldiers making Bundles of dried Bean-stalks intermixed with Tow and Gun-powder, and carrying these on their Heads, they got themselves undescried to the Castle-door, where they laid down their Bundles, and giving Fire by a Train of Powder blew up the Door, and some other Boards, those within being almost choaked and fully frightened, leaped out at a Window, and a Serjeant of Captain *Owen's* with five Men, upon Condition that they might have the Pillage of the Place, entered it, and speedily shewed, by their naked Swords on the Top of the Castle, that they were Masters of it. At which the Governor and the Lord *Moor* were revived, and immediately quenched the Fires, and manned the Castle with thirty good Musketeers, who, playing thick into the Town, hindered the Rebels from walking the Streets. Afterwards we drew up two Pieces of Ordnance against the inner Gate, and with ten Wooll-packs, found in the Castle, very opportunely, a kind of Bulwark was made for the Musketeers, which the Rebels perceiving, left their Pieces there loaden. Whereupon the Governor took a Division of a Party of Horse, and drew by the back of the Town, towards the North-gate, killing forty in his Way, and entered at a By-gate, found the Town deserted. The Lord *Moor*, in the Interim, also beating open the Gates, took Possession of the two Brass Pieces, and another in the Market-place, and so at Seven o' Clock the same Night we were Masters of all. About one hundred of theirs were killed, and some fourteen of ours, one hundred and twenty Protestants were thereby relieved, and much good Pillage of all Sorts taken therein: Our Forces upon Muster next Morning were found to be but seven hundred and fifty Foot, and two hundred Horse, theirs near three thousand within the Town, besides in Artillery and Brass Pieces, they much exceeded us.

Thus *Tredagh*, which not long since was, in the Opinion of most, given up as an irrecoverable Prey to the Rebels, now survived their Scorns, and

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and that merely through God's Mercy, on the Courage and Valour of the besieged, bearing out against the utmost of Extremity and Treachery, faithfully set down by Dean Bernard, in his Siege of *Tredagh* 1642, described, with the Follies of several Superstitions and Vanities, no ways prevalent to the Practiser; and had not the Providence of the State, at that Time, been singular, no doubt but *Dublin* would soon have been the triumph of their Malice and Cruelties. And now the County of *Lowth* which lay on the other Side of the *Boyne*, being cleared, *Ardes* and *Dundalk* also being taken in, Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, who, on all Occasions, made a most inconsiderable Resistance, ran with the first, being reserved for a further Mischiefe; he got to the *Newry*, and thence passed down into the Counties of *Tyrone* and *Ardmagh*, where, in Revenge of his Losses before *Tredagh*, he exercised the uttermost of his Cruelties on Men, Women, and Children, whom he had to that Time suffered to live among the *Irish*, most barbarously killing the Lord *Cawfield*, when he least suspected it, and caused Mr. *Blany*, a Gentleman of good Quality, to be hanged for refusing to hear Mass. About the same Time, *Mulmore O-Reyly* being likewise driven from the Siege of *Tredagh*, retiring to *Belturbet*, in the County of *Carvan*, there commanded the poor *British*, who, hitherto, *i. e.* after the great Slaughter, had survived to the Number of sixty, to be forced off the Bridge into the Water, where they were swallowed up: As did Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, who missing the taking in of the Castle of *Augher*, in the County of *Ardmagh*, in Revenge gave Directions to *Mulmore Mac-Donnel*, a most cruel and merciless Rebel, to kill all the *English* and *Scotch* within the Parishes of *Mullebrack*, *Loghgilly*, and *Kilcluneny*, destroying there not less than one thousand five hundred Protestants, since the 23d of *October* 1641. He exercised also his Cruelty in the same Manner, for his Loss before *Lisnagarvy*, *Newry*, and other Places, upon the poor Protestants, as if by offering so many innocent Souls to Death, he should have expiated the Guilt of his Cowardliness and Treacheries.

Thus the *English* Forces enduring no Resistance where they came, either possess themselves of the Castles tenable, or demolished the rest, and having cleared all Passages betwixt *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, Part of them retired to *Dublin*, whilst Sir *Phelim O-Neal* gave but cold Entertainment to the Inhabitants of the *Pale*, that had for their Safety, after their Confederacy with him, retired into his Quarters; he and his Confederates renewing their ancient Animosities against them, the old *English*, as those who formerly pursued the *Irish* in the Defence of themselves, telling them, That the Time was not yet past Memory, when they had done, as now, stirred up the mere *Irish* to rebel, making those in the North declare themselves; and when they found them not likely to prosper, deserted them, exposing them to the Fury of the *English*, and their Country to Ruin and Desolation; but now they were even, their Country being first ruined. This harsh scornful Usage of the old *English*, by the Northern *Irish*, after so solemn a Conjunction between them, and under such a publick Calamity fallen upon them, bred in them a great Consternation and Trouble; and it made so sad an Impression upon the Lord Viscount *Gormanstown*, who was the chief Instrument to bring the Northern *Irish* into the *Pale*, and there to work out that solemn Conjunction between them, as it broke his Heart, and he soon after died, lamenting his Treachery and Infidelity, that he had not

Sir *Phelim O-Neal* being disappointed at *Tredagh*, revenges himself on the *British* in other Parts.

The *Irish* taunt the Lords of the *Pale* with old miscarriages.

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' been only the Ruin of himself and his Posterity, but the great Fire-brand of his Country, out of vain ambitious Ends, or for the setting up of fond superstitious Inventions, entertaining such Designs, as had already caused huge Streams of Blood to be shed, and were now likely to determine in nothing, but the Extirpation of the old *English* Families, out of those plentiful Parts of the Country, wherein they had most happily seated themselves, and which they had most pleasantly enjoyed, ever since the first Conquest of *Ireland*.' Others had the same Apprehensions; but being now involved with the *Ulster* Forces, and having withstood the Date of his Majesty's Favour, the next Course was to colour their Proceedings by Pretence of Grievances, that by Forgeries and Calumnies, which they never spare to vent and publish, when they would withdraw the Subjects from their Obedience, they might the more colourably palliate their foul Contempts, confounding Times, that the Rise of their Insurrection might seem to have some Ground and Encouragement thence: And to that End, they of the *Pale* made an Apology to his Majesty, fraught with so many vain, impertinent, and malicious Stories, as, in the Judgment of the knowing and moderate Statesman, serve only to increase their Guilt; the main of whatsoever is there alledged, being fully answered, in the Reply to the Remonstrance given in at *Trim*, the 17th of *March*, 1642.

1742.

The King offers to go for *Ireland*.

About this Time the King, considering how slowly the Supplies for *Ireland* went on, offered, by a Message the 8th of *April* 1642, in Person to go thither, as before he had done the 14th, and 24th of *February*, as also the 9th of *March* 1641, intending to raise his Guard of two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, out of the Counties near *Chester*, and to engage his Crown-Lands for the Relief of his miserable Subjects there: Well knowing, as in one of his Declarations to the Parliament he expresses, ' That as he was, in his Interest, more concerned than any of his Subjects, so he was to make a stricter Account to Almighty God for any neglect of his Duty, or his Peoples Preservation.' But the Parliament voted, That for his Majesty to go thither in Person, ' He would be subject to the Casualty of War, and the secret Practices and Conspiracies of the Rebels, it would be an encouragement to the Rebels; it would impair the Means to subdue the Rebels, and increase the Charge; and withal dishearten the Adventurers to subscribe and pay in their Money: It would also interrupt the Proceedings of the Parliament, increase the Jealousies and Fears of the People, and bereave the Parliament of that Advantage, whereby they were induced to undertake the War, upon promise, that it should be managed by their Advice; so as the Journey would be against the Law. And that whosoever should assist him in it, should be an Enemy to the Common-wealth; and that the Sheriffs of Counties should raise Power to suppress any Levies he should make to that Purpose: Being loth, saith his Majesty in his Solitudes, to shoot at any Mark here less than himself; or that any should have the Glory of his Destruction but themselves.' Whilst at the same Time, his Majesty's Subjects of *Scotland*, in an Act of Council at *Edinburgh* the 22d of *April* following, upon this Occasion takes Notice, ' That there could be no greater Demonstration of Care and princely Courage, than this his Majesty's Intention to go in Person into *Ireland* against the Rebels.' Upon the Signification of which Royal Intent

tent to the State there, the Lords Justices and Council, in a Letter to his Majesty the 23d of *April* 1642, taking notice of his princely Purpose, to take just Vengeance on the perfidious Rebels, humbly besought him, 'to come so provided, as to appear in that Kingdom suitable to the Greatness and Wisdom of so mighty a King.' Which Letter, how finely soever it was covered, went not, in some Mens Opinion, without a Discouragement; forasmuch as that though some, at Court, might conceive, by his Majesty's coming over, a Peace might be made with the *Irish* when his Majesty pleased; yet by taking in so base, perfidious, and barbarous a People, who in so execrable a Manner had cut off such Multitudes of the *English*, the Event, as was privately signified by some, could not redound to his Majesty's Honour. Besides, the Soldiers were then grown so implacable to the *Irish*, as they would scarce endure any ordinary Papist, much less suffer a Rebel to be admitted amongst them. After all, his Majesty's Resolutions for *Ireland* were prevented, not without several Constructions, as each Party apprehended the Scene: Though his Majesty expressed, that he would never refuse or be unwilling to venture his Person for the Good and Safety of his People, yet he was not so weary of his Life as to hazard it impertinently, and therefore at present should desist. However as yet, the Protestant Army in *Ireland* being competently supplied, the Rebels were frequently chastized.

To say Truth, after the raising of the Siege of *Tredagh*, and the Consequences thereupon, his Majesty's Forces so enlarged their Quarters, as no considerable Enemy, save some Castles, lay nearer *Dublin* than twenty Miles on any Side, that now the Lords Justices thought it high Time to provide for the Safety of such Places as lay more remote in the Country, the *English* having in many Places, upon the first rising of the *Irish*, possessed themselves of some Forces, strong Holds, Towns and Castles, which, though very ill provided, they did for many Months, yea, some for Years, after the first breaking out of the Rebellion, defend, notwithstanding long Sieges, Multitudes of Rebels encompassing them, and all Means by Treachery, Force or Famine, experienced to draw them into their Possession.

It will here take up too large a Space in this Story, where many considerable Things may fall besides the Pen, to recite the gallant Actions performed by several private Persons in some inconsiderable, in respect of Strength, Places; many Women shewing more Courage, Constancy, and Resolution in the Defence of what they were necessitated to, than the Men without did in their Undertakings against them. Great were the Straits many of them were put unto, enduring all Manner of Extremities, subjecting themselves to all kind of Dangers, not daunted with the Multitudes of Rebels that lay about them, they in many Places issued out, and lived only on the Spoils they took from them, fighting continually for their daily Bread, which they never wanted as long as their Enemies had it. The Rebels were so undexterous in the Management of their Sieges, as they took very few Places by Force; in all their Attempts, whether by Mine, Battery, Assault, they seldom prospered: The great Engine whereby they mastered any Fort of the *English*, was treachery; Offers of safe Conduct, and other Conditions of Honour and Advantage, which might induce the Besieged, sometimes reduced to the utmost Extremities, to surrender their Places into their Hand;



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Hand; which, tho' so solemnly sworn and signed, they yet seldom or never kept, but left several Places as Monuments of their Treachery and Infidelity, using those who surrendered them as they did the poor Protestants in the Town and Castle of *Longford*, whom, they having besieged and drawn to yield up into their Hands upon Condition of Quarters, and Safety for their Persons, they, as soon as they issued out, fell upon with their Skenes, their Priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the Belly of the Minister amongst the *English*; then his Followers soon killed and hanged the rest. After this manner used they the one hundred and fifty Protestants, who yielded up, upon fair Quarter, the Castle of *Tullagh*, and the Church of *Newtown*, in the County of *Fermanagh*. And the one thousand four hundred or one thousand five hundred at *Belturbet*, and the Inhabitants of *Armagh* and *Loughgell*, and those under the Conduct of the Lord *Mayo*; and those one hundred and twenty murdered by the *Mac-Sweynes*, as those who yielded the strong Castle of *Clogbleigh*, situate upon the *Manning-water*, to *Richard Condon*, who promised Quarter and a safe Convoy to *Castelions*, contrary to which, they were all of them either hanged, killed, wounded, or kept Prisoners by him and his Company. In the same Manner also he used a Party of the Earl of *Barrimore's* Troop, who, having bravely maintained themselves in a House in *Coole* against his Forces, were by his Promise, on the Faith of a Soldier and a Christian, of a safe Conveyance to *Castelions*, contented to yield it up; but were immediately, upon their coming forth murdered: As some *English* Families, and the Garrison-soldiers at *Sligo* were used by *O Connor Slygagh*, who upon the quitting of their Holds, promised them Quarter, and to convey them over the *Curlew* Mountains in Safety to *Abbeyboyle*, or *Roscommon*; but he first imprisoned them in a most nasty Goal, allowing them only Grains for their Food, and afterwards, when the Rebels were merry with Company, that came to congratulate their Victory over these poor Creatures, those which survived were brought forth, by a Friar, *O Connor's* Brother, and others, and killed, or precipitated over the Bridge into a swift Water, where they were presently destroyed. And at *Teagh-Temple*, after the *English* and *Scots*, who retired thither, were not able longer to resist the Enemy, had yielded the Place on Conditions to be brought in safe Conduct to *Abbeyboyle*, were murdered, hanged or buried alive: At which terrible Sight, Mrs. *Olyfant*, a Minister's Wife, being great with Child, fell in Labour, but was still beat forward, till at last the Child slipped from her, and what was horrible, she was forced to draw that poor Infant; and the Concomitants of such an Accident, after her, till she died, with Sport to them. The Story would be too long, should we mention those one hundred and forty taken forth to be sent for *England*, and drowned at *Portadown*: or those Numbers drawn to *Florence Fitz-Patrick's* House, and there slain: Or those sixty and odd Persons gathered together, on Pretence of sending them to the *Clan-bughboyes*, drowned by them: Or their perfidious Breach of Quarter, as that of Captain *Sanders*, which we rather remit to future Story, not touching what they do in open War, but their putting the Blood of War in their Girdles in the Time of Peace. Though we must say, that when the Instructions for the Protestant Agents of *Ireland* came afterwards to be considered, great Artifice there was, that the Cruelties committed

committed against the Protestants, after Quarter given, Promises and Oaths for Security or safe Convoy, should be struck out. But no more of this.

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The State considering these sad Truths, and that none but a considerable Army was to appear abroad, they provided four thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, to be sent out under the Command of the Earl of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General of the Army.

While Preparations were making for this Expedition, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who loved always to be in Action, the 26th of *March* 1642, took a small Party of Men, and went out towards the County of *Wicklow*, where he found the Rebels had possessed themselves of a Castle, called *Carrick-main*, within four Miles of *Dublin*; and seeing him draw near to it with those small Forces, and finding him to have no Artillery, so as their Walls were of sufficient Strength to bear them out against any Attempts he could make, they began to brave him from within, and to use reproachful Signs from the top of the Castle, thereby to express their contempt and scorn of him. This his Spirit was not well able to brook; and considering the Castle was not invincible, and that it would be a very great Advantage to the City of *Dublin* to remove so ill a Neighbour; and that with two Pieces of Battery he could take it, in some few Hours, he sent presently away to the Lords Justices to acquaint them with his Design, and to desire them to send unto him the two great Guns for the effecting of it. They very well approved his Design, and gave present Order for the carrying them out, together with all Necessaries and Provisions fitting for the Service. In the mean Time, he took special Care for the surrounding of the Castle, and disposing of his Men so, as they might prevent the Rebels issuing out: In which Service, Serjeant Major *Berry*, with two hundred Fire-locks, viewing the Castle, was shot in his Side, though he died not till eight Days after of a Fever. All Things being put in Order, whilst they attended the coming of the great Pieces, now on their Way, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, with some of the Commanders, laid themselves down under the Side of a little thatched House, standing near the Castle, which they took as a Shelter to keep off the Enemies Bullets, from whence he suddenly rose up to call to the Soldiers, to stand carefully to their Arms, and to their Duties in their several Stations; Which one of the Rebels, from within perceiving, discharged his Piece at him, and shot him into his right Breast, under the Neck-bone; and being so wounded, he was carried off, expressing his Submission to the good Hand of God, and much joyed to pour out his last Blood in that Cause; The Pain of his Wound was so great, as they could not bring him to *Dublin*, but carried him to *Mirian*, a House of the Lord *Fitz-Williams*, where the next Day he died, to the great Grief of the *English*, and the Prejudice of the Service. His Lieutenant Colonel *Gibson* took the Command of that Party, and the great Guns being come, within the Space of very few Hours, made a Breach sufficient for the Soldiers to enter, who, being mightily enraged with the Loss of their most beloved Colonel, entered with great Fury, putting all to the Sword, sparing neither Man, Woman, or Child. The first Officer that led them on in the Breach, was *Robert Hammond*, Brother to Doctor *Hammond*, that famous and excellent Divine, Ensign to Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who carried himself very gallantly in this Service, and from

Sir *Simon Harcourt's* Expedition into *Wicklow*.

Lieutenant Colonel *Gibson* pursues the Design, and took *Carrick-main*.

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May in his
Hist. 8. p. 174.

thence returned into *England*, where, in the ensuing War, by the several Exploits he performed in the Reduction of the West of *England*, under the Command of the Parliament, he attained unto a very great Reputation, and one of the chief Commanders in their Army; and at the King's coming to the Isle of *Wight*, was Governor of *Carisbrook* Castle, and of the Isle, and upon his Notice to the Parliament that the King was arrived there, had Command to attend his Majesty with Respect and Honour, with a Promise that nothing should be wanting to defray the King's Expences, in which Service, a ticklish Task at that Time, I do not find that he forfeited his Trust, or otherwise demeaned himself, than was well accepted.

At the Time that Sir *Simon Harcourt* went forth, the Lords Justices and Council, finding what ill Instruments the Priests continued to be, in kindling and fomenting the Rebellion, caused as many of them as were in Town to be seized on, who being put into *French* Bottoms, were shipped into *France*.

The Marquis
of Ormond's Ex-
pedition.

By this Time the intended Preparations to march forth, under the Lieutenant General, the Earl of *Ormond*, were ready; The Design was to relieve several Places of Strength, some besieged, others much distressed by their Wants and Necessities, but which Way the Army was to march, or what Place they were first to go to, was kept as a Secret: However the Army, *Saturday* the second of *April* 1642, marched from *Dublin* towards the *Naas*, with three thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, arriving at *Athy* the 5th, being twenty seven Miles from *Dublin*; from whence they sent out several Parties to relieve *Carlow*, *Marrybrough*, *Balinakill*, the *Burr*, *Catherlagh*, *Clogh-grevan*, *Ballylivan*, and several other Castles and Towns then in Distress, which they did without much Opposition, releasing many Women, Children, and other unprofitable People, much incommoding those Places; Sir *Patrick Weams*, Captain of the Lieutenant General's Troop, Captain *Armstrong*, Captain *Yarner*, Captain *Herman*, Captain *Schout*, Colonel *Crawford*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, and Sir *Charles Coote*, in their several Commands doing excellent Service in their Relief of these Castles, and strong Holds; The last passing with no little Danger through *Mountrath* Woods, whence Sir *Charles Coote's* Heir had his Title worthy his, and his Father's Merits, to *Marrybrough*, a Place of great Consequence, seated amongst ill Neighbours.

Whilst these Things were acting, the Rebels having gathered their Forces from *Wicklow*, *Wexford*, *Catherlagh*, *Kildare*, *Queen's-County*, *Kilkenny*, *Tipperary*, and *West-meath*, on *Easter-Sunday*, the 10th of *April*, they displayed forty Colours within two Miles of *Athy*, near the *Barrow*, of which Colonel *Crawford* gave speedy Intelligence, under the Command of the Lord Viscount *Mountgarret*, the Lieutenant General's great Uncle, making of the old *English* and *Irish* near ten thousand Men, Horse and Foot; which the Lieutenant General perceiving, on the other Side of the River of the *Barrow*, to have sent out some Horse near *Tankard's-Town*, over-against *Grangemellain*: His Lordship returned to *Athy*, giving out he would fight them the next Day; but their Numbers vastly exceeding his, and he, having done the Service he went out for, thought it as honourable to retire to *Dublin*, in the Face of them, with Sir *John Bowen*, *Fitz-Gerald* of *Timoga*, *Richard Grace*

1642.

The Battle of
Kilrush.

Grace of Marryburrrough, and Captain *Crosby*, Prisoners. But when they came to *Black-hale-beath*, between *Kilrush* and *Rathmore*, about twenty Miles from *Dublin*, the Army of the Rebels drew up in a Place of Advantage, to hinder the Passage of the *English* Army, having two great Ditches on each Wing, so high that we could see no more than the Heads of their Pikes, and with such a Hill before, betwixt them and us, that we could scarce see their Colours, the Wind also on their Backs, and a great Bog a Mile behind them. However the Lieutenant General called a Council under a Thorn-hedge, being loth to venture so gallant an Army on such Disadvantages, but the *English* Commanders were all of Opinion, they should be fought with, Numbers making no Difference, where the Cause was so good : In as much as Sir *Charles Coote* told them in few Words, that he discerned Fear in the Rebels Faces, as well as Guilt in their Persons, and that he thought they would hardly stay, till his Lordship had put his Men in Order for the Battle, and therefore desired they might have presently Command to fall on, which indeed he was ever ready to obey before the Word was given, neither the Matter nor the Time now admitting of Debate. Whereupon, *Friday* the 15th of *April*, about seven in the Morning, the *English* Army marching, as if they would force their Way to *Dublin*, leaving in and about *Athy*, Captain *Erasmus Burrows*, Captain *Grimes*, Captain *Thomas Welden*, and the two Captain *Piggots*, with their Companies, three hundred whereof was Part of our Army, which made ever now and then, as the Enemy halted, an halt, and resolving to fight the Enemy, drew up in that sort as did best agree with the Ground ; Sir *Charles Coote*, who commanded in Chief under his Lordship, had the ordering of the Foot ; Sir *Thomas Lucas* of the Right Wing of Horse, and Sir *Richard Greenville* of the Left ; the Lieutenant-General having many Gentlemen with him, who voluntarily followed him in that Expedition, put them all in a Troop, under the Command of Major *Ogle*, a Reformed, a worthy Person, and himself in the midst of the first Rank of them, and so attended the Encounter ; the Ordnance first began to play, but without much Effect : the Rebels Army led by *Mountgarret*, *Purcel* Baron of *Loghmo*, *Hugh mac Phelim Birn*, Lieutenant of the *Leinster* Forces, Colonel *Toole*, Sir *Morgan Cavenagh*, Colonel *Morris Cavenagh*, *Arthur Cavenagh*, Colonel *Bagnall*, the Lord *Dunboyne*, Colonel *Roger Moore*, was drawn up, as I have said, in a Place of great Advantage, upon the Top of a Hill, where there were but too narrow Passages to come at them ; yet our forlorn Hope, commanded by Captain *Rochford*, consisting of a hundred and fifty Musketers, making up the Hill fiercely, discharged upon the Rebels, and was seconded by Captain *Sandford*, with his Fire-locks, Sir *Charles Coote* leading up the Rest of the Foot with great Celerity ; Colonel *Crawford* in the Van, and Serjeant Major *Piggot*, excellently well discharging their Commands. But before these could come near them, our Horse both under Sir *Thomas Lucas*, and Sir *Richard Greenville*, one charging at one of the Passages, the other at the other, fell in upon them, who would not stand the first Shock, but fled presently, taking their Flight to a great Bog not far from them, a Sanctuary which the *Irish* in all their Flights, chuse commonly to provide for themselves, and seldom fail to make use of it, and so the *English* gained this Victory without any considerable Loss, or much Hazard ; whilst a Body of two thousand

Rebels,

1742.

Rebels, led by the Lord Viscount *Mountgarret*, and General *Hugh Birn*, wheeling about, thought to possess themselves of our Ordnance, Carriage, and Ammunition, which my Lord of *Ormond* perceiving, drew out one of his Divisions to attend that great Body, and with them and some Voluntier Horse, to the Number of thirty, which were then with his Lordship, the Rest following the Execution, he faced that Body, and within a short Time put them to rout : There were not above six hundred, some write, three hundred of the *Irish* slain, amongst which, there was the Lord of *Dunboyn's* Brothers, the Lord of *Ikernis's* Sons, and Colonel *Cavenagh's* Heads brought by the Soldiers to the Lieutenant General. The Enemy lost twenty Colours, many Drums, all their Powder and Ammunition, the Lord *Mountgarret's* Wain, drawn by eight Oxen, where all his Provision was, his Sumpture, and the Lord of *Ikernis's* Sumpture. Colonel *Monk*, who, by the quick Flight of the *Irish*, was prevented from doing that Service in the Field he intended, followed with a Party of his Regiment to the Bog which the Rebels had taken, which looked even black, for their Apparel was generally black, being all covered over with them, and there began to fall upon them, as resolving upon a severe Execution ; but he was commanded to retire, having got Honour enough that Day, and so the Army marched off the Field confusedly, whereas that Victory, how just soever, is ill gloried in, which is the loss of Subjects. The Van of our Army lay that Night at *Old Connel*, the Rest on the *Corrough of Kildare*, all in open Field ; arriving at *Dublin* the 17th of *April*, where they were received by the Lords Justices and Council, with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy and Honour : The Lieutenant General's Behaviour being presented to the King and Parliament, with the greatest Advantage to his Person, as the Business would afford ; in as much as the Parliament voted 500 *l.* to be bestowed in a Jewel, and to be sent him, as an honourable Mark of the high Esteem they had of him, for that Day's Service, which was accordingly done, and brought to his Lordship, with a Letter of Thanks from them, though I do not hear that he did ever place the Jewel or Letter in his Archive ; notwithstanding, we find his Majesty takes notice, that he was the Person very well approved of by the two Houses of Parliament, so as the War of *Ireland* was still managed by his Care, and the future Concerns thereof intrusted to his Vigilance, as the Condition of his Majesty's Affairs there, should be thought important ; though it was not long before the Parliament entertained some Jealousies, to the Prejudice of his Service against the Rebels, which, in reference to what was committed to his Charge, never altered his Principles or Integrity.

Some Transactions in Connaught.

In *Connaught* generally, the *English* Garrisons excellently well bestirred themselves, to the Relief of their own, and Neighbours Streights, wherein Sir *Charles Coote* Junior, moved with much Vigour and Integrity, often infesting the Rebels from *Castle-Coote* ; he had frequent Intelligence from the Marquiss of *Clanrickard's* own Hand, not daring to trust another, lest he might be betrayed, who being Governor of the County of *Galway*, had *Logbreogh* and *Portumna*, his proper Inheritance to reside in, to which the *English* resorted with much Security, and were indeed by him relieved with great Hospitality, to an incredible Charge of his own Purse, hanging many, though of his own Kindred, whom he found imbrued in Blood, greatly resenting the Barbarism and Inhumanity of

1642.

of the *Irish*: In as much as *Hubert Boy Bourk*, and *Sir Ulick Bourk*, his near Relations, preying on the *English*, he often frustrated by discovering, their Designs, and furnishing *Sir Charles Coote*, from Time to Time, with Supplies of Arms and Ammunition, to oppose them, and impoverish their Country: So that at last by the Advice of Colonel *Walsh* and others, they erected a standing Camp near the *Kreggs*, to molest and pen up our Garrison of *Castle-Coote*, which being almost completed, the Garrison issued out upon them, who received us with a good Volley of Shot, which ours answered not, according to command, till we came close to them; which being done with great Resolution, their Hearts failed them, and they betook themselves to the next Bog, which being at some Distance, gave our Horse and Foot a fair Opportunity to hew them down, before they could reach it; in which Service Major *Walsh* behaved himself well, with Courage and Rhetorick, endeavouring to make the Rebels stand, but in vain, he at length being forced to take the Bog for his own Refuge, leaving in the Camp, Bread, Arms, Powder, Corn, Meal, &c. in great Quantity, which being more than we could carry away, we were forced to burn. In the Spring following, *Sir Charles Coote* being informed of a good Prey of Cattle in the Barony of *Athlone*, towards *Balinaflo*, in the *O Moors* Country, he, with his Forces, adventured thither, got some Cattle, great Quantity of Cloth, and other Necessaries, killing many of their Soldiers in their Beds; though in his Return he was fought with by the Rebels, sculking in inaccessible Places, from whence he at last got free, with no small hazard to his Person, and loss to the Enemy; Major *Sumner* in this, as in the whole Siege of *Castle-Coote*, and other Places in *Connaught*, doing excellent Service as Councillor, Engineer, and Soldier, worthily keeping his Promise with one *Kelly*, a Gentleman of good Quality, and a-kin to the Earl of *Clanrickard*, whom, begging his Life, he saved, ransoming himself afterwards for 10*l.* in Money, ten Barrels of Wheat, and as much Salt, which at the following Siege of *Castle-Coote*, proved of great Value, being sold then at two Shillings a Quart. After which in *Easter* week 1642, *Sir Charles Coote* attempted to relieve *Athlone*, and, after some small Dispute, did it, though the Access to the Place was such, as a few Men might have been able to have stopped a Thousand, he found his greatest Difficulty was to fill up the Trenches that the Enemy had made, as his Horse might have free Access, which at last he compassed, relieving the Place with what Cattle and other Provisions he got in his Expedition, not being a little startled, that by such a Troop as the President there had, and other Conveniencies, no more should have been before attempted. Nor had *Roscommon*, *Tulsk*, *Elphin*, *Knockvicar*, *Abbeyboyle*, *Belanfad*, Persons less active in their Defence, even from the first Surprizals of the Rebels, acting to amazement, when nothing but their own Courage secured their Forts; though the last, for want of Water, was compelled, after a long Siege, to yield to the Rebels, after that the Governor's two Brothers, the Kings from *Boyle*, with *Sir Charles Coote*, had resolved to have relieved him; but at *Carickdrumrusk*, *Sir Charles Coote*, having intelligence that his own Castle was assaulted, he was forced to retire back, and very happily prevented that Design in the Nick of Execution, though thereby the other Design was frustrated.

1642.

The Lord
Lisle lands at
Dublin.

* This Lady
Offalia was the
only Daughter
of Gerald, eld-
est Son of Ge-
rald Earl of
Kildare, who
died before his
Father, Brother
of Thomas, be-
headed the 28th
of H. VIII. She
was entituled
Lady Offalia, by
the special Fa-
vour of King
James, in an
Award be-
twixt her and
George, late
Earl of Kil-
dare, else she
could not have
had that Title,
properly be-
longing to the
eldest Son of
the Earls of
Kildare.

The 30th of *April*, the Lords Justices and Council appointed a Fast, to be observed monthly upon each *Friday* before the Sacrament, to continue until Declaration were made to the Contrary, for the wonderful Discovery of the late Plot against the State and true Religion, as for the happy and prosperous Success, which God in his Mercy had given his Majesty's Forces against the Rebels, and for the avoiding God's just Indignation for the future.'

Upon the Return of our Forces from the Battle of *Kilrush*, within few Days, *Philip Sidney*, Lord Viscount *Lisle*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, landed at *Dublin*, his Regiment having arrived before. He was a Member of the House of Commons in *England*, and by them recommended to his Father, to be made Lieutenant-General of the Horse in *Ireland*, though very young. As soon as he landed, being desirous to put himself upon Action, he undertook the relieving of the Lady of *Offalia*, * Relict of Sir *Robert Digby*, who, upon the most insolent Menaces of the Rebels, had returned a noble Answer, seconding that, though then very aged, with an unparalleled and gallant Defence, besieged in her Castle of *Gheshel* in the *King's* County, by a numerous Company of Rebels, in a Place of most difficult Access, by Reason of the Bogs and Woods which encompassed it on every Side.

The Rebels Letter to the Lady Offalia at Gheshel.

Honourable,

WE his Majesty's loyal Subjects, being at present employed in his Highnesses Service, for the taking of this your Castle, you are therefore to deliver unto us free Possession of your said Castle, promising faithfully, that your Ladyship, together with the Rest in the said Castle restant, shall have a reasonable Composition; otherwise upon the not yielding of the Castle, we do assure you, that we will burn the whole Town, kill all the Protestants, and spare neither Man, Woman, nor Child, upon taking the Castle: Consider, Madam, of this our Offer, and impute not the Blame of your own Folly unto us, think not that here we brag; your Ladyship upon Submission shall have a safe Convoy to secure you from the Hands of your Enemies, and to lead you where you please. A speedy Reply is desired with all Expedition, and thus we surcease.

Henry Dempsy.
Charles Dempsy.
Andr. Fitz. Patrick.

Con. Dempsy.
Phelim Dempsy.
John Vicars.
James Mac Donnel.

Superscribed, To the Honourable and thrice
virtuous Lady, the Lady *Digby*: These Give.

*The Lady Offalia her Answer to the Rebels. Superscribed for her Cousin
Henry Dempsy, and the rest.*

I Received your Letter, wherein you threaten to sack this my Castle, by his Majesty's Authority. I am and ever have been a loyal Subject, and a good Neighbour amongst you, and therefore cannot but wonder

wonder at such an Assault. I thank you for your Offer of a Convoy, wherein I hold little Safety; and therefore my Resolution is, that being free from offending his Majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, and will do my best to defend my own, leaving the Issue to God; and though I have been, and still am desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian Blood, yet being provoked your Threats shall no Whit dismay me.

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Lettice Offalia.

Sir *Charles Coote* accompanied the Lord *Lisle* in this Action, which, with one hundred and twenty Foot and three hundred Horse, was performed without much Difficulty, the Rebels not daring to attend their Approaches to the Castle in a Body, but made little Skirmishes from the Bogs as they passed along. In their Way they took in the strong Fort of *Phillipstown* in the *King's-County*, which was built upon a Pass in a Country, almost inaccessible in the former Wars, and kept always by the *English* against the *Irish*; but the Rebels, having by Treachery surpris'd this, as they had done most of the other Places of *Ireland*, it was now taken from them by this small Party under the Lord *Lisle*, with their Pistols and Muskets, the Swiftneſs of their March, and the Illneſs of the Way, not admitting any other Artillery, such an Enemy not much needing it.

The Lord
Lisle and Sir
Charles Coote, re-
lieve the Lady
Offalia.

Being now upon their Return to *Dublin* understanding that the Lord *Gormanstown*, and other Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, had gathered a considerable Force together about *Trim*, the Lord *Lisle*, by the Advice of Sir *Charles Coote*, turned his March that Way with that small Company. When they came near the Town, they saw those Lords at no great Distance from them, but in such a Posture as shewed they intended not to fight; and so facing about, they marched directly into the Town of *Trim*, which was a Place of very inconsiderable Strength, but pleasantly situated upon the River of the *Boyne*, in an open Champain Country, and incompass'd with a Stone-wall so old and ruinous, as afforded, in some Places of it, entrance to Horse, over the Heaps of Rubbish, that lay instead of the Wall. The Lord *Lisle* approached with those Forces to the Town, and Sir *Charles Coote* finding a Place where he could get in some of his Horse, brought them on, and got them in without Opposition, the Lords of the *Pale* considering their Disability to keep that Town, though they had treble the Number of the Assaultants, quitted it, and marched out in some haste, while the Lord *Lisle's* Horse entered in; so as they became Masters of the Town without the Loss of one Man, and finding it a Place of great Advantage, situated in the most plentiful Part of the Rebels Quarters, they resolv'd to make a Garrison of it. And for this Reason, Sir *Charles Coote*, got the Lord *Lisle* to go to the Lords Justices at *Dublin*, and acquaint them with the Success they had had, and the great Benefit which might redound to the Service of the State, if they would think fit to send them down Monies to fortify that Place, and a Regiment of Foot to keep it.

They take in
Trim.

The Lord *Lisle*, willing to improve all Arguments that might secure the present Affair, took some of his Horse to guard him to *Dublin*, and soon acquainted their Lordships with the Concern, pressing the Business with all Advantages imaginable, whilst the Rebels having Notice the

Day

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The Rebels
resolve to sur-
prize Sir Charles
Coote in Trim.

Sir Charles Coote
slain at Trim.

Day following, of his Repair to *Dublin*, no Business being carried so private, as they had not soon Intelligence thereof, gathered all their Forces together, and having near three thousand Men, they came in the dead of the Night to the very Walls of *Trim*, before they were discerned, thinking to surprize it. But the Sentinels gave the Alarm, and Sir Charles Coote, who never used to go to Bed when he was abroad, was the first that took it, and having his Horse ready, presently mounted, but could not at the Instant get above seventeen Horse with him; with these, however, he goes to the Gates, knowing that Expedition was not only the Life of Action, but must, at that Time, be the only Means of their Preservation. He issued out, and faced the Enemy, very numerous, making their Approaches towards them, some few more Horse re-inforcing his Strength: He charged the first Troop of the Rebels that came towards him, routing them immediately, and following on, upon their Disorder, charged their main Body, which presently began to grow loose, which he perceiving, so vigorously charged in amongst them, as they all betook themselves to Flight, and he, having now more Men come out of the Town, pursued them with great Alacrity, doing singular Execution with his own Hands, and as he was encouraging his Men, bravely to pursue their flying Enemy, he was unfortunately shot in the Body, as it was thought, by one of his own Troopers, whether by Design or Accident, was never known, it being, for many Months after his Death, generally reported, and as generally believed, that he was accidentally slain by one of the flying Rebels, who in Despair turned about and discharged his Musket at him. And this End had this gallant Gentleman, who began to be so terrible to the Enemy, as his very Name was formidable to them: His Body was brought to *Dublin*, and there interred with great Solemnity, Floods of *English* Tears accompanying him to his Grave: After whose Death, and Sir Simon Harcourt's, the Fate of the *English* Interest in *Ireland* seemed eclipsed, if not buried; the great Artifice being then, under several Pretences, to keep the Soldiers within their Garrisons, to consume the Provisions and Stores they had, or else to lead them forth without any considerable Service till the Battle of *Ross*.

About the Beginning of *June* 1642, came over some Regiments, under the Conduct of Sir Foulk Hunks, and Lieutenant Colonel Kirk; who brought over the Regiment designed for the Lord Rannelagh; whereupon two Regiments were immediately dispatched for Connaught, and accompanied thither by the Lord Lieutenant, who in that Expedition, took by Storm, *Knocklinch*, a strong Castle of Mr. *Linches*, the Besieged, except Women, not accepting of Quarter, were put to the Sword; and *Trimbleston*, a Castle of the Lord *Trimbleston*'s, quitted on the former's Success, as *Kymkelf*, a fair Castle of the Lord *Netterville*'s and divers other Castles: And upon his Approach towards *Athlone*, Sir James Dillon, who had besieged it ever since *Christmas*, ran away; so that the Lord President, with about fifty Horse, and some two hundred Foot, met the Lieutenant General five Miles from *Athlone*; and after an Hour or two's Stay in the Field, the Earl of *Ormond* took Leave of the Lord President, leaving at his Departure a Regiment for the President himself, and another under Sir Michael Earnly, Sir Abraham Shipman, and Sir Bernard Ashley, and two Troops of

of Horfe, with which Forces the Lord Prefident might have fubdued all *Connaught*, except *Galway*. But he, inftead of employing fuch brave Men abroad while the Summer lafted, kept them at Home on fhort and rotten Commons, whereby moft of them were famifhed, or contracted mortal Difeaſes, and were preſently ſo enfeebled, that the tenth Man was hardly able to march. In the mean Time, all almoſt that had fought againſt him of his Neighbours, were received under Contribution, which was never paid, nor Victuals brought in for his Men, though the Country yet abounded in Corn and Cattle; ſo that the Garriſon of *Caſtle-Coote*, for meer Pity, baked Bread, and ſent them many Carts-full thereof, bringing away in their empty Carts many of their ſick Men, that they might not periſh. And yet at laſt the General, the Lord Prefident, was perſuaded to draw out his Men to Service, beſieging *Ballagh Caſtle* in the mid-way between *Roscommon* and *Athlone*, wherein he made a Breach, and commanded a Party to ſtorm it. The Rebels killed many of our Men that Day by Shot, beſides what periſhed by Stones, and other Materials thrown from the Top of the Caſtle; the Night afterwards the Rebels ſtole to a Bog, not far diſtant, through the Negligence of our Guards, and left us the Caſtle. The next Exploit of my Lord Prefident, was with the Remnant of the two *Engliſh* Regiments, and what could be ſpared out of our Garriſons thereabouts, a March towards *Balintober*, to which he was provoked by the Enemy, and ſtimulated on by his own Party impatient of further Delays. *O Connor Dun* of *Balintober*, ever ſince his Son was taken, till now, that is the middle of *July*, 1642, had acted nothing, though the tacit Votes of the Province did ſeem to own him as their King, Prince, *Roy telel*, or what Name of Supremacy in that Province could be greateſt; who ſeeing that thoſe Forces which were ſent from *England*, to the Lord Prefident, to ſubdue that Province, which at firſt much frightened the Rebels, had done nothing of Moment, through a ſupine Negligence, if not worſe, and were much leſs conſiderable than thoſe Forces which we had before, he began to awake out of his Ale and Aquavitaë, and to call in Subjects to help him, out of all the Parts of *Connaught*; but above all that came to joyn with him, none were more forward, or came in greater Numbers, than the County of *Mayo* Men, and the rather, becauſe in all the Conflicts of *Connaught* with the *Engliſh*, few of that great County came to fight with us. They drew together eighteen hundred or two thouſand Foot, and a hundred and fixty Horſe, and more had joined with them, if we had deferred to viſit them. It was therefore adjudged neceſſary by the Lord Prefident, Sir *Charles Coote*, Sir *Michael Earnly*, Sir *Abraham Shipman*, Sir *Edward Povey*, Sir *Bernard Aſhley* and others of the Council of War, That we ſhould draw out all the Men, ſick or ſound, that were able to march, and march to *Balintober*. It was a Wonder to ſee with what Alacrity and Courage, our new-come *Engliſh* put themſelves on this Service, even they that were ready to die, as divers of them did on the Way, rejoycing that they might expire, doing their Country the beſt Service they could, as Soldiers, and not as Dogs on a Dunghill. Our March that Day was from *Roscommon*, through *Molinterim*, and over the Hill of *Oran* near *Clalby*, which is little more than two Miles from *Balintober*; from thence we might ſee the Enemy coming with all ſpeed to meet us. The Lord Prefident was of Opinion that our Forces ſhould retreat and commanded it; but the Reſt were otherwiſe reſolved, and

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without

The Battle of
Balintober,
fought at a
Place called now
Na Nart,
the mid-way
betwixt *Oran*
and *Balintober*.

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without his Orders drew on towards the Rebels, whilst he washed his Hands from what Evil might accrew. Our Commanders as they marched, agreed how to order their Men, and on what Piece of Ground; but the Enemy came on so fast, that they could not gain the Ground desired, which made the Work on our Part more difficult, for all the Way on that Hill, till we came near *Balintober*, is boggy, with great long Heath in all Places, very unfit for Horse-Service. However, when the Rebels came near us, Captain *Robert King* with his Troop, well mounted, and well armed with Back and Breast, and as well disciplined as any in *Ireland*, was commanded to pass by their Front to their left Flank, as Sir *Charles Coote*, and Sir *Edward Povey*, with the Rest of their Troops, being before, nearer to the Top of that Ridge of Ground, were almost past, that they might make way for our forlorn Hope of Musketeers, to play in the Front of their great Body of Pikes coming on. Captain *Robert King*, an old Soldier, in executing of this, saw, by the Badness of the Ground he marched on, and by the Rebels haste to come up, that he should not, without Disorder, get by the left Point of this Battalia, gave order to his Men to fire in Flank all at once, when they should be close up with the Point of the Battalia, over one anothers Horses Manes, which was a Thing seldom heard of or practised, yet was no new Thing either to him or his, for he had taught them this, amongst other Points of War he had long nurtured them in, which they exactly performed, when he was come within two Pikes Lengths of the Enemy, with their Carbines. At which Time our forlorn Hope of Foot being come up, fired with excellent Success on that Part of the Front that lay to the Right Hand; so that by this unexpected Way of firing by the Horse, timely assisted by the Foot, the Enemy was soon put into disorder, with the Loss of many Men; which Breach Captain *King* soon apprehending, and finding the Pikes of the fallen Men to have intangled and galled others, he rushed in with his Horse, and breaking the left Corner of the Battalia, so amazed the Rebels, as they fell into disorder, who, quitting their Pikes all at once, made a great Noise, and began to run; but before their running, that was almost as soon as Captain *King* was got into their Front, Sir *Charles Coote* and Sir *Edward Povey* charged them in the Flank with their Troops, with which they had kept the upper Ground, on purpose to encounter with the hundred and sixty Horse of the Rebels; and to them was Captain *Robert King* drawing to second them, or to fall into the Flank of this Battalia, which he had new broken, but the Rebels Horse fled before they were able to come near, and therefore they had leisure to fall into the Flank of the Foot. This Battalia of Pikes was supposed to be one thousand two hundred. They had one thousand Musketeers, which either by bad way, or staying longer than the other, for to receive Ammunition, were not come up to begin the Battle, but were within Musket-shot, who also ran for company. Our Men pursued, and killed most of them, but were commanded not to come too near *Balintober*, where the Credulous were to believe, some had seen beyond the Castle another great Body of Men, so as not pursuing this Victory, we lost the Benefit of it. In this Battle, there was a young Gentleman on the *Irish* Side, who very gallantly behaved himself, after that his Party was fled, getting to the Corner of a Ditch, where, with his Pike he withstood the Encounter of

five

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five Horse that had spent their shot, till a gigantick Soldier of the *English* getting within him, slew him. And amongst the Dead, one pulling a Mountero from the Head of one, there fell down long tresses of flaxen Hair, who being further searched, was found a Woman. After this, the President considered what was to be attempted; and it was resolved to go into the County of *Galway*. But as in all other Designs, many Objections were alledged, and the Lord President with a few, accompanied with the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, went to *Galway*, before which the Lord *Forbes*, Lieutenant General under the Lord *Brook*, was come the 9th of *August* 1642, to besiege the Town with a Fleet; and having taken Possession of the Abbey near adjoyning, landed many of his battering Guns. But before he attempted any Thing, according to his Commission, he first advised with the present Governor, the Lord of *Clanrickard*, affectionate to his Majesty's Service. As the Town seemed to be placing his Majesty's Colours on the Top of their Tower, charging Captain *Willoughby*, Governor of the Fort, with the Breach of Pacification, an Agreement, it seems, assented to by the State, though in Vindication of himself, he and Captain *Ashley* alledged much; great Straits he had been put to, though at length happily relieved by the Earl of *Clanrickard*, when he was closely beleaguered, together with the Archbishop of *Tuam*, *Richard Boyle*, and his Family, besides thrity six Ministers, twenty six of which served as Soldiers, and did their Duty. After all, the Lord *Forbes* being by the Town, the Earl of *Clanrickard*, and the President of *Connaught*, with whom he had had several ineffectual Conferences, daily delayed in what he endeavoured to give Captain *Willoughby*, satisfaction in, prepared to make his Approach to the Town; but not being strengthened by any Supply he could get from the Lord President, or Sir *Charles Coote*, and disheartened by Captain *Willoughby*, in that every House in the Town was a Fort, he drew off, being persuaded to a Composition to be paid in Money within two Months, which he never got. And at the Lord President's return to *Athlone*, the Soldiers mutinied, both Officers and Soldiers offering to go to *Dublin*; but the Common Soldiers being very weak, not able to draw into a considerable Body, the *Irish* Kerns killing all sick and fainty Persons, that could not accompany the Body of the Army, that intent for the present was deferred; though not long after they returned with Sir *Richard Greenville*, whose seasonable Relief, and the Battle of *Raconnel* will be mentioned in its due Place. Whilst the Lord *Forbes* sailed up *Limerick* River, relieving some Places, and without much Opposition took in *Fitz-Gerald's* (the Knight of the Valley or *Glyn*) Castle, furnished with all Utenfils and Provisions for a Family.

About the 20th of *June*, seven hundred Foot, and two Troops of Horse, under the Command of Colonel *Gibson* went into *Wicklow*, where the Rebels not daring to face them, they got much Prey, burnt many Villages and returned with Success.

The King's Affairs now growing every Day more straitned in *England* than other, Sir *Lewis Kirk* from Court withdrew Sir *Henry Stradling* and *Kettleby* from guarding the *Irish* Coast, whereby presently after there came in both Arms and Ammunition in great Quantities to *Wexford*; as also several *Irish* Commanders, as *Preston*, *Cullen*, *Plunket*, and others, who having been Colonels in *France*, were readily entertained there, much to the heartening of the Rebels.

However

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The Account
of some Affairs
in the North.

However in *Ulster* the 28th of *June*, Sir *Robert Stewart* and Sir *William Stewart*, Persons deserving excellently well of the State, near *Raphoe*, got a considerable Victory over the Rebels under Sir *Pbelim O-Neal*, slaying near two thousand of them, though much inferior in Number, Arms, and Ammunition; whilst *Monroe* fought them towards *Newry*; but had not so good Luck to encounter them, as he had the 23d of *May* preceding, when he gave the *Irish* Committee of the Parliament of *England* this Account, That with two thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, he beat *Owen Mac-Art O-Neal*, Sir *Pbelim O-Neal*, and *Owen Mac-Art* the General's Son, being all joined together with their Forces, and forced them to return upon *Charlemont*: After quitting the General's House to be spoiled and burned by them, with the whole Houses in *Loughgall*, being the best Plantation in *Ulster*, and straightest for Defence of the Rebels.

Thus in some Places whilst we find the War succeeded, the Lords Justices in the midst of *August*, suspecting *Preston's* Forces should increase, and according to the Resolution of the Parliament at *Kilkenny*, should first gain the Out-garrisons, and then besiege *Dublin*, were forced to require the Lord *Conway* to come unto their Aid with three thousand Foot, and all the Horse he could procure, to prosecute the War in *Leinster*: Who returned an Answer, That their Companies were so weak, they could not draw them together; and that the Rebels, having then received new Supplies, were strong, and that he was engaged to meet the Earl of *Leven*, the *Scots* General, to encounter *Owen O-Neal*, with all the Forces he could get. Thus that Province reserved to it self its own Strength, not coming in as by the tenth Article with the Parliament of *England* the *Scots* were engaged to.

See the Article
6th of *Aug.*
1642. Kings
Works, fol. 534.

The Affairs in
Munster.

In *Munster* the Scene was hot; for the Parliament of *England* having sent over as into *Leinster*, several Regiments of Foot, and some Troops of Horse unto Sir *William St. Leger*, Knight, who having long served in the *Low-Countries* with singular Reputation, was some Years before the Rebellion, made Lord President of *Munster*; a Command he discharged with much Vigilance and Courage, in as much as the Enemy now feared no Man more: What he did upon the first breaking out of the Rebellion, in hope to have stopped its Current in that Province, we have already mentioned, and should have told you, that the State to impower him thereunto, admitted him to raise a Regiment of Foot, consisting of one thousand Men, and two Troops of Horse, sixty to each Troop; which afterwards, besides the Supplies mentioned, were listed in his Majesty's Musters with Pay accordingly. But the Design being general, *Munster*, at length, was as well disturbed as the rest of the Kingdom; *Cashel*, *Clonmel*, *Dungarvan*, and *Featherd*, with other Places were all, on an easy Summons, soon yielded to the Rebels, raging through the Country; which the Lord President endeavoured to suppress, as far as those small Forces he had with him would admit, resolving near *Redsheard* to have given them Battle, having, at that Time, in his Company the Earl of *Barrymore*, the Lord *Dungarvan*, the Lord *Broghil*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, Sir *Edward Denny*, Serjeant Major *Searl*, Sir *John Brown*, Captain *William Kingsmil*, with six hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse. But the Rebels on the other Side of the Mountain privately avoided them, though four to one;

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one; and getting to *Cashel*, held there a general Rendezvous; from whence *Mountgarret* went with his Forces to *Kilmallock*, a Town treacherously surrendered to the Rebels a little before on Demand, situated on the Frontiers of the County of *Limerick* towards *Cork*, environed with a strong Wall, which held out loyally for the Crown all *Tyrone's* Wars, though sometimes strongly besieged, and highly distressed. And the 9th of *February* 1641, he went to *Butavant*, where the Gentry from all Parts appeared. It is an ancient Town, belonging to the Earl of *Barrimore*, in the Barony of *Orrory*, an old Nest of Abbots, Friars and Priests. There the General *Mountgarret* exercised his Greatness with reserved Gravity and Distance, so as none except Serjeant Major *Purcel*, who had now joined himself with the Confederates, contrary to the Expectation the Lord President had of him, were admitted to any Command in the Army, more than they had over the Men they brought with them. However *Mountgarret's* Forces infinitely increased, so as the Lord President, to secure *Cork*, thought it most convenient to retreat thither, whilst *Mountgarret*, the 11th of *February*, lodges his Forces in *Moyallo*, brought thither by Serjeant Major *Walsh*, the Inheritance of Captain *William Jephson*, a Town containing one Street of near two hundred *English* Houses, thirty whereof were strongly built and slated, having at the South-end thereof a very fair and pleasant House, called, *The great Castle*, committed to the Charge of *Arthur Betesworth*, with two hundred Men, Arms, and Ammunition convenient, and one Iron Piece of Ordnance with two Carriers, whereof they made good Use and Advantage. And at the North-end of the Town stood another strong Castle, called, *The short Castle*, excellently well afterwards defended by Lieutenant *Richard Williamson*, who, after many Breaches in the Wall, the best Assaults Serjeant Major *Purcel* could make, and the Loss of many Men, was given over, though at length yielded out of Necessity, on Terms never performed; though the remarkable Stoutness of Lieutenant *Williamson* was such as, he, finding the Rebels to falter in what they had promised, resolutely getting up a Sword, vowed to be the Death of those who should hinder his and his Parties repair to the other Castle, never yielded by *Betesworth*; which being resolutely and on a sudden done struck such a Fear in the Rebels, as *Williamson* and his Party were all admitted to go to the *Great Castle* with what they had, which was not irreparably rifled from them by the Rebels. And shortly after, the Rebels having some airey Rumours of the Lord President's Forces to fall upon them, *Mountgarret* marched thence, with his Army, the Lord, *Muskerry*, notwithstanding all his fair Pretences to the President, being now come to the Rebels, which was a great strengthening to that Party, he having a considerable Estate, and much Money left him by a miserable Father; whilst it may be thought, the Lord *Roch*, *Mac-Donnogh*, and others, being brought to great Straits, could not worsen, but might advance their Estates by the Rebellion. Many were much concerned, that the Lord *Mountgarret* would go from *Moyallo*, leaving the Country to be governed by themselves; a great Contest arising amongst them who should be chief, Serjeant Major *Purcel*, Baron of *Loghmo*, challenging the Generalship of that Province: But the Heads of the Confederacy meeting at the Lord *Muskerry's* House, to avoid Contention about Superiority there

Mountgarret
lodges at *Moyallo*.

The Lord *Muskerry*, contrary to his Promises, takes part with the Rebels.

A contest upon *Mountgarret's* leaving *Moyallo*, who should be chief.

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Barry chosen
General; Mus-
kery, &c. styl-
ed, The Coun-
cil of War.

Bealing's vain
Summons of the
Castle of Lismore.

The Lord Pre-
sident's advance
to Tallow.

Dungarvan tak-
en by the Lord
President.

The Battle near
Cappaquin, the
first in Muster
well fought and
managed.

resolved, that none of the Gentry of the County should bear any Office in the Army; but that one *Garret Barry*, who had long served under the King of *Spain*, and was reputed a good Soldier, should be General, and the Lord *Muskery*, and some other prime and select Men, should be called *The Council of War*; so that that Difference at the present was composed. And this doughty General mustering up his Forces, hovered about *Cork*, without any Attempt worth Notice; whilst other Parts of the *Irish* Army visited *Lismore*, the Castle in and about that Place being driven away by Colonel *Richard Butler*. The 23d of *February*, Mr. *Richard Bealing* summoned the Castle; but the Lord *Broghil*, whom neither Promises nor Threats could work any Thing upon, told them, That he knew not what Quarter meant, daring him to the Assault as soon as he would; which he threatened within half an Hour after: But Intelligence being brought, that Sir *Charles Vavasor* was landed at *Youghal* with one thousand Men, the Enemy fled to *Dungarvan*; and the Lord President determining to look abroad, advanced with that Regiment, and the Lord *Broghil's* and Captain *Courtney's* Troop of Horse, towards *Tallow*, hoping to surprize Colonel *Richard Butler*; but being disappointed, Intelligence flying swifter than our March, he set forward towards *Dungarvan*, burning the Country as he went, being in all two thousand Horse and Foot, taking Order that a Piece of Artillery should be brought him from *Cork* by Sea; and having slain many of the Enemy in *Tallow*, he burned the Town, and so went forward to *Dungarvan*; and coming to it the 3d of *March* 1641, sent a Summons; but they refusing, and setting out a Flag of Defiance, he with his Men violently entered the Town, and upon the 5th of *March* took the Castle, giving the Enemy Quarter. He put a Ward of 40 Musketeers into the Castle, under the Command of Lieutenant *Rosington*, from whom the Enemy not long after surprized it. The Lord *Broghil*, the Lord *Barrymore*, marching each of them afterwards on several Expeditions happily succeeded, taking in divers Castles, as *Tourin* the 8th of *March*, which the Lord *Broghil* burned; and *Bally-Mac-Patrick*, standing upon the *Black-water*, which the Earl of *Barrimore* shortly after burned; meeting now and then with the Enemy, on whom they did good Execution: As did Captain *Jephson* in the Relief of *Rathgogan*, and taking in of *Balliba*; as also in the Encounter, he and Lieutenant *Downing* had with the Enemy at his return where he slew one hundred and fifty of them: The like Success he had in taking in *Ballynageragh*, Sir *Philip Purcival's* Castle. Not long after, Captain *Sherlock*, Head of the *Waterford* Rebels, amounting to seven hundred, endeavouring to take *Cappaquin*, guarded by Captain *Hugh Croker* with a hundred Men, was in the Streets killed, and his Forces routed. The 3d of *July* 1642, the Lord *Broghil*, with sixty Horse, and one hundred and forty Foot, went to fetch off Sir *Richard Osborn* from his Castle of *Knockmone*, in the County of *Waterford*, six Miles from *Lismore*, who, in his Advance thither, burned and destroyed the Rebels Quarters, though in his Return towards *Lismore*, he sent his Scouts to descry the Enemy, suspecting they should way-lay them, as indeed they did, setting themselves in Battalia in a Field near unto *Cappaquin*, having a little half Grove at their Backs; upon which the *English* perceived, that there was no Way to secure themselves, but

by

by making their Way with the Sword, and therefore put their Men in the best Posture they could, the Enemy playing very hard upon them: Upon which the Lord *Broghil* resolutely encountered them with his Horse, whilst Captain *Stephen Brodrip* led on his Foot in an orderly and well-compacted Body, galling them on all Sides so effectually with his Musketeers, that the Enemies Horse and Foot were soon put to Flight, with the Loss of one only Man of ours, and at least two hundred of theirs, besides two of their best Captains, who died the next Day, though their Horse carried them off then. This was the first pitched Battle since the Rebellion in *Munster*; and had the Enemy succeeded, *Cappaquin*, *Lismore*, and some other Places would have been an easie Prey. Not long after, the Earl of *Barrymore* took in, upon Quarter, the strong Castle of *Clogh-leagh* in the County of *Cork*, the Inheritance of Sir *Richard Fleetwood*, who admitted Sir *Arthur Hide* to keep it, but most treacherously he left it to be surprized by *Condon*, whose Ancestors had been formerly the Proprietors of it, an insolent Rebel, as his Predecessors were before him. Afterwards the Lord *Dungarvan*, and the Lord *Broghil*, summoning the Castle of *Ardmore* in the County of *Waterford*, belonging to the Bishop of *Waterford*, after some petty Boasts to withstand the utmost Hazard, it was yielded the 21st of *August* 1642, on Mercy, Women and Children being spared, but a hundred and forty Men were put to the Sword, into which Castle they afterwards put a Ward. And here I might give you a Diary of Passages concerning his Majesty's Fort of *Dungannon*, the Lord *Esmond*, an old experienced Soldier, being Governor thereof, to its Surrender the 4th of *August* 1642, to the Rebels, at which Time, it was yielded up upon Quarter for Life and Goods: Serjeant Major *Flin*, accompanied with Captain *Cronyne*, entering thereupon; *Flin* protesting, that he had a Commission for that End, and in taking of it, resolved to keep it against the Puritans, his Majesty's Enemies; otherwise he and the Rest loved the *English*, and thereupon settled the Lord *Roche* in the Possession of the same, and the Rest of Mr. *Courtney's* Estate. To which I might add the Siege of the Castle of *Limerick*, Captain *George Courtney* Constable, from the 15th of *January* 1641, to its Surrender to the Rebels the 23d of *June* 1642, in which Time many memorable Accidents happened, worthy the besieged. As of *Bonrattie*, under the Earl of *Thomond*; *Rosmanagher*, possessed by *Christian Powell*; as of *Cappagh*, defended by *Francis Morton*; as of *Dromline*, kept by *Edward Fenner*; or should we particularly give you a Diary of the Passages of the Ward of *Michael's-town* to the Cessation, and of the Services of *Knockmone* Sir *Richard Osborn's* Castle, as also of the notable Service of *Ballially* in the County of *Clare*, well defended by *Bridgeman* and *Cuff*, though slenderly succoured by *Bowatty*, how oft soever invoked, of whose Neglect they were not a little sensible. But we are scantied in time, as we should be more, should we take Notice of the Siege of the Castle of *Archerstown*, in the County of *Tipperary*, commanded by *Henry Peisly* Esq; from the 1st of *December* 1641, to its Surrender to *Purcell*, Baron of *Loghmo*. As also should we insist on the Siege of *Rathbarry-Castle*, in the County of *Cork*, *Arthur Freek* owner thereof, and Commander in Chief, from the 14th of *February* 1641, to the 18th of *October* following, when Sir *Charles Vavasor* Baronet, and Captain *Jephson* fetched them off safe to *Bandon*, firing

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The Earl of Barrymore took in Clogh-leagh.

Ardmore Castle taken in.

The Fort of Dungannon.

Limerick.

C. Archerstown.

Rathbarry Castle.

1642.

Dundede and
Dunowen Castle.

Asketon.

Castle Matrix.

Castle of Loegar.

Castle Kilsenny.

An Abbreviate
of Sir William
Cole's Services,
in his Fort of
Eniskillen.

firing the Castle and its Appurtenances. As also the Rebels taking in of the Castle *Dundede*, the 14th of *February* 1641, as also *Dunowen* shortly after. As also of their taking in of the Castles of *Traley*, *Clare* Castle, *Clonelowane*, and twenty six others in the County of *Clare*, whose Names, with their Governors, would be too tedious to rehearse. Not to particularize the Siege of the Castle of *Asketon*, in the Barony of *Conello*, in the County of *Limerick*, *William Eams* Seneschal, from the midst of *November* 1641, to the 14th of *August* 1642, when it was surrendered, upon Conditions, to *Patrick Purcel* of *Croe*, Lieutenant General of the Rebels. To which we might add the Siege of *Castle Matrix*, in the Parish of *Raceele*, in the Barony and County forementioned, beginning the last of *April*, 1642, by *Morrice Herbert* the Younger, and was yielded up to the Rebels in *October* following. As also the Castle *Loegar*, *William Weeks*, and *Richard Hart*, Constables, so appointed by the Lord President *St. Leger*, the 18th of *March* 1641, to its surrender. And amongst the Rest, omitting many whom we have not Time to insist on, we might particularize the Passages of the Siege of the Castle of *Kilsenny*, in the County of *Limerick*, the Lady *Dowdall* Commandress, and Owner of the Castle, which after forty weeks Resistance, in that Time behaving herself in several Encounters, with more than *Amazon* Courage, and exemplary Conduct, was delivered up to the Rebels, she being reduced to the uttermost Extremities; which particularly to insist upon, would extend this to a Volume beyond my Leisure, though I will not say, to the Readers content, which they, as well as Persons interested in the excellent Management of those and other Affairs, must favourably pass over, it being safer, in general, to name them, than not particularly to express their Actions, deserving a History; which the imperfect Information, I could hitherto reach to, rather wounds than illustrates. Yet that from *Hercules* his Foot, the Success and Courage of the *English* may be drawn, accept of an Abbreviate of Sir *William Cole*'s Services with his Regiment, consisting of five hundred Foot, and one Troop of Horse, out of his Garrison of *Eniskillen*, performed in the Counties of *Fermanagh*, *Tyrone*, *Monaghan*, *Cavan*, *Leytrim*, *Sligoe*, and *Donegall*, since the 23d of *October*, 1641.

Swordmen of the Rebels, killed in several Fights and Skirmishes	
that account hath been taken of	2417
Starved and famished of the vulgar Sort, whose Goods were seized	
on by this Regiment	7000
<i>English</i> and <i>Scotch</i> Protestants rescued from bondage, and relieved	
by this Regiment	5467
Colours taken from the Rebels in those Fights	0013
Drums, with some Arms, taken from them	0011
Boats taken from them in <i>Logbearn</i> and <i>Loghmelvie</i>	0027
Cots broken and sunk there	0109
Islands taken and cleared in <i>Logbearn</i>	0365
In <i>Loghmelvie</i>	0006
Leather Boats or Curaghs taken from them by Sea-Service at <i>Tel-</i>	
<i>linhead</i> and <i>Logbearn</i>	0010
Boats gained there by Sea from them by this Regiment	0005
Castles taken from the Rebels	0004
<i>Viz.</i> The Castle of <i>Newportown</i> , Castle <i>Atkinson</i> , Castle <i>Knockbally-</i>	
<i>more</i> , Castle <i>Hasset</i> , alias <i>Crewmish</i> .	After

The *IRISH* Infurrection.

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After this Rate the *English*, in all Parts, fought, so as indeed the Rebels, by the War they had commenced, lost in the general many Men, and much of their Substance, as a Judgment upon their Design and Treachery.

And here we cannot but mention Sir *Frederick Hamilton*, who had a Garrison of Horse and Foot at *Mannor Hamilton*, in the County of *Leytrim* in *Connaught*, by which he performed frequently excellent Service against the Rebels, never attempting them or their Quarters but with singular Success; as at *Sligoe*, about the 1st of *July*, he entered and burnt the Town, freed many Protestants, slew in the Streets three hundred of the *Irish*, and in his Return encountered *Owen O-Rork* from *Cavan*, who besieged his Castle, in the Interim, with one thousand Men, which he cleared of the Rebels without any considerable Loss to himself, but much to the Enemy; a Diary of which, even from the 23d of *October* 1641, to the End of the ensuing Year, I have read with much Satisfaction. And had not some Differences happened betwixt Sir *William Cole* and him, the one not liking a Superior, the other an Equal, their Concurrence might have been more fatal to the Enemy; though, apart, they did what became worthy Men.

Sir Frederick Hamilton's Enterprises.

We have declared how the excellent Management of Affairs in *Munster*, by the Lord President and his Assistants, kept all Things in some reasonable Temper, though the *English* were much despoiled, and driven out of their Habitations in several Places, by their *Irish* Neighbours, until the Battle of *Kilrush* before-mentioned: When the Lord *Mountgarret*, and others of the Rebels Commanders, having had ill Success there, fell back with all the Forces they could make into *Munster*, and there wasted the Country with Fire and Sword, making that Province a Seat of the War, coming down even to the very Walls of *Cork* with great Forces; not far from whence the Confederates, promising General *Garret Barry*, with the Consent of his Council of War, the Lord *Muskery* and others, planted his Camp at *Rockforts-Town*, holding thereby *Cork*, in a Manner, besieged on the North-side, whilst my Lord *Roche*, the Lord of *Ikern*, *Dunboyne*, the Baron of *Loghmo*, Mr. *Richard Butler*, with the *Tipperary* Forces, were drawing down on the South, till by the Valour of those few *English* then in Town, viz. the Lord *Inchequin*, Colonel *Vavasor*, and four hundred Musketeers, and ninety Horse, they were beaten off, with the Loss of two hundred of their Men, their Tents, and whole Bag and Baggage being taken. In the whole Service, Sir *William St. Leger*, as long as he had Health, was active with the meanest Officers of the Army, doing many Times a private Soldier's Duty, as well as a careful General's, not upon Diffidence that his Commands, entrusted to others, would be the more insufficiently executed: No, his Soldiers had long experienced, even the best of Quality amongst them, that no Commands were to be disobeyed; but that the Soldier seeing his General to share in Labour, might undergo the like with more Willingness and Courage. Examples of Hardship, borne by such as might have ease, wonderfully work on those who can have no Exemption.

The Rebels under Garret Barry beaten before Cork.

Sir William St. Leger, Lord President of Munster, vigilant and faithful.

But finding at Length the Rebels Multitudes to increase, and his Men to decay, even in being victorious, and the Supplies of Men and Money with Provisions, which he expected out of *England*, to come over very slowly, and far short of what the Necessities of

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The Lord Prefident of Munster dies.

that Province required ; well understanding too the Difference then in England betwixt his Majesty and the Parliament, and what were the Designs of some, putting fair Glosses on the Rebellion of Ireland, which his Soul apprehended as one of the most detestable Insurrections of the World : These Things so troubled his Spirit, as being discouraged in the desperate Undertakings, Necessity, and the Honour of his Nation put him daily upon, so deep an Impression fixed in his Mind, as the Distemper of his Body increasing, he wasted away, and died at his House at *Downrallie*, four Miles from *Cork*, in the County of *Cork* 1642, and was there buried, a little before whose Death, he writ, the second of *April* 1642, a most significant * Letter to the Lord Lieutenant touching the Affairs of that Province, and his utter Detestation of the Rebels Remonstrance, sent him after a Motion made for a Cessation,

* Sir William St. Leger's Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Leicester, touching the Affairs in Munster.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

Sithence my last by my Lord of *Dungarvan*, my own Indisposition and Imbecillity hath been such as in mine own Person I have not been able to attempt any Thing, but have by my Sicknesse been confined to my Chamber ; but the forward Earnestness and Zeal to the Service in my Lord of *Inchequin*, Colonel *Vavasor*, Captain *Jephson*, and the Rest of the Officers of the small Army here hath accomplished some Exploits, whereof you may please to receive the ensuing Relation.

I being besieged on the North-side of the City by my Lord *Muskery*, Mr. *Carty Leath*, and all the Rest of the Western Forces, and having Notice that my Lord *Roche*, my Lord of *Ikerne*, *Donboyne*, the Baron of *Loughmo*, Mr. *Richard Butler*, and all the *Tipperary* Forces were drawing up to beleager me on the South, I dispatched away the two Troops then newly landed, under the Command of my Lord *Inchequin*, and Captain *Jephson* into the Lord *Roche's* Country, in expectance to divert him from his intended Course hitherwards, which sortred to so good Purpose, as that I since understand the *Tipperary* Forces have forsaken him, and that he remains himself upon his keeping in his own Country. During the stay of these Troops there, they were desired to the Relief of a Castle called *Rathgogan* by one Mr. *Meade*, which Mr. *Jephson* having performed with a Squadron of each Troop, and eighty Musketeers drawn out of his House and mine : In his Retreat, he was encountered by two or three Companies from *Kilmallocke*, on whom he with a Horse, and another Officer with a Foot charged in several Places, and routed them, slaying about a hundred and fifty, besides fifty slain in relieving the Castle. On the Thirteenth of this Instant, my Lord of *Muskery*, who hath kept his Camp a long Time at *Rochfort's Town* three Miles from this City, caused a Part of his Army to chase home our Scouts to the very Subburbs, where in a Bravado, they made a Stand, whereat my Lord *Inchequin*, Colonel *Vavasor*, and the Rest of the Officers being much incensed, obtained my Leave to issue forth immediately with three hundred Musketeers, and two Troops of Horse ; upon the sallying out, they found the Enemy retreated, and pursued him to his Quarters, where the main Body consisting of thirty six Colours as they were numbered, forthwith appeared, and after several Parties sent from the main Body to skirmish with our Men, had been beaten back, they began to pack up their Baggage, and forsook their Camp, after whom our Men made all the Speed they might, and having chased them two or three Miles, charged upon the Rear, routed the whole Army, which betook it self to flight over a Bog unpassable for our Horse, and took all their Carriage and Luggage whereof, the Lord of *Muskery's* own Armour, Tent, and Trunks were a Part, slew about two Hundred of their Men that took to firm Ground, and retired without Loss of a Man. Whereby it is very easie to observe with what Facility the Enemy might now be dealt withal, before he can recollect himself a new, or receive foreign Supplies which they daily and hourly expect, and being once come to their Hands, it will not then be treble the Charge and Expence both of Blood and Treasure that will suppress them, which now would reduce them to a very great Straight.

And

Cessation, which he would have seconded with further Testimony of his Aversion to their Insolency, as would have tended much to their Discouragement, had he been enabled with any reasonable Strength so to have done.

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And therefore, I do most humbly beseech your Lordship, that speedy Supplies of Men, Money, Arms, Ammunition and Artillery, with all Necessaries depending thereon, as Conducters, Pioneers, Mattrosses, Carriages, Tackle, Horses and Oxen for Draught, and all other Appurtenances that may either be sent over, or Commission and Means to raise and maintain them here, here being but one Cannoneer, and one Clerk of the Store in this Province, without these your Lordship knows that it is to no purpose to march into the Field, where if the Enemy be not too hard for us, he will certainly retire to his Holds, and so secure himself against our Forces.

The necessary Use of Firelocks and Dragoons, and of a competent Supply of Victuals, the Stock of this Country being totally wasted, will deserve serious Consideration: And if I had been so fortunate as to have received any Succours by those late easterly Winds, it would have so discouraged the Enemy now newly routed, and animated the Protestant Party, as that I am very confident by God's Assistance I should have given your Lordship a good Account of the Quiet of these Parts. Whereas they observing that this fair Opportunity hath conveyed us no Relief, do begin to muster up their Forces afresh, and to take Heart at the Apprehension of our being deserted in *England*, and left wholly to our selves, wherein I cannot sufficiently express how miserable our Condition is; for having from the Beginning of these Troubles supported the Forces mentioned in the inclosed List, with Moneys gained upon several hard Terms and Engagements, besides what I have impressed to the Succour sent thence, I was at last constrained to seize upon four thousand Pounds belonging to Sir *Robert Tynte*, and ready to be transported out of the Kingdom, and which he refused to lend upon the Publick-faith of this State, which nevertheless I gave him upon the Seizure, merely to preserve the Army from disbanding, which otherwise it must have undoubtedly done. And therefore I humbly desire that Money may be sent over, not only to discharge that and other Engagements, amounting to 4000 *l.* more, but that there may be Order taken for the entering of those Men into pay, and continuing them therein ever since the Beginning of the present Troubles which I * raised at first, by Direction from the Lords Justices, for this Service, and that the same Course may be taken for them as for the rest.

* Mentioned
fol. 108.

The Height of Insolency and Arrogancy in the Enemy will appear by the inclosed Remonstrance † which they sent me after a Motion made for a Cessation, which in the Condition I was in, I had some Inclination to condescend unto, in Case it had been sought for in besitting Terms: to which Purpose I willed them to address their humble Petition to his Majesty, and in case I did approve thereof, I would give way thereunto, and to a Cessation until his Pleasure were known; whereupon they transmit me that, whereof the inclosed is a Copy: At which I took, justly as I conceive, such Offence as caused me to return them the inclosed Answer, which I should have seconded with such further Testimony of my Aversion to their Insolency, as would tend much to their Discouragement were I enabled with any reasonable Strength so to do, which I earnestly desire I may be, and with Instructions what hand to carry in the Prosecution of them, and how to manage the War against them; for that every Day they increase in Insolency and Riot, hanging such Prisoners as are not able to pay Ransom, ransoming others, hanging old Women, and stripping all they can lay hold on. All that is left in this Province is the City of *Cork*, the Towns of *Kingsale*, *Youghall*, and *Bandon-bridge*; the Cities of *Limerick* and *Waterford* being fallen into Defection, save that the Fort in the former is able to command the Town, if provided with Ammunition, wherewith I have sent to supply it.

† The Rebels Remonstrance here mentioned, as the Answer to it, in the shuffling of Papers, are unhappily lost, though the one was not more insolent than the other resolute and loyal.

For Persons in Action, it is far less difficult to nominate those that adhere to the Crown, which are the Earl of *Barrymore*, an industrious Servitor, the Lord Viscount *Killmallocke*, Sir *Andrew Barret*, and *Edmond Fitz-Gerrald* of *Ballmarter*, commonly called the *Seneschal* of *Imokilly*, by whose Care and Countenance, joined with my Lord *Barrimore's*, that Barony of *Imokilly* is kept in due Subjection, and the Passage betwixt this City and *Youghall* thereby open. But whilst we stand on these unable Terms to stir out of these Walls, the Enemy is at Liberty to range and forage over all Parts of the Country. And indeed our Wants of Money are so great and pressing, as that for Defect of Entertainment and Encouragement, the Officers both of Horse and Foot daily flock unto me, and importune to be dismissed and left at Liberty

1642.

The Lord Incbequin chosen in his Place.

The Lord Incbequin's excellent Service at the Battle of Liscarrol

The Command of the Forces in this Province was, after the Death of Sir *William St. Leger*, for the present, by the Lords Justices and Council, committed to the Lord *Incbequin*, who had married his Daughter, and, during his Father-in-law's Life, had shewed himself very forward in several Services against the Rebels: He was a meer *Irish-man* of the ancient Family of *O-Brian's*, but bred up a Protestant, and one that had given good Testimony of the Truth of his Profession, as his Hatred and Detestation of his Country-men's Rebellion; and having matched into the Lord President's Family, was held the fittest Person to cast the Command upon, till there were another Lord President made by the King, or he confirmed by his Majesty in that Province. In the mean Time, the Lord *Incbequin* takes some Opportunity, and having beaten the Rebels Forces at the Battle of *Liscarrol* in the County of *Cork*, got great Reputation by that Action. The Battle was fought on *Saturday* the 3d of *September* 1642, in which on the *English* Party, was killed *Lewis Boyle* Lord Viscount *Kynalmeaky*, second Son to the late Earl, and Brother to this of *Cork*, who behaved himself most nobly in that Expedition, and was buried at *Youghall* in his Father's Tomb. And on the *Irish* Side was slain Captain *Oliver Stephenson*, Grandson of him, who in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* had done eminent Service in the Wars against the Earl of *Desmond*. And afterwards the Division increasing in *England*, the sending over a new Lord President was neglected; so as the Lord *Incbequin* continued in the Government, managing Affairs there, sometimes for the King against the Parliament, sometimes for the Parliament against the King, as he conceived might bring on the absolute Settlement of that Government upon himself; of whom we shall speak more hereafter.

And now having shewed you the Effects of the *English* Courage strangely revived, and managed against the Rebels; it will be seasonable to acquaint you by what Means the Forces there have been animated to so eminent a Service.

You have already read the generous Resolutions of the Parliament in *England*, upon the first Discovery of the Rebellion, as the Encouragement his Majesty gave them upon his first and second Appearance in the House of Lords after his return from *Scotland*. And you have read, if it would have been admitted, how he would have adventured his royal Person thither, and have raised ten thousand *English* Volunteers speedily for that Service, if so the House of Commons would have

to seek their Preferment in *England*: And so soon as this little, which is left me to feed the Soldiers with from Hand to Mouth, is spent, I know no Way to prevent their sudden disbanding: And therefore I do again beseech your Lordship to endeavour that I may not be exposed to the Dishonour and Misery of being abandoned by the Kings Forces, and left my self single to the Mercy of the Enemy; but that Moneys may be speedily transmitted unto me, with Directions what Pay to allow the Horsemen, and Officers of the Foot, with an overplus of Money, as I have always desired, for extraordinary and emergent Occasions, about either the Ordnance or Forts, whereas yet nothing is in a right Posture, but Things only shuffled together for a Shift, by reason we had not wherewithal to the Work as it ought.

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

Cork, April 2.
1642.

W. St. Saintliger.

have declared that they would pay them ; which would not be accepted, but instead thereof, the 24th of *January* following, the Town and Castle of *Carrigfergus* were advised, by the two Houses to be given in Command and keeping to the *Scots*, two thousand five hundred of which were to be transported thither, and paid by *England* ; so as to be accountable, according to their Order the 22d of *January*, to the King and Parliament, and the Lord General in his Place, for all their Actions in that Service. Which his Majesty was loth to grant, as prejudicial to the Crown of *England*, and employing too great Trust for auxiliary Forces. Though at the Importunity of the Parliament it was so settled at *Windfor* the 27th of *January* 1641. But what Service the *Scots* did in those Parts, more than subsist by *English* Pay, deserves an Enquiry.

1642.
Carrickfergus delivered to the Scots.

It will now be convenient to acquaint you, that after many necessary Propositions to the King from the Parliament, passionately affected with the Miseries of *Ireland*, it was, in the Petition of the House of Commons, *December* the 1st, moved, ' That his Majesty would be pleased to forbear to alienate any of the forfeited or escheated Lands in *Ireland*, which shall accrue to the Crown, by reason of this Rebellion, that out of these, the Crown may be the better supported, and some Satisfaction made to his Subjects of this Kingdom, *England*, for the great Expences they were like to undergo in this War.' To which his Majesty answered, ' That concerning *Ireland*, he understood their Desire of not alienating the forfeited Lands thereof, to proceed from their much Care and Love, and likewise that it might be a Resolution very fit for him to take: But whether it be reasonable to declare Resolutions of that Nature before the Event of a War be seen, that he much doubted. Howsoever, we cannot, replied his Majesty, but thank you for this Care and your chearful Engagement for the Suppression of that Rebellion, upon the speedy effecting whereof, the Glory of God in the Protestant Profession, the Safety of the *British* there, our Honour, and that of the Nation so much depends ; all the Interests of this Kingdom being so involved in that Business. We cannot but quicken your Affections therein, and shall desire you to frame your Councils, and to give such Expedition to the Work, as the Nature thereof, and the Pressures in Point of Time require, and whereof you are daily put in Mind by the Insolencies and Increase of the Rebels.'

Upon which the Parliament, willing to omit no Time, precious in so weighty a Concern, passed a *Bill of Loan towards the Relief of Ireland*, beginning thus.

The Bill of Loan passed at Westminster.

' Whereas, since the Beginning of the late Rebellion in *Ireland*, divers cruel Murders and Massacres of the Protestants there have been, and are daily committed by Popish Rebels in that Kingdom, by Occasion whereof, great Multitudes of godly and religious People, there inhabiting, together with their Wives, Children and Families, for the Preservation of their Lives have been enforced to forsake their Habitations, Means, and Livelihood in that Kingdom, and to flee for Succour into several Parts of his Majesty's Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, having nothing left to depend upon, but the charitable Benevolence of well disposed Persons.'

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' The Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament taking the same into their charitable Considerations, for the Honour of Almighty God, and the Preservation of the true Protestant Religion and Professors thereof, have resolved presently themselves to contribute towards the Necessities of the said poor distressed Christians, who being many in Number, it is thought expedient, that through all his Majesty's Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, a general Collection should be with all Expedition made for that Purpose, &c.'

Other Expedients, considering the State of the Kingdom at that Time, not being convenient to be urged, the Effect of which was incredible, so vast and free a Sum flowing in thereupon, as nothing but a compassionate Sense of the Sufferings of their Brethren, and a Duty to their Religion, could ever have raised so much: Yet that being short of their Exigencies, the State was then forced to another Act passed for *Subscriptions on certain Propositions, for Lands of the Rebels in Ireland*. To which those of the United Provinces of *Holland* were also encouraged, by a Declaration of both Houses, the 2d of *February* 1642, which is worthy often to be considered; but being long, though excellently, and with much Caution penned, we shall refer you to the Act it self *Anno* 17, *Carol. primi*. Immediately upon which Act, divers Captains, entertained for the *Irish* Service, adventured their first six Months Pay upon the Propositions.

Yet before these Propositions could be brought into an Act, that no Time in so great a Concern might be omitted, both Houses of Parliament joyned in a Letter to the High Sheriffs of *England*, that they might publish at the ensuing Lent-Affizes, all the Propositions touching his Majesty's Promise, to pass the two Millions and half of Acres of Land in *Ireland*, for an Encouragement to such as should in the Interim subscribe: After which, the Act afore-mentioned, immediately ensued; upon the passing of which Act, these subscribed in the House of Commons.

Several Sums
subscrib'd.

Mr. *Walter Long*, 1200*l.* Sir *Robert Pie*, 1000*l.* the 8th of *March*, 1641, Mr. *Samuel Kassall*, 1200*l.* Sir *Samuel Rolls*, of *Devon*, 1000*l.* *William Lord Munson*, 2400*l.* Sir *John Harrison*, 1200*l.* the 19th of *March*, Sir *William Brereton*, 1000*l.* the 21st of *March*, Sir *Edward Aishcough*, 600*l.* Mr. *John* and Mr. *Edward Ash*, 1200*l.* the 24th of *March*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, 600*l.* the 25th of *March*, 1642, Sir *John Clotworthy*, in Money, 500*l.* Sir *John Clotworthy*, for his Entertainment, as Colonel in the *Irish* Wars, 500*l.* Mr. *Henry Martin*, 1200*l.* the 26th of *March*, Mr. *Arthur Goodwin*, 1800*l.* Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, of *Leicestershire*, 1200*l.* Mr. *Robert Reynolds*, 1200*l.* Sir *Robert Parkhurst*, 1000*l.* Sir *Thomas Dacres*, 600*l.* Sir *John Pots*, 600*l.* Sir *Arthur Ingram*, 1000*l.* Dr. *Thomas Eden*, 600*l.* Mr. *Oliver Cromwel*, 500*l.* Mr. *Nathaniel Fines*, 600*l.* Mr. *John Pym*, 600*l.* Sir *Walter Earle*, 600*l.* Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, 600*l.* Sir *John Northcot*, 450*l.* Mr. *Roger Matthew*, 300*l.* Sir *Nathaniel Bernardston*, 600*l.* Sir *William Masham*, 600*l.* Sir *Martin Lomley*, for *Martin Lomley Esq;* his Son, 1200*l.* Mr. *Thomas Hoyle*, of *York*, 600*l.* Mr. *Anthony Bedingfield*, and Mr. *William Cage*, 700*l.* Sir *William Allenson*, of *York*, 600*l.* Mr. *William Havengham*, 600*l.* Mr. *Harbert Morley*, 600*l.* Sir *William Morley*, 1200*l.* Sir *John Culpeper*, 600*l.* Sir *Edward Partherick*, 600*l.* *Richard Shuttleworth Esq;* 600*l.*

600*l.* Mr. *John More*, and Mr. *William Thomas*, 600*l.* Mr. *John Lisle*, 600*l.* Mr. *John Blackston*, 600*l.* Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, 2000*l.* Mr. *Bulstrode Whitlock*, 600*l.* Sir *Edmond Momford*, and Mr. *Richard Harman*, 600*l.* Mr. *John Trenchard*, 600*l.* Mr. *John Gurdon*, 1000*l.* Mr. *John Barker*, 1000*l.* Mr. *William Harrison*, 600*l.* the 29th of *March*, Mr. *John Wilde*, Serjeant at Law, and Mr. *Thomas Lane*, 1000*l.* *Nathaniel Hallows*, of *Derby*, for himself and others, 1400*l.* *John Franklin*, 600*l.* Mr. *George Buller*, of the County of *Cornwal*, 600*l.* Sir *Henry Mildmay*, 600*l.* the 1st of *April*, Mr. *Oliver St. John*, 600*l.* Sir *John Wray*, 600*l.* Sir *Thomas Barrington*, 1200*l.* Mr. *Robert Goodwin*, and Mr. *John Goodwin*, 600*l.* the 2d of *April*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, 1000*l.* Mr. *John Crew*, 600*l.* Sir *John Peyton*, 600*l.* the 4th of *April*, Sir *William Plactors*, 600*l.* Sir *William Strickland*, 600*l.* Sir *Thomas Savine*, 1000*l.* *Alexander and Squire Bence*, 600*l.* Mr. *John Rolls*, of *Devon*, 450*l.* Mr. *John Hampden*, 1000*l.* Mr. *William Jesson*, 300*l.* Sir *Edward Baynton*, 600*l.* *Thomas Lord Wenman*, and Mr. *Richard Winwood*, 1200*l.* the 5th of *April*, Sir *William Drake*, 600*l.* Mr. *William Spurstow*, 600*l.* Sir *John Welyn*, of *Godstow*, in the County of *Surrey*; for himself and others, 1500*l.* the 7th of *April*, Mr. *Miles Corbet*, 200*l.* the 9th of *April*.

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And that this intended Design might proceed, till the whole made up a considerable Sum, the Gentlemen of the County of *Buckingham*, freely offered unto the House of Commons, to lend 6000*l.* upon the Act of Contribution for the Affairs of *Ireland*, and to pay in the same before the first of *May* 1642, which the House took in very good Part, and accepted of, and ordered the 9th of *April* 1642, that the said 6000*l.* should be repaid out of the first Money, that shall be raised in that County, upon the Bill of 400,000*l.* and that Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Winwood*, and Mr. *Whitlock*, should return thanks to the County of *Bucks* from this House, for their kind offer, and acceptable Service. And it was further ordered and declared by the House of Commons, That if any other County or Persons shall do the like, it will be kindly accepted of by them, and that the Money so lent shall be repaid them, with Interest, if they desire it, out of the Money that shall be raised in those Counties where such Persons inhabit, out of the Bill of 400,000*l.*

To strengthen which precedent Act for Subscriptions, &c. there was an Act of Additions, and Explanation of certain Clauses in the former Act; as also an Act giving further Time to Subscribers for Lands in *Ireland*, with an Advantage of *Irish* Measure: By vertue of which great Sums were raised, and, in truth, the Forces of *Ireland* yet competently well supplied. But his Majesty perceiving a Defect in the necessary Transportations of what was requisite, he, by the Advice of his Council, declares *, 'That he hopes, that not only the Loyalty and good Affections of all our loving Subjects, will concur with us, in the constant preserving a good Understanding between us and our People, but at this Time, their own and our Interest, and Compassion of the lamentable Condition of our poor Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, will invite them to a fair Intelligence and Unity amongst themselves; that so we may with one Heart, intend the relieving and recovering of that unhappy Kingdom, where those barbarous Rebels practise such inhumane and unheard of Outrages,

* In a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, in Answer to the Remonstrance of the Commons, the 15th of Decemb. 1641.

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The King expresses his deep
Resentment for
Ireland.

rages, upon our miserable People, that no Christian Ear can hear without Horror, nor Story parallel.'

And yet further to diburden his Thoughts for *Ireland*, he was pleased to signifie to both Houses of Parliament, the 24th of *February* 1641, 'That for *Ireland*, in behalf of which his Heart bleeds, as he hath concurred with all Propositions made for that Service by his Parliament, so he is resolved to leave nothing undone for their Relief, which shall fall within his possible Power.'

And because his Majesty's Removal to *York* from the Parliament, should not hinder the Supplies for *Ireland*, he, from *Huntingdon* the 15th of *March* 1642, declares, 'That he doth very earnestly desire, that they will use all possible Industry, in expediting the Business of *Ireland*, in which they shall find so chearful a Concurrence by his Majesty, that no Inconvenience shall happen to that Service by his Absence, he having all that Passion for the reducing of that Kingdom, which he hath expressed in his former Messages, and being unable by Words to manifest more Affection to it, than he hath endeavoured to do by those Messages, having likewise done all such Acts, as he hath been moved unto by his Parliament; therefore if the Misfortunes and Calamities of his poor Protestant Subjects shall grow upon them, though his Majesty shall be deeply concerned in, and sensible of their Sufferings, he shall wash his Hands before all the World, from the least Imputation of slackness, in that most necessary and pious Work.'

His Majesty's
sense of *Ireland*,
and the Parlia-
ment's Return.

Thus his Majesty resented that horrid Rebellion, having nothing left further to express the deep Sense he had of the publick Miseries of his Kingdom. Yet the Parliament, who conceived themselves deeply intrusted with the Concerns of *Ireland*, the Prosecution of that War being left to them, but not so as to exclude his Majesty, replied, 'That they humbly besought his Majesty to consider, how impossible it is that any Protestation, though published in your Majesty's Name, of your Tenderness of the Miseries of your Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, &c. can give Satisfaction to reasonable and indifferent Men, when at the same Time divers of the *Irish* Traitors and Rebels, the known Favourers of them, and Agents for them, are admitted to your Majesty's Presence with Grace and Favour, and some of them employed in your Service, and when Cloaths, Ammunition, Horses, and other Necessaries brought by your Parliament, and sent for the Supply of the Army against the Rebels there, are violently taken away, some by your Majesty's Command, others by your Ministers.' To which it is replied, That those Cloaths, &c. entering into *Coventry*, his Majesty had good Reason to believe, they would have been disposed of amongst the Soldiers, who there bore Arms against him; putting the Parliament besides in Mind, That he was so far from diverting any of those Provisions made for the Relief of *Ireland*, the Thought of whose miserable Condition made his Heart bleed, that three thousand Suits of Cloaths being found at *Chester*, for the Soldiers in *Ireland*, he commanded that they should be speedily transported thither, no Necessity of his own Army being sufficient to prevail with him to seize on them.

Thus both the King and Parliament interested in the great Concern of *Ireland*, were passionately affected with her sad Condition, whilst the

the Distractions and Jealousies at Home so dis-cemented their Forces, as the *Irish* Harp hung on the Willows, and those noble Souls, which even now returned with Laurels, drooped betwixt the Living and the Dead.

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Ireland neglected.

Affairs standing in this Posture, neither of them proved at Leisure to consider, more than in Declarations, the miserable Condition of bleeding *Ireland*; inasmuch as they were so far from sending over thither any further Supplies of Men, Money, or Ammunition, how incessantly soever they were moved to it from the Lords Justices and Council, as the Parliament at that Time, finding themselves under great Necessities for want of Money, ordered the Sum of 100000 *l.* of the Adventurers Money, then in the Hands of the Treasurer, for the Relief of *Ireland*, to be made use of, for the setting forth their Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, then ready for his March against the King at *Nottingham*; notwithstanding a Clause in that memorable Act, *That no Part of that Money shall be employed to any other Purpose, than the reducing of those Rebels.* This raised a great Noise, and highly reflected upon the Parliament, That they, who so heartily on all Occasions, had complained of the King's Neglect of his poor Protestants in *Ireland*, should now make use of that Money, to raise Arms against him in *England*, and so leave the Remnant of those suffering Souls in *Ireland*, to the Insolencies of the Rebels, and their own Forces, Flesh of their Flesh, sent over with so much Charge, for the Suppression of that horrid Rebellion, to neglect and scorn, for want of a seasonable and just Supply. Upon which, his Majesty from *York*, the 30th of *August* 1642, sent a Message to the House of Commons, requiring them to retract that Order: To palliate which, they alledged many Things against the King; As the denying the Lord *Wharton*, to go with five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, for the Relief of *Munster*; the hindering of two Pieces of Battery, writ for by the Lords Justices; the detaining of the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of *Leicester*, when the Affairs of *Ireland* were known to suffer, for want of a Commander in Chief; notwithstanding his Majesty * had charged them, that they had detained the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, on whom, writes he, he relied principally, for the Conduct and Management of Affairs there, never regarding his Earnestness, formerly pressed, when he was thought to be stayed by the Parliament, that he should repair to his Command; of which, the Earl of *Leicester*, in a Letter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, is not silent, ordered by the Parliament to be printed the 26th of *September* 1642. To which the Parliament adds, The calling away of Sir *Charles Lloyd*, Captain *Green*, and others, in actual Employment against the Rebels, attesting that the 100000 *l.* borrowed of the Subscription-money for *Ireland*, they soon repaid with Advantage, being then forced to make Use of it, to prepare a competent Army for the Defence of the King and Kingdom, without any Prejudice to the Affairs of *Ireland*, whose Subsistence depends on the Welfare of this. In Answer to which it was replied, That that Kingdom, were the Money restored, in the mean Time suffered by that Diversion; and that had the Lord *Wharton's* Forces been approved of, there was no further Security, that those should have been sent for *Ireland*, than other Forces that were raised for that Purpose, and yet employed against his Majesty at *Edge-hill*; the other Exceptions of

The Parliament makes use of Part of the Money collected for *Ireland*.

* In his Answer to the Parliament's Petition, the 28th of *April* 1642.

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the Parliament, in his Majesty's Papers, being also answered, which begot a Reply, not altogether pertinent in this Place to pursue.

However, the Parliament's employing the 100000 *l.* contrary to the Intent of the forementioned Act, in the seventeenth Year of *Car. I.* with his Majesty's full Consent before he left the Parliament, was the Cause that it produced so little good Effect for *Ireland*; many of the Subscribers taking that Occasion, as others before had done upon his Majesty's Motion to go for *Ireland*, to withdraw their Subscriptions, and others not to pay in their Money, which was with so much Caution provided for, and guarded with so many advantageous Circumstances for all the Adventurers, as if it had been carried on, and seasonably applied, with that Care and Sincerity it ought to have been, 'it would in a little Time have reduced that whole Kingdom, and 'have eased that poor People of many of those Calamities they have 'since endured.' The want of which put the Lords Justices and State on many Difficulties.

Yet that something might seem to be done, there was an Order of the Commons House of Parliament, the 3d of *August* 1642. 'That 'the Ministers about the City of *London*, should be desired to exhort 'the People, to bestow old Garments and Apparel, upon the distressed Protestants in *Ireland*;' in Reference to which, the 19th of *September* following, the Lord Mayor of *London* ordered, that those Cloaths should be brought to *Yorkshire-Hall* in *Black-well-hall*, to be ready for shipping them for *Ireland*; and a vast Supply was brought in, Charity never so much manifested 'its Compassion as in that Cause; which afterwards was intrusted to a reverend Person, who discharged his Trust with singular Prudence and Integrity; though as to the Army these Cloaths never reached or intended.

And now the Rebels finding their Strength much augmented by the unhappy Differences in *England*, their chief Contrivers of the Conspiracy, the Clergy, met at *Kilkenny*, and there established in a General Congregation, several Considerations for their future Government. *

Upon

* *In the Name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen.*

Acts agreed upon, ordained and concluded in the General Congregation held at Kilkenny, the 10, 11, and 13 Days of May, 1642, by those Prelates whose Names are subscribed, the Proctors of such other Prelates as then were absent being present, together with the Superiors of the Regulars, and many other Dignitaries and learned Men, as well in Divine, as also in Common Law, with divers Pastors and others of the Catholick Clergy of all Ireland, whose Names are likewise hereafter set down.

I. Whereas the War which now in *Ireland* the Catholicks do maintain against Sectaries, and chiefly against Puritans, for the Defence of the Catholick Religion, for the maintenance of the Prerogative and the royal Rights of our gracious King *Charles*, for our gracious Queen so unworthily abused by the Puritans, for the Honour, Safety and Health of their royal Issue, for to avert and refrain the Injuries done unto them, for the Conservation of the just, and lawful Safeguard, Liberties and Rights of *Ireland*; and lastly, for the Defence of their own Lives, Fortunes, Lands and Possessions: Whereas I said this War is by the *Catholicks* undertaken for the aforesaid Causes against unlawful Usurpers, Oppressors, and their Enemies, chiefly Puritans. And that hereof we are informed as well by divers and true Remonstrances of divers Provinces, Counties and Noblemen, as also by the unanimous Consent and Agreement of almost the whole Kingdom in this War and Union. We therefore declare that War openly Catholick, to be lawful and just, in which War, if some of the Catholicks be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust Title,

Upon which Proceedings, and the Validity of the 6th Article of those Prelate-Dignities, and learned Men, the first General-Assembly at *Kilkenny*, sate the 10th of *November* 1642, according to what *Scobel* * gives us an Account of ; though *Peter Walsh*, one of the Assembly certainly to be credited, in his second Part of the first Treaties of his History,

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In his Collection of Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, fol. 197.

Title, Covetousness, Cruelty, Revenge or Hatred, or any such unlawful private Intentions ; we declare them therein grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished and refrained with Ecclesiastical Censures, if, advised thereof, they do not amend.

II. Whereas the Adversaries do spread divers Rumours, do write divers Letters, and under the King's Name do print Proclamations, which are not the King's, by which means divers Plots and Dangers may ensue unto our Nation : We therefore, to stop the way of Untruth and Forgeries of the Political Adversaries, do will and command, That no such Rumours, Letters, or Proclamations may have Place, or Belief, until it be known in a National Council, whether they truly proceed from the King, left to his own Freedom, and until the Agents of this Kingdom hereafter to be appointed by a National Council, have free Passage to his Majesty, whereby the Kingdom may be certainly informed of his Majesty's Intention and Will.

III. Whereas no Family, City, Commonwealth, much less any Kingdom, may stand without Union and Concord, without which, this Kingdom for the present standeth in most Danger. We think it therefore necessary that all *Irish* Peers, Magistrates, Noblemen, Cities and Provinces, may be tied together with the holy Bond of Union and Concord, and that they frame an Oath of Union and Agreement which they shall devoutly and Christianly take, and faithfully observe. And for the Conservation and Exercise of this Union, We have thought fit to ordain the ensuing Points.

IV. We straightly command all our Inferiors, as well Churchmen as Laymen, to make no distinction at all between the old and ancient *Irish*, and no Alienation, Comparison, or Differences between Provinces, Cities, Towns, or Families ; and lastly, not to begin, or forward any Emulations, or Comparisons whatsoever.

V. That in every Province of *Ireland* there be a Council made up, both of Clergy and Nobility, in which Council shall be so many Persons at least as are Counties in the Province ; and out of every City or notable Town two Persons.

VI. Let one general Council of the whole Kingdom be made, both of the Clergy, Nobility, Cities, and notable Towns ; in which Council there shall be three out of every Province, and out of every City one, or where Cities are not, out of the chiefest Towns. To this Council the Provincial Councils shall have Subordination ; and from thence to it may be appealed, until this National Council have opportunity to sit together. Again, if any thing of great Importance do occur, or be conceived in one Province, which by a negative Vote is rejected in the Council of one Province, let it be sent to the Councils of other Provinces ; except it be such a Matter as cannot be delayed, and which doth not pertain to the Weal-publick of the other Provinces.

VII. Embassage sent from one Province to foreign Nations shall be held as made from the rest of the Provinces, and the Fruit or Benefit thereof shall be imparted, and divided between the Provinces and Cities which have more need thereof, chiefly such Helps and Fruits as proceed from the bountiful Liberality of foreign Princes, States, Prelates, or others whatsoever ; provided always that the Charge and Damage be proportionably recompenced.

VIII. If there be any Province which may not conveniently send Embassage from it self unto foreign Nations, let it signifie it to another Province, which may conveniently supply it, and ought in regard of their Union to supply it, according to the Instructions sent from the other Provinces concerning the Place, and Provinces to which they would have their Embassage employed.

IX. Let a faithful Inventory be made in every Province of the Murthers, Burnings, and other Cruelties which are committed by the Puritan Enemies, with a Quotation of the Place, Day, Cause, Manner, and Persons, and other Circumstances subscribed by one of publick Authority

X. In every Parish, let a faithful and sworn Messenger be appointed, whereby such Cruelties, and other Affairs may be written and sent to the neighbouring Places, and likewise from one Province to another : Let such things be written for the Comfort, Instruction, and Carefulness of the People.

XI. Great Men taken Prisoners in one Province, may not be set at liberty for any Price, Prayers, or Exchange, without the Consent of the Prelates and Nobility of the other Province

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* Fol. 740.
The General Assembly at Kilkenny.
As also Mabotte in his *Disput. Apologet.* p. 101.

History, and Vindication of the Loyal Formulary, * writes that the first General or National-Assembly of the Confederates, began at *Kilkenny*, the 24th of *October* 1642, and continued to the 9th of *January* following

vince united, and let every Province be careful of the Liberties of such Prisoners as are from the other Provinces, as far as it conveniently may.

XII. If any one stubborn, or dangerous, be found in one Province, County, or Town, let him be sent to another Province, County, or Town, where he may be safely kept, and with less danger or loss of others, remain.

XIII. Whosoever shall be declared in one County or Province, Adversary or Traitor of this Cause and Country, shall likewise be held and punished in other Countries and Provinces, where he shall be found, and such as receive or favour him, or be his Messengers, knowing his Misdemeanor, shall be liable to such Punishment as the Traitor himself.

XIV. We command and ordain as a main Point pertaining to this Union, that no Province, County, City, Town, or Person whatsoever shall demand Peace, or submit himself to the Enemies, without the consent of the general Council of the whole Kingdom, and that under pain of Excommunication to be incurred *ipso facto*, and for further force of this Statute to be observed, We will that in every Province, a firm Oath be taken by the Peers, Nobility, Corporation, and Commonalty of every Province, and thereupon a publick and authentical Instrument be made; and that every Province do send into every other Province an Instrument subscribed, with the proper Hands of such as have taken this Oath, for the assurance of their Oaths, and whosoever shall refuse to take this Oath, let him be held as Adversary of the common Cause, and of the Kingdom, and let him be punished as such as hereafter shall be declared, except he be excused for the Reasons hereafter to be set down.

XV. The Ordinaries of every Place, the Preachers, Confessors, Parish-Priests, and other Churchmen shall endeavour to see perfect Peace and Charity observed between Provinces, Counties, Cities, and Families, as the obligation of this Union requireth.

XVI. Such Goods as well moveable as unmoveable pertaining to Catholicks, as were recovered from the Enemies by this present War, shall be restored to their former Owners, provided that such necessary and reasonable Charges shall be paid, as the next general or Provincial Council or Committees of the County where the Parties dwell, shall decree.

XVII. Whereas diverse Persons do diversly carry themselves towards this Cause; some with Helps and Supplies do assist the Adversaries; others with Victuals and Arms; others with their Advice and Authority, supporting as it were the contrary Cause; some also as Neuters behaving themselves; and others, lastly, neglecting their Oath, do forsake the Catholick Union and Cause. We do therefore declare and judge all and every such as do forsake this Union, do fight for our Enemies, accompany them in their War, defend or in any other way assist them, as giving them Weapons, Victuals, Counsel, or Favour, to be excommunicated, and by these Presents do excommunicate them; provided that this present Decree shall be first published in every Diocese respectively, and having received admonition before hand, which shall supply the treble Admonition otherwise requisite, and we do hereby declare, so it be made in a Place where it may easily come to the knowledge of those whom it toucheth. But as touching the Judgment and Punishment of the Neuters, we leave it to the Ordinaries of every Place respectively, so that the Ordinaries themselves be not contrary to the Judgment and Opinion of this Congregation; in which Cause, we commit Power to the Metropolitans or Archbishops to proceed against such Ordinaries, according to the common course of Law, wherein they are to be very careful and speedy; and if the Metropolitans be found herein careless or guilty, let them be lyable to such Punishment as is ordained by the holy Canons, and let them be accused to the See Apostolick.

XVIII. We ordain and decree that all and every such as from the Beginning of this present War, have invaded the Possessions of Goods as well moveable as unmoveable, spiritual or temporal of any Catholick, whether *Irish* or *English*, or also of any *Irish* Protestant being not Adversary of this Cause; and do detain any such Goods, shall be excommunicated; and by this present Decree we do excommunicate them, if admonished they do not amend; and with the like censure we do bind such as henceforward shall invade or detain such Goods; and not only them, but also all and every such as shall keep Lands or Possessions against publick Authority, as also such as favour or assist them therein. And we declare involved in this Censure all and every of them, who directly or indirectly hinder or forbid to pay their due Rents unto such as have possessed the said Lands, from the Beginning

lowing, upon which Day they were dissolved, having constituted, to succeed them, the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland* ; and that they might be the better tied together with the Holy Bond

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ginning of this War ; and such likewise as without the Licence of such Possessors, do take or extort Rents or equivalent Payment from the Tenants of such Possessors, under colour of paying Soldiers therewith, or otherwise.

XIX. We command all and every the Churchmen, as well Secular as Regular, not to hear the Confessions of the aforesaid excommunicated Persons, nor to administer unto them the Holy Sacrament, under pain of Excommunication *ipso facto*.

XX. We will and declare all those that murder, dismember, or grievously strike, all Thieves, unlawful Spoilers, Robbers of any Goods, Extorters, together with all such as favour, receive, or any ways assist them, to be excommunicated, and so to remain, until they compleatly amend, and satisfy no less than if they were namely proclaimed, excommunicated, and for satisfaction of such Crimes hitherto committed to be enjoined, we leave to the Discretion of the Ordinaries and Confessors, how to absolve them.

XXI. Tradesmen for making Weapons or Powder brought into this Country, or hereafter to be brought in, shall be free from all Taxations and Customs ; as also all Merchants as shall transport into this Country such Wares as are profitable for the Catholick Cause, as Arms and Powder, may lawfully traffick without paying any custom, for Commodities brought out of this Kingdom, or transported hither of that kind ; and let this be proclaimed in all Provinces, Cities and Towns.

XXII. We think it convenient, that in the next National Congregation, some be appointed out of the Nobility, and Clergy as Embassadors to be sent in the behalf of the whole Kingdom, unto the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to the Emperor, and his Holiness, and those to be of the Church Prelates, or one of the Nobility and a Lawyer.

XXIII. We will and ordain, that Ordinaries, Dignitaries, and other Proprietors of Church Livings, with the Assistance of the Colonel, or some other prime Gentleman of the County, Barony, or Parish, as the Ordinary, and Dignitaries, or Proprietors shall appoint, do set unto Tenants the Lands, Houses, Tenements, and Tithes, and other Church Livings, and let competent means be appointed for the Maintenance of the said Ordinaries, Dignitaries, and Proprietors ; and the rest to be appointed for the Soldiers, until it be otherwise ordained.

XXIV. Collectors and Receivers of the Rents of Church Livings, shall be appointed by the Ordinaries, with the consent of the Proprietors, in the presence of the chiefeft Gentlemen of every County, Barony, or Parish respectively.

XXV. The Ordinaries and other Proprietors of Church Livings, may take unto themselves the Houses, Tenements, and other Church Goods pertaining unto their respective Titles, with Obligations to pay proportionable Rent unto the Soldiers as aforesaid, or his Payment of their own competent Maintenance, and let the Houses, Tenements, and other Church Goods be taken from the Catholicks, who heretofore had them as Tenements or therwise.

XXVI. It is committed to the Will and Disposition of the Ordinary, whether and when to enter into the Churches and celebrate Masses ; therein we command all and every the general Colonels, Captains, and other Officers of our catholick Army to whom it appertaineth, that they severally punish all Transgressors of our aforesaid Command, touching Murtherers, Maimers, Strikers, Thieves, Robbers, and if they fail therein, we command the Parish Priests, Curates or Chaplains, respectively to declare them interdicted, and that they shall be excommunicated, if they cause not due Satisfaction to be made unto the Commonwealth, and the Party offended. And this the Parish Priests or Chaplains shall observe under pain of Excommunication of Sentence given *ipso facto*.

XXVII. To the end that these Acts, Propositions, and Ordinances may have more happy Success ; we thought it fitting to have recourse unto God Almighty by Prayers, Fasting, and Alms ; we therefore will pray, and as far as it is needful, do command that every Priest, as well Secular, as Regular, do celebrate one Mass a week ; and that all Laymen do fast upon Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, in one Week ; and thence forward one Day a Week, and upon that Wednesday, or Saturday, as long as the Ordinary shall please ; and that they pray heartily unto God for the prosperous Success of this our catholick War, for which they shall gain so many days Indulgences, as every Prelate shall publish in their several Diocesses respectively after the Fast of the aforesaid three days in one Week, having first confessed, and received the Blessed Sacrament, and bestowed some Alms to this Effect.

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Bond of Union and Concord, as is expressed in the thirty third Article of the General Assembly, and the Third of the Congregation, they framed the ensuing Oath of Association to be taken by all in that Confederacy.

The Preamble to the Oath of Association.

The Preamble
to the Oath of
Association.

WHEREAS the Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom, have been enforced to take Arms for the necessary Defence and Preservation, as well of their Religion plotted; and by many foul Practices endeavoured to be quite suppressed by the Puritan Faction, as likewise their

XXVIII. In every Regiment of Soldiers, let there be appointed at least two Confessors, and one Preacher, to be named by the Ordinaries, and by the Superiors of the Regulars, whose competent Maintenance we commend and command to every Colonel, in their respective Regiments. And to the end that all those Ordinances and Statutes may effectually be put in execution, We will and decree that all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Apostolical Vicars, and Regular Superiors, as well here present as absent, may be very serious and careful of the Execution of the aforesaid, as they tender not to incur Displeasure, Wrath, and Revenge; and herewith we charge their Consciences.

XXIX. Moreover, we pray and require all Noblemen, Magistrates, and all other Marshal Commanders, that with their Helps and Secular Forces, they assist and set forward in Execution the aforesaid Statutes in their several Precincts respectively, as often as it shall be needful: If in any of the aforesaid Statutes any Doubt or Difficulty may by chance arise, the Explication thereof we reserve to the Metropolitans in every Province respectively, and to the Bishops in every their Diocesses, such of them as are no way contrary to this Cause, no other Person may presume to expound the aforesaid Difficulties.

Hæc dicta, acta, ordinata, & statuta, subscripta erant nominibus sequentium Prælatorum.

All those Judgments, Sayings, Acts, and Covenants, we submit to the Judgment of the See Apostolick.

Hugo Archiepiscopus Armachanus.

Thomas Archiepiscopus Casselensis.

Malachius Archiepiscopus Guamenum.

David Episcopus Osoren.

Frater Boetius Episcopus Elphimensis.

Frater Patricius Episcopus Waterforden, & Lysntoren.

Frater Rochus Episcopus Kildaren.

Johannis Electus Claufarten.

Emerus Electus Dunen. & Conoren.

Frater Josephus Everard, Procurator Archiepiscopi Dublinens.

Doctör Johannes Creagh Procurator Episcopi Lymeryten.

David Bourck & Willielmus O Connell Procurator Episcopi Imolacen.

Donatus O Tearnan Procurator Episcopi Laonen.

Doctör Dionysius Harty Decanus Laonensis.

Doctör Michael Hacket Vicar. gener. Waterforden.

Gulielmus Devocer Vic. gener. Fernesen.

Thomas Roch Vicar. Generalis Ossoren.

Frater Lucas Archer Abbas Sanctæ Crucis.

Frater Antonius de Rosario Ord. præd. Vicar. Provincial.

Robertus Nugent Societat. Jesu in Heb.

Frater Thadeus Connoldus Ang. pro Provinc.

Johannes Wareinge Decanus Lymeryten.

Frater Patricius Darcy Guardian. Dublin.

Frater Thomas Strange Guardian. Waterford.

Frater Joseph Lancton, Prior Kilkenny.

Frater Tho. Tearnan Guard. de Dundalk.

Frater Johannes Reily Guard. Kilkenny.

Frater Boetius Egnanus Guard. Buttevant.

Jordanus Boork Archidiaconus Lymerycensis.

their Lives, Estates, and Liberties, as also for the Defence and Safe-guard of his Majesty's Regal Power, just Prerogatives, Honour, State, and Rights, invaded upon; and for that it is requisite that there should be an unanimous Consent, and real Union between all the Catholicks of this Realm, to maintain the Premises, and strengthen them against their Adversaries: It is thought fit by them, that they, and whosoever shall adhere unto their Party, as a Confederate, should for the better Assurance of their adhering Fidelity and Constancy to the publick Cause, take the ensuing Oath.

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The Oath of Association.

I *A. B.* do profess, swear and protest, before God, and his Saints, and his Angels, that I will, during my Life, bear true Faith and Allegiance to my Sovereign Lord *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland*, and to his Heirs, and lawful Successors; and that I will, to my Power, during my Life, defend, uphold, maintain all his and their just Prerogatives, Estates and Rights, the Power and Privilege of the Parliament of this Realm, the fundamental Laws of *Ireland*, the free Exercise of the Roman Catholick Faith and Religion, throughout this Land, and the Lives, just Liberties, Possessions, Estates and Rights, of all those that have taken, or shall take this Oath, and perform the Contents thereof; and that I will obey and ratifie all the Orders and Decrees, made and to be made by the supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdom, concerning the said publick Cause; and that I will not seek, directly or indirectly, any Pardon or Protection, for any Act done or to be done, touching this general Cause, without the Consent of the major Part of the said Council; and that I will not directly or indirectly do any Act or Acts, that shall prejudice the said Cause, but will, to the Hazard of my Life and Estate, assist, prosecute and maintain the same.

The Oath of Association.

Moreover, I do further swear, That I will not accept of, or submit unto, any Peace, made or to be made with the said Confederate Catholicks, without the Consent and Approbation of the general Assembly of the said Confederate Catholicks. And for the Preservation and Strengthening of the Association and Union of the Kingdom, that upon any Peace or Accommodation, to be made or concluded with the said Confederate Catholicks, as aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my Power, insist upon, and maintain the ensuing Propositions, until a Peace, as aforesaid, be made, and the Matters to be agreed upon, in the Articles of Peace, be established and secured by Parliament.

So help me God, and his Holy Gospel.

The Propositions mentioned in the aforesaid Oath.

I. THAT the Roman Catholicks, both Clergy and Laity, to their several Capacities, have free and publick Exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion and Function throughout the Kingdom, in as full Lustre and Splendor, as it was in the Reign of King *Henry VII.* or any other Catholick Kings, his Predecessors, Kings of *England*, and Lords of *Ireland*, either in *Ireland* or *England*,

The Propositions.

II. That

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II. That the secular Clergy of *Ireland*, viz. Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Ordinaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, and other Dignitaries, Parsons, Vicars, and all other Pastors of the secular Clergy, and their respective Successors, shall have and enjoy all and all manner of Jurisdictions, Privileges, Immunities, in as full and ample Manner, as the Roman Catholick secular Clergy had or enjoyed the same, within this Realm at any Time, during the Reign of the late *Henry VII.* sometimes King of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, any Law, Declaration of Law, Statute, Power and Authority whatsoever, to the Contrary notwithstanding.

III. That all Laws and Statutes made since the twentieth Year of King *Henry the VIIIth*, whereby any Restraint, Penalty, Mulct, Incapacity or Restriction whatsoever, is or may be laid upon any of the Roman Catholicks, either of the Clergy or of the Laity, for such the said free Exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion within this Kingdom, and of their several Functions, Jurisdictions and Privileges, may be repealed, revoked, and declared void, by one or more Acts of Parliament to be passed therein.

IV. That all Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Ordinaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Treasurers, Chaunters, Provosts, Wardens of Collegiate Churches, Prebendaries, and other Dignitaries, Parsons, Vicars, and other Pastors of the Roman Catholick secular Clergy, and their respective Successors, shall, have, hold and enjoy, all the Churches and Church-Livings, in as large and ample Manner, as the late Protestant Clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the 1st Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1641, together with all the Profits, Emoluments, Perquisites, Liberties, and the Rights to their respective Sees and Churches, belonging as well in all Places, now in the Possession of the Confederate Catholicks, as also in all other Places that shall be recovered by the said Confederate Catholicks from the adverse Party, within this Kingdom, saving to the Roman Catholick Laity their Rights, according to the Laws of the Land.

This Oath of Association, the latter Paragraph excepted, was the 26th of *July* 1644, in the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland* at *Kilkenny* declared, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights and Burgesses of that House, full and binding without Addition of any other Words thereunto, and enjoined to be took by all Sorts of People.

And that the Supreme Council, the legitimate Issue of the General Assembly, might look with the better Face of Authority, they framed to themselves a Seal, bearing the Mark of a long Cross, on the Right-side whereof a Crown, and a Harp on the Left, with a Dove above, and a flaming Heart below the Cross, and round about this Inscription, *Pro Deo, pro Rege, & Patria Hibernia unanimis*; with which they sealed their Credentials to Princes, and under that Seal passed their principal Acts of Sovereignty.

Having now modelled themselves into a separate State, confronting his Majesty's Royal Government settled in *Dublin*, ordering in their Supreme Council at *Kilkenny*, in the said Province of *Leinster*, all their Affairs, Civil and Military, through the whole Kingdom.

As to War, they had their Forces under the Conduct of four well experienced Generals, before mentioned, answering the several Provinces

ces of *Leinster, Munster, Connaught* and *Ulster*. Giving out Letters of Mart. An Example of which, together with the Authority they assumed, notwithstanding his Majesty's Proclamation of the 1st of *January* 1641, we shall here give you at large.

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By the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland.

TO all Men to whom this Present shall come. We the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of this Realm, send Greeting. Know ye, That we have taken into our serious Consideration the great and necessary use we have of Ships of War, for the Defence of the Coasts of this Realm, and Advancement and Furtherance of Commerce with foreign Nations, and for opposing his Majesty's Enemies, who daily hinder and annoy his Majesty's good Subjects of this Kingdom by Sea, and stop all free Trade in this Realm and abroad; have therefore constituted and appointed, and do hereby ordain, constitute, and appoint our well-beloved Friend, Captain *Francis Oliver*, Native of *Flanders*, having received good Testimony of his Sufficiency and Integrity, to be Captain of the Ship, called, *St. Michael the Archangel*, of Burthen one hundred and twenty Lafts or Tuns, or thereabouts; hereby giving and granting unto the said Captain, full and absolute Power, Commission, and Authority, to furnish the said Ship with all Necessaries, fit for Sea and War; and with the same to cross the Seas, and take, hinder, and prejudice all such as he shall find or meet of His Majesty's Enemies, the Enemies of the General Catholick Cause now in Hand in this Kingdom, their Ships and Goods whatsoever, either by Sea or Land, by what Means soever; and the said Shipping or Goods to set to Sale, and dispose of as lawful Prizes, and open Enemies Goods; saving unto his Majesty and his lawful Officers, and unto all other Person or Persons, Bodies politick and corporate, all Rights, Requisites, and Duties, due or usual, answered out of all Prizes. And we hereby command all Officers of all our Ports, Harbours, and Havens, within our Jurisdiction, throughout this Realm, to admit the said Captain *Francis Oliver*, and his Companies, Ships and Goods, from Time to Time, to pass and repass, come and go, without Molestation or Trouble. And that all Commanders of Forts, and all other Officers of his Majesty's loving Subjects, to be aiding and assisting unto him in Execution and Furtherance of the Premises whatsoever, and as often as Occasion shall require.

The Confederate Commission to a Privateer.

And lastly, we pray all foreign Princes, States, and Potentates, to defend, protect, assist, and favour the said Captain, his Ships and Goods, when, and as often as he shall come into their respective Coasts and Harbours.

This our Commission to continue during Pleasure. Given at *Kilkenny*, the last of *December*, 1642. Was signed,

*Mountgarret, Hugo Armachanus.
Gormanstown, Johan. Episc. Clonsfertensis,
Nic. Plunket, Patrick Darcy, James Cusack, Jeffry Brown.*

And as to Civils, they had their Officers of State, Justices of Oyer and *Terminer*, and of the Peace, with their Courts of Judicature in

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several

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They had their Negotiations also abroad, and from abroad, and by Envoys, Agents, and publick Ministers, Extraordinary and Resident; they received the Sense of other Princes, and returned their own, being also by those Princes treated at home, in like Manner as if they had been some State Absolute, or more considerable; of which, read their * Orders. All

* *Orders made and established by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the rest of the general Assembly for the Kingdom of Ireland, met at the City of Kilkenny, the 24th day of October, Anno Dom. 1642, and in the eighteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King, Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c.*

I. *Imprimis*, That the Roman Catholick Church in *Ireland*, shall and may have and enjoy the Privileges and Immunities according to the great Charter, made and declared within the Realm of *England*, in the ninth Year of King *Henry III.* sometime King of *England*, and the Lord of *Ireland*, and afterwards enacted and confirmed in this Realm of *Ireland*, and that the common Law of *England*, and all the Statutes of force in this Kingdom, which are not against the Catholick Roman Religion, or the Liberties of the Natives, and other Liberties of this Kingdom, shall be observed throughout the whole Kingdom, and that all Proceedings in civil and criminal Cases shall be according to the said Laws.

II. *Item*, That all and every Person and Persons within this Realm, shall bear Faith and true Allegiance unto our Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland*, his Heirs and Successors, and shall uphold and maintain his and their Rights and lawful Prerogatives, with the utmost Skill and Power of such Person or Persons against all manner of Persons whatsoever.

III. *Item*, That the Common Laws of *England* and *Ireland*, and the said Statutes called the Great Charter, and every Clause, Branch and Article thereof, and all other Statutes confirming, expounding, or declaring the same, shall be punctually observed within this Kingdom, so far forth as the condition of the present times, during these times, can by possibilities give way thereunto, and after the War is ended, the same to be observed without any Limitation or Restriction whatsoever.

IV. Inasmuch as the City of *Dublin* is the usual and principal Seat of Justice in this Kingdom, where the Parliament and ordinary Courts were held, and some other places where principal Councils were sometimes kept, and as yet possessed and commanded by the malignant Party, who are Enemies to God and their King, and his Majesty's well-affected Subjects: The Assembly is necessitated, during this War, in some Formalities and Circumstances to deviate from the Proceedings prescribed by the said Laws and Statutes; nevertheless retaineth the Substance and Essence thereof, so far forth as the endless Malice and Cruelty of their Enemies, the said malignant Party, doth permit, who shut up the said Places, and other passages and ways to his Majesty's Justice and Mercy from his Majesty's well-affected Subjects of this Kingdom; for the Exaltation therefore of the holy Roman Catholick Church, for the Advancement of his Majesty's Service, and the Preservation of the Lives, Estates, and Liberties of his Majesty's true Subjects of this Kingdom against the Injustice, Murders, Massacres, Rapes, Depredations, Robberies, Burnings, frequent breaches of Quarter and publick Faith, and Destruction daily perpetrated and acted upon his Majesty's said Subjects; and advised, contrived, and daily exercised by the said malignant Party; some of them managing the Government and Affairs of State in *Dublin*, and some other parts of this Kingdom to his Highness's great Disservice, and complying with their Confederates, the malignant Party in *England* and elsewhere; who, as it is manifest to all the World, do conspire and practise, to dishonour and destroy his Majesty, his royal Consort the Queen, their Issue, and the Monarchical Government, which is of most dangerous Consequence to all the Monarchs and Princes in Christendom.

The said Assembly doth order and establish a Council, by name, *A Supream Council of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland*, who are to consist of the number of twenty-four, to be forthwith named by the Assembly; whereof twelve, at the least, to be forthwith named, shall reside in this Kingdom, or where else they shall think expedient; and the Members of the said Council shall have equal Votes, and two parts of the three, or more concurring present Votes to conclude; and no fewer to sit in Council than nine, whereof seven at least

All the subſequent Acts being derived from the Orders eſtabliſhed at *Kilkenny*, the 24th of *October*, 1642.

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By

leaſt are to concur ; and of the twenty-four, a Preſident ſhall be named of the Aſſembly, who is to be one of the twelve reſident ; and if in caſe of his Death, Abſence, or Sickneſs, the reſt of theſe who ſhall be reſident, may name a Vice-preſident of the twenty-four.

And the ſaid Council ſhall have the Power and Preheminence following, *viz.* The Lords, Generals, and all other Commanders of Armies, and Civil Magiſtrates and Officers in the ſeveral Provinces ſhall obſerve their Orders and Decrees, and ſhall do nothing contrary to their Directions, and ſhall give them ſpeedy advertiſement and account of their Proceedings and Actions, with as much Expedition as may be.

That the ſaid Council ſhall have power to order and determine all ſuch matters as by this Aſſembly ſhall be left undetermined, and ſhall be recommended unto them, and their Orders therein to be of force until the next Aſſembly, and after, until the ſame be revoked.

That the ſaid Council ſhall have Power and Authority to do and execute all manner of Acts and Things conducing to the advancement of the Catholick Cauſe, and the good of this Kingdom, and concerning this War, as if done by the Aſſembly.

And ſhall have Power to hear and determine all Matters capital, criminal, or civil, except the Right or Title of Land.

That the Generals and other Commanders of Armies, and all Governors and civil Magiſtrates, and all other Perſons within this Realm, ſhall obey the Orders and Decrees of the ſaid Council touching the preſent Service.

That the Council ſhall have for their Guard the number of five hundred Foot, and two hundred Horſe, to be equally extracted out of the Armies of the four Provinces.

V. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſhed, that in every Province of this Kingdom there ſhall be a Provincial Council ; and in every County a County Council : The Provincial Council to be compoſed of the number of Two of each County ; and the ſaid Provincial Council ſhall chuſe a Preſident for themſelves.

VI. That the Provincial Council ſhall fit four Times a year, and oftner if there be cauſe for it. That they ſhall have Power and Authority to renew or reverse the Judgment of the County Council, the Party complaining, entering Security *De adjudicat' ſolvend'*. And ſhall, during the Trouble, have power to hear and determine all matters of the Crown, as Judges of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and Goal-delivery were wont to do ; ſo that no Spiritual Perſon be preſent at the determining Matters of Blood. And ſhall have power to hear and determine all civil Cauſes, and to eſtabliſh Rents and Poſſeſſions, ſo that they meddle not with the Title of Land, other than in caſe of Dower and Jointure. And the Sheriffs, Provincial-generals, and all Commanders of the Armies, in caſe of Diſobedience, are reſpectively required to execute the Decrees and Orders : And in caſe of Debts and Accounts, great conſideration is to be had of the Diſabilities of Creditors, occaſioned by the War.

VII. *Item*, In every County there ſhall be a County Council, conſiſting of one or two of each Barony, at the Election of the County ; and where there are no Baronies, the Council of ſuch County to conſiſt of the number of twelve.

And the ſaid County Council ſhall have Power and Authority in all points, as Juſtices of the Peace, to hear and determine all the Matters concerning the Offices of the Juſtice of Peace, and all Matters of the Crown happening within every ſuch County : And the Delinquent may, if he pleaſe, have his Trial in the Province ; and to hear and determine Debts, Treſpaſſes, and perſonal Demands, and to do all things as Juſtices of the Peace were accuſtomed to do ; and to reſtore and eſtabliſh Poſſeſſions taken by Force or Fraud ſince theſe Troubles. And likewiſe to take a ſpecial care that Tenants and Farmers be kept to their Farms where they were uſed, and to be preſerved from Extortion and Oppreſſion. And that Trades, Tradefmen, Manufactures, Agriculture, and Huſbandry, be maintained and duly kept.

VIII. *Item*, In Cities and Towns Corporate, Juſtice is to be done, and the Laws executed, as is accuſtomed.

IX. *Item*, In every County there ſhall be Coroners, High-Sheriffs, High-Conſtables, and petty Conſtables, and Goalers, who are to do their reſpective Offices as accuſtomed ; the High-Sheriff to be confirmed or nominated by the Supream Council ; and the High-Sheriff is required to execute the Commands, Orders, and Decrees of the Provincial and County Council.

X. *Item*,

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By what I have mentioned you may see, how the Rebels endeavoured to get credit abroad, and repute at home, managing their Concerns with so much Subtilty, as having them anviled in every Covent ; nothing

X. *Item*, In every County the High-Sheriff shall be Provost-Marshal, and shall have Power to execute a Layman not worth 5 *l.* and none other for Murder, Man-slaughter, Burglary, Theft, Robbery, or other capital Offence ; provided, the Party to be executed may have twenty four Hours Time to prepare his Soul : And that the Supream and Provincial Council, shall and may name more Provost-marshals as they shall think expedient, qualified with the like Authority.

XI. *Item*, It is further ordered, that no temporal Government or Jurisdiction, shall be assumed, kept, or exercised in this Kingdom, or within any County or Province thereof, during these Troubles, other than is before expressed, except such Jurisdiction and Government as is, or shall be approved by the General Assembly or the Supream Council.

XII. *Item*, It is further ordered, that whosoever hath entered since the first Day of *October* 1641, or shall hereafter during the Continuance of the War in this Kingdom, enter into the Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments at or immediately before the first Day of *October*, either by himself or his Under-tenants, or by receiving the Rents, Issues, or Profits thereof, shall immediately restore, upon Demand, the said Possession to the Party or Parties so put out, with such reasonable Damages as the Council-provincial shall think fit. And if the Party do refuse to restore the said Possession as aforesaid upon the Demand of the Party so put out, his Heirs or Assigns, made to the said Possessor, his Servants and Adherents in the Premises, or Publication of this Order in the Parish, where such Land lieth ; that upon his or their Denial thereof, or Default therein, he, his Heirs and Assigns, shall be for ever after debarred and secluded from all and every Right, Title, Interest or Demand which he or they make, or pretend to all or any the said Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments. And if after such Denial or Default made, the said Party, his Heirs or Assigns, shall not immediately restore the Possession of the said Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments so gained to the Party grieved, his Heirs or Assigns, That he, they, or his Adherents, in the Premises shall be declared and proceeded with as Enemies : Provided, and so it is meant, That if any of the Parties so put out, be declared a Neuter or Enemy by the Supream or Provincial-council, then the Party who gained the Possession as aforesaid, shall give up the Possession to such Person or Persons as shall be named either by the said Council-provincial, or Supream-council to be disposed of towards the Maintenance of the general Cause upon the Pain and Penalty aforesaid : And as for the Rents and main Profits of the said Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, and all Kind of Rents, and the Goods or Chattels taken or detained from any Catholick, as aforesaid, due Satisfaction is to be made for the same to the Parties from whom the Rents, Goods or Chattels, were, or shall be detained since these Troubles begun, as the Provincial and County-council shall respectively order.

XIII. *Item*, It is further ordered and established for the removal of evil Disorder and Enmity, and to the end all Men may bend their Thoughts and Actions to the common Cause, that all Possessions of Lands and Hereditaments shall continue and remain unto such as have already joined in this Union, as they have been for three Years past next before the Beginning of these Troubles ; And that no Title of Lands shall be drawn into any Debate or Question until the next Assembly, other than in Case of Mortgages, Leases, and particular Estates *de facto* determined or determinable, by Effluxion or other Determination thereof.

XIV. *Item*, For the avoiding of national Distinction between the Subjects of his Majesty's Dominions, which this Assembly doth utterly detest and abhor, and which ought not to be endured in a well-governed Common-wealth ; It is ordered and established that upon Pain of the highest Punishment, which may be inflicted by Authority of this Assembly, that every Roman Catholick, as well *English*, *Welsh*, as *Scotch*, who was of that Profession before the Troubles, and who will come and please to reside in this Kingdom and join in the present Union, shall be preserved and cherished in his Life, Goods, and Estates by the Power, Authority, and Force, if need require, of all the Catholicks of *Ireland*, as fully and freely as any Native born therein, and shall be acquitted and eased of one third Part, in three Parts to be divided, of publick Charges or Levies raised or to be raised for the Maintenance of this holy War.

XV. *Item*, And it is further ordered and established, that there shall be no Distinction or Comparison made betwixt old *Irish*, and old and new *English*, or between Septs or

thing was omitted to mature their Designs, or colour what they had now begun with the fairest Pretence ; whilst the State in the Interim, through the Distractions in *England* daily increasing, which gave fresh Fuel to the Rebels

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or Families, or between Citizens and Townsmen and Countrymen, joining in Union, upon Pain of the highest Punishment that can be inflicted by any of the Councils aforesaid, according to the Nature and Quality of the Offences, and Division like to spring thence.

XVI. *Item*, It is further ordered and established, that all new Converts born in any of his Majesty's Dominions or elsewhere, without Occasion given by the Persons converted to the contrary, and joining in this Cause, shall be accounted Catholick Natives to all Intents and Purposes.

XVII. *Item*, It is further ordered and established, that all Artificers, Artizans, Navigators, and Mariners not being Denizens, who shall please to reside in this Kingdom, shall, during their Residence in this Kingdom, after such Time as they and their Families shall be here settled, have and enjoy the free Liberty and Privileges of Natives in all Respects.

XVIII. *Item*, It is further ordered and established, that in regard of the present Estate and Condition of this Kingdom, if any Catholick or Catholicks are admitted of, or permitted to continue in the *Inns of Court* ; and to the End the laudable Laws of *England* may not die amidst the Disasters of these Times ; one *Inn of Court* shall be erected in such a Place of this Kingdom as to the Supream Council shall be thought fit for the training of the Gentry of this Kingdom to the Knowledge of these Laws.

XIX. *Item*, It is further ordered and established, that no Lord, Gentleman, or any other Person, shall raise or keep any Company of Soldiers, but such as shall be authorized by the Supream-council, Provincial-council, or County-council, or Magistrate within their own Corporate Towns ; and that the Statute against *Sesse* and *Coin* or *Livery* be duly put in Execution. And that no Company or Soldiers whatsoever shall be paid or relieved by the Country, except such as are and shall be inrolled in the Marshal-list ; and none shall be billeted but by the Constable.

XX. *Item*, It is further ordered and established for the Advancement of Learning, that in every Province of the Kingdom Free-schools shall be erected and maintained, so many, and in such Places, and in such Manner and Form as by the Metropolitan of the Diocess in their respective Provinces shall be thought fit.

XXI. *Item*, It is further ordered and established, that the King's Customs, Rents, Revenues, Arrears and Debts, and the Rents, Estates and Profits of the Lands, Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels of the Enemies which are or shall be declared by the Provincial or Supream-council, or by the General-council to be received and collected, and be disposed for his Majesty's Use and Service.

XXII. *Item*, It is further ordered and established, that Church-lands and Tithes impropriate in the Catholick-owners before these Troubles, and joining in this Cause, may be left to them according to their several Estates, until the same be disposed of by Parliament ; they in the Interim answering the Rents as accustomed.

XXIII. *Item*, It is further ordered and established, that in every County there be Collectors and Receivers to be approved in the County-council for the same ; and that they be accountable to the County-council for the same, which County-council shall be accountable to the Provincial-council therein half-yearly, and the Provincial-council to the Supream-council yearly, to the end the same may not be concealed or misapplied.

XXIV. *Item*, It is ordered and agreed, where any Archbishops, Bishops, or other Dignitary, or any other Person or Persons whatsoever hath, or enjoyeth any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, Tithes, or other Church-livings in one County or Province, or doth or shall keep his or their Residence in another Country or Province, and hath his or their Creation, or Nomination in any other County or Province where the said Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Tithes, or Church-livings to the general Use shall be employed within the said County or Province, where the said Lands, Tenements, Tithes or Church-livings do lie, as by the several County-councils respectively shall be thought fit for the publick Cause.

XXV. *Item*, It is ordered and established by the General Assembly, that any Woman being a Roman Catholick and Wife of any Protestant or Catholick that hath forsaken his Houses, Estate, and Wife, and adhered unto the Enemy, that every such Wife may enter into her Jointure, if any be conveyed unto her, or may recover her Thirds of her said Husband's Estate, as if her said Husband were actually dead ; And that every such Wife shall be in such Condition and Capacity to sue and be impleaded,

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Rebels Presumption, were so straitned for want of Supplies, that the Lords Justices having, by all the Ways imaginable, represented, as well to his Majesty as to the Parliament, the miserable Condition they were in ; assuring them, that without further Supplies of all Kinds, the Soldiers being so unruly, as the Lieutenant General, the 23d of May 1642, was forced

ed, as if her Husband had been exiled and banished the Realm by Judgment of Law, except the Provincial-council, or Supream-council in particular Cases order the contrary.

XXVI. *Item*, It is ordered and established, that the Possession of Protestant Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deans, Dignitaries, and Parsons in right of their respective Churches, or their Tenements in the Beginning of these Troubles, shall be deemed taken and construed as the then Possession of the Catholick Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deans, Dignitaries, Pastors and their Tenements respectively, to all Intents and Purposes ; and that those Possessions are intended within the precedent Order for Settlement of Possessions.

XXVII. *Item*, It is ordered and established, that no Man being Prisoner, by Authority of any of the Councils aforesaid, without Order of the said Councils respectively, shall be enlarged : And that no Protection be given to Servants and other Men of the Enemies Party without the like Order, or the Order of the chief Commander of the Army in the several Provinces or Counties.

XXVIII. *Item*, Whereas Abuses have been committed in some Parts of this Kingdom in taking of Arms, Ammunition, and other Merchandizes from Merchants arrived in the Creeks and Harbours far from their intended Port, by reason of Tempest, or the Danger of Enemies, to the great Discouragement of Merchants : It is therefore ordered and established that where any Ship or Ships, or other Vessels, shall come or arrive in any Harbour, Bay, or Creek, within this Kingdom, loaden with Arms, Ammunition, or other Merchandize, that in such Cases all those that are or shall be in Command in the adjacent Counties respectively shall protect and defend the said Merchants, procure Carriage for the said Goods, and safely convey the same to the said Merchants intended Port, and not to suffer the same, or any of the same under colour of paying for the same, or otherwise, to be disposed of or taken, before the same come to the intended Port, and be entered into the List of the Commissioners : And any that shall rob, steal, or violently take away any of the said Goods contrary to this Order, shall be deemed and punished as Enemies to the publick Good of this Kingdom, and suffer Death therefore.

XXIX. *Item*, That certain Commissioners shall be appointed in every Port-town of the Free-men and Residents therein by the Provincial or Supreme-council, for the viewing of all the Arms, and Ammunition that shall be hereafter imported into this Kingdom from beyond Seas, and to certify the same to the Supreme council with all Speed, and to prevent Abuses in the Sale for issuing or disposing of them.

XXX. *Item*, It is ordered and established, that where Soldiers do run from their Garrisons, or Commanders unto other Counties or Provinces, that the Commanders or chief Governors of the said County or Province, upon Complaint made thereof, shall send back the fugitive Soldiers to their Commanders to be dealt withal according to Justice.

XXXI. *Item*, It is ordered and established, that the Debts and other Duties owing to Creditors of this Union being Neuters and Enemies, shall be paid out of the Goods, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments of the said Neuters, and Enemies respectively, before any other publick Charge be answered thereout.

XXXII. *Item*, It is ordered and established, that no Soldiers or other Persons, without Command from the County-council, meddle with the Lands or Goods of Neuters or Enemies.

XXXIII. *Item*, It is ordered and established, that to prevent the springing up of all National Distinctions, the Oath of Association or Union be taken solemnly, after Confession and receiving the Sacrament in the Parish Churches throughout the Kingdom, and the Names of all the Persons of Rank and Quality in every Parish that take the same, to be enrolled in Parchment, and to be returned, signed, and sealed by the Parish-Priest, to the Ordinary of every Diocess, who is to keep the same in his Treasury, and to certify a Copy thereof under Seal to the Metropolitan, who is to keep that, and to certify a true Copy thereof under his Metropolitcal Seal to the Rolls of the Kingdom, where the same is to be enrolled

forced to publish a sharp Proclamation against their Exorbitancies, it was not possible for them to carry on the War, or to hinder the Incursions of the Rebels, even into those Parts which they had recovered out of their Hands; thought fit to take another Course for the Present: And that the Forces they had in *Ireland* might be ready for Action, and in the mean Time not wholly unserviceable, they allotted, after no little opposition to the contrary, to several Captains and other Officers of the Army, such convenient Houses and Villages, as they had taken from the Rebels, giving them leave to carry their several Troops and Companies under their Command to quarter in them; by which Means they freed themselves from the present Charge of providing Victuals for them, forcing them to live upon the Spoils of their Enemies; which they quickly found the Way to do, and made themselves Masters of all the Cattle and other Substance of those that lived within a reasonable Distance of them. By which Means, all the considerable Places belonging to the Rebels, within twenty Miles of *Dublin*, came to be in the Hands of the Soldiers, as having them granted by way of *Custodium* for the present unto them; an Expedient acceptable to the Officers, and extremely prejudicial to the Rebels.

1642.
Custodians allotted to the Soldiers.

The 10th of *June*, the Lords Justices and Council finding themselves much prejudiced by their Protections they had given to many, who, under pretext of labouring at the Plow, had their Weapons hidden near them, to cut off straggling Soldiers and Protestants, as they passed by them single. The State, to prevent such Inconveniencies, withdrew their former Protections by a Proclamation of that Date. A Circumstance much insisted on by the Rebels; but the Reasons of the State will best appear by their * Proclamation, no Protection being ever violated by the State with their Privity, or revoked, but on time given.

And

* By the Lords-Justices and Council.

W. Parsons, Jo. Borlase.

Whereas for special Reasons of State moving us thereunto, we issued divers Warrants, forbidding his Majesty's Army to burn certain Houses and Corn, and to forbear pillaging, spoiling, and taking away Goods and Cattle of divers Persons: And whereas also, not only we the Lords-Justices, or one of us, or our very good Lord the Earl of *Ormond* and *Offory*, Lieutenant-General of the Army, but also the late and present Commander or Commanders of his Majesty's Forces in the City of *Dublin*, or in *Drogheda*, and other places within the Province of *Leinster*, some of them having no Authority or Direction so to do, and issued Warrants, admitting sundry persons, many of which persons by their present ill Demerits in this general Rebellion, might justly have been forthwith prosecuted with Fire and Sword, with Safety to bring or send to the Markets of *Dublin*, *Drogheda*, and other places, Corn and other Provisions, to be there sold, which was done in expectation that by that Forbearance used towards them, when they saw just Vengeance taken on others for the same adhering to, and relieving those who in this Rebellion publickly carry Arms, and commit open Acts of Hostility, they might be moved to depart from adhering to, or relieving those notorious Actors in the Rebellion, in gratitude to his Majesty and this State, for so much Clemency used towards them; yet so ungrateful have many or most of those Persons been found, and so insensible of the Duty and Loyalty of good Subjects to his Majesty, as notwithstanding that Clemency used towards them, they have not returned the Fruits of Loyalty expected from them; but on the contrary, have run on in their former rebellious Courses, not so much as having to this time offered any Assistance to this State, or any the Governors or Commanders of the Army, and have murdered many *English*, and other Subjects in several parts: It being observed, that if any of his Majesty's

good

1642.

The Lord
Mac-Guire and
Mac-Mabon
sent into Eng-
land.

And now that the State of *Ireland* might have the less Charge upon them, they thought it convenient to send the Lord *Mac-Guire* and *Mac-Mabon* into *England*; whose Fates I shall here give you a particular Account of, though they suffered not till some Years after.

Mac-

good Subjects, Soldiers or others, pass by, not strongly guarded, they are set upon and murdered in the High-ways and Passages as they travel; the very Plowmen and those that keep Cattle, having continually Arms lying by them in the Fields, to murder those his Majesty's good Subjects when they find them weakly guarded; and on the other side, when they find them strongly guarded, they seem to go on in their plowing and Husbandry, shewing those Warrants for their Safety, and seeming to be poor, innocent, and harmless Labourers. And although the aforesaid open Rebels were frequently in some of their Houses, and continually round about them, they never gave us any Intelligence concerning the Proceedings of those open Rebels, nor of the Places where they had often Meetings, and where they might be found to be fallen on by his Majesty's Army, which they might easily have done, if their Affections to his Majesty and his Government had been such as by the Laws of God they ought to be; or if they desired to live humbly in obedience to the Laws, as some of them pretend: And albeit, in many of the said Warrants there were Conditions expressed, and in all of them Conditions implied, that the Parties taking benefit thereby, should behave themselves as becomes dutiful and loyal Subjects, whereby we might justly proceed to their deserved Correction, without any Violation on our parts of the said Warrants, or the Word thereby given. And albeit also that most of those Warrants were not in themselves Protections to the Parties, further than in giving them leave to bring or send Corn and other Provisions to the Markets, whereby their Servants, or Horses, or Provisions should not be seized on by the Soldiers when they came to the Markets, which admittance fell out as well for their Benefit, as intended for the furnishing of the Market; yet because we find that the further continuing of those Warrants, do now appear inevitably to induce a great Inconvenience to his Majesty's general Service, and many of those People do either ignorantly, or perhaps purposely, mistake the true Sense and Meaning of those Warrants, and do give out to interpret them to be Protections granted to them for the Safety of their Lives and Estates, how foul soever they are in their Crimes, which is an Interpretation that cannot justly be made out of the Letter or Meaning of those Warrants; yet in regard we, who are entrusted here by his Majesty, for the Government of this his Kingdom and People, are so tender of his Majesty's Honour, as we neither have done, nor will do any thing, that by any Construction can be interpreted a Breach of any Word given by us, neither have desired or willingly permitted any Violence or Hurt to be done to any Inhabitant, or any Prejudice, other than for the necessary Defence and Safety of this State, and other his Majesty's good Subjects, against those that took up Arms against his Majesty. And for that we are now necessitated to resolve, not to suffer this State to be any longer deluded and abused, and his Majesty's good Subjects murdered, even as it were in our own view, in scorn and affront of the State, and some of the Actors passing with Impunity under countenance of these Warrants; we think fit before we proceed to the just correction of those who have so declared themselves Enemies to the Peace of this Kingdom, hereby to publish and declare that the said Warrants so granted by us the Lords-Justices, or either of us, or by us the Lords-Justices and Council, or by the said Lieutenant-General of the Army, or by the said late or present Commanders of the Forces of this City, or by any his Majesty's Commanders in *Drogheda*, or other Places, to any Person or Persons within the Baronies *Castle-Knock*, *Nethercross*, *Balrothery*, or *Coolock* in the County of *Dublin*, or within the Baronies of *Dulee*, *Skryne*, *Moyferagh*, *Ratoath*, *Deece*, and *Dunboyne*, in the County of *Meath*, shall from and after the four and twentieth day of this Month, stand void, and be annulled, repealed, and revoked; and we do hereby accordingly from and after the said Day, revoke, repeal, make void and annul them, and every of them, to all intents and purposes, as if they had never been granted; and do order that from and after the said Day, they be of no force, nor derive any Benefit, Protection, or Security in the Parties to whom they were granted. And this Proclamation, we hereby require the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of *Dublin*, to cause to be proclaimed and published on two Market-days in and throughout the said City and Suburbs, and to be publickly fixed up in the Market-place, and other publick Places in the said City and Suburbs, that so all Men may take notice thereof; and that hereafter, when by the Power and Strength of his Majesty's Army,

Mac-Guire was one principally designed for the Surprizal of the Castle of *Dublin*, and the securing or murdering of the Lords Justices and Council, for which intent he came purposely the Day before to *Dublin*; but the Plot being that Night detected, he fled disguised from his usual Lodgings at one *Nevil's* a Chirurgeon, in *Castle-street*, and secretly hid himself at one *Kerns's*, a Taylor in *Cook-street*, where he was found in a Cock-loft by Mr. *John Woodcock*, one of the Sheriffs of *Dublin*, standing with his Cloak wrapped about him in an obscure Place; in which Posture he was apprehended, and brought before the Lords Justices and Council, to whom he confessed sufficient to be committed to the Castle the 23d of *October*, about the Time he intended to have perpetrated his Villany in that Place; from whence, the 12th of *June*, 1642, after several Examinations had of his Guiltiness, he, with *Hugh Oge Mac-Mabon*, was sent into *England*, where they both continued Prisoners some Years in the Tower of *London*; whence they made an Escape the 18th of *August* 1644, and were retaken the 20th of *October* following. Strange! That in such a Time they could not secure their Escape; but Vengeance would not suffer them to live. *Mac-Mabon*, in *Michaelmas-Term*, the 18th of *November* that Year, was tried at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, in *Westminster-Hall*, and shortly after executed at *Tyburn*: Whilst the Lord *Mac-Guire* made such a Defence for himself, as his final Trial was not till the 10th and 11th of *February* 1644, in *Hilary-Term*, at which Time, he was brought to the *King's-Bench*, where, 'after his Indictment read for conspiring to disinherit the King's Majesty, to raise Sedition, and breed a miserable Slaught-
'ter amongst the King's Subjects,' he first moved to have his Peers, being Baron of *Inniskillen* in *Ireland*, and forceably brought to *Westminster*, for that none ought to be condemned but by such; in Pursuance of which, he pleaded the Statute the 10th of *Henry VII.* whereby all the Statutes made in *England* should from thenceforth be in force in *Ireland*. Upon which, the King's Council, Serjeant *Roll* and *Whitfield*, besides *Pryn* and *Nudigate*, demurred, and the Defendant joyned in the Demurrer. At length, Judge *Bacon* declared, that an *Irish* Baron was triable by a Jury in *England*, so the Lord *Grey*, was tried for Acts done in *Ireland*, upon which, an Order passed the 10th of *February*, by the Lords and Commons for his Tryal; at which he desired respite for the summoning of his Witnesses; which, in Consideration that his Lordship had had long Time to expect his Tryal, and that no Witnesses could say any Thing against what the Witnesses, on the King's Side,

1642.
Their Trial at
Westminster.

Mac-Mabon's
Execution.

Army, Offenders receive due Punishment, they may appear inexcusable, and not have any colour to pretend the least Breach of Word in this State.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin the 10th of June, 1642.

Ormond Ossory.
Roscommon.
Ad. Loftus.
J. Temple.
Tho. Rotherham.

Fra. Willoughby.
Tho. Lucas.
Ja. Ware.
Gao. Wentworth.
Rob. Meredith.

God Save the King.

N n

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Side, could prove, was denied. Afterwards he made a general Challenge against twenty-three that were empanneled for the first Jury ; which peremptory Challenge was accepted, the Law allowing it : And the Prisoner, for that Time, was discharged, with a Command to be brought again the next Day ; which was done accordingly. Then he moved, that his Plea of Peerage might be referred to another Court, or to the Lords ; but that was denied, for that he had put himself on the Country ; besides, the Lords and Commons had ordered his Tryal. Then another Jury was named, which his Lordship excepted against, ' for that he conceived it not fit, that those who had bought his Land, ' should pass upon his Tryal.' To clear which, after some Heats in arguing betwixt the King's Council and the Defendant, the Judge consented, that the Jury should be required upon Oath to answer, whether any of them had any Adventure, or Share of the Rebels Lands in *Ireland* : Which being answered in the Negative, the Court proceeded ; and he being in several Circumstances, besides his Confession, found Guilty, the Judge demanded, why Sentence should not pass against him, his Lordship, amongst other Things, too tedious, and of little Concern to mention, desired to know by what Seal the Judge proceeded against him ? Who answered, By the Old, and Order of Parliament. To which the Lord *Mac-Guire* replied, That, under Favour he conceived, that the Ordinance of Parliament for a new Great Seal, made the Old invalid. To which the Judge replied, That he acted by the old Seal, being made a Judge at that Time. Besides, there is nothing, saith he, done in this Court by the new Seal ; the Sheriffs are hereby a Charter that comes in from Year to Year, and there is no other Seal in order of Execution. After which, the Judge proceeded to Sentence, which he heard patiently, having doubtless long the Sentence of Death in himself ; and accordingly he was drawn, hanged, and quartered at *Tyburn*, the 20th of *February*, 1644.

The Lord
Mac-Guire's
End.

But to return to the State, who, in the manner before-mentioned, continued the Army quartered in several *Custodiums*, not being able by reason of the want of Money, Provisions, and other Necessaries, otherwise to furnish any Part of it out in such manner, as might put them in a Posture to undertake any great Action abroad ; some in the Interim improving the present Necessities to the Advantage of a Design then in the Womb.

However we find, that though the Parliament in *England* wondered, as one in eminent Place then heard, that the Army in *Ireland* did little, ' Yet it was to be admired, writes he * they did so much, considering the small Means they had to effect so great Things : They did ' then abound only in Sickness, and hurt Men, which made the Regiments and Companies very weak ; Moneys came not in at all, and for ' Cloaths and Shoes few or none ; notwithstanding they had Hearts manifested by their Works ; for no Enemy, but as soon as they looked ' on them, instead of using their Arms, exercised their Heels ; no Fort ' or Castle which they offered to keep, which they ever deserted, or any ' that they attempted, but yielded to them.' In as much as that noble Person, which observed this, in some Passion could not but take Notice, That if all this were nothing, let it be so esteemed ! The Enemy in the Interim having Supplies of Men and Arms.

* The 20th of
August, 1642.

Indeed

1642.

Causes why Affairs prospered no better.

Indeed that Affairs proceeded with no currenter a Pace, this Year, many Obstacles contributed thereunto. The Government was in the Hands of Two, though in the Main entirely faithful and knowing, yet vastly differing in their Tempers ; one being of a sedentary, the other of an active Life ; he allied to most of the leading Men of the Council, the other only prevalent as his Reason and Gallantry, wrought on the Generous. Besides, some had such Interest elsewhere, as all was not resented with such Integrity as was meant ; That, in the Management of Affairs at the Helm, Authority itself was often eclipsed ; nor could any who was necessitated to hold the Reins with others, possibly evade the Inconveniencies they were then frequently inforced upon, how well soever they had been versed in the Art of Government ; some will have it, that there was much Artifice used to lengthen out the War : For at that Time, whether by the Governors of the City of *Dublin's* Omission, or some other Fate upon the Army, hard for me to determine, the Rebels on one Side came often to the Gates, giving frequent Alarms, and took away the Cattle from under the Walls. And in *Lowth*, the most considerable Garrison was almost destroyed through those Persons, who, having the Government of the County, protected their Tenants ; nor would those that had Power to force a Supply improve their Interest, being better able to disperse an Enemy, than disoblige a Neighbour.

The *Scots* General, the Earl of *Leven*, in the *North*, who with the recent and veterate Soldiers made up twenty thousand, did little, desirous rather it seems to keep themselves safe in *Knockfergus*, and the Frontiers, than venture much abroad, as appeared by their Repulse at *Charlemont*, whence they retired with no Honour, and admitted *Dungannon* to be re-taken by the *Irish*, after it had been bravely recovered by the Vertue of an *English* Gentleman. Indeed the *English-Scots*, who joined with the *English* Regiments, did excellent Service ; and that the other failed, may be imputed to the Rawness of their Men, the want of Victuals, of which they stood in great need, and some Hardship they endured, happily not incident to their Tenderness.

Now for *Connaught*, such was the Carriage of some there, that two compleat Regiments, consisting of full two thousand Men, were in six Months reduced, through want, though the Country thereabouts was stored with all Manner of Provisions, not having been harrassed by an Enemy, to six hundred. Upon which, several Articles were preferred by Persons of Honour, against those, who were charged with that Misfortune, and the Business referred to the Council of War, which waved their Censure ; and the main Parties concerned therein voluntarily undergoing, afterwards, a private Duel, producing no ill to either Party, no more was urged thereupon : Though as to the Carriage of that Business, in Reference to the Soldiers Clothes and Necessaries, it could not easily be wiped off, nor the deserting of a Government without Orders, where there was more Store of Ammunition, Arms, and other necessaries, than Soldiers to use them.

However, in *August* this Year 1642, the Lord *Moor*, Sir *John Borlase* junior, and Colonel *Gibson* with five hundred Men a piece, went into the Counties of *Lowth* and *Meath*, with two Pieces of Battery, and two Field-pieces, with which they assaulted the Castle of *Sedan*, obstinately defended thirty Hours by Captain *Flemming*, thrice stormed, who

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who at last fought with them out of the Ruins. At which Time Lords of the *Pale* were not so resolute, the Lord *Gormanstown* flying from the Fort of the *Nabar*, and the Lord *Slane*, from the Castle of *Newtown*, thereby leaving *Lowth* and *Meath* cleared of the Enemy; who finding good Heels lost five hundred only at *Sedan*, whilst Captain *Burrows*, *Pigot*, and *Grimes*, with some others, defeated eight hundred of the Rebels near *Athy*, and slew about two hundred.

And now in respect that the State found great Inconveniencies by the Protections, the Commissioners, they had formerly given Authority to, gave, the State of the Country being now far different from the Condition wherein it stood, 27th of *October* 1641, at the granting of the said Protections; and that the Rebels of all Degrees and Conditions, had since with hateful and bloody Obstinacy declared their Purpose to extirpate the *British* throughout the whole Kingdom, without Hope of Reconcilement, other than by the Strength of his Majesty's Forces; They did the 19th of *August* 1642, revoke, repeal, make void, and annul all such Protections, from and after ten Days from the Date thereof, more at large to be seen in the * Instrument itself carrying weighty Reasons for that Act.

The

* By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons. Jo. Borlase.

Whereas in the Beginning of this hideous and detestable Rebellion, We the Lords Justices and Council, desirous if it might be to give some sudden Stop thereunto, so to prevent the spreading thereof, and the growth of it to that Height to which it hath since risen, and conceiving that at that Time the Multitude were by evil Council, or false Rumors seduced to partake in that Rebellion, who not knowing the Truth and Depth of the Combination, We did think, could not so wretchedly fail in their Duty and Loyalty to their most gracious King and Sovereign, as so universally to persist in their Course of Disobedience to his Majesty's Authority, but would with treatable and fair Admonitions, laying before them their great Danger and the Iniquity of their Enterprize, have returned to their Obedience, We therefore on the 27th of *October* last, authorized divers Persons of Quality and Trust for the several Counties of *Down*, *Antrim*, *Armagh*, *Monaghan*, *Cavan*, *Tirone* and *Fermanagh*, amongst other Powers then intrusted with them, to parly with the Rebels, or any of them, and by Proclamation or otherwise, to proffer his Majesty's Grace and Mercy to them, or any of them, and to receive such of them into his Majesty's Grace and Mercy as should submit themselves and desire the same. Yet we held fit then to accompany the said Commission with our Letters to the said Commissioners, wherein we signified to them, that although by the said Commission we gave them that Power, yet we did then let them know, that for those who were chief among the Rebels, and Ring-leaders of the rest to Disobedience, that we adjudged them less worthy of Favour than the others, whom they had misguided. And therefore for those principal Persons, we required them to take care not to be too forward, without first consulting this Board, in proffering or promising Mercy to those, unless they the Commissioners saw it of great and unavoidable Necessity. Which Power entrusted by us with the said Commissioners was then granted, in respect of the conjuncture of Affairs at that time, and to answer the then sudden Extremities in the publick Service. And whereas we have now received Information that a long time after the said Power entrusted with them, and when the state of the Country was far different from the condition wherein it stood at the issuing of the said Commission, and after the general Conspiracy was fully discovered; and that the Rebels of all degrees and conditions had with hateful and bloody Obstinacy declared their purpose to extirpate the *British*, throughout the whole Kingdom, without hope of Reconcilement, other than by the Strength of his Majesty's Forces, some of the said Commissioners, notwithstanding the Premonition given them by our said Letters, and without consulting this Board therein, have given Protections of late to many of the said Rebels, being principal Persons and Freeholders;

The 25th of *August*, the Lords, in a Letter to Secretary *Nicholas*, sent a Copy of the Rebels Petition, together with the Rebels of *Pale's* Letter to the Earl of *Ormond*, in the Answer to which, Exceptions were taken, that they had not sent the Original, and withal took Notice, that as his Majesty would be ready to punish the Rebels, so he would not shut up his Mercy against those who did unfeignedly repent; upon which the Original was sent, and his Majesty's Pardon begged.

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Soon after the Lord *Lisle* with the Men under his Command, marched towards the Counties of *Westmeath* and *Cavan*, where they arrived about the Middle of *September*, having destroyed all where they had passed, without striking a Stroke; the Rebels being, according to their usual Custom, retired to Places of Strength, confiding more in their Walls than Valour, wherefore passing into the County of *Monaghan*, he fate down before *Carrickmacross*, a House of the Earl of *Effex's*, very well fortified, where the Rebels having endured the Battery of two small Pieces of Cannon for one Day, fled away the next Night, the outward Guards of the Besiegers, being remissly attended, leaving their Provisions of all Sorts behind them: The Lord *Lisle*, after this Success, better much than he could expect with so small Forces, having put a Garrison in the Place, returned to *Dublin*.

The Lord *Lisle's*
Expedition into
Westmeath, &c.

About

holders; which Protections are, in sundry respects, found to be a mighty Hindrance to his Majesty's Service in those Parts, and tending to his Majesty's Loss and Disadvantage. And albeit we are informed that those Persons so protected have by their Misbehaviours since the Protections granted to them, violated the expresse or implied Conditions of all Protections, which besides the Unreasonableness of the granting of them, contrary to the intent of our Direction in our said Letters, might justly give cause to have those Rebels immediately fallen upon, and cut off. Yet in regard we, who are entrusted here by his Majesty for the Government of this his Kingdom and People, are so tender of his Majesty's Honour, as we neither have done, nor will do any thing, that by any construction, can be interpreted a Breach of any Word given by us, or any other authorized by us. We think fit before we proceed to the just correction of those Rebels, hereby to publish and declare, that all the said Protections granted since the first of *March* last, to any Person or Persons whatsoever, in the County of *Down*, or other Counties above-named, shall at the end of ten Days next after the publishing of this Proclamation at *Down-Patrick* or *Strangford*, in the said County of *Down*, or at any other publick Place in any of the said Counties respectively, stand void and be annulled, repealed, and revoked. And we do hereby accordingly from and after the said ten Days, revoke, repeal, make void and annul them, and every of them, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had never been granted; and do order that from and after the said ten Days, they be of no force, nor derive any Benefit, Protection, or Security to any of the Parties to whom they were so granted. And this Proclamation we require the Sheriff of the County of *Down*, and the several Sheriffs of the said several Counties respectively, to cause to be proclaimed and published at *Down-Patrick* and *Strangford* aforesaid, and at some publick Places in the said several Counties respectively, that so all Persons whom it may concern, may take Notice thereof; and that hereafter, when by the Power and Strength of his Majesty's Army, the said Offenders receive due Punishment for their high Transgressions, they may not have any colour to pretend the least Breach of Word in this State, or any of the Ministers thereof.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the 19th Day of *August*, 1641.

La. Dublin.
Ormond Offory.
Cha. Lambert.
Ad. Loftus.

J. Temple.
Tho. Lucas.
Ja. Ware.
Rob. Meredith.

1642.

Capt. Vaughan's
Resolution.

About one Month after my Lord *Lisle's* return to *Dublin*, the State was informed by the Lord *Moor*, that *Carrickmacross* was besieged by near two thousand Rebels, and that if it were not suddenly relieved, not only the Place would be taken, but our Men lost; whereupon it was resolved to send away presently one thousand Foot, with some Troops of Horse, under the Command of Sir *Henry Tichborn* and my Lord *Moor*, to raise the Siege; And it fell into Debate what should be done with the Place, and upon a due Consideration of all Circumstances, and an Impossibility on our Part, to man and victual the Place, an Act of Council was made, *For the demolishing of the House, and bringing of our Men back*: Before this was put in Execution, Letters came from Captain *Vaughan* from *Dundalk*, to acquaint the State, that with one hundred Foot and fifty Horse, he had been to see in what State *Carrick* was; that he found the Men well victualled for fourteen Days, and that the Siege was raised; that there came upon him in his Return two thousand of the Rebels, who charged him, and, as Captain *Martin* said, shot near five thousand shot at his Men, who thereupon began to be somewhat in Disorder, so as he saw they could not well retire; Whereupon he charged them with Horse, routed them, killing thirty or forty of them, and got some Arms: Yet the Resolution taken to demolish *Carrick* was not altered.

The Summer being thus spent, the Winter apace drew on, and the Provisions of the County failing, where the Soldiers lay in Garrison in the *Custodiums*, the greatest Part of them returned to *Dublin*, where they took up their Quarters, to the great Grievance of the Inhabitants: And now the Differences between the King and his Parliament in *England* were grown so high, and their Preparations, to encounter one another in a set Battle, so considerable, as upon that fatal Day, the 23d Day of *October* 1642, they came to an Engagement at *Edge-Hill*, where the Encounter was so fiercely maintained on both Sides, with so much Courage and Resolution, headed by the Earl of *Lindsey* for the King, and the Earl of *Essex* for the Parliament, manfully discharging the Parts both of Generals and Soldiers, as the Loss, being in a Manner equal, both reported themselves Conquerors, but neither were thenceforth in a Condition, to administer sufficient Relief, to the distressed Estate of the poor Protestants in *Ireland*, whereby the Army, though but lately sent over out of *England*, was wholly neglected, which made many of the Commanders take up Thoughts of quitting that Service, and repairing to the King at *Oxford*, having, as it was said, secret Invitations thereunto: Which being understood by the Parliament, and finding that, from the Battle of *Kilrush*, which was fought in *April* 1642, till *October* following, the Army in *Leinster* had not been so active, as reasonably might have been expected. The Parliament to quicken the War, to inform themselves of the Wants and Defects of the Army, and of all other Things, that might enable them the better to send thither and dispose of there, such Forces, Monies Ammunition, and Necessaries for that Service, according to the Statute which enabled the Lords and Commons in Parliament, from Time to Time to direct, thought it very expedient, though by Secretary *Nicholas* from his Majesty, expressly commanded * to the contrary, to send into *Ireland* a Committee for that Purpose, in the Depth of Winter, Members of the House of Commons, Mr. *Robert Goodwin*, and Mr.

Robert

October 14th.

Robert Reynolds, authorized from both Houses, called by his Majesty, * their Ambassadors, to which the Citizens of *London* joyned one Captain *Tucker*, who carried with them 20,000 *l.* in ready Money, besides three hundred Barrels of Powder, ten Tun of Match, and other Ammunition. They arrived at *Dublin* the 29th of *October* by long Sea, and upon the 2d of *November*, presented them to the State, producing the Ordinance of Parliament, together with their Instructions to be read. The Lords Justices and Council ordered their Reception with respect, which they improved to the voluntary putting on of their Hats, sitting behind the Council on a Fourm; nor could this their Carriage be reproved, though refented, Affairs at that Time having brought on those Exigencies, which their coming could only relieve, during whose abode there, having Votes only in military Affairs, they saw that Parties were continually sent forth to encounter the Rebels, and when there was a Failing either in Money or Provisions, they engaged their own particular Credits to make up the Defect: Yet in respect of their being admitted, as they were, consequently were thought to be Spies on his Majesty's Ministers there. His Majesty much disliked their Address, and in a Letter, delivered to the Lords Justices and Council, the 10th of *February*, Ordered their Removal, which was done with much Content by the Board, but some Regret to the Commissioners; who resolved presently to quit *Ireland*; and to speak Truth, it soon appeared, by the Index of some Men's Spirits, what hazard they might have run, should they have been obstinate therein: though many suspected, as it fell out, their Return would certainly slacken the Relief of the Protestant Army against the *Irish*.

There were three main Things principally intended by this Committee, during their stay in *Ireland*.

I. They used their utmost Endeavours to satisfy the Officers of the Army, of the great Care the Parliament took to provide their Pay, and to send over Money, and in the mean Time to furnish the Army with all Manner of Provisions and Ammunitions, that should be thought necessary, for the carrying on the War against the Rebels.

II. They made a Book, wherein they desired, that all the Officers of the Civil List, as well as the Army, should subscribe, and declare their free Consent, that some Part of their Pay and Arrear, due to them for their Service there, should be satisfied out of the Rebels Lands, when they were declared to be subdued: Upon which many great Sums were under-written; but upon Information of his Majesty's dislike thereof, the Commissioners, being sharply threatned, returned the Book, so that most struck out their Names, frustrating thereby a Design, which would infinitely have obliged others to have subscribed: In reference to which, the King's Commissioners at *Uxbridge* ascertained, ' That his Majesty ' never sent any such Letter, to divert the Course of the Officers subscribing, but the Soldiers were merely discouraged from the same, by ' discerning that for want of Supplies, they should not be able to go on ' with that War,' and, by some Speeches, it was apprehended that the Drift in requiring Subscriptions, was to engage the Army against his Majesty; in Detestation whereof some Officers rent the Book of Subscriptions in Pieces.

III. They finding that most of the Officers of the Army had lodged their Troops and Companies in their *Custodiams*, which were most of them

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* In Declar. 22.
Octob. 1642.Goodwin and
Reynolds arrive
in Ireland.See *Husb. Col.*
lect. fol. 248.

1642.

They leave Ire-
land.Colonel Monk
relieves Balyna-
kil.

them Places of Strength, enough at least to keep them from being surprized suddenly by the Rebels, and that there were seven or eight thousand of the Army quartered in *Dublin*, who consumed all the Provisions sent over for their Supply, lying idle there, and oppressing the poor *English* Inhabitants, and such *English* as had taken sanctuary there; Or else making but small Expeditions abroad, wasting not the Enemy so much as they did their own Provisions: It was moved therefore, and furthered by this Committee, that a considerable Force should be sent forth; Whereupon it was resolved, four thousand Men should be sent out to take *Ross*, or some other Town thereabouts, where they might winter, and live in Part upon what they could take from the Enemy, whereupon many Difficulties being found in the Design, the Lord *Lisle*, General of the Horse, accepted of it, with Colonel *Monk*, and others, who made ready to go; the Lieutenant General of the Army, the Earl of *Ormond*, being then much indisposed: But as soon as his Lordship recovered, he came to the Council Board, and there declared, 'that he could not in Honour permit such a considerable Part of the Army, to go out upon such an important Service, under any other Command than his own;' and so undertook the leading out of the Army himself, and carried it to *Ross*, of which you shall hear more in its due Place. The Parliament's Committee embarked for *London* by long Sea, the 27th of *February* 1642, the Difference of whose Carriage was observable; so much Integrity, Discretion, and Humility appeared in the one, and so much Pride, Arrogancy, and Intemperance in the other; as the one went away highly valued, and well esteemed, and the other extremely hated and despised. As for *Tucker*, he was the City's Property, which every one improved to their own Humour.

During their continuance in Repute, hearing that *Balynakil* was besieged by *Preston*, the most reputed Captain among the Rebels, Colonel *Monk* was sent forth with six hundred Foot, and two Troops of Horse, the 5th of *December*, 1642, to relieve it, which he soon did, the Enemy raising the Siege upon his Approach; but in his Return he met *Preston*, with three thousand Men, in a disadvantageous Place; and though he saw evident Danger in so unequal a Fight, yet he thought there would be more in a Retreat. Wherefore having intrenched himself, so as to fear no Attack but in the Front, he resolved to receive them bravely; and taking care that his Musketeers should not spend their Shot in vain, he saluted the Rebels, in their Approach, with such a Shower of Bullets, as killed the boldest of them, and made the rest begin to give way, which the *English* perceiving, came hotly upon them. But the Fight was soon ended, by the Cowardliness of the *Irish*, who with much more Shame than Slaughter, losing not above sixty Men there, betook themselves to the next strong Place, and Colonel *Monk*, without the Loss of one Man, returned to *Dublin*.

The Committee of Parliament, whilst they remained at the Council, interposed in many Things: Among the rest, it being desired by the Officers of the Army, that Major *Wodowes* might repair to his Majesty, to express their Service: The Committee demonstrated, that the Parliament would certainly withdraw their Supplies, on Notice of such an Address: Upon which, the Ships were stayed; yet the Business was so argued, as the Major had Licence to proceed in his Journey.

And

And now the Committee being discharged the Council, where the Prosecution of the War was to be managed, the Parliament took it ill, inasmuch as the want of all Things afterwards was exceeding great, and the main part of the remaining Army was quartered within the City and Suburbs of *Dublin*, upon the poor Inhabitants, altogether unable to bear the Necessities of their Families, much less support seven or eight thousand Men; a Necessity the State was then unhappily reduced to, and, as his Majesty takes notice, that his Ministers, who suffered the return of his Army and their quartering in the City, were not to be blamed if they durst not suffer the Soldiers to march far, or stay long in the Enemy's Country, when there was but forty Barrels of Powder in all the Store. In alleviation of which, the Lords-Justices and Council, the 31st of *December*, 1642, published a Proclamation, that all *Custodians* should send to his Majesty's Granaries, or Stores of Corn, half the Wheat gathered there, at ten Shillings the Barrel, in ready Money, &c. to the Relief of that and the adjoining Garrisons. Yet small Supplies coming in thereupon, the Lords-Justices and Council ordered by another Proclamation, the 15th of *January*, that all Corn-Masters and others, should sell their Corn at a lower Rate than was proposed the 28th of *December*, 1641, and that Bakers accordingly should size their Bread.

1642.
Necessity of all things in *Dublin*, upon the withdrawing of the Parliament's Committee.

About the 20th of *January*, 1642, Sir *Richard Greenville*, with a Party of two hundred Horse, and a thousand Foot, with six hundred Suits of Cloaths, and Money, relieved *Athlone*. In his return, he was encountered at *Raconnel* by five thousand Rebels, which he routed, took their General *Preston's* Son Prisoner, killed many, gained eleven Colours, and surprized many Prisoners; for which Service, Captain *William Vaughan* was, by the Lords-Justices, to whom he brought the News, knighted. The *Irish* thought much of this Victory; for that there was an old Prophecy, that who got the Battle of *Raconnel*, should conquer all *Ireland*. The Army returned to *Dublin* the 10th of *February*, with the Remnant of Sir *Michael Earnley's* Regiment, and others, who for their better Accommodation, would have had some of these Cloaths, which was denied, and they laid up in the Castle, where, with others, they afterwards proved unserviceable to his Majesty's Forces, much in want of them in the depth of Winter.

Sir *Richard Greenville* relieves *Athlone*. The Battle at *Raconnel*.

The Lords-Justices being driven to great Straights, and left without Hopes of Relief from *England*, and the Inhabitants of *Dublin* being no longer able to support the Necessity of their Families, and relieve the Soldiers, their Insolencies being high, the State entertained a Design of sending the greatest part of the Army, then quartered in *Dublin*, into some Parts distant from that City, where they might live upon the Rebels; and for this end, coined their own Plate, encouraging others to the same Advance for the State's Service, whereupon, at first, they ordered Pieces of Money marked to their Weight; and afterwards, by the King's Approbation, with C. R. with a Crown on one Side, and the Value on the other.

The Lords-Justices coin Plate with his Majesty's Stamp.

Many brought in freely; those indeed who, considering their Employment, and what was expected from them, had least reason to do it, whilst others issued only out their Warrants and Receipts, never yet discharged: Yet by the Help of what came in, and some Supplies out of *England*, which had not wholly deserted *Ireland*, the Army marched

1642.

out two thousand five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse, under the Command of the Marquiss of *Ormond*, whose Carriage in that Business, and his Success at the Battle of *Rofs*, we shall leave to the Lords-Justices and Council's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons in *England*, the 4th of *April*, 1643, where, besides the Account of that Battle, they present a true State of their Affairs, Civil and Military.

S I R,

The Lords Justices Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons in *England* touching *Rofs*, &c.

OUR very good Lord, the Marquiss of *Ormond*, having in his March, in his last Expedition, consulted several times with the Commanders and Officers of the Army, in a Council of War, and so finding that Subsistence could not be had abroad for the Men and Horses he had with him, or for any considerable part of them, it was resolved by them, that his Lordship with those Forces should return hither, which he did on the 26th of *March*.

In his return from *Rofs*, which in the case our Forces stood, he found difficult to be taken in, as though our Ordnance made a Breach in their Walls, it was found necessary to desert the Siege, he was encountered by an Army of the Rebels, consisting of about six thousand Foot and six hundred and fifty Horse, well armed and horsed; yet it pleased God so to disappoint their Councils and Strength, as with those small Forces which the Lord Marquiss had with him, being of fighting Men two thousand five hundred, and five hundred Horse, not well armed, and for the most part weakly horsed, and those, as well Men as Horse, much weakened, by lying in the Fields several Nights in much Cold and Rain, and by want of Man's Meat and Horse Meat; the Lord Marquiss obtained a happy and glorious Deliverance and Victory against those Rebels, wherein were slain about three hundred of them, and many of their Commanders, and others of Quality, and divers taken Prisoners; and among those Prisoners, Colonel *Cullen*, a Native of this City, who being a Colonel in *France*, departed from thence, and came hither to assist the Rebels, and was Lieutenant-General of their Army, in the Province of *Leinster*; and the Rebels Army was totally routed and defeated, and their Baggage and Ammunition seized on by his Majesty's Forces, who lodged that night where they had gained the Victory; and on our Side about twenty slain in the Fight, and divers wounded.

We have great Cause to praise God, for magnifying his Goodness and Mercy to his Majesty, and this his Kingdom, so manifestly, and indeed wonderfully, in that Victory.

However, the Joy, due from us upon so happy an Occasion, is, we confess, mingled with very great Distraction here, in the Apprehension of our Unhappiness to be such, as although the Rebels are not able to overcome his Majesty's Army, and devour his other good Subjects, as they desire, yet both his Army and good Subjects are in Danger to be devoured, by the Wants of needful Supplies forth of *England*: For as we formerly signified thither, Those Forces were of Necessity sent abroad to try what might be done for sustaining them in the Country, so as to keep them alive till Supplies should get to us. But that Design now failing, those our Hopes are converted into Astonishment, to behold the unspeakable Miseries of the Officers and Soldiers for want

want of all Things, and all those Wants made the more insupportable in the Want of Food, whilst the City, being all the Help we have, is now too apparently found to be unable to help us, as it hath hitherto done. And divers Commanders and Officers in the Army, do now so far express the Sense of their Sufferings, which indeed are very great and grievous, as they declare, That they have little Hope to be supplied by the Parliament; and press with great Importunity to be permitted to depart this Kingdom, as it will be extream difficult to keep them here.

By our Letters of the 23d of *March*, we signified thither the un-supportable Burthen laid on this City, for victualling those of the Army left here, when the Marquis of *Ormond*, with the Forces he took with him, marched hence; which Burthen is found every Day more heavy than other, in regard of the many House-keepers thereby daily breaking up House, and scattering their Families, leaving still fewer to bear the Burthen. We also by those Letters, and by our Letters of the 25th of *February*, advertised thither the high Danger this Kingdom would incur, if the Army so sent abroad, should by any Distress, or through Want, be forced back hither again, before our Relief of Victuals should arrive forth of *England*.

When we found that those Men were returning back hither, although we were, and are still, full of Distraction, considering the dismal Consequences threatned thereby in respect of our Wants: Yet we consulted what we could yet imagine feasible, that we had not formerly done, to gain some Food for those Men; and found, that to send them or others abroad into the Country we cannot, in regard we are not able to advance Money, for procuring the many Requisites incident to such an Expedition. In the End therefore, we were inforced to fix on our former Way, and to see who had yet any Thing left him untaken from him to help us; and although there were but few such, and some of them poor Merchants, whom we have now by the Law of Necessity utterly undone, and disabled from being hereafter helpful to us, in bringing us in Victuals, and other needful Commodities, yet were we forced to wrest their Commodities from them. And certainly there are few here of ourselves and others, that have not felt their Parts in the inforced Rigour of our Proceedings, towards preserving the Army; so as what with such hard Dealing, not less grievous to us to do, than it is heavy to others to suffer, and by our descending, against our Hearts, far below the Honour and Dignity of that Power we represent here, under his royal Majesty, we have with unspeakable Difficulty prevailed, so as to be able to find Bread for the Soldiers for the Space of one Month.

We are now expelling hence all Strangers, and must instantly send away for *England*, thousands of poor dispoiled *English*, whose very eating is now unsupportable to this Place.

And now again, and finally, we earnestly desire, for our Confusions will not now admit the writing of many more Letters, if any, That his Majesty, and the *English* Nation, may not suffer so great, if not irrecoverable Prejudice and Dishonour, as must unavoidably be the Consequence of our not being relieved suddenly; but that yet, although it be even now at the point to be too late, Supplies of Victuals and Ammunition in present to be hastened hither, to keep Life
until

1642.

until the rest may follow, there being no Victuals in the Store, nor will there be an hundred Barrels of Powder left in Store, when the Out-Garrisons, as they must be instantly, are supplied, and that Remainder, according to the usual necessary Expence, besides extraordinary Accidents, will not last above a Month. And the Residue of our Provisions must also come speedily after, or otherwise *England* cannot hope to secure *Ireland*, or secure themselves against *Ireland*, but in the loss of it, must look for such Enemies from hence, as will perpetually disturb the Peace of his Majesty, and his Kingdom of *England*, and annoy them by Sea and Land, as we often formerly represented thither; which Mischiefs may yet be prevented, if we be yet forthwith enabled from thence with Means to overcome this Rebellion.

We hope that a Course is taken there, for hastening thither the Provisions of Arms and Ammunition, mentioned in the Docquet, sent in our Letter of the 20th of *January*, and the six hundred Horses, which we then moved might be sent hither for Recruits, and that the 7893*l.* 3*s.* for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, besides those we expect in *London*, hath been paid to *Anthony Tierens* in *London*, or to *Daniel Wibrants* in *Amsterdam*; and if that Sum had been paid, as we at first desired, we might well have had those Provisions arrived here by the 10th of *March*, as we agreed. However, we now desire, that that Money, if it be not already paid, may be yet paid to Mr. *Anthony Tierens* in *London*, or Mr. *Wibrants* in *Amsterdam*, that so those Provisions may arrive here speedily, which, considering that Summer is now near at hand, will be very necessary, that when our Supplies of Victuals, Ammunition, Cloaths, Money, and other Provisions, shall arrive, we may not, in the publick Service, here lose the Benefit and Advantage of that Season. And so we remain.

From his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the 4th of *April*, 1643.

The Marquis of
Ormond's Expe-
dition against
Rofs.

This Letter, as you see, was writ some Weeks after the Battle of *Rofs*; however, in brief, it gives you a faithful Account: Yet that a more particular one may also be committed to Posterity, accept of the following, from the Pen of a chief Officer in that Expedition.

March the 2d, 1642, the *English* Army marched forth from *Dublin* toward *Kilkenny*, consisting of about two thousand five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse, together with two Pieces of Battery, and four small Brass Pieces, the Marquis of *Ormond* being Lieutenant General of the Army, and my Lord *Lisle* General of the Horse.

The 3d, the Army being come nigh *Castlemartin*, the Rebels then possessing it, gave it up to the Lieutenant General, upon his Promise of fair Quarter, which they accordingly had, to march away thence with the Safety of their Lives, they being in Number above four hundred Men and Women; and the same Day three Divisions of Foot were sent to *Kildare*, and a Castle called *Tully*, which the Rebels then quitted, and left unto us.

The 4th, the Army came to *Tymolin*, where finding two Castles possessed by some Rebels, our Cannon compelled them to submit to mercy, very few of them escaping with their Lives, there being about a hundred of them slain; and also of the *English* Army was slain Lieutenant *Oliver*, and about twelve Soldiers.

The

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The 11th, my Lord *Lisle* marched from the Army at *Temple-soul* before Day towards *Rofs*, having with him, Sir *Richard Greenville*, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, and about four hundred Horse, and also, Sir *Foulk Huncks*, with about six hundred Foot. Being come within two Miles of *Rofs*, our Horse took four Horsemen of the Rebels, Prisoners, who informed us, that the Army of the Rebels lay then about three Miles distant thence, being near four thousand Men. Shortly after my Lord *Lisle* came before the Town of *Rofs*, and by a Trumpeter he sent to the Town, to have some one of Quality therein to come to treat with him, concerning the Surrender of the same to the King's Use, which they refused to do. Then Sir *Thomas Lucas*, fearing the Safety of the Army, by reason he understood that the Rebel's Army lay the last Night within two Miles of the *English* Army, importuned my Lord *Lisle* to march back with all his Horse, to secure the Army, leaving Sir *Foulk Huncks* with his Division of Foot, to guard a Pass in that Way. And then after a few Miles riding further, the *English* Army appeared at Hand, which marched on towards *Rofs*, nigh before which that Night a great Part of our Horse and Foot lodged. And the next Morning our Cannon were drawn and planted against the Town, and continued battering with two Pieces, on a Part of the Town-Walls, about two Days together, which made a fair Breach therein, which Sir *Foulk Huncks* undertook to assault with his Men, and attempted it, but were beaten back with some Loss, which so much disheartned the Soldiers, that they would not be drawn on again; and finding that the besieged had both daily and nightly, very many Men, and much Ammunition, and other Recruits conveyed by Boats into the Town, and understanding that the Rebels Army was grown very strong within few Miles of ours, and our Lieutenant General finding Bread to be grown scarce in our Army, resolved to leave *Rofs* as it was, and gain Honour by a Battle with the *Irish*.

The 18th, our Army being marched away, about two Miles distant from *Rofs*, the *Irish* Army appeared fairly in view, who hastened their Forces into Battalia, on a Ground of some Advantage, nigh the Way our Army was to pass. Whereupon our Commanders endeavoured with all Diligence to draw their Forces into Battalia, to confront the Rebels within the Distance of Cannon-shot, our Cannon being placed at the Front of our Infantry, which was winged by our Horse-Troops, and advanced forward before our Army, within Musket-shot of the Enemy's Fore-Troops; Sir *Richard Greenville*, having that Day the Vauntguard of the Horse, had his Division for the Right Wing of the Army; likewise my Lord *Lisle's* Division, having the Battle, had the left Wing of the Army; Sir *Thomas Lucas's* Division, having the Rear-guard of the Horse, had the one Half of his Division, appointed to stand for Reserves for both the Wings of Horse. Both Armies being ordered against one another, Sir *Richard Greenville* sent forth towards the Rebels a forelorn Hope of sixty Horse, commanded by Lieutenant *White*, which advancing towards two Troops of the Rebels, they seemed to shrink from. Then, our Cannon beginning to play, Captain *Atkins*, commanding a forelorn Hope of about a hundred Musketeers, marched forwards directly before our Foot-Army towards the Rebels, who had manned a Ditch in a Highway, lying right before their Army, with a great Number of Musketeers; during which

Rofs Battle.

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Time, certain other Divisions of the *English* Foot followed orderly their forelorn Hope, Captain *Atkins* with his shot excellently performing his Part, by exchanging shot with the Rebels that lay in ambush. Sir *Richard Greenville*, with his Division on the Right Wing, advanced to begin the Battle; in the Interim whereof, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, being Major General of the Horse, came and took upon him the Chief Command thereof; and so leading those Troops on towards the Enemy, being come past a deep Highway, that lay between both Armies, presently at hand, advanced towards those Horse, a Division of Horse and Foot of the Rebels. Sir *Richard Greenville* being then at the Head of his own Troop, which had the right Hand of that Division, commanded his Men to keep together, and charge home without wheeling; which was no sooner spoken, but immediately Sir *Thomas Lucas* called aloud to our Troop, to wheel to the left Hand, which they presently performing, were gotten into a Lane in some Disorder, and before they could get out of the same, and come into any good Order again, a Troop of above a hundred of the Rebel's Horse, all Gentlemen of Quality, and Commanders, led by *Cullen*, their Lieutenant General, charged our Horse on the left Flank. Whereupon Sir *Richard Greenville* encouraged several of his Troops, by his Example, to charge the Enemy, where meeting with Colonel *Cullen* at the Head of his Troops, divers Blows passed betwixt them; mean while, my Lord *Lisle* with his Troops, gallantly charged *Cullen's* Troop on his Flank and Rear, whereby they were so routed, that the Troops were all intermixed one with another, and the Execution of both Parties continued violent, until about twenty of the Rebel's Horse escaped away together, leaving the Rest of their Company to be killed and taken Prisoners, as they were; during which Time, the Foot and Cannon performing well their Parts, drove the Enemy to shift away to save themselves, which Captain *Hermion* seeing, pursued their Rear with some Horse, with which he did notable good Execution; and, to say the Truth, it is probable, that most of the Rebels had that Day been cut off, had not the unpassable deep Highway betwixt both Armies, hindred our left Wing of Horse from giving on upon their Side, and also the Disorder that happened to the right Wing of the Horse, by their unhappy wheeling to the left Hand. But so soon as the Officers of those Troops could reduce their Men again into order, my Lord *Lisle* and Sir *Richard Greenville* presently pursued the Enemy with two Troops, and sent Sir *William Vaughan* with two Troops more to pursue others, flying away to the right Hand. And having followed the Chase of them about two or three Miles distant from the Army, the Rebels having made their Escape over Bogs, and unpassable Ground for Horse, our Horse were fain to leave them, and return to the Rest of the Army, where the Cannon stood. In which Service were three hundred of the Rebels slain, amongst which were a great Number of their best Gentry and Commanders: There were of the Rebels taken Prisoners, Colonel *Cullen* their Lieutenant General, Major *Butler*, besides divers other Captains, and some of their Ensigns; of the *English* Forces were slain not full twenty Men; in which Service, Sir *Thomas Lucas* unhappily received a very fore Wound in his Head. That Night, the *English* Army lodged at *Ballybeggan*. After which Time, the Army marched without Molestation of any Enemy,

my, until they returned to *Dublin*, whether the Rear of the Army came safe on *Monday* the 27th of the same Month, 1643.

Where they were again quartered, even to the Undoing and great Desolation of that poor City, which had now suffered so much, and so long, under the Burthen and Insolencies of unpaid, wanting Soldiers, as they were unable to bear it longer, and with loud Cries and Complaints made known their Grievances to the Lords Justices and Council, wholly unable to relieve them. And indeed, such was the Posture of the present Affairs at that Time, as every Thing tended to bring on a Cessation; yet for the Present, the Lieutenant General, that the Soldiers might be quieted, published a strict Edict, 'prohibiting all Soldiers to offer the least Violence to any who brought Provision to the Market, or any Inhabitants of the Town, under the severest Penalties of the Marshals Court; which, for a Time, begat an Obedience.' But the Army being ill cloathed, meanly victualled, worse paid, and seldom employed in Service, Necessity enforced them to those outrages Humanity could not take notice of, many of them being the Effects of a very pinching Want; though the Lords Justices and Council, to the great Dislike of the Army, pursued some of the Offenders with exemplary Justice: A Sense of which, with the meagre Return which Serjeant Major *Warren* brought out of *England*, on his Sollicitation for the Soldiers Pay, and the Dissatisfaction that thence arose; some of the Officers, not all, there was a Party that presumed they might have gone through with the Work, had there not been another in the Loom, afterwards presented the State, the 4th of *April* 1643, with a Paper, in such a Style, threatening so much Danger, as the Lords Justices and Council remitted the Copy of it to the Parliament of *England*, which here follows.

The Army from *Ross* return and quarter in *Dublin*, to the further Burthen of that City.

My Lords,

AT our first Entrance into this unhappy Kingdom, we had no other Design, than by our Swords to assert and vindicate the Right of his Majesty, which was here most highly abused, to redress the Wrongs of his poor Subjects, and to advance our own Particulars in the Prosecution of so honest Undertakings. And for the rest of these, we do believe they have, since our coming over, succeeded pretty well; but for the last, which concerns ourselves, that hath fallen out so contrary to our Expectations, that instead of being rewarded, we have been prejudiced; instead of getting a Fortune, we have spent Part of one: And though we behave ourselves never so well abroad, and perform the Actions of honest Men, yet we have the Reward of Rogues and Rebels, which is Misery and Want, when we come home. Now, my Lords, although we be brought to so great an Exigence, that we are ready to rob and spoil one another; yet to prevent such Outrages, we thought it better to try all honest Means for our Subsistence, before we take such indirect Courses. Therefore if your Lordships will be pleased to take us timely into your Considerations, before our urgent Wants make us desperate, we will, as we have done hitherto, serve your Lordships readily and faithfully. But if your Lordships will not find a Way for our Preservations here, we humbly desire, we may have Leave to go where we may have a better

The Armies Remonstrance.

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better Being: And if your Lordships shall refuse to grant that, we must then take Leave to have our Recourse to that first and primary Law, which God hath endued all Men with, we mean, the Law of Nature, which teacheth all Men to preserve themselves.

Hence, with what Countenance some gave it, it was thought, the Rebels, as to the bringing in of the Cessation, and their further Aims, prevailed more, than in all their Battles, Treacheries, and Surprizals.

About *Easter*, the Rebels under *Preston*, besieged *Baranakil*; at which Time, even the 11th of *April*, Colonel *Crawford* marched forth of *Dublin*, with one thousand three hundred Foot, and one hundred and thirty Horse, a Culverin and a Saker Drake towards *Munster-Even*, that with his Party he might there live; and, if he should be advised by the Garrisons thereabouts, he had Orders to set upon *Preston*, who had with him four thousand Foot, five hundred Horse, three Pieces of Battery, and four Field-pieces.

The Confederates
Petition sent to
his Majesty.

But here we must acquaint you, that about *November* 1642, the Lords Justices sent his Majesty, then at *Oxford*, a short Petition, in the Name of the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*, which they had received from them, desiring that his Majesty would appoint some Persons to hear what they could say for themselves, with many Expressions of Duty and Submission. Shortly after which, Sir *James Mountgomery*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, Knights and Colonels, Colonel *Arthur Hill*, and Colonel *Audley Mervin*, a Committee for *Ireland*, in behalf of themselves and other Commanders in his Majesty's Army, there attended his Majesty at *Oxford*, setting forth by their Petition as follows.

May it please your Sacred Majesty,

The Protestant
Committee's
Petition to his
Majesty.

WE your Majesty's most humble Subjects being entrusted from considerable Parts of your Majesty's Forces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, to petition your Majesty, and your Parliament for Supplies; and finding that your Majesty had committed the Care and managing of that War to your Parliament here, we addressed ourselves unto the same, whose Sense of our Miseries, and Inclination to redress, appeared very tender unto us. But the present Distempers of this your Majesty's Kingdom of *England*, to our unspeakable Grief are grown so great, that all future Passages, by which Comfort and Life should be conveyed to that gasping Kingdom, seem totally to be obstructed; so that unless your gracious Majesty, out of your singular Wisdom, and fatherly Care, apply some speedy Remedy, we your distressed and loyal Subjects of that Kingdom must inevitably perish. Our Condition represents unto your Majesty the Estate of all your Majesty's faithful Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*; the Influence of princely Favour and Goodness so actively distilled upon your Kingdom of *Ireland*, before the Birth of this monstrous Rebellion there, and since the same so abundantly expressed in Characters of a deep Sense, and lively Presentment of the bleeding Condition thereof, gives us Hope, in this our deplorable Extremity, to address ourselves unto your sacred Throne, humbly beseeching that it may please your gracious Majesty, amongst your other weighty Cares, so to reflect upon the bleeding Condition of

of that perishing Kingdom; that timely Relief may be offered; otherwise your loyal Subjects there must yield their Fortunes a Prey, their Lives a Sacrifice, and their Religion a Scorn to the merciless Rebels powerfully assisted from abroad. Whilst we live, we rest in your Majesty's Protection; if our Deaths are designed in that Cause, we will die in your Obedience; living and dying, ever praying for your Majesty's long and prosperous Reign over us.

Montgomery, Hard. Waller, Arth. Hill. Aud. Mervin.

Unto which his Majesty by his principal Secretary, the Lord *Faulkland*, returned this Answer, from the Court at *Oxford* the 1st of *December* 1642.

His Majesty hath expressly commanded me to give this Answer to this Petition.

THAT his Majesty hath, since the Beginning of that monstrous Rebellion, had no greater Sorrow, than for the bleeding Condition of that his Kingdom; and as he hath by all means laboured that timely Relief might be afforded to the same, and consented to all Propositions, how disadvantageous soever to himself, that have been offered him for that Purpose; and at first recommended their Condition to both his Houses in Parliament; and immediately of his own meer Motion, sent over several Commissions, and caused some Proportion of Arms and Ammunition, which the Petitioners well know to have been a great Support to the Northern Parts of that Kingdom, to be conveyed to them out of *Scotland*, and offered to find ten thousand Volunteers to undertake that War; but hath often since prest by many several Messages that sufficient Succours might be hastened thither, and other matters of smaller Importance laid by, which did divert it; and offered, and most really intended, in his own royal Person, to have undergone the Danger of that War, for the Defence of his good Subjects, and the Chastisement of those perfidious and barbarous Rebels; and in his several Expressions of his Desires of Treaty and Peace, hath declared the miserable present Condition, and certain future Loss of *Ireland*, to be one of his principal Motives, most earnestly to desire, that the present Distractions of this Kingdom might be composed, and that others would concur with him to the same End: So his Majesty is well pleased that his Offers, Concurrence, Actions, and Expressions, are so rightly understood by the Petitioners, and those who have employed them, notwithstanding the groundless and horrid Aspersions which have been cast upon him; but wishes, that instead of a meer general Complaint, to which his Majesty can make no return but of Compassion, they could have digested and offered to him any such Desires, by consenting to which, he might convey, at least in some degree, Comfort and Life to that gasping Kingdom, preserve his distressed and loyal Subjects of the same, from inevitably perishing, and the true Protestant Religion from being scorned and trampled on by those merciless and idolatrous Rebels. And if the Petitioners can yet think on any such, and propose them to his Majesty, he assures them, that by his Readiness to consent, and his Thanks to them for the Proposal, he will

His Majesty's
Answer.

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make it appear to them, that their most pressing personal Sufferings cannot make them more desirous of Relief, than his Care of the true Religion, and of his faithful Subjects, and of that Duty which obliges him to his Power to protect both, renders him desirous to afford it to them.

Faulkland.

The Irish Remonstrance.

The Parliament's Declaration concerning the Rise of the Rebels. *Huss. Collect.* fol. 248.

* Sir J. T. Hist. *Irel.* the Pref.

Upon the Petition of the Confederates of *Ireland*, his Majesty granted a Commission to the Marquis of *Ormond*, to meet, and hear what the Rebels could say, or propound for themselves; by vertue of which, the Earl of *St. Albans* and *Clanrickard*, the Earl of *Roscommon*, Sir *Maurice Eustace*, and other his Majesty's Commissioners met at *Trim*; to whom the confederate Catholics of *Ireland's* Commissioners, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstown*, Sir *Lucas Dillon*, Knight, Sir *Robert Talbot*, Baronet, and *John Walsh* Esq; produced a Remonstrance the 17th of *March*, 1642, to be presented to his most excellent Majesty, by the Name of *The Remonstrance of Grievances, presented to his Majesty in the Name of the Catholics of Ireland*. Yet though, as you see, this Remonstrance was solemnly received by his Majesty's Commissioners, and by them transmitted to his Majesty; as before had been the presumptuous Propositions from *Cavan*, the Letter of the *Farrals* to the Lord *Costilough*, Dr. *Cale's* Agency from the Rebels, the united Lords Letter to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, and the Lord *Mountgarret's* to the Lieutenant-General, and all other Addresses to the State; as afterwards the Propositions of the *Roman Catholics* of *Ireland*, even to his Majesty, by their Agents, to himself at *Oxford*: Yet the bleeding *Iphigenia* abounds in so much Impudence, as to affirm, that to this Day, the 23d of *December*, 1674, they were not heard to speak for themselves. Shameless Soul! The Commission from his Majesty, that the Rebels might be heard, was brought over, and confidently delivered at the Council-board, the 22d of *January*, by *Thomas Bourk* Esq; a Contriver of the Rebellion, to the Amazement of all not acquainted with the Plot. In the Remonstrance there are pieced together, faith that excellent and judicious Person*, who knew as well their Sophistry, as the States Interest, 'so many 'vain inconsiderable Fancies, many subsequent Passages acted in the 'Prosecution of the War, and such bold, false, notorious Assertions, 'without any the least Ground or Colour of Truth, as without all 'Doubt, they absolutely resolved, first, to raise this Rebellion, and then 'to fet their Lawyers and Clergy on Work to frame such Reasons and Motives, as might with some Colour of Justification serve 'for Arguments to defend it. It is indeed, to speak plainly, a most 'infamous Pamphlet, full fraught with scandalous Aspersions cast upon the present Government, and his Majesty's principal Officers of 'State within this Kingdom: It was certainly framed with most virulent Intentions, not to present their Condition and present Sufferings to his Majesty, but that it might be dispersed to gain Belief amongst Foreign States abroad, as well as discontented Persons at Home, and so draw Assistance and Aid, to foment and strengthen 'their rebellious Party in *Ireland*.' Of which, if any desire to be more fully satisfied, each Particular is clearly answered, by a Person then at the

the Helm, very faithfully, though not with that Vigour the Truth required in a Book, intituled, *The false and scandalous Remonstrance of the inhumane and bloody Rebels of Ireland.* * And upon the 8th and 9th of *April* following, it came to be considered in the Commons House of Parliament in *Ireland*, seemingly disliked by all, though with that Artifice by some, as the Remonstrants themselves could not have insinuated more in its Defence ; in as much as these, not finding they gained on the Anti-Remonstrants, at last brought into Discourse the *Solemn League and Covenant*, the more colourably to take off the Dispute concerning the Remonstrance ; whereby the Business growing hot, the House was prorogued till the 6th of *May*.

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* Printed by
Edw. Husb.
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All Things being now in that Condition, as the Necessities of the Army daily increased, a Cessation grew generally to be spoke of ; his Majesty having imparted his Commands therein to the Lords Justices by the following Letter.

C. R.

Right trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, We greet you well. Whereas considering the present Condition of our Affairs, as well in this as that our Kingdom, through the infamous Plots and Practices of Persons disaffected to our Person and Government, We have given Command and Authority to our right trusty, intirely, and well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, the Marquis of *Ormond* Lieutenant General of our Army and Forces in *Ireland*, to treat with our Subjects, who in that Kingdom have taken up Arms against us ; and to agree with them upon a Cessation of Arms for one Year ; which, as it is a Service of very great Concernment to us and our present Affairs, both here and there ; so we will and command that you therein give your most effectual Assistance and Furtherance to advance the same, by your Industry and Endeavours, as there shall be Occasion.

His Majesty's
first Letter of the
23d of *April*,
touching the
Cessation.

Given at our Court at *Oxford* the 23d of *April* 1643.

About the 1st of *May* 1643, the Lord *Inchequin*, since the Death of his Father-in-law Sir *William St. Leger*, as yet Commander in chief in the Province of *Munster*, marched forth with his Army, divided into two Parties ; one commanded by himself, into the West of the County of *Cork*, doing excellent Service there, without Resistance : And the other under the Conduct of Sir *Charles Vavasor*, with select Numbers, respectively gathered from the Garrisons of *Youghall*, *Tallow*, *Castle-Lions*, *Lismore*, *Mogily*, and *Cappaquin* ; the whole Number consisting of about one thousand two hundred Musketers, and two hundred Horse, besides Volunteers and Pillagers. In which Expedition, Major *Appleyard*, *May* the 2d, near the Castle of *Cosgrave*, was assigned to fall on *Ballykeroge*, Sir *Nicholas Walsh's* Town and Lands, that he might burn and spoil them : And Sir *Charles Vavasor* undertook the Passage to the *Comroe* ; upon the left hand whereof there stands an exceeding high Mountain, and under the brow a large Wood, through which the Army was necessitated to pass, an unpassable Bog being on the right hand. The Enemy, never wanting Intelligence, against Sir *Charles* came, had cast up a Trench Breast high, with
Spike-

An Abbreviate
of the War in
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Spike-holes along the Side of the Wood, from the Mountain to the Bog, with a strong Barricado, and two Courts of Guards for Musketers to lodge in, more artificially done than they were accustomed to: But by the Help of a Fog, our Guide proving faithful, the Rebels were not aware of us till our Horse were upon them, at which they shot, and we retreated leisurely, our Foot not being come up, through Providence, without Harm; and Sir Charles commanded some Dragooners, of Captain Pyne's Company, to alight, which they did, soon entering the Enemies Trenches, and before the Foot came, gained the Pass; and the Horse and Foot marched within Musket-shot of *Dermot O Brian's*, Lord of the Country, Castle, where they made a stand, till the Soldiers had fired the Country, and took away their Cattle, the Enemy not daring to rescue them, firing, as they marched away, by *Comroe-Castle*, a good House of *Peter Anthony's*, an *English* Papist, with many other thatch'd Houses thereunto belonging. The same day the whole Army rendezvousing on a Hill near *Kilmac-Thomas*, resolved that Night to have advanced to *Stradbally*; but marching by *Mac-Thomas's* Castle, they within gave fire upon us; sixty of our Soldiers, being not able to endure such an Affront, ran out of the main Body to the Castle, without either Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, or other Officer; and recovering a Ditch upon the South Side of the Castle, the Wind blowing Southerly, they set the thatch'd Houses on fire, and assaulted the Castle by the Help of the Smoak, blinding the Warders, upon which the Besieged cried, *a Drum, a Drum*; at which, many who had flown thither for Safety, inconsiderately ran out, and were by our Soldiers knocked on the Head; whilst the Warders, delivering the Castle on some Terms, had Quarter, as the other might have had too, had they staid in the Castle; from among which, six or seven that were thought dead, rose up, which the Soldiers would have killed, but in pity, Sir Charles *Vavasor* suffered to go with the Warders to *Ballykeroke*. After which Service, Ensign *Boughton* and forty Musketers took in a House, built by *James Wallis* Esq; strongly fortified by *John Fitz-Gerald*, Son and Heir to *Mac-Thomas*; the Warders and the rest being on Terms also conveyed to *Ballykeroke*: And so facing *Clonea*, belonging to *Tibbot Fitz-Gerrard*, and *Cosgrave* Castles, and passing by *Dungarvan*, some of the Rebels issued out of Town; but the *English* Forces drawing into a Body to oppose them, they retired without the least Encounter, our Forces marching to their own Garrisons.

About the 27th of May, the Lord *Inchequin* compleats an Army of four thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, which rendezvoused at *Buttevant*; out of which he sent two hundred Horse, under the Command of Captain *Bridges*, a resolute active Man, and one thousand two hundred Foot, under the Conduct of Lieutenant Colonel *Story*, no ways backward of the Employment, into the County of *Kerry*; a dangerous Journey, considering the Length of the Way, and scarcity of Provision they had with them, the Enemy having wasted and fired *Trally*, a Place as well accommodated with good Land for Corn and Cattle, as any other Place in *Munster*, lest the Lord *Inchequin* should quarter there. Whereupon the Lord *Inchequin*, considering the Danger of the Journey, to divert the Enemy, laid a pretended Siege to the Town of *Kilmallock*,

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lock, a Place of great Consequence, and a Key to *Limerick*, whereby, the Rebels Eyes being fixed on *Kilmallock's* Relief, the Expedition was much facilitated; *Bridges* and *Story* bringing away a great Prey of Cattle, some Prisoners, and fetched off many *English* from the Castle of *Ballybeggan* without any Resistance, save a loose Skirmish, wherein the Enemy lost four Men, and were routed.

The Lord *Inchequin*, the 28th of *May*, having sent Colonel *Myn* to *Patrick Purcel* of *Croe*, Governor of *Kilmallock*, to acquaint him, he came forth only to meet an Enemy in the Field, not to besiege the Town. He released the Lady *Humes* and her Son, Prisoners at *Kilmallock*, for one *Burget*, a Prisoner at *Cork*, whither the Lord *Inchequin* marched, whilst Sir *Charles Vavasor*, after a well regulated Dispute, stoutly defended by the Rebels, took in *Cloghleigh*, commanded by one *Condon*, wherein were twenty Men, eleven Women, and about seven Children, some of which the Soldiers stript, in readiness to kill them; but Major *Howel* drawing out his Sword, defended them; and whilst he went to Colonel *Vavasor*, then at *Ballyhindon*, Mr. *Roche's* House, where he was invited that Day to dine, committed them to Captain *Wind*, who leaving them to a Guard of Horse, they stripped them again, and afterwards fell upon them with Carbines, Pistols and Swords; a Cruelty so resented by Sir *Charles Vavasor*, that he vowed to hang him that commanded the Guard; and had certainly done it, had not the next Day's Action prevented it, which was the most considerable Loss the *English* ever received from the Rebels, a Mischief they might have avoided had they been less confident, and given greater Credence to their Intelligence.

The 4th of *June*, being *Sunday*, early in the Morning, before break of Day quarter, Mr. *Hill*, with a Squadron of Horse, was sent to scout about *Cloghline* and *Castlegrace*, in the County of *Tipperary*; and before Day-light he was encompassed by the Enemies Horse; so that he, with his Company, with great Difficulty escaped, and bringing word to the Leaguer at *Cloghleigh*, the Alarm was up, and presently our Foot drew themselves into two Divisions in a Field next the Mountain, where the Enemy came down, when presently two or three Bodies of the Enemies Horse appeared on the Side of a Hill, a Mile and a Half from us. In the mean Time Sir *Charles Vavasor*, lying the Night before at *Castle Logons*, was sent for, and he, without delay, came away as fast as his Horse could carry him; but before he came, a Party of Musketeers, to the Number of two hundred, under the Command of Captain *Philip Hutton*, and a Troop of Horse commanded by Captain *Freeke*, drew up nearer to the Enemy by half a Mile, and there stood for the Space of two Hours; some of the Horse in the Interim advanced further, sounding their Trumpets on both Sides. At Length, *Christopher Brian*, the Lord *Inchequin's* Brother, desired to Parle with Quartermaster *Page*, and after some Compliments and Discourses past, they parted; as did afterwards Captain *Richard Fitz-Morris*, the Lord of *Kerries* Brother, with the said *Christopher Bryan*. Presently after notice was given, that the Enemy was advancing; but we could discover no Foot all this while, their Management of this Business being very close. Whereupon, Sir *Charles Vavasor* demurred upon it, and took order for what was needful, and called back the said *Hutton* and the Horse from the Mountain. In the Interim, Captain *George Butler*, a Native of this

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Kingdom, a Man of undaunted Spirit, and well experienced in martial Discipline, came to Sir *Charles* from the Lord *Inchequin* with a Letter, importing, That the said *Butler's* Company and Sir *John Brown's* were marching from *Moyalloe* towards him, and now within a Mile and half to him, were at his disposal. Upon that, Sir *Charles* and the Rest of the Officers consulted what was best to be done, and concluded, such a Body of Horse could not be without a considerable Body of Foot, and therefore fully resolved to make good a Retreat, giving Orders, that all the Carriages with the Artillery, that were now at a Stop on the *Manning Water*, should haste away, till they recovered the *Black Water* at the Ford of *Farmoy*, to help to make good that Pass, in Case he should be hard put to it. After this, Sir *Charles* staid a while, so long as he might well conceive the said two Companies, Carriage and Ordnance to be at the Ford, and then presently marched on to *Castle Lyons*, the Front led by Lieutenant *King*, the Body by Major *Howel*, and the Rear by Sir *Charles* himself, a Forlorn-hope of about a hundred and sixty Musketeers in the Rear was commanded by Captain *Pierce Lacy*, Captain *Hutton*, and Lieutenant *Stardbury*, and all our Horse in the Rear likewise; who no sooner came over the *Manning Water*, and recovered the Top of the Hill, but the Enemies Horse were at our Heels: From this Hill to the Ford there is a dangerous Passage of a narrow Lane, which the Enemy knew full well, and so did our Men too: And the Enemy perceiving that most of our Men were marching within this Lane, excepting the Forlorn-hope and the Horse, charged us in the Rear, coming on as the *Moorish* and *Getulian* Horse, mentioned by *Salust* in *Jugurth's* War, not in order and warlike Manner, but by Troops and scattering Companies at adventure, that the Fight rather resembled an Incurfion than a Battle; and so hemmed in and prest on our Horse, being but one hundred and twenty, that they were able to move no way, but fall into that Lane amongst the Foot, which they did, thereby routing our whole Foot. The Ordnance by this Time was not carried over the *Black Water*, nor the two Companies as yet come to make good the Passage, so that all our Colours, save one brought off by *Dermot O Grady*, Ensign to Captain *Rowland St. Leger*, who gallantly saved it and himself, were taken, our two Pieces of Ordnance surprized, and Sir *Charles* himself, together with Captain *Wind*, Lieutenant *King*, Ensign *Chaplain*, Captain *Fitz-morris*, and divers others, taken Prisoners; besides those that were killed in the Place, viz. Captain *Pierce Lacy*, Captain *George Butler*, Lieutenant *Walter St. Leger*, three Natives of this Kingdom, Lieutenant *Stradbury*, Lieutenant *Rosington*, Lieutenant *Kent*, Ensign *Simmons*, with divers other Lieutenants and Ensigns, besides common Soldiers, to the Number of three hundred, some affirm six hundred.

The English Army routed.

The Irish worsted before Cappaquin.

Upon which Success, they boldly attempted *Cappaquin*, which more gallantly withstood them, in as much as after all their Attempts, the Assailants were shamefully beaten off towards the End of *June*, and forced to retreat, having lost upon the first Assault sixty two Men; afterwards, attempting it again, they were repulsed, and fearing the Lord *Inchequin's* Approach, marched away, having lost in that Enterprize Lieutenant-Colonel *Butler*, Brother to the Lord of *Armally*, Captain *Saint-John* of *St. Johnstown*, Captain *Pierce Butler* of *Ballypaddin* in the County of *Tipperary*, Captain *Grady* desperately hurt, one Ensign killed, as were

were four Serjeants, and two hurt, besides several Prisoners taken : one of their Horsemen compleatly armed ran to us, who, among other Passages, discovered the particular Losses of the Enemy, their chief Gunner was likewise slain in this Service : Upon the Retreat and marching away, a Party of our Horse commanded by Sir *John Brown* sallied out of the Town after them, and killed some of their Men and Pillagers in the Rear of their Army, who found twenty-five Graves after them in the Camp, wherein they buried their Dead by four and five in a Grave, as by view appeared.

Yet though the Enemy had no Success in taking in *Cappaquin*, we by Colonel *Myn* * took in the Castles of *Timolege*, *Roscarby*, and *Rathbarry* in the West, and *Lismore* nobly defended it self under Captain *Barde-roë*, whilst the Lord *Inchequin* appearing with two thousand five hundred Horse and Foot, raised the Siege, whose Army upon News of the Cessation, drew off, then ready to give Battle.

In *Connaught*, after the Battle of *Raconnel*, 'till Midsummer, there was not any considerable Service done by our Soldiers ; and the Enemy either kept close in Garrisons, or was drawn off to the Siege of *Galway's* Fort ; And now the Enemies finding that without the Command of some experienced General, and the uniting of their Forces, they were able to do little, yea, not to defend themselves ; they got for Commander *John Bourk*, or as they more commonly called him, *Shane O-Tlevij*, descended from the *Bourks* of *Castle-Barr*, or if you please of the *Mac Williams* : His first Exploit was against the Fort of *Galway*, to the taking and demolishing of which, the Townsmen contributed both with Bodies and Purse very largely ; they wanted good battering Guns, and therefore resolved to take it by Famine, it being but poorly provided by such as the Parliament appointed to bring timely Supplies by Sea, knowing that in it they should get battering Guns, to take in the rest of the *English* Garrisons in that Province. To this End, they made a Chain of Masts, Casks, and Iron, across that Part of the Harbour next to the Fort, and planted strong Guards at each End of it ; They prepared some few Ship-Guns and a Mortar-Piece, which was well cast by a Runnagate out of the Lord *Forbes's* Ships, which afterwards they made use of at the Siege of *Castle-Coot* ; so that with much Industry rather than Gallantry, they at length got the Fort by Composition, its Relief coming too late into the Harbour ; the Event of which so much struck the Governor, as he did not many Months after survive the Loss.

Upon the taking of the Fort, the *Irish* were overjoyed to be Masters of so many brave Guns, and thought that the Reputation of this and the Help of the Guns, would reduce suddenly all *Connaught* ; they resolved first to fall on *Castle-Coot*, the most painful Thorn in their Side, being confident that upon their Success there, they might in all Probability expect to have the rest, not because it had any great Strength in its Walls, but was well manned and vigilantly attended ; though with four thousand Horse and Foot, and answerable Accommodations of War, they questioned not but to master it soon, having *Preston's* Engineer, Monsieur *La Loo*, an expert *Low-Country* Soldier, to manage their Works, who upon the Knowledge of the Situation of the Place, questioned not its Surrender, *Galway* having, for Fireworks, and fitting Expedients for that Service, furnished him with 300/. in as much

* Colonel *Myn* after the Cessation, went into England with his Regiment, often-times encountering *Maffy*, who jointly expressed much Valour, And in a Conflict near *Hart-pury-Fields* in *Glocestershire* was slain by *Maffies* Forces, 1644, and by reason of his Gallantry, buried at *Glocester* with the Loss of the *English* Regiment he brought from Ireland. Sanders *H. C. 1. Fol. 731.* The Transactions in *Connaught*: *Galway* Fort taken by the *Irish*.

Castle Coot besieged.

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much as their General *Bourk*, having a good Opinion of his Gallantry, sent a Summons signifying, that he was commanded by the Council of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*, to demand the Delivery of the Castle to his hands for the use of his Majesty, and if not delivered upon this Summons, Mercy was not to be expected, although, for his part, he desired not the Effusion of Christian Blood, yet if such a Paper-house should be kept against him, who had such an Army, such Artillery, a Day longer, he could not, by the practice of War, be censured cruel if no Quarter were given a terrible Menace, and, considering the Force he had, and the Weakness of the House, not irrational. However, though they had made as regular and handsome a Fortification about the Castle, as ever was attempted in *Ireland*, yet the Garrison so nobly attacked each Redoubt, that thence ensued many brave Attempts, much certainly to the Prejudice of the Besiegers; the Garrison maintaining their own against all the Attempts the Besiegers ever adventured, which in truth were many, not without Skill as well as Courage maintained; in as much as the Governor Captain *Richard Coot*, since Lord Baron of *Colony*, having sent forth a private Messenger to Major *Ormsby*, who before with the help of the *English* Garrisons, had very successfully beaten *Owen Roe-O-Neal* out of the Province with great Loss, coming to let upon *Boyle*, *James-Town*, *Carrickdrumrusk*, and *Elphin*, at *Tulfol*, to inform him of his Wants, very carefully consulted with *Boyle* and *Roscommon*, who jointly agreed, upon a private Sign, to relieve them of Castle *Coot*; which the Enemy having Notice of by one, whom the Garrison had familiarly entertained, the Treachery, on the Enemies Side, was carried on, as they set forth two Parties, as if one had made to the Castle's Relief, whilst the other opposed it; to the countenance of which, the Governor being, from the Walls, encouraged by the Soldiers, though against his own Suspicions, adventured forth with sixty Musketers, but soon found the Deceit of the Business; the Enemy all this while having skirmished with themselves as two Parties, who now jointly fall upon the Governor with those he drew out, who so gallantly opposed them, though, in compute, not less than seven hundred Men, as they retired to their Camp, and he secured his Retreat, with much Honour, to his Castle: The Enemy in the Interim making a bold Assault on the other Part of the Castle, which he came Time enough to relieve, beating off the Enemy with a considerable Loss, and having slain many of their Men, caused them decently to be laid out, not beheaded as the *Irish* barbarously are accustomed to do, for which their General sent him a Present of Tobacco, then very acceptable; however, afterwards he beat them to inaccessible Places in Bogs and Woods, their usual Refuge, and recovered at that time store of Tobacco, Cloaths, and eleven Weeks Pay, newly come, to satisfy their Soldiers; yet they hearing of the Cessation, but not yet having an Express from the Marquis of *Ormond*, more violently than ever, shot at the Castle; and having now a Messenger of the Cessation, they so far suspected him as a Spy, as they imprisoned him, endeavouring still to gain the Castle; but finding their Attempts vain, Forces from *Boyle*, *Roscommon*, &c. faithfully having relieved the Castle, all jointly gallantly set on the Rebels, which their General perceiving grew so much enraged against his Soldiers, as to profess he had rather be Captain of the two hundred in the Garrison, than

General

The *Irish* break
the Cessation.

General of the three thousand he had ; so as at length the Governor as well as *Bourk*, having an Express from the Marquis of *Ormond*, both acquiesced therein.

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Thus his Majesty's Forces, where they were unanimous, vigorously proceeded ; nay, should I adventure to recount all their Actions, time would fail, we are obliged to be brief, though in omitting any, Injuries may be done excellent Persons, whose Pardons I beg, whilst they had no better Supplies than other Places.

However, the Necessities of the Army were daily aggravated, yet they, in some Mens Opinion, not seeming sufficient to bring on a Cessation, such as were principal Opposers of it, were thought requisite to be removed ; And the 23d of *April* 1643, Sir *Francis Butler* arrived from *England* with a Superseas for the Lord *Parsons's* Government, and a Commission to the Lord *Borlase*, and Sir *Henry Tichborn*, to be Lords Justices ; who accordingly the first of *May*, were instituted in the Government ; who, betwixt unpaid and refractory Soldiers, and the Difficulties that arose about the Cessation, which they were to consent to, but acted little in, encountered no small Difficulties in their Government, whatever censure it hath since met with : Soon after their Admission, fresh Hopes of a more plentiful Supply exceedingly cheered the Soldiers ; but that failing, Murmurs, Mutinies, and a discontented Spirit raged every where, highly fomented, that Necessity might be a main Plea for the Cessation ; of which his Majesty being daily informed, writes this Letter.

Sir Jo. Borlase,
Sir Hen. Tich-
born, Lords-
Justices.

C. R.

RIGHT trusty, and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, we greet you well, by our Letters of the 23d of the last Month : We gave you our Command to treat and agree upon a Cessation of Arms for one Year, with those our Subjects in that our Kingdom, who have taken up Arms there against our Authority ; and having since seen the Propositions, which you and the Rest of our Commissioners sent us from our said Subjects, We find the same to be of such great Importance, and many Things therein alledged, so necessary to be further examined and inquired into, as we have been the rather induced to have such a Cessation, as we have formerly written unto you, so as it may be with Honour to us, and without Prejudice to our Interest and Service ; This Bearer, Mr. *William Brent*, is a Person whom we have purposely sent over, to give us an Account of your Proceedings in a Business of this Consequence, to whom you may give credit, and by him we shall desire to hear from you, when you shall have any Matter of Moment to send over unto us.

His Majesty's second Letter about the Cessation.

Given at our Court at Oxen, the 3d of May, 1643.

To our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor,
James Marquis of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General of our Army in *Ireland*.

This, upon the Treaty, the Confederates Commissioners acknowledge to have seen, but insisted upon one, formerly mentioned, of the 23d of *April*, more important they conceive, which upon promise,

T t

that

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See Husband's
Collect. fol. 160.

that upon the Agreement of the Treaty perfected, they should have a Copy of the Treaty, went on; though as to his Majesty, that there might be a further Evidence of his Intentions, to subdue the Rebellion in *Ireland*, he being presented the 5th of *May* 1643, by Sir *Robert King*, *William Jephson*, and *Arthur Hill* Esquires, from the Parliament, with a Bill entituled, *An Act for the speedy payment of Moneys, subscribed towards the reducing of the Rebels in Ireland*, which yet remained unpaid, was so far from denying to pass the said Act, though driven from his Parliament, with far the major Part of both Houses, that he inclined to pass the Act, if he might be assured to have it employed to no other Purpose than the reducing of the Rebels, &c. Which Conditions not being answered, no more was attempted by that Bill, a Defect not resting in his Majesty, but those that sent it; whereby the Straights in *Ireland* still increasing, the Lords Justices writ to his Majesty, as a little before they had done to the Parliament, the ensuing Letter.

May it please your most excellent Majesty.

The Lords-
Justices Letter
to his Majesty
of the present
State of *Ireland*.

AS soon as we your Majesty's Justices entered into the Charge of this Government, we took into our Consideration at this Board, the State of your Army here, which we find suffering under unspeakable Extremities of Want of all Things, necessary to the Support of their Persons, or Maintenance of the War; here being no Victuals, Cloaths, or other Provisions requisite towards their Sustenance, no Money to provide them of any Thing they want, no Arms in your Majesty's Stores, to supply their many defective Arms, not above forty Barrels of Powder in your Stores, no Strength of serviceable Horses being now left here, and those few that are, their Arms for the most Part lost or unserviceable, no Ships arrived here to guard the Coasts, and consequently, no Security rendred to any, that might, on their private Adventures, bring in Provisions of Victuals, or other Necessaries, towards our Subsistence, and finally, no visible Means by Sea or Land of being able to preserve for you this your Kingdom, and to render Deliverance from utter Destruction, to the Remnant of your good Subjects yet left here.

We find that your Majesty's late Justices and this Board, have often and fully by very many Letters, advertised the Parliament in *England*, of the Extremities of Affairs here, and besought Relief with all possible Importunity, which also have been fully represented to your Majesty, and to the Lord Lieutenant, and to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, to be made known to your Majesty: And although the Winds have of late for many Days, and often formerly, stood very fair, for Accessions of Supply forth of *England* hither, and that we have still with longing Expectations, hope to find Provisions arrive here, in some degree answerable to the Necessities of your Affairs; yet now, to our unexpressible Grief, after full six Months waiting, and much longer patience and long suffering, we find all our great Expectations answered in a mean and inconsiderable Quantity of Provisions, *viz.* seventy-five Barrels of Butter, and fourteen Tun of Cheese, being but the fourth Part of a small Vessel's Lading, which was sent from *London*, and arrived here on the 5th of this Month, which is not above seven or eight Days Provision for that

Part

Part of the Army which lies in *Dublin*, and the Out-garrisons thereof, no Money or Victuals, other than that inconsiderable Proportion of Victuals, having arrived in this Place, as sent from the Parliament of *England*, or any other forth of *England*, for the Use of the Army, since the Beginning of *November* last.

We have, by the Blessing of God, been hitherto prosperous and successful in your Majesty's Affairs here, and should be still hopeful, by the Mercy of God, under the royal Directions of your sacred Majesty, to vindicate your Majesty's Honour, and recover your Rights here, and take due Vengeance on these Traitors for the innocent Blood they have spilt, if we might be strengthened or supported therein by needful Supplies out of *England*: But these Supplies having hitherto been expected to come from the Parliament of *England*, on which if your Majesty had not relied, we are assured, you would in your high Wisdom have found out some other Means to preserve this your Kingdom, and so great and apparent a Failure having happened therein, and all the former and late long continuing easterly Winds, bringing us no other Provisions than those few Cheese and Butter; And no Advertisement being brought us of any future Supplies to be so much as in the Way hither, whereby there might be any likelihood, that considerable Means of Support for your Majesty's Army, might arrive here in any reasonable Time, before that we be totally swallowed up by the Rebels, and your Kingdom by them wrested from you; we find ourselves so disappointed of our Hopes from the Parliament, as must needs trench to the utter Loss of the Kingdom, if your Majesty in your high Wisdom ordain not some present Means of Preservation for us.

And considering, that if now by Occasion of that unhappy and unexpected failing of Support from thence, we shall be less successful in your Services here against the Rebels, than hitherto, whilst we were enabled with some means to serve you, we have been, the Shame and Dishonour may, in common Construction of those who know not the Inwards of the Cause, be imputed to us, and not to the Failing that disabled us: And considering principally, and above all Things, the high and eminent Trust of your Affairs here, deposited with us by your sacred Majesty, we may not forbear in discharge of our Duty, thus freely and plainly to declare our humble Apprehensions, to the End your Majesty thus truly understanding the Terribleness of our Condition, may find out some such Means of Support, to preserve to your Majesty and your royal Posterity, this your ancient and rightful Crown and Kingdom, and derive Deliverance and Safety to the Remnant of your good Subjects yet left here, as in your excellent Judgment you shall find to be most to your Honour and Advantage.

And so praying to the King of Kings to guide and direct you for the best, in this high and important Cause, and in all other your Councils and Actions, we humbly remain,

Your Majesty's most Loyal and most Faithful Subjects and Servants.

From your Majesty's Castle at *Dublin*, the 11th of May 1643.

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The 12th of *May*, the Lord *Taaffe*, *Roche*, and *Fitzwilliams* arrived out of *England*, and that Morning Major *Warren*, and Sir *Francis Butler* came to the Council, the Lords sitting, and presented a Petition to the Lords Justices, accusing the Lord *Parsons* of high Misdemeanors, and other treasonable Matters; requesting that his Person and Goods might be secured, though, in Conclusion, nothing was ever filed against him: An Evidence to most, that there was more of a Design, than Crime, in the Accusation.

And having, as before, presented you with the Lords Justices Letter to his Majesty, we should now give you *the Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament the 16th of June, 1643, concerning the present lamentable Estate and miserable Condition of Ireland*; In answer to what, the Lords Justices and Council had faithfully acquainted them withal, that it may appear how sensible they were of the Information they had received of the Straights and Exigencies of the Protestant Forces in *Ireland*; which certainly is very emphatical, resenting, with a just Aggravation, the miserable Condition of that Kingdom; but being legible in *Husbands Collections*, * we shall refer you thither, not busying our selves how far it prevailed. Certainly the Exigencies of the Soldiers, and State of *Ireland* were then very considerable, in as much as his Majesty not being able, by any other Expedient, to remedy, as he was persuaded, their Complaints, than by a Cessation, he, to that End, sends this Letter to the Lords Justices.

* Fol. 216.

C. R.

His Majesty's
third Letter con-
cerning the Ces-
sation.

Right trusty and well beloved Counsellors, and right trusty and intirely well beloved Cousin and Counsellor, we greet you well: The present Distractions here have rendered us as unable, as by Experience we find the remaining Part of the two Houses, are unwilling to supply or relieve our Army in *Ireland*; and if the Money we consented should be raised in this our Kingdom for the Relief of *Ireland*, had not been diverted by them, and rebelliously employed against us here in *England*, we should not have been constrained to have hearkened to a Cessation of Arms now on that Side; but since we see no other Hope, during the unhappy Distempers here, to settle the Peace of that our Kingdom, but by a Cessation of Arms between us and the *Irish* now in Arms there, and doubt very much, how our Forces now in that our Kingdom will be there maintained, if we shall admit of a Cessation: We have thought it expedient by these our Letters to recommend it to your Care and Industry to consider seriously how our Forces on that Side may be enabled to subsist during the Cessation; And if there may be any Means found for that, we do then hereby authorize, and require you to agree to a Cessation of Arms there for a Year, and in our Names to assure the said *Irish*, that we are graciously inclined to dissolve the present Parliament, and call a new one between this and the 10th of *November* next, and to take a Course, to put all those that shall be chosen Members of the said Parliament, into such a Condition, as they shall not be prejudiced of their Liberty of assisting, sitting, and voting in the said Parliament; for better effecting whereof, we do hereby further authorize and require you, to give License to such Commissioners as the said *Irish* shall appoint to come
over

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over hither to us, to treat of that Business, and such other Particulars, to be proposed by Way of Petition, as shall necessarily conduce, not only to the satisfying of the said Cessation, but to a Preparation of what shall be requisite, for the settling of a just, honourable, and perfect Peace in that our Kingdom : And we further require, in Case the said *Irish* now in Arms, shall agree to such a Cessation and Treaty, to advertise us of some such able and fitting Ministers or Servants of ours on that Side, as you conceive fit to be sent over hither to assist in the Treaty here, when Commissioners shall come over from the said *Irish*. In which Business we require you to use all convenient Expedition, and to give us a speedy Account, for which these our Letters shall be your Warrant.

Given under our Signet at our Court at *Oxford*, the 2d Day of *July*, in the 19th Year of our Reign, 1643.

To our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, Sir *John Borlase*, and Sir *Henry Tichborn*, Knights, Lords Justices of our Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to our right trusty and intirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, *James*, Marquiss of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General of our Army there.

But before this Letter came to the Lords Justices, the Means to a Cessation were thought of : Yet the Day before the Marquiss of *Ormond* proceeded to the Treaty, which was the 22d of *June*, the chief Protestants of the City of *Dublin* were called before the Council, to know if they would give 10000 *l.* or have a Cessation ; the latter they were very unwilling to, and the former they could not advance ; indeed it was well known, though it served, as an Argument, to evidence the Necessity the State was put to : And the *Irish* Commissioners, the 23d of *June*, presented themselves unto the Marquiss of *Ormond*, in his Tent near *Castle-martin*, in the County of *Kildare*, in the Presence of divers Colonels, Captains, and Officers in his Majesty's Army; his Lordship sitting in his Chair covered, and the *Irish* Commissioners standing bare : After several Passages betwixt them, all tendered in writing, the *Irish* Commissioners gave his Lordship a Copy of the Authority they had received from the *supreme Council of the confederate Catholics of Ireland at Kilkenny*, in these Words.

The Treaty towards a Cessation.

The *Irish* Commissioners, the 23d of *June*, 1643, first presented themselves to the Lieutenant-General.

Whereas his Majesty's most faithful Subjects, the Confederate Catholics of *Ireland*, were enforced to take Arms, for the Preservation of their Religion, for the Defence of his Majesty's just Prerogatives and Rights, and the Maintenance of the Rights and Liberties of their Country, laboured to be destroyed by the malignant Party. And whereas his Majesty in his high Wisdom, and princely Care of his said Subjects Welfare and Safety, and at their humble Suit, That his Majesty might be graciously pleased to hear their Grievances, and vouchsafe Redress therein, did direct, there should be a Cessation of Arms, and thereupon did authorize the right honourable the Lord Marquiss of *Ormond*, to treat and conclude the said Cessation with the said confederate Catholics. Know ye, that the said Council, by the Express Order and Authority of the said Catholics, by them conceived, and granted in their general Assembly at *Kilkenny*, on the 20th Day

Their Commission from the Supreme Council.

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of the last Month of *May*, and in Pursuance of the said Order and Authority, reposing special Trust and Confidence in the Wisdom, Circumspection, and provident Care, Honour and Sincerity, of our very good Lords, *Nicholas* Lord Viscount *Gormanstown*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskery*, and our well-beloved Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sir *Robert Talbot* Baronet, *Tirlagh O-Neal* Esq; *Geoffery Brown* Esq; *Ever Mac-Gennis* Esq; and *John Walsh* Esq; have constituted, appointed and ordained, and by these Presents do constitute, appoint and ordain, the said *Nicholas* Lord Viscount *Gormanstown*, &c. our Commissioners, and do by these Presents give and grant unto our said Commissioners, or any five, or more of them, full Power and Authority to treat with the said Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, of a Cessation of Arms for one whole Year, or shorter, and to conclude the same for the Time aforesaid, upon such Terms, Conditions, and Articles, as to the said Commissioners, in their Judgments, Conscience and Discretion, shall be thought fit and expedient; by these Presents ratifying and confirming, whatsoever Act or Acts our said Commissioners as aforesaid, shall do or execute, concerning the said Cessation.

Given at *Kilkenny*, the 20th of *June* 1643.

Mountgarret, *Castlehaven* *Audley*, *Malachias Arp. Tuamen*, *Fr. Thom. Flemming*, Arch-bishop of *Dublin*, Primate of *Ireland*, *Maurice de Rupe* & *Fermoy*, *Netterville*, *Nich. Plunket*, *Edm. Fitz-Maurice*, *Patrick Darcy*, *Rob. Lynch*, *R. Bealing*.

Upon which both Sides proceeded, the Marquis not admitting the Title or Name attributed by the *Irish* Commissioners unto them, in behalf of those for whom they treated; as likewise not admitting the Cause for which they took up Arms, as in the Protestation is expressed: Whereas the *Irish* Commissioners, on the other Side still proposed all in the Behalf of the Catholics of *Ireland*, with Protestation, that the said Catholics took Arms in Defence of their Religion, his Majesty's Rights and Prerogatives and the Liberties of *Ireland*, and no ways to oppose his Majesty's Authority; so as, say they, neither the Title, or Protestation, being justly due to them, were to be excepted against, being the same they always used in their immediate Applications to his Majesty. Against which, though there were Exceptions, the Treaty still proceeded, they owning the Premises: And at *Sigginstown* the Treaty went on, not without Debates of great Concern and much Difficulty, and then was deferred from the 1st of *July* to *Thursday* next come seven-night; at which Time the Marquis of *Ormond* could not meet, in respect, 'That the Necessity of his Attendance otherwise upon the publick Service of his Majesty would not permit;' which the *Irish* Commissioners seemed much to resent, writing to his Lordship from *Kilkenny*, the 19th of *July* 1643, 'That although we conceive this Treaty to be of the greatest Consequence of any Service, to be effected for his Majesty within this Kingdom, yet we are not apt to give an ill Construction to the laying of it by for the present, until we do know of that Service that taketh place of it, which, being for the Advantage of his Majesty's Interests, we heartily wish may have good Success; yet your Lordship will give us leave to take notice, that we meet in these, as in all other Proceed-

ings,

The Treaty deferred, against which the Commissioners excepted.

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ings, whereby we may have any Expectation to enjoy the Benefit of his Majesty's Grace and Favour, some interruption and slackness, in conveying any Part of his good Intentions, to his faithful Subjects the Catholics of *Ireland*, which we add to our other Grievances, and will endeavour, in discharge of the many Harms which may ensue by reason of this Protraction, to have it rightly presented to his Majesty.' In Answer to which, the Marquis of *Ormond* replied, the 21st of *July*, 'That whereas they had no pretence of unaptness, to give an ill Construction to the laying by of the Treaty, until they could know of what Service took place, he acquainted them, that he was not accountable to them, with the Knowledge of his Majesty's Services, wherewith he had the Honour to be intrusted, or to any but to his Majesty, and to those to whom he had intrusted the Government of the Kingdom. And for what they said, They would endeavour to have rightly presented to his Majesty, he doubted not but to acquit himself as became him, as in other Commands, so in this Particular; and that they should find, when the other Occasions of his Majesty were over, the deferring of the Treaty at present, was not such a laying aside of the Matter, as their Letters inferred.'

Thus at present, more than by Letters, and the private Actings of some Men, there was nothing further attempted in the Treaty, till the 26th of *August* following: In the Interim, we must take notice of the Insolence of these Men, then expecting his Majesty's Favour.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

Jo. Borlase, Henry Tichborn.

WE the Lords Justices and Council do declare, That if Captain *John Farrer* be forthwith released by the Rebels, and safely sent hither, that forthwith upon his coming, so released, we will give Order for the releasing *Synnott*, lately imploied as Captain amongst the Rebels, out of Prison, the Jaylor's just Dues being first paid, and will then permit him freely to depart without interruption.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, *July 8*, 1643.

La. Dublin, Ormond, Roscommon, Bramston, Ant. Midensis, Tho. Rotheram, Jo. Temple, Fra. Willoughby, Ja. Ware.

We do not know to whom this Certificate is directed, and we will avow our selves in all our Actions, to be his Majesty's loyal Subjects; neither shall it be safe henceforth for any Messenger, to bring any Paper to us containing other Language, than such as suits with our Duty, and the Affections we bear to his Majesty's Service, wherein some may pretend, but none shall have more real Desires to further his Majesty's Interest, than his Majesty's loyal and obedient Subjects.

The Insolencies of the *Irish*, in Reply to a Warrant of the State,

Mountgarret, Muskery, Fr. Tho. Dublin, Malachias Tuamen, Castlehaven Audley, R. Bealing, Torlo O Neile, Patr. Darcy.

Who

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Who reads this, may well think their Confidence built on other Grounds than appeared. What ! Shall such as fought in Opposition to his Majesty's Proclamation, be thought loyal Subjects, whilst the State, owning his Majesty's Interest, Honour and Service, are said to pretend to what they really were ? Surely so impudent a Reply, never before, without Chastisement, escaped the Pen of suppliant Rebels ; nor indeed, could some then have had the Freedom of their just scorn and indignation, should such Expressions have been swallowed.

During the respite of the Treaty for the Cessation, viz. the 29th of July, seven or eight hundred of the Rebels gave us at mid-night, by whose neglect I know not, an Alarm, even in the Streets of *Dublin*, who were gallantly repulsed by Colonel *Crawford's* Men, killing twenty of them, the Rebels by that means do no more hurt, than plundering and firing some few thatched Houses.

Colonel Monk
against Preston.

All Things tending to a Cessation, the State held it their best Policy not to retain their Forces wholly in their Garrisons ; and therefore, though they had slender Provisions, and less Treasure to encourage the Soldiers abroad, the 27th of June 1643, Colonel *Monk*, with one thousand three hundred Foot, and a hundred and forty Horse, was sent against *Preston*, strengthened by *Owen O Neal*, whom he encountered near *Castle Jordan*, at a Pass upon the River *Boyne*, being five or six hundred Horse, and six thousand Foot, putting his Foot to rout, and killing many of his Men ; yet for want of Provision, he was forced to leave *Clancurry*, and turn to *Wicklow*, where he got store of Cattle. But thence he was soon recalled, to face the Rebels in *Meath*, and hearing of *Owen O Neal's* Forces about *Port Leicester Mill*, a great and secure Fastness, near five Miles westward from *Trim*, he, with the Lord *Moor*, vigilantly attended their Motion : But so it fell out, that the Lord *Moor* observing *O Neal's* encamping there, had some notice of his levelling a Piece of Cannon towards his Army ; yet was so little concerned at the Advice, (Danger in that Cause being never apprehended) as after that the Bullet had once, if not twice, grazed, he, with other Gentlemen, who were not without apprehension of what might ensue, and intimated their Suspicions, still traversed the Ground, till most unfortunately the Bullet forced its Passage through his Armour into his Body, but was not of Strength sufficient to go through, however it there slew him ; upon whose Fall, one readier to shew some Sallies of Wit, than Skill, obtrudes this Distich :

The Lord Moor
killed.

*Contra Romanos Mores res mira Dynasta,
Morus ab Eugenio canonizatus erat.*

In Answer to which one readily writes this :

*Olim Roma pios truculenta morte beavit,
Antiquos mores jam nova Roma tenet.*

Read Husband's
Collect. fo. 340.

This noble Gentleman was the first that adventured in this Cause, and the last Victim under his Majesty's Commission ; a Gentleman of clear Spirit, and Integrity. He fell not many Days before the Cessation, which by several, even of the Privy Council themselves, was much disliked ;

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disliked; nor indeed, till some of those were removed from the Council Board, the Reasons they gave in being unanswerable, could the Cessation be brought on without Opposition; and then not so easily as some thought, many Difficulties, and those not easie to reconcile, in reference to his Majesty's Exigencies, and the Interest of the distressed Protestants, pressing in on every Dispute. Now the Parliament in *England*, conceiving themselves much interested in the Affairs of *Ireland*, as already hath been said, 'to advise, order, and dispose of all Things concerning the Government and Defence of that Kingdom, made, the 30th of *September* 1643, not knowing that the Cessation had been then fifteen Days before concluded, a Declaration against any Cessation, or a Treaty of Peace with the Rebels in *Ireland*, for that, amongst many other Reasons, the Cessation would be for the Preservation of the Rebels and Papists only, who under pretexts of civil Contracts, would continue their Antichristian Idolatry. Besides, several Commissioners of both Houses of Parliament, who by the Broad Seal, the publick Faith of the State, were intrusted with the *Irish* Affairs, would by the Cessation be further disenabled to act; and the Adventurers, who had so many Acts for their Security, would by a Cessation be disappointed, as the exiled Protestants, turned out of their Habitations, be thereby continued in misery and want.

Whilst these Things were thought on in *England*, the People of *Ireland*, who took a Liberty at the uncertainty of Affairs, were strangely divided, whether the Cessation should be concluded or no. Some, who were sensibly touched with the Injuries and Cruelties of the Rebels, could not brook it, others, hoping for their Advantage by the Change, daily expected it, whilst the City, in general, being burthened with Taxes, quartering of Soldiers, &c. having no Hopes of Relief from abroad, willingly hearkned to their Freedom; so as now the strong Affections which had been commonly borne against the Rebels, began to wither into an Indifferency, and the Course which had been then took to weather out the Resolute, either for Despair or Terror humbled many, and as Interest lay, several resolved what Party to take in *England*, upon the Conclusion of the Cessation. And that the Cessation might be put forward, his Majesty writ to the Lords Justices, and the Marquis of *Ormond* from his Court at *Matson*, the 25th of *August*, the 19th Year of his Reign, which came not to them till the 26th of *September*, eleven Days after the Cessation was concluded; 'authorising them, or any two of them, to treat and conclude for him, and in his Name, with his Subjects then in Arms in that his Kingdom, for a Cessation of Arms for one whole Year.' But before this Letter arrived, the Treaty at *Sigginstown* began with the Confederates Commissioners, by virtue of the Letter the Marquis had formerly received from his Majesty, dated at *Oxford* the 31st of *July* 1643, who to that Purpose ordered a Commission, dated at *Dublin* under the Broad Seal, the last of *August* 1643, in the 19th Year of his Majesty's Reign, to conclude the Cessation with the *Irish* Commissioners; who, the 26th of *August* 1643, having met the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Army, there, where insisting upon the Name, Title, and Protestation which at first they had assumed, not permitted of by the Marquis of *Ormond*, they proceeded: The Enemy, in the Interim, besieging *Tully*, and afterwards taking it, even whilst his Majesty's Com-

X x

mission

The Rebels very audacious and active upon the very point of the Conclusion of the Cessation.

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The Cessation
concluded.

His Majesty's
Motives to the
Cessation, fol.
355. *Octob.* 19.
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mission of Grace was not far thence in Execution; and in all Places they shewed themselves most active, endeavouring either to surprize, force, or gain by Allurements what they could, exceedingly animated with Hopes of a Cessation, that upon its Conclusion, what was in their Power might be peaceably possessed. During which Treaty, many Difficulties arose; one, whether in this or the former Treaty, I am not certain, was much insisted on, *viz.* How the several Indictments and Outlawries against the *Irish* might be repealed? After some Dispute at length *Plunket*, one of the *Irish* Agents, told them, he had found a Remedy; the Judges before whom they were indicted might be summoned to the *Star-Chamber*, and there be fined. And there replied one, who is seldom found to sign any Act of State till the Cessation was concluded, all that are concerned may be confident to find Reparation. This the Lord Chief Justice *Shurley* thought reflected upon him, who thereupon expressed much Courage and Integrity. And the Dispute fell; and the 15th of *September* 1643, the Cessation was concluded by the Marquis of *Ormond*, who for his Courage, Affection and Loyalty, his Majesty had made his Lieutenant General of his Army in *Ireland*; and who, having gotten so many notable Victories over the Rebels, was very well approved of by the two Houses of Parliament in *England*. The Publication of which, with the Articles, and his Majesty's Motives thereunto, you may read in his Majesty's Works, from fol. 353 to 365. In Confirmation of which, the Lords Justices and Council issued out a Warrant to the Lord Chancellor, to draw Letters of Confirmation under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, which accordingly bore Date the 26th Day of *September*, in the 19th Year of his Majesty's Reign: And to express the Necessity thereof, many Persons of Quality signed, the said 15th of *September* 1643, a Writing, 'therein concluding it necessary for his Majesty's Honour and Service, that the Lord Marquis of *Ormond* should assent to a Cessation of Arms;' though some of these afterwards, joyning with the Parliament's Forces, resolved to die a thousand Deaths, rather than to descend to any Peace with the perfidious Rebels; but stuck not at length to that Protestation, altering as the Scene changed.

Whilst the Cessation was in Agitation at *Sigginstown*, the Consequences of dissolving the Parliament were not the least in Consideration at the Council-board, nor was there any Thing more desired by the Rebels, who thereby hoped to be re-seated in a new Parliament, which they questioned not to manage to their own Ends and Advantage. Wherefore that the State might still steer by the same Compass they had hitherto done, they committed the Case to the Judges; who unanimously agreed upon the following Reasons for its Continuance.

May it please your Lordships,

Reasons given in
by the Judges for
the Continuance
of this Parliamen-
t, against a
free one fought
by the Rebels,
Sept. 13, 1643.

According to your Lordship's Order of the 11th of *September* 1643, we have considered of such Inconveniencies, as we conceive may arise to his Majesty, and his Service, as Affairs now stand, if this present Parliament should be determined, and have reduced the same to Writing, which we humbly present to your Lordship's further Consideration.

The

The greatest Part of the Free-holders of this Kingdom are now in actual Rebellion, whereby his Majesty ought to be justly intitled to all their Estates, both real and personal; this cannot be done but by their Conviction and Attainder, either by Course of common Law, or by Act of Parliament. By Course of common Law it will be very difficult to be effected, for these Reasons following.

First, Those who are indicted in most of the Counties of this Kingdom cannot be attainted by Outlawry, by Reason that the Sheriffs of those Counties, by Occasion of the present Rebellion, cannot keep their County-Courts, to proclaim, and make due Return of the Exigence: Nor can they be attainted by Verdict for want of Jurors, most of all the Free-holders in the Kingdom being now in Rebellion.

Secondly, Those that are not indicted, or those that are already indicted, and in Prison, or upon Bonds, cannot be proceeded against legally at the common Law for want of Jurors; because, as aforesaid, most of the Free-holders are in Rebellion.

Therefore of Necessity, those Persons must either not be attainted at all, or only by Act of Parliament, which is scarce possible to be effected, if this present Parliament be dissolved, or discontinued; for that upon a new Parliament to be summoned, the Knights and Burgeses must be elected by the Free-holders and Inhabitants respectively, most whereof are in Rebellion. And yet the present Parliament will be discontinued, unless a Commission under the Great Seal of *England* to the now Lords Justices, or other the chief Governor or Governors for the Time being, be here before the 13th of *November* next, being the Day of Prorogation, for the Beginning of the next Session of Parliament, to enable them to continue this present Parliament; the last Commission for the Continuance thereof being only to the Lords Justices, one whereof is since removed.

Unless the Parties now in Rebellion, being legally attainted, which cannot be here, as is aforesaid, as the Case now stands, but by Act of Parliament, his Majesty cannot have Power to dispose of their Estates, as in his Wisdom he shall think fit, either for the increasing of his Revenues, or for the peaceable Establishment of this Common-wealth, and indifferent Administration of Justice therein.

Rich. Bolton Cancell. *Geo. Shurly*, *Gerrard Lowther*,
Ja. Donnalon, *Sa. Mayard*.

The Cessation as yet not being known to his Majesty, the Lords Justices and Council received a Letter from him at the Camp at *Matson* near *Gloucester*, of the 4th of *September*, passionately resenting the Sufferings and Complaints of the Officers, who, upon all Occasions, had a tender Affection in his Breast. And to the End they might not be frustrated of their Arrears, he commands their Debentors should be respectively signed, that they might take an effectual Course to be paid the same by the two Houses of Parliament that engaged them.

And lest there should be any Defect in acknowledging of their Merits, who had so faithfully ventured their Lives for his Majesty's Service, he is yet further pleased to provide for their Encouragement and Entertainment, who, upon the Cessation, were now free to serve him,

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him, though as yet he knew not of its Conclusion, but by the Contents of the following Letter, seemed to expect it, giving particular Orders for the Management of Affairs upon that Occasion.

C. R.

His Majesty's
fifth Letter
touching the
Cessation, and
his Care of his
Army.

Right trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, and right trusty and intirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, we greet you well. Whereas not only the great Neglect of the Affairs of that our Kingdom, by the remaining Part of our Houses of Parliament, who pretended so great Care of it, but their impious preventing all Supplies destined to their Relief by our Authority, which did ever most readily concur to any Levy of Men, Money, or any other Work, in order to the Assistance of our Protestant Subjects there, and employing the same in an unnatural War against us their Liege Lord and Sovereign, hath reduced our Army in that our Kingdom into so heavy Straits, that our Care of the Preservation of them, who so faithfully ventured their Lives for our Service, we were brought to condescend to a Treaty for a Cessation of Arms: Our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby charge and command you, that in Case, according unto the Authority given unto you by us, you have agreed upon a Cessation, or as soon as you shall agree thereupon, you, or any two of you do immediately consider of, and put in Execution these our following Commands.

I. That you agree upon what Number of our Army will be necessary to be kept in Garrison there, for the Maintenance of the same during the Time of the Cessation, and what Soldiers they shall be, and what Persons shall command the same; and that you settle them accordingly in that Command, as shall appear to your Discretion to be most conducing to our Service.

II. That you do consider and advise of the best Means of transporting the rest of our Army in that our Province of *Leinster*, excepting such as are to be kept in Garrison in our Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to that End we do hereby give you, or any one of you, full Power and Authority, to hire all Ships, Barques, or Vessels whatsoever, and to treat with any Persons whatsoever for the Loan, Hire, or Sale of any Ships, Barques, or Vessels, upon such Conditions as you, or any one of you, shall agree upon with them.

III. That in such Time and Manner as to you shall seem meet, you communicate to the Officers and Soldiers of that our Army this our Intention, to make use of their known Courage and Fidelity in the Defence of our Person and Crown, against the unnatural Rebellion raised against us in this our Kingdom, and against the like laboured by the Rebels here, to be raised against us out of our Kingdom of *Scotland*.

IV. That you signify unto them, that we are the more moved and necessitated unto this Course, for as much as it is resolved by some ill affected Persons in that our Kingdom of *Scotland*, to call over the Army of our *British* Subjects out of our Kingdom of *Ireland*, to the End, to make Use of them for the Invasion of us, and of our good Subjects of *England*. And for as much as this Rebellion against us, under Colour of the Humility of our two Houses of Parliament,

liament, hath exhausted the Means appointed, by the Concurrence of our royal Authority, for the Sustainment of that our Army there, and by Force hath staid and taken from us all those our Revenues, which might have enabled us to have supplied them in that our Kingdom, so that we ought in Reason, besides the Bond of their Allegiance, to expect their ready Concurrence against those Persons, who are as well the Causers of all the Miseries they have endured, as of all the Injuries we have suffered.

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V. That you assure them, both Officers and Soldiers, that upon their landing here, they shall immediately receive our Pay, in the same Proportion and Manner with the rest of our Army here. And you are to assure the Soldiers, that all Care shall be taken, that Cloaths, Shoes, and other Necessaries be forthwith provided for them, after they are landed here; and that Care shall be taken for the Provision of such as shall happen to be maimed here in our Service; and for the Payment of all their Arrears that shall be due to any of them that shall happen to be killed in the same, to their Wives, Children, or nearest Friends. And you are to assure both Officers and Soldiers, that we will take special Care to reward all such according to their Merit and Quality, that shall do us any eminent Service in this our War, against this odious and most unnatural Rebellion.

VI. We will and require you, and do hereby authorize you, to use your utmost Interest and Industry, for the speedy Transportation of this forementioned Part of our Army, with their Arms, Horses, and such Ammunition, and the like, as you shall think fit, into our Kingdom of *England*; and particularly, if it may be, to our Fort of the City of *Chester*, or to the most commodious Haven in *North-wales*. And for Obedience in this, and every other of these our Commands, this shall be to you and every of you sufficient Warrant.

Given at our Court at *Euvely-Castle*, 7th September, in the 19th Year of our Reign.

Superscribed as before.

To what Party the Cessation was happy, will be hard to determine; that thereby the Rebels had an Opportunity, which they improved, to provide themselves of Arms Ammunition, may easily be conceived; in as much as the Parliament of *England* concluded, the Cessation in *Ireland* was of Advantage to none, but to the bloody Rebels of that Kingdom: Agreeable to what *Cambden* * well observes, for as much as in that Space wherein a Cessation is allowed to the Rebels, the Rebels enjoy free Liberty to digest all their secret Plots and Machinations, to strengthen their Sides by new Confederacies abroad, and to increase them at home with new Forces; whilst all this while the *English* lay at a costly Idleness, feeding on the Fruits of their Friends, and faithful Well-willers; when by Reason of the Cessation they might not prey upon the Enemy. Certain it is the Parliament improved the Cessation to a very specious Pretence, in as much as 'no *Estate*, say they, of the Rebels was to be disposed of, consequently no Cessation or Peace to be made, 'till the Lords and Commons of the Realm of *England* should, in Parliament, by order, declare, that the said Rebels were subdued, and this present Rebellion appeared and ended.' But on the contrary, his Majesty shewed the Necessity of his good Protestant Subjects, and the Army, being not longer

* *Annals Eliz.*
Anno 1595.

The Cessation
begat great
Heats betwixt
the King and
his Parliament.

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able to subsist for want of Supplies, enforced that Cessation; though he is told again, That many, since the Cessation, have, and do subsist: And that one End for which the Cessation was made, was, that the Forces might be brought out of *Ireland* into *England*, and employed against the two Houses: Which, in Answer, his Majesty shews the Reason of, when the *Scots* Army before was made use of against him. The whole Scene is excellently stated in his Majesty's Answer to the two Papers concerning *Ireland*, at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*: How passionately soever the Parliament's Commissioners conclude, 'That whatsoever becomes of us, say they, if we must perish, yet let us go to our Graves with that Comfort, that we have not made Peace with the Enemies of Christ, yea, even Enemies of Mankind, declared and unreconciled Enemies to our Religion and Nation. And, indeed, to give the Parliament their due, when they had reduced the Affairs of *England* to their own Module, the Rebels of *Ireland* were frequently chastised, and so affectionately pursued, that neither Men, Money, or Courage was wanting to that Service. Of the first Part of which Paragraph, his Majesty seems most sensible, expressing, in his Answer before-mentioned, 'That he would be glad, that either Peace in *England*, or any other Expedient, might furnish him with Means and Power to do Justice upon them; if this cannot be, we must not desperately expose our good Subjects there to Butchery, without Means or Possibility of Protection: God will, in his due Time, avenge his own Quarrel. In the mean Time, his Gospel gives us leave, in Case of War, to sit down and cast up the cost, and estimate our Power to go through with it; and in such Case, where Prudence adviseth, it is lawful to propose Conditions of Peace, though the War otherwise might justly be pursued. This wrought much on many.' But the Parliament, who persisted resolutely to have his Majesty disclaim the Cessation, would not allow any Necessity for it, alledging, that though some of great Estimation with the Parliament, whom his Majesty's Commissioners produced, as principally interested in the managing of Affairs in *Ireland*, and the War there, had pressed for Supplies, as in all Likelihood to perish speedily without them; yet they were assured, even by some who were at the Council at that Time when those Letters were written, that the same was done only to press for Supplies out of *England*, without the least Intention in them of inducing a Cessation; which is granted. But as the Necessities were there laid open, so they were considered by his Majesty, and no other Expedient remaining for the Protestants Safety, save a Cessation, thereupon it was concluded *; though to this Day some will have it, that his Majesty's Expectation to be supplied thence, and the Preservation of the *Irish*, almost swallowed up by his Forces, were the principal Motives to that Cessation. And it must be acknowledged, from the Series of Affairs since, that the *Irish*, in concluding the Cessation, had a Respect to their greater Security and Designs, those being thereby withdrawn to his Majesty's Service in *England*, which otherwise would certainly have opposed them.

And here I cannot but observe, that the *Irish* afterwards acquired much Confidence, by a Bull of Pope *Urban's* the 8th, dated at *Rome* the 25th of *May* 1643, commending their Forwardness against the Protestant

* His Majesty's Answer to the Commissioner's last Paper at *Uxbridge*, fol. 557.

Protestant Hereticks, which they published even after the Cessation of Arms was agreed on; to what Intent may be easily conceived, considering their subsequent frequent Violation of Compacts and Agreements with the State. Though the bleeding *Ipbigenia*, who, in pleading their Cause, grossly betrays it, would not have it thought, that this charitable Bull cherished the Catholics in Rebellion, but was only an Indulgence to so good and just a Quarrel, not any disrespect to the King, to whom, saith he, his Holiness advised them, by their Agents, to be loyal; as if that, and the Breach of his Majesty's Commands to lay down Arms, could rationally agree. Before which Bull, an * Indulgence had been sent, *Dilecto filio Eugenio Onello*, the 8th of October, 1642, in the 20th Year of his Papacy.

The Cessation now concluded, Obedience was expected from all Parts; but instead of an absolute Compliance from the Scots in *Ulster*, their Officer in Chief returned this Letter.

Right Honourable,

YOUR Lordships of the 21st, I received at *Armagh* the 29th, together with the printed Cessation, which was very displeasing unto this Army, who being sent Auxiliary for Supply of the *British* Forces in Distress, were promised by his Majesty, and the Parliament of *England*, Pay and Entertainment from three Months to three Months; nevertheless, in eighteen Months Time, they have endured, both Officers and Soldiers, unparalleled Miseries: And now a great Part of the Service being done, they are rewarded with the Conclusion of a Cessation, without Assurance of Entertainment for that Time, or any Certainty of the payment of their Arrears, and they must conform to the Treaty. This kind of Usage and Contempt would constrain good Servants, though his Majesty's loyal Subjects, to think upon some Course which may be satisfactory to them, being driven almost to despair, and threatned to be persecuted by the Roman Catholick Subjects, as they are now called. Nevertheless, of the aforesaid Contempt, for Obedience to his Majesty's Command, I have moved the Army for the Time to cease any hostile Act against our Enemies, till such Time as
your

Monro's Letter to the Lords-Justices in Dislike of the Cessation.

* Pope Urban the Eighth's Grant of Indulgence to *Owen Roe O Neal*, mentioned in *Mahony's Disp. Apologet.* p. 41.

Dilecto Filio Eugenio O Nello.

Dilecte Fili, Salutem. Nullum prætermittere soles occasionem, quâ non Majorum tuorum Vestigiis insists Eximium Zelum, & propagandæ Ecclesiæ studium perspectum facis, idque luculenter in præsentia præstitisti, in Hiberniam proficisci cogitans, ut Catholicorum rationibus præsto sis. Quam ob rem pergratæ Nobis advenerunt Literæ, quibus Hujusmodi itineris deliberationem declaras, & rei feliciter gerendæ principium à cælesti ope auspicias, non minus humiliter quam religiose Apostolicam benedictionem à Nobis postulas. Præclarum hunc in te ardorem & constantiam adversus hæreticos, & veræ fidei animum, non parum laudamus: tuæque jam pridem pietatis conscii à te expectamus in hac opportunitate strenue atque excelsi roboris documenta, quæ antehac singularem nominis famam tibi compararunt. Illorum pariter commendamus Consilium, quos tuo excitans exemplo significasti: speramus autem fore, ut Altissimus tuæ causæ præsto sit, ut Notam faciat in populis Virtutem suam. Interim ut confidentius cuncta aggrediamini, Nos divinam Clementiam indesinenter orantes, ut adversariorum conatus in nihilum redigat; tibi cæterisque Catholicorum rem in prædicto regno Curaturis nostram libenter impartitur benedictionem Universisque & singulis, si verè pœnitentes confessi fuerint, & Sacram Communionem, si fieri possit, debite refecti, plenariam suorum peccatorum veniam & remissionem; atque in Mortis articulo Indulgentiam etiam plenariam elargimur. Datum Romæ sub Annulo Piscatoris die 8 Octobris, 1642. Pontificatus Nostri Anno 20.

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your Lordships will be pleased to consider better of our present Condition, and grant us Time to acquaint the General, who has only Commission over the Army, to advise us how to behave ourselves in this Exigency; since I, as Governor of *Carrigfergus*, can give your Lordships no positive Answer to this Cessation in the Name of our Army, having not absolute Power over them: And immediately after receiving the General's Resolution, your Lordships shall be acquainted therewith; which is the least Favour your Lordships can vouchsafe upon us, in Recompence of our Bygan Service. And so I remain,

*Ardmagh the 29th,
September 1643.*

Your Lordships humble and obedient
Servitor, *Robert Monro.*

Received the 2d of *October*,

To the Right Honourable, the Lords Justices and Council.

Upon this Answer of *Monro's* the supreme Council at *Kilkenny*, maintaining their Umpire in the Empire, visits the Lords Justices and Council with this Letter.

Our very good Lords,

The supreme Council's Letter from *Kilkenny*, to the Lords-Justices, touching the *Scots* Breach of the Cessation.

WE whom his Majesty's Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, did intrust in the Management of their Affairs, have by their publick Act, ratified and confirmed the Articles of Cessation, concluded upon by our Commissioners, willingly and cheerfully, hoping in the Quiet of that Time assigned for it, by the Benefit of the Access which his Majesty is graciously pleased to afford us, to free our selves from those odious Calumnies, wherewith we have been branded, and to render our selves worthy of Favour, by some acceptable Service, suiting the Expression we have often made, and the real Affections and Zeal we have to serve his Majesty; and in as much as we are given to understand, that the *Scots*, who not long since in great Numbers came over into this Kingdom, and by the Slaughter of many Innocents without Distinction of Age or Sex, have possessed themselves of very large Territories in the North, and since the Notice given them of the Cessation, have not only continued their former Cruelties upon the Persons of weak and unarmed Multitudes, but have added thereunto the Burning of the Corn, belonging to the Natives within that Province of *Ulster*. Notwithstanding which Outrages, we hear that they have, although but faintly, and with relation unto the Consent of their General, after some Days Consultation, whether it were convenient for their Affairs, desired to partake in the Cessation, intending, as is evident by their Proceedings, so far only to admit thereof, as it may be beneficial for their Patrons, the malignant Party, now in Arms against his Majesty in *England*, by diverting us from assisting his Majesty, or of Advantage to their Desire, of eating further into the Bowels of our Country: We who can accuse our selves of no one hollow Thought, and detest all subtle Practices, cannot think of serving two Masters, or standing Neuters, where our King is Party: And we desirous, none should reside in this Kingdom, but his Majesty's good Subjects, we beseech your Lordships therefore, that these who have other Ends than his Majesty's

Majesty's Service and Interest, and are so far from permitting the Natives, to enjoy three Parts of what they have sown, as they may with no Security look upon their former Habitations, and do absolutely deny to restore their Prisoners, contrary to the Articles of Cessation, may by the joint Power of all his Majesty's good Subjects, within this Kingdom, of what Nation soever, be prosecuted, and that while these Succours are in preparation, our Proceedings against them, may no way be imputed unto us, a Desire any way to violate this Cessation : And we do further pray your Lordships, that for our Justification therein, you will be pleased to transmit unto his Majesty these our Letters, and to send unto us the Copy of those directed unto your Lordships, from Serjeant Major *Monro*, concerning this Matter. Thus with the Remembrance of our heartiest Wishes unto your Lordships, we rest,

Kilkenny 15, October, 1643.

Received 25.

To the Right Honourable
the Lords Justices and
Council.

Your Lordships loving Friends,

*Mountgarret, Castlehaven Audley, H.
Armach, Jo. Clonfert, Th. Fr. Dublin,
R. Bealing, N. Plunket, Gerrard Fennell.*

And now many of those Officers who had served his Majesty most signally in *Ireland*, were treated with, to recruit his Forces in and about *Chester* ; to which End all the Encouragement, that his Majesty had given in his Letters of the 4th and 7th of *September*, were faithfully imparted to them, and what could possibly be raised for their Transportation, was effectually done : Whereupon several Regiments, as Sir *Michael Earnely's*, Sir *Richard Fleetwood's*, Colonel *Gibson*, Colonel *Monk*, Colonel *Warren*, and others hastened over, but with such Reluctancy of the Common Soldiers, as the sharpest Proclamations, of which there were several, hardly restrained them from flying their Colours, both before and after their Arrival in *England* : To prevent which, and that the Soldiers might be secured in their Loyalty to his Majesty, the Lieutenant General composed this Oath.

Several Regiments transported into *England*.

I Resting fully assured of his Majesty's most princely Truth and Goodness, do freely and from my Heart promise, vow, and protest, in the Presence of Almighty God, that I will to the utmost of my Power, and with the Hazard of my Life, maintain and defend the true Protestant Religion, established in the Church of *England*, his Majesty's sacred Person, his Heirs, and lawful Successors, and his Majesty's just Powers and Prerogatives, against the Forces now under the Conduct of the Earl of *Effex*, and against all other Forces whatsoever, that are or shall be raised, contrary to his Majesty's Commands and Authority.

The Oath imposed upon the Soldiers going for *England*.

And I will do my best Endeavour to procure and re-establish the Peace and Quietness of the Kingdom of *England*.

And I will neither directly or indirectly divulge or communicate any Thing to the said Earl of *Effex*, his Officers, or any other, to hinder or prejudice the Designs of his Majesty, in the Conduct or Employment of his Army.

Which that it may be taken by every Soldier, follows the Precept.

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By the Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Army.

WHEREAS his Majesty hath been pleased to command the present Transportation of a Part of his Army here into *England*, I do think fit, and hereby Order, that every Officer and Soldier, to be transported hence, do take the Oath above-written, before they depart this Harbour.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the 13th of *October*, 1643.

Ormond.

And in respect, that upon their going, many Soldiers lifted themselves under other Officers, the Lord Lieutenant, besides other Courses, published, the 13th of *November*, an Edict, that no Soldiers, under penalty of Death, should depart from their former Commanders and Officers; and that no Commanders or Officers, on pain of Displeasure, should dare to entertain any Soldiers so offending: And the 4th of *February* 1643, the Lord General published a Proclamation, That if any Soldier should stay behind, that was commanded to go over, or should, after he was transported over into *England*, run away from his Colours, he being afterwards apprehended, should presently suffer Death without Mercy.

Upon which, as you see, many came over into *England*, and at *Hawerden* Castle, *Beefton* Castle, *Bartomeley* Church, *Dedington* House, *Acton* Church, and *Durtwich*, improved their Time; but the main Body, the 25th of *January* 1643, was utterly defeated by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, raising the Siege of *Namptwich*, a thousand five hundred common Soldiers besides Officers being there taken Prisoners, besides those that were slain; so that what Advantage accrued to the Regal Army by their coming over, many believed was not very considerable, unless those, who came out of *Munster*, were more successful. The general, if not all those who came to his Majesty's Assistance out of *Ireland*, were his own Forces, which he * had sent against the Rebels, from whom I cannot yet learn, after all their Professions of having no one hollow Thought, or subtle Practice to serve two Masters, or standing Neuters, whilst their King was Party, * that any formed Regiment, or considerable Party reached *England*, No! it will hereafter appear, how shamefully they deserted his Majesty's Affairs, even in *Ireland* it self, when their Interest might have united them in Loyalty and Obedience.

Some Months after the Arrival of these and other Forces out of *Ireland*, the Parliament of *England* made an Ordinance, * against the giving of any Quarter to any *Irish* Man, or to any Papist born in *Ireland*, taken in Hostility against the Parliament, by Sea or Land, which his Majesty thought very severe, they being called to the Service of their natural Prince.

The coming over of the *English* made several, that were not so forward, suspected in their Loyalty; though, in Truth, never any Prince had an Army more intirely affecting his Person, than the Generality of his Militia of *Ireland*; who being sent thither, or raised there, were not yet weaned from the Justice of that Cause, hardly matchable in any Example, the War being, said long since, a great Instrument of State, not an ambitious War of Foreigns, but a Recovery of Subjects, and that after Lenity of Conditions often tried, not only

to

* See his Majesty's Message from *Oxford*, the 24th of *Jan.* 1645, *Fol.* 227.
* View their Letter again of the 15th of *Oct.* 1643.

* *Octob.* 24, 1644.

to Obedience, but to Humanity and Policy, from more than *Indian* Barbarism : Whereas the Affairs of *England* imbrued Relations in one anothers Blood, and the Concerns of *Ireland* were as much his Majesty's as the other ; and the Cause undoubtedly God's.

The Lords Justices and Council, this while, had a great Task, and not so much as Straw to the Work, the Confederates paying in the Money, *viz.* 30800 *l.* they promised the 16th of *September*, towards the Maintenance of his Majesty's Army, this Cessation, very uncertain, as their Cows and Cattle of the worst, taken within three Days after the Cessation, near three hundred and sixty nine Head of choice *English* Cattle from the Suburbs of *Dublin*, acting besides many other Violencies on divers Castles, Forts, and Houses ; so as this Agreement with the Rebels seemed rather a Protection, than a Cessation, of Acts of Hostility : That in this Extremity the Lords Justices Providence and Care, how great soever, could remedy little, being their Business now was to proceed in another Course than formerly they had ; the Election of which grew hourly the heavier upon them, by Reason of the Discontents which constantly arose from the Inhabitants, and the Protestants, now, more than ever, sensible of their Condition, the *Irish* Agents making all the Speed they could to repair, with their Propositions, to his Majesty then at *Oxford*, according to an Article in the Cessation, and his Majesty's Proclamation thereupon, by which they were allowed to send Agents to his Majesty ; of which the Protestants in and about *Dublin* being very apprehensive, lest his Majesty should be prepossessed of the Rebels Sense, they thought it most convenient to dispatch Agents presently to his Majesty ; and to that End about the 6th of *October* 1643, they meeting at the Earl of *Kildare's* House, framed a Petition to the Lords Justices and Council, humbly beseeching their Lordships for their Licence unto such, as they should appoint to attend his Majesty in their Behalf, whereunto the Lords Justices and Council, the 12th of the same Month, expressed their Forwardness, declaring how his Majesty, had been graciously pleased to put them in mind, that thence they should send some of his Majesty's Ministers to assist in the Treaty, when the *Irish* should repair to him ; and when they had acquainted his Majesty with the Petitioner's Request, they should be certified of his Pleasure with convenient Speed : But the Petitioners not conceiving this a satisfactory Answer, again petitioned the Lords Justices and Council, the 14th of the same Month, sending them therewithal a Copy of their Petition they had agreed on to his Majesty ; whereunto the Lords Justices and Council, the 19th of *October*, returned an Answer ; That such was their Care of the Petitioners, that the same Day they had given them an Answer to their former Petition ; they inclosed in their Letters to Secretary *Nicholas* their first Petition to them, requesting his Majesty's gracious Pleasure thereupon, and further they could not now proceed, though if they would repair to his Majesty, they would not hinder them, but could not accompany them with their Recommendation, till they knew his Majesty's Pleasure to have them come over ; much Artifice there was used, to have had some protested against the Petition they had framed to his Majesty, but none of those who had signed it, save Major *Morris*, was wrought upon ; and the 17th of *February* 1643, the Petition was so well approved

The *Irish* break
the Cessation.

Agents being to
go from the Re-
bels to *Oxford*,
the Protestants
petition the State
that they might
have some to at-
tend, at the same
time, his Ma-
jesty's Pleasure.

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ed of in the House of Commons in *Ireland*, as it had their Concurrence :

In *November* 1643, the Parliament in *Ireland* sitting, the House of Commons had in Debate a Remonstrance declaring the Inhumanity of the Rebels, that it might be recommended to the King, a Committee was sent from the House to the Lords Justices, who advising with the upper House, at that Time very thin, and highly influenced, were answered, That there were greater Matters of State to be considered, so nothing further proceeded thereon.

And about the Beginning of *January*, a Letter of his Majesty's to the Lords Justices and Lieutenant General of the Army, dated the 6th of *November* 1643, arrived at *Dublin*, licencing the Protestant Agents to repair to *Oxford*; of whose further Proceedings with the Management of that Business, you shall have speedily.

Motions made upon the Cessation, that some of the Confederates should be admitted unto their Dwellings.

Not long after the Cessation, one moved at the Council Board by way of Petition, ' That such of the *Irish*, as would constantly pay ' Contribution to the Army, might have freedom to return to their ' Castles : ' And the Motion took with some, but was strongly opposed by others, considering how many gallant Men, as *Sir Simon Harcourt*, and others, had been lost in the regaining of those Castles; and that, it being uncertain on what Terms there might be Peace, it might be taken ill by the King, that those Castles, the Price of so much Blood, should be surrendered without his Privy, upon which the Motion was laid aside; I will not say, all Reflections afterwards on them that opposed it: Nor indeed was the Event of this Motion so suppressed, but that in a short Time after, some, through the Importunity of the *Irish* Agents, were restored to their Estates, who had from the Beginning been in Rebellion; notwithstanding their Estates had been given in *Custodium*, and those who had them, not accepting of mean and sinister Proffers, had little else to subsist by, or pay the Arrears of their Service.

The Marquis of Ormond made Lord Lieutenant the 21st of *Jan.* 1643.

So as Affairs of different Natures hourly increasing, subject to Constructions, beyond the Management of the prudentest and most loyal Thoughts, it could not but be a great Ease to be freed of that Government, which an illustrious Person, whose Interest was principally involved in the present Intrigues, had a regal Call thereunto; whereupon these Lords Justices were removed, not without considerable Repose, Difficulties daily flowing in upon them, remediless by any but his Excellency *James* Marquis of *Ormond*, who, the 21st of *January* 1643, was solemnly in *Christ-Church, Dublin*, sworn Lord Lieutenant with general Acceptance: At which Time *Robert Sibthorp*, Bishop of *Limerick*, chose for his Text the 77th Psalm, and the last Verse, ' Thou ' leadest thy People like a Flock by the Hand of *Moses* and *Aaron*; upon which he paraphrased exceeding elegantly; But, as *Sir James Ware* observes in his Life, never received a Farthing of his Bishoprick.

The Lord Lieutenant regulating of the Army.

The Marquis of *Ormond*, being now seated in the Government, one of the first Things he began to regulate, after he had sent the designed Army into *England*, was the standing Army, at that Time much straightened through want of Pay and other Extremities; he therefore reduced the Troops about *Dublin*, to five and twenty a Piece, besides Officers, all but his own, which was continued forty; and *Sir Thomas Lucas's* and *Armstrong's* thirty besides Officers, and to pay these, which

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which made up one hundred and fifty Horfe, besides two thousand Foot, he raised Money by an * Excise, Taxes on the Town, and third, an Acre inhabited within the *English Pale*, besides Enquiry what was owing, by Debts, unto the *Londoners*; so as thence, with what Tobacco they had, a considerable Sum was weekly raised, and accordingly disbursed for the Relief of the Soldiers, and other Necessaries, which he having retrenched, according to the Exigence, he kept to due Musters and Observance: And by Reason of divers Robberies and Murthers daily committed by the Soldiers, on such as brought Provision for the Relief of the City, the Lord-General the 16th of *March* 1643, strictly prohibited all such Outrages, under the utmost Peril of the martial Laws. And the Parliament there meeting at *Dublin* the 17th of *April*, the Speakers of both Houses, the 18th of the same 1644, by a Letter, prohibited the Commanders, and Officers of his Majesty's Armies, and others, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, to take the Solemn League and Covenant, according to a Proclamation by the Lords Justices and Council, the 18th of *December* 1643, set out with great Wisdom and Reason, highly commending their deep Judgment therein; which his Excellency then also commanded to be reprinted at the Request of the Commons House of Parliament 1644 †. In pursuance of which, an Oath afterwards was hammered; but some of the Judges disagreeing, it was never formed. Great were his Excellency's Affairs indeed, the contrary Parties, he was necessarily obliged to deal with, would in any, but one so resolute and intire, have betrayed to Effeminacy and Disorder. The *Irish* on one Hand, confident in their Address to his Majesty, and the Protestants oppressed with their Sufferings and Straights prest on him, both he quitted to his Majesty's Justice,

* The Establishment of which, with the Rates set on each Commodity, according to an Act of Council made at the Council-Board the 4th of *December*, was by Proclamation at the Castle of *Dublin*, published the 9th of *December* 1644. As the 12th of *Oct.* preceding, there had passed one of the same nature, though this more large.

† By the Lords-Justices and Council.

Jo. Borlase. Hen. Tichborne.

Whereas we have lately seen a printed Paper, intituled, a solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, which seems to have been printed at *London*, on the ninth day of *October*, 1643.

And so far as much as in the said League or Covenant, there are divers Things contained not only tending to a seditious Combination against his Majesty, but also contrary to the municipal Laws of this Kingdom of *Ireland*, and destructive to the Church-Government established by Law in this Kingdom, and for that by the Laws of this Kingdom, no Oath ought to be tendered to, or taken by any Person or Persons whatsoever in this Kingdom, but before a Judge or other Person thereunto lawfully authorized by his Majesty, and for that the said League or Covenant is now endeavoured to be set on foot in this Kingdom, without his Majesty's Privy, Direction, or Allowance. And in regard it is directly contrary to the Liberty and Freedom of the Subject, to be by any such Oath or Covenant pre-engaged, and for that the setting on foot at this time in this Kingdom the said League or Covenant, without his Majesty's Allowance, may not only beget much Distraction and Unquietness amongst his Majesty's good Subjects, but also may prove very penal to all those who shall presume to tender or take the same: We therefore for Prevention of such Mischiefs, do in his Majesty's Name strictly charge and command all his Majesty's good Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever within this Kingdom, upon their Allegiance to his Majesty, that they presume not to enter into or take the said League, Covenant, or Oath. And we do likewise inhibit and forbid all his Majesty's Subjects in this Kingdom, to impose, administer, or tender the said League, Oath, or Covenant. And if notwithstanding this our Proclamation, any Person shall presume to impose, tender, or take the said League, Oath, or Covenant,

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* The Lord Viscount Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermot MacTeag O'Brien, &c. The Confederates sent their Agents to Oxford.

The Lord Lieutenant from the Council Board sent others.
* Sir William Stewart, Sir Gerard Lowther, Sir Philip Percival, Justice Donnellon, to whom were added, being resident at Oxford, Sir George Radcliffe, Sir William Sambach.

Justice, after that he had had his Majesty's Licence for their Repair to him. The Confederate Catholicks thereupon, sent their Agents, * authorised by them to attend his Majesty at *Oxford*, but indeed with such Desires and Propositions, as, weighed but in an indifferent Ballance, make too lively a Representation, how incompetent Considerers they were of the Way to their own Repose and Happiness, and how unlikely they were to prevent the destroying Calamities which hung over their Heads, and so closely pursued them.

At the same Time, and so long as the Treaty lasted, the King was likewise attended by a Committee * from the Council-Board of *Ireland*, in pursuance of his Commands, to inform his Majesty of all Matters of Fact which had passed, and of all the Laws and Customs there necessary to be weighed, upon what the Catholicks should demand or propose.

And

we shall proceed against him or them with all Severity, according to the known Laws of the Land.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the 18th Day of *December*, 1643.

Ri. Bolton, Canc.
La. Dublin.
Ormonde.
Roscommon.

Edw. Brabazon.
Ant. Midenfis.
Cha. Lambart.
Geo. Shurley.

Gerard Lowther.
Tho. Rotherham.
Fra. Willoughby.
Tho. Lucas.

Ja. Ware.
G. Wentworth.

G O D S A V E T H E K I N G .

The Copy of a Letter written by Direction of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, to several Commanders and Officers of his Majesty's Army, and others in the Kingdom of Ireland.

After our very hearty Commendations, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, in this his Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, have commanded us to signify unto you, that they have lately seen a printed Paper, intituled, A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, which seems to have been printed at *London*, on the ninth Day of *October*, 1643. That they have also seen a printed Proclamation, dated the eighteenth Day of *December* last, and set out by the Right Honourable the late Lords-Justices and Council, expressing divers great and weighty Reasons against the said League and Covenant, and therefore commanding all his Majesty's good Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever within this Kingdom, upon their Allegiance to his Majesty, that they presume not to enter into or take the said League, Covenant, or Oath, and inhibiting and forbidding all his Majesty's Subjects in this Kingdom, to impose, administer, or tender the said League, Oath, or Covenant; that upon serious Debate and Consideration taken by the Lords and Commons, of the said League and Covenant, and Proclamation, they find the said Proclamation to have been set out with great Wisdom and Reason, and do highly commend the Judgment of the said Lords-Justices and Council therein; and as both Houses do fully concur therein in all the Parts thereof; so they have expressly commanded us to signify the same unto you, and in their Names to let you know, that it is their express Pleasure that you and all the Commanders, Officers, and Soldiers of his Majesty's Army, and all others his Majesty's Subjects in this Kingdom, whom it may concern, do render all due Obedience and Observation to the said Proclamation in all the Parts thereof. And this being to no other end, we remain

Your very Loving Friends,

Dublin Castle
xviii die April.
Anno Dom.
1644.

Ri. Bolton, Canc.
Maur. Eustace, Speaker of
the House of Commons.

And by the Parliament then sitting in *Dublin*, several * were authorized to present to his Majesty the Grievances of his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, that nothing might be granted in that Treaty, to the Prejudice of their Interest and Security.

Each Party arrived at † *Oxford* near the midst of *April*; the Confederate Agents got thither soonest, having less Remora's in their dispatch.

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* Captain *William Ridgeway*
Esq; Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Sir
Charles Coote,
Captain *William Parsons*, the Insolencers of the
Confederates.

The

† Where they delivered to his Majesty the following Petition.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of divers of your Majesty's Protestant Subjects in your Kingdom of Ireland, as well Commanders of your Majesty's Army here, as others whose Names are subscribed, in the Behalf of themselves and other your Protestant Subjects in this your Kingdom.

Sheweth,

That this your Highness Kingdom, reduced with the vast Expence of Treasure, and much Effusion of *British* Blood, to the Obedience of the Imperial Crown of *England*, hath been by the princely Care of your royal Progenitors, especially of Queen *Elizabeth*, and of your royal Father of ever blessed Memory, and your sacred Majesty, in many Parts happily planted, great Sums of Money disbursed in Buildings and Improvements, Churches edified and endowed, and frequented with multitudes of good Protestants, and your yearly Customs and Revenues raised to great yearly Sums, by the Industry of your Protestant Subjects especially, and great Sums of Money by way of Subsidies and Contributions cheerfully paid unto your Majesty by your said Subjects. In which Happiness this your Kingdom hath flourished in a long-continued Peace, and under your Highness most glorious and happy Government, until that by the present general Conspiracy and Rebellion, 'raised out of Detestation to your blessed Government, and for rooting out of 'the Protestant Religion; and so for the dispossession of your Majesty of this your said 'Kingdom, without the least Occasion offered by your Majesty or your Protestant Subjects.' And notwithstanding that your Majesty immediately before, had enlarged beyond Precedent your royal Favour and Bounty to them, in granting all that their and our joint Agents did desire of your Majesty. And we continuing amongst them in all Love and Amity, without Distrust: Your Petitioners and others who laboured to oppose those damnable Designs and Practices, have been driven from their Dwellings, Estates, and Fortunes; their Houses and Churches burnt and demolished; all Monuments of Civility utterly defaced; your Majesty's Forts and Places of Strength thrown down, and the Common and Statute Laws of this your Kingdom utterly confounded, by taking upon themselves the Exercise of all manner of Authorities and Jurisdictions, Ecclesiastical and Civil, both by Sea and Land, proper and peculiar to your sacred Majesty, being your just Prerogatives and the royal Flowers of your imperial Diadem, to the Dishonour of your Crown, and your royal Revenues brought to nothing, and the Protestant Clergy with their Revenues and Support for the present destroyed: This your Kingdom in all Parts formerly inhabited with *British* Protestants, now depopulated of them, and many Thousands of your Protestant Subjects most barbarously used, stripped naked, tortured, famished, hanged, buried alive, drowned, and otherwise by all barbarous cruel sorts of Death murdered; such as yet remain of them are reduced to that Extremity, that very few of them have wherewithal to maintain a Being, and all of them so terrified and afflicted with those barbarous and inhumane Cruelties, the true Report whereof being now spread abroad into the Christian World, your Suppliants conceive Fears, that your Majesty's *British* Subjects will be discouraged from coming again to inhabit this Kingdom, and the Remnant of what is left will be forced to depart: All this being done by the Conspiracy of the Papists, who did publickly declare the utter Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, and all the *British* Professors thereof out of this your Majesty's Kingdom. And to the end it may the better in some measure appear, your Suppliants have made choice of Captain *William Ridgeway*, Sir *Francis Hamilton* Knight and Baronet, Captain *Michael Jones*, and Mr. *Fenton Parsons*, whom they have employed and authorized as their Agents to manifest the Truth thereof in such Particulars as for the present they are furnished withal, referring the more ample Manifestation thereof to the said Captain *William Ridgeway*, Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Captain *Jones*, and *Fenton Parsons*, or any three or more of them, and such other Agents as shall with all convenient Speed be sent, as occasion shall require, to attend your Majesty, from your Protestant Subjects of the several Provinces of this your Kingdom.

We

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The Confederates, as men who thought themselves possessed of the whole Strength and Power of the Kingdom, and the King's Condition in *England* so weak, as he would buy their Assistance at any Rates, demanded upon the Matter, the total Alteration of Government, both in Church and State, the very form of making and enacting Laws, which is the Foundation of Government, and which had been practised, ever since the Reign of King *Henry VII.* must be abolished; and instead of Liberty or Toleration for the Exercise of the *Romish* Religion, they insisted on such * Privileges, Immunities, and Power, as would have amounted at best, but to a Toleration of the Protestant Religion, and that no longer than they should think fit to consent to it.

On

We therefore, your Majesty's most humble, loyal, and obedient Protestant-Subjects, casting down our selves at your royal Feet, and flying to you for Succour and Redress in these our great Calamities, as our most gracious Sovereign Lord and King, and next and immediately under Almighty God our Protector and Defence, most humbly beseeching your sacred Majesty to admit into your royal Presence from time to time our said Agents, and in your great Wisdom to take into your princely Care and Consideration the distressed Estate, and humble Desires of your said Subjects, so that to the Glory of God, your Majesty's Honour, and the Happiness of your good Subjects, the Protestant Religion may be restored throughout the whole Kingdom to its Lustre: That the Losses of your Protestant Subjects may be repaired, in such manner and measure as your Majesty in your princely Wisdom shall think fit; and that this your Kingdom may be settled as that your said Protestant Subjects may hereafter live therein under the happy Government of your Majesty and your royal Posterity, with Comfort and Security: whereby your Majesty will render your self through the whole World a most just and glorious Defender of the Protestant Religion, and draw down a Blessing on all other your royal Undertakings; for which your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Subscribed by the

Earl of *Kildare.*Lord Viscount *Montgomery.*Lord *Blany*, and many others.

To which they received this Answer by his Majesty's Command, at our Court at *Oxford*, the 25th of *April*, 1644.

His Majesty being very sensible of the Petitioners Losses and Sufferings, is ready to hear and relieve them, as the Exigency of his Affairs will permit; and wisheth the Petitioners to propose what they think fit in particular for his Majesty's Information, and the Petitioners Remedy and future Security.

Edw. Nicholas.

Upon the reading of the Petition, his Majesty was pleased to say, *That he knew the Contents of the Petition to be Truth.*

* *The Propositions of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, humbly presented to his Sacred Majesty, in pursuance of their Remonstrance of Grievances, and to be annexed to the said Remonstrance; together with the humble Answer of the Agents for the Protestants of Ireland, to the said Propositions made in pursuance of your Majesty's Directions of the 9th of May, 1644, requiring the same.*

1 *Pro.* That all Acts made against the Professors of the *Roman Catholick Faith*, whereby any Restraint, Penalty, Mulct, or Incapacity may be laid upon any *Roman Catholicks* within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, may be repealed, and the said Catholicks to be allowed the Freedom of the *Roman Catholick Religion*.

Answ. To the first we say, that this hath been the Pretence of almost all those who have entered into Rebellion in the Kingdom of *Ireland* at any time since the Reformation of Religion there, which was settled by Acts of Parliament above eighty Years since, and hath wrought good Effects ever since for the Peace and Welfare both of the Church and Kingdom

On the other Hand, the Committee of Parliament, as Men who too much felt the Smart and Anguish of their late Sufferings, undervalued and condemned the *Irish*, as inferior to them in Courage and Conduct, and as possessed of much greater Power by the Cessation, than they could retain in War, very earnestly prest the Execution of the Laws in

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The Protestant Committee of the *Irish* Parliament, prest the Execution of the Laws against the Rebels, &c.

Kingdom there, and of the Church and Kingdom of *England*, and Protestant Party throughout all Christendom, and so hath been found wholesome and necessary by long Experience; and the repealing of those Laws will set up Popery again, both in Jurisdiction, Profession, and Practice, as that was before the said Reformation, and introduce among other Inconveniencies the Supremacy of *Rome*, and take away or much endanger your Majesty's supream and just Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical; Administration of Honour and Power not to be endured, the said Acts extending as well to seditious Sectaries as to Popish Recufants; so as by the Repeal thereof, any Man may seem to be left to chuse his own Religion in that Kingdom, which must needs beget great Confusion; and the abounding of the *Roman* Clergy hath been one of the greatest Occasions of this late Rebellion; besides, it is humbly desired that your Majesty will be pleased to take into your gracious Consideration a Clause in the Act of Parliament passed by your Majesty's royal Assent in *England*, in the seventeenth Year of your Reign, touching Punishments to be inflicted upon those that shall introduce the Authority of the See of *Rome* in any Cause whatsoever.

2 *Pro.* That your Majesty will be pleased to call a free Parliament in the said Kingdom, to be held and continued as in the said Remonstrance is expressed, and the Statute of the tenth Year of King *Henry VII.* called *Poyning's Acts*, explaining or enlarging the same, be suspended during that Parliament, for the speedy Settlement of the present Affairs, and the Repeal thereof be there further considered of.

Ans. Whereas their Desire to have a free Parliament called, reflecteth by secret and cunning Implication upon your Majesty's present Parliament in *Ireland*, as if it were not a free Parliament, we humbly beseech your Majesty to resent how dangerous it is to make such Insinuation or Intimation to your People of that Kingdom touching that Parliament, wherein several Acts of Parliament have already passed, the Validity whereof may be endangered if the Parliament should not be approved as a free Parliament, and it is a Point of high Nature, as we humbly conceive is not properly to be dismissed but in Parliament; and your Majesty's said Parliament now sitting, is a free Parliament in Law, holden before a Person of Honour and Fortune in the Kingdom, composed of good, loyal, and well-affected Subjects to your Majesty, who doubtless will be ready to comply in all Things that shall appear to be pious and just, for the good of the true Protestant Religion, and for your Majesty's Service and the Good of the Church and State; that if this present Parliament should be dissolved, it would be a great Terror and Discontent to all your Majesty's Protestant Subjects of the Kingdom, and may be also a Means to force many of your Majesty's Subjects to quit that Kingdom, or peradventure to adhere to some other Party there, in Opposition of the *Romish Irish* Confederates, rather than to be liable to their Power, which Effects may prove of most dangerous Consequence; and we humbly offer to your Majesty's Consideration your own gracious Expression mentioned in the Grounds and Motives inducing your Majesty to agree to a Cessation of Arms for one whole Year with the *Roman* Catholics of *Ireland*, printed at *Oxford*, 19th of *October*, 1643. And let all your good Subjects be assured, that as we have for these Reasons, and with Caution and Deliberation consented to the Proposition to Peace, and to that purpose do continue our Parliament there, so we shall proceed in the accomplishing thereof with that Care and Circumspection, that we shall not admit even Peace it self otherways than it may be agreeable to Conscience, Honour, and Justice. We also humbly desire that such Laws as your Majesty shall think fit to pass, may be transmitted according to *Poyning's* Law, and other Laws of Explanation thereof, or of Addition thereunto now in Force with great Contentment and Security to your Majesty's Protestant Subjects; but if the present Parliament be dissolved, we humbly represent unto your Majesty, that so many of your ablest and best Protestant Subjects have been murdered or banished by this Rebellion, the few or no Protestant Free-holders will be found in the Countries, Cities, or Burroughs to elect and chuse Knights, Citizens, or Burgesses, which will be most dangerous to your Majesty's Rights and Prerogatives and good Subjects, and may beget great Disputes in After-times for the repealing of *Poyning's* Acts, notwithstanding their feigned Expressions of their Loyalty; yet it plainly appeareth they do not repose such trust in your Majesty's Justice as becomes loyal Subjects to do, and such they pretend themselves

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in force, Reparation for the Damages they had sustained, disarming the *Irish* in such manner, and to such a Degree, as it might not be hereafter in their Power to do more mischief, and such other Conditions,

as

to be, for that they seek thereby to prevent your Majesty and your Council of *England* and *Ireland* of so full a View and time of mature Consideration to be had of Acts of Parliament of *Ireland* before they pass, as in Prudence is requisite, and hath been found necessary by the experience of well near two hundred Years; and if their Intentions were so clear as they profess, we know not why they should avoid the strictest View and Trial of your Majesty and your Councils of both Kingdoms; this their Desire, tending to introduce a grand Diminution to the royal and necessary Power for the conservation of your regal State and Protection of your good Protestant Subjects there and elsewhere, and what special use they aim at in seeking such a Repeal, your Protestant Subjects as they know not the Particular, so can they conjecture of none, unless the said Confederates have some Design by way of Surprise to obtrude upon your Majesty in their new desired Parliament, some Acts of Justification of their ill-done Actions, and for condemning such of your Protestant Subjects, as have in their several Degrees most faithfully served your Majesty there, which we the rather believe, seeing they have vowed by their Oath of Association and the Bull lately published in *Ireland* since the Cessation, the Destruction of the Protestants there, when they have the Sword in their Hands to put the same in execution.

3 *Pro.* That all Acts and Ordinances made and passed in the now pretended Parliament in that Kingdom since the 7th Day of *August*, 1641, be clearly annulled and declared void, and taken off the File.

Answ. We humbly desire that they may particularize those Orders and Ordinances, which may prejudice your Majesty's Service; for we are well assured, that the Parliament now sitting in *Ireland*, on signification of your Majesty's Pleasure therein, will give your Majesty full Satisfaction, or repeal any unjust Orders or Ordinances whatsoever which may be prejudicial to your Majesty; and there may be some Orders or Ordinances which may concern particular Persons in their Lives, Liberties or Fortunes, that may suffer unheard, by the admitting of so general a Proposition, which is merely proposed, as we humbly conceive, to put a scorn upon your Majesty's Parliament now sitting there, and to discourage your Protestant Subjects who have faithfully served your Majesty in that Parliament.

4 *Pro.* That all Indictments, Attainders, Out-lawries in the *King's Bench* or elsewhere since the said 7th Day of *August*, 1641, and all Letters-Patents, Grants, Leases, Custodiams, Bonds, Recognizances, and all other Records, Act or Acts depending thereon, or in Prejudice of the said Catholics, or any of them, be taken off the File, annulled and declared void, first by your Majesty's Proclamation, and after by Act to be passed in the said free Parliament.

Answ. This we conceive to be a very bold Proposition, not warranted as we also conceive by any Example, and tending to introduce an ill Precedent in After-times, for that was never seen that the Records were taken off the File, but where there was some Corruption or Fraud, or some illegal or unjust Carriage used, or concerning the procuring or making up of such Records; and the same first we'll prove upon due Examination, and that may not only conceal, but in some sort seem to justify their abominable Treasons, Murthers, Cruelties, Massacres, and Plunders acted against your Majesty's Person, Crown, and Dignity, upon the Persons of your Majesty's most loyal Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom, and encourage the Papists to do the like again; besides the Discouragement it may beget in your Majesty's Officers and Subjects to do their Duties in the like Insurrections which may happen hereafter, which also may prove very prejudicial to your Majesty's Rights and Revenues, if the Records to support the Forfeitures wherein many of them are or may be grounded, should be taken off the File and cancelled.

5 *Pro.* That inasmuch as under Colour of such Out-lawries and Attainders, Debts due unto the said Catholics, have been granted, levied and disposed of, and of the other side that Debts due upon the said Catholics to those of the adverse Party, have been levied and disposed of to publick Use; that therefore all Debts be by Act of Parliament mutually released, or all to stand in *statu quo*, notwithstanding any Grant or Dispossession.

Answ. We humbly conceive, that in time of Peace and most settled Government, when the Course of Law and Justice is most open and best observed, that Debts due unto the Crown actually levied and paid in to your Majesty's Use ought not to be restored,

as People, who are able to contend, are not usually perswaded to submit unto, which the Committee * at *Oxford* for *Irish* Affairs, insisted on with powerful Reasons and Arguments.

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* The Lord Cottington, Earl of Bristol, Portland, Lord George Digby, Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir John Culpeper, Sir Edward Hyde, &c.

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restored, though the Records of the Forfeitures should be legally reversed, which is far from the present Case, and this Proposition tendeth to cross that just Right of your Majesty, and to make the Disposition by the confederate Papists Rebels, of Debts due to Protestants, and by the said Rebels by Fraud and Force levied and disposed in maintenance of their Rebellion, which cunningly they call by the Name of *Publick Use*, to be in equal degree to the Debts owing by the Rebels, and by them all forfeited, and many of them by Law duly levied, which is a most unequal and unjust Thing; and the said Proposition cannot, nor doth make offer to have the Pope's Confederates cut off from the Debts due to them, which they have justly forfeited, but only for a colour of Consideration to have the Protestants lose such Debts, justly due to them, as have been unjustly taken from them, who have done no Act at all to forfeit them.

6 *Pro.* That the late Officers taken, or found upon feigned or old Titles since the Year 1634, to intitle your Majesty to several Counties in *Connaught*, *Thornond*, the County of *Tipperary*, *Limerick*, and *Kilkenny*, and *Wicklow*, be vacated and taken off the File, and the Possessors thereof settled and secure in their ancient Estates by Act of Parliament, and that the like Act of Limitation of your Majesty's Titles for the Security of the Estates of your Subjects in that Kingdom, be passed in that Parliament, as was enacted in the twenty-first Year of his late Majesty's Reign in this Kingdom.

Ans. We know not of any Offices found, or feigned Titles, nor what the Confederates may demand, in respect of any Graces promised by your Majesty which we intend not, nor have any occasion to dispute, but do humbly conceive, that all those who have committed Treason in the late Rebellion, subsequent to your Majesty's Promise of those Graces, have thereby forfeited the Benefit thereof, together with the Lands to which the said Graces might else have related, and so their whole Estates are now justly fallen to your Majesty by their Rebellion, which we conceive is of great Importance for your Majesty's Service to be taken into Consideration; as First, with regard of the Statutes made in the present Parliament of *England*. Secondly, That necessary Increase of your Majesty's Revenue decayed by the present Rebellion. Thirdly, The abolishing the evil Customs of the *Irish*, and Preservation of Religion, Laws and Government there. Fourthly, The Satisfaction of the Protestant Subjects Losses in some measure. Fifthly, The Arrears of your Majesty's Army, and other Debts contracted for the War, and for Preservation of that Kingdom to your Majesty. Sixthly, The bringing in of more *British* on the Plantation. Seventhly, The building of some walled Towns in remote and desolate Places, for the Security of that Kingdom, and your Majesty's good Subjects there. Eighthly, The taking of the Natives from their former Dependancy on their Chieftains, who usurped an absolute Power over them, to the Diminution of all regal Power, and to the Oppression of the Inferiors.

7 *Pro.* That all Marks of Incapacity imposed upon the Natives of that Kingdom, to purchase or acquire Lands, Leases, Offices, or Hereditaments, be taken away by Act of Parliament, and the same to extend to the securing of Purchases, Leases, or Grants, already made; and that for the Education of Youth, an Act be passed in the next Parliament, for the erecting of one or more Inns of Court, Universities, free and common Schools.

Ans. This we conceive concerneth some of the late Plantations, and no other Part of that Kingdom, and that the Restriction herein mentioned is found to be of great Use, especially for the Indifferency of Tryals, Strength of the Government, and for Trade and Traffick; and we humbly conceive that if other Plantations shall not proceed for the settling and securing of the Kingdom, and that if no Restraint be made of Popish purchasing, or buying of the Protestants out of their former Plantations, where they were prudently settled, though now cast out of their Estates by the late Rebellion, and unable to plant the same again for want of means, and therefore probably upon easy Terms will part from their Estates to the Confederates; that those Plantations will be destroyed, to the great prejudice of your Majesty's Service, and endangering of the Safety of that Kingdom. Touching bearing of Offices, we humbly conceive that their now Conformity to the Laws and Statutes of that Realm,

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These of the
Council much
troubled betwixt
the Contests of
the Rebels and
Protestants.

In these so different and distant Applications, they who were sent as moderate Men from the Council, knew not how to behave themselves, but enough discovered, that they had not the Confidence in the *Irish*, as to

Realm, is the only Mark of Incapacity imposed upon them; we humbly conceive that they ought not to expect to be more capable there, than the *English* Natives are here in *England*: In like case for Schools in *Ireland*, there are divers settled in that Kingdom already by the Laws and Statutes of that Realm; if any Person well affected, shall erect and endow any more Schools there at their own Charges, so that the School-master and Scholars may be governed according to Laws, Customs, and Orders of *England*, and the rest of Free-Schools here; we cannot apprehend any just Exception thereunto, but touching Universities and Inns of Court, we humbly conceive that this part of the Proposition favoureth of some Desire to become independent upon *England*, or to make aspersions on the Religion and Laws of the Kingdom, which can never be truly happy but in the good Unity of both in the true Protestant Religion, and in the Laws of *England*, for as for matter of Charge, such of the Natives that are desirous to breed their Sons for Learning in Divinity, can be well content to send them to the Universities of *Lovane*, *Doway*, and other Popish Places in foreign Kingdoms, and for Civil Law, or Physick to *Padua*, and other places, which draws great Treasure yearly out of your Majesty's Dominions, but will send few or none of them to *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, where they might as cheaply be bred up and become as learned, which Course we conceive is holden out of their Pride, and Disaffection towards this Kingdom, and the true Religion here professed; and for the Laws of the Land which are for the Common Law agreeable to *England*, and so for the greatest part of the Statutes, the Inns of Court in *England* are sufficient, and the Protestants come thither without grudging, and that is a means to civilize them after the *English* Customs, to make them familiar and in love with the Language and Nation, to preserve Law in the Purity, when the Professors of it shall draw from one original Fountain, and see the manner of the Practice of that in the same great Channel where his Majesty's Courts of Justice of *England* do flow most clearly, whereas by separation of the Kingdoms in that place of their principal Instruction, where their Foundations in Learning are to be laid, a degenerate Corruption in Religion and Justice may haply be introduced and spread, with much more Difficulty to be corrected and restrained afterwards by any Discipline to be used in *Ireland*, or Punishment there to be inflicted for departing from the true grounds of Things, which are best preserved in Unity, when they grow out of the same Root, than if such Universities and Inns of Court, as are proposed, should be granted; all which we humbly submit to your Majesty's most pious and prudent Consideration and Judgment.

8 *Pro.* That the Offices and Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Trust within that Kingdom, be conferred upon *Roman* Catholicks Natives, in Equality and Indifferency with your Majesty's other Subjects.

Answ. We humbly conceive that the *Roman* Catholicks, Natives of *Ireland*, may have the like Offices and Places as the *Roman* Catholicks Natives of *England* here have, and not otherwise; howbeit we conceive that in the generality they have not deserved so much by their late Rebellion, therefore we see not why they should be endowed with any new or farther Capacities or Privileges than they have by the Laws and Statutes now in force in that Kingdom.

9 *Pro.* That the insupportable Oppression of your Subjects, by reason of the Court of Wards, and respite of Homage, be taken away, and a certain Revenue in Lieu thereof settled upon your Majesty, without diminution of your Majesty's Profits.

Answ. We know of no Oppression by reason of the Court of Wards, and we humbly conceive that the Court of Wards is of great Use for the raising of your Majesty's Revenues, the Preservation of your Majesty's Tenures, and chiefly the Education of the Gentry in the Protestant Religion, and in Civility and Learning, and good Manners, who otherwise would be brought up in Ignorance and Barbarism, their Estates be ruined by their Kindred and Friends, and continue their depending upon the Chieftains and Lords, to the great Prejudice of your Majesty's Service, and protestant Subjects, and there being no Colour of Exception to your Majesty's just Title to Wardships, we know not why the taking away of your Court concerning the same should be pressed, unless it be to prevent the Education of the Lords and Gentry that fall Wards in the protestant Religion. For that part of this Proposition which concerns Respite of Homage, we

humbly

to be willing that they should be so far trusted, that the Performance of their Duty should depend only on their Affection and Allegiance ; but that there should be a greater Restraint upon them, than they were inclined

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humbly conceive that reasonable, that some Way may be settled for that, if that standeth with your Majesty's good Pleasure, without Prejudice to your Majesty, or your Majesty's protestant Subjects.

10. *Pro.* That no Lord not estated in the Kingdom, or estated and not resident, shall have Vote in the said Parliament, by Proxy or otherwise, and none admitted to the House of Commons, but such as shall be estated and resident within the Kingdom.

Answ. We humbly conceive that in the Year 1641, by the Graces which your Majesty then granted to your Subjects of *Ireland*, the Matter of this Proposition was in a fair Way regulated by your utter abolishing of blank Proxies, and limiting Lords present and attending in the Parliament of *Ireland*, that no one of them should be capable of more Proxies than two, and prescribing the Peers of that Kingdom not there resident to purchase fitting Proportions of Land in *Ireland* within five Years from the last of July 1641. or else to lose their Votes, till they should make such Purchases ; which purchases by Reason of the Troubles happening in the Kingdom, and which have continued for two Years and a half, have not peradventure yet been made, and therefore your Majesty may now be pleased, and may take just Occasion to enlarge that Time for five Years more, from the Time when that Kingdom may again be settled in a happy firm Peace : And as to Members of the House of Commons, the same is most fit as we humbly conceive to be regulated by the Laws and Statutes of that Kingdom.

11. *Pro.* That an Act be passed in the next Parliament declaratory that the Parliament of *Ireland* is a free Parliament of itself, independant of, and not subordinate to the Parliament of *England*, and that the Subjects of *Ireland* are immediately subject to your Majesty, as in right of your Revenue, and that the Members of the said Parliament of *Ireland*, and all other the Subjects of *Ireland* are independant, and no way to be ordered or concluded by the Parliament of *England*, and are only to be ordered and governed within that Kingdom by your Majesty, and such Governors as are, or shall be there appointed, and by the Parliament of that Kingdom according to the Laws of the Land.

Answ. This Proposition concerns your Majesty's high Court of Parliament, both of *England* and *Ireland*, and is beyond our Abilities, who were not acquainted with the Records and Precedents of this Nature, to give an Answer thereunto, and therefore we humbly desire your Majesty's Pardon for not answering unto the same.

12. *Pro.* That the assumed Power or Jurisdiction in the Council-board of determining all Manner of Causes, be limited to Matters of State ; and all Patents, Estates and Grants illegally and extrajudiciously avoided there, or elsewhere, be left in State as before, and the Parties grieved, their Heirs or Assigns, till legal Eviction.

Answ. The Council-table hath always exercised Jurisdiction in some Cases, ever since the *English* Government was settled in that Kingdom, and is of long Continuance in Cases of some Nature, as the Beginning thereof appeareth not ; which seemeth to be by Prescription, and hath always been armed with Power to examine upon Oath as a Court of Justice or in the Nature of a Court of Justice, in Cases of some Natures, and may be very necessary still in many Cases, especially for the present till your Majesty's Laws may more generally be received in that Kingdom, and we conceive that Board is so well limited by printed Instructions, in your Majesty's royal Father's Time, and by your Majesty's Graces in the seventeenth Year of your Reign, that it needeth for this present little or no regulating at all, howbeit they humbly refer that to your Majesty's great Wisdom and Goodness to do therein as to Law and Justice. shall appertain.

13. *Pro.* That the Statutes of the 11th, 12th, and 13th Years of Queen *Elizabeth* concerning the Staple Commodities be repealed, reserving to his Majesty lawful and just Poundage, and a Book of Rates be settled by an indifferent Committee of both Houses for all Commodities.

Answ. The Matter of this Proposition is settled in a fitting and good Way by your Majesty already as we conceive, amongst the Graces granted by your Majesty to your People of *Ireland*, in the seventeenth Year of your Majesty's Reign, to which we humbly refer ourselves.

14. *Pro.* That inasmuch as the long Continuance of the chief Governor or Governors of that Kingdom, in that Place of so great Eminency and Power, hath been a principal

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clined to submit to ; otherwise that the Protestant Religion, and *English* Interest, would be sooner rooted out by the Peace they proposed, than it could be by the War.

It

Occasion that much Tyranny and Oppression hath been used and exercised upon the Subjects of that Kingdom ; that your Majesty will be pleased to continue such Governors hereafter but for three Years, and that none once employed therein be appointed for the same again, until the Expiration of six Years next after the End of the first three Years, and that an Act pass to disanul such Governor or Governors during their Government, directly or indirectly, in Use, Trust or otherwise to make any Manner of Purchase or Acquisition of any Mannors, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments within that Kingdom, other than from your Majesty's own Heirs and Successors.

Answ. We humbly conceive, that this Proposition tendeth to lay a false and scandalous Asperision on your Majesty's gracious Government over *Ireland*, and that it toucheth very high upon your Wisdom, Justice and Power, and under Colour of supposed Corruptions pretended to be in the greatest Officer that commandeth under your Majesty there, if he continue so long in his Government as may well enable him to find out and discover the true State of the Kingdom, and the dangerous Disposition and Designs of the popish Party there, to prevent him therein, and to turn him out from doing Service before, or as soon as he is thoroughly informed and experienced how to do the same, and then to hold him excluded so long, that in all likelihood he shall not live to come to that Place the second Time, which we humbly conceive, will be a great Discouragement to any Person of Honour and Fortune to serve your Majesty in that high Trust : And for their purchasing Lands in that Kingdom, your Majesty may be pleased to leave them to the Laws, and punish them severely if they commit any Offence, or Exercise any Oppressions under Colour of purchasing of any Lands or Estates whatsoever.

15. *Pro.* That an Act may be passed in the next Parliament, for the raising and settling of trained Bands, within the several Counties of that Kingdom, as well to prevent foreign Invasion, as to render them the more serviceable and ready for your Majesty's Service, as Cause shall require.

Answ. The having of Trained-bands in *Ireland* for the present, cannot, under favour, be for your Majesty's Service or the Safety of that Kingdom, for that the Protestants by the said sad Effects of the late Rebellion are so much destroyed, that the said Bands must consist in Effect altogether of the Confederates, Catholicks ; and to continue them in Arms, stored with Ammunition, and made ready for Service by mustering and often training, will prove, under Colour of advancing your Majesty's Service against foreign Invasions, a meer Guard and Power of the popish Confederates, and by Force of Arms, according to their late Oaths and Protestations, to execute all their cruel Designs, for Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, and *English* Government, both which they mortally hate, however in cunning they dissemble it, and to prevent the settling an Army of good Protestants, without which your Majesty's good Subjects cannot live securely there.

16. *Pro.* That an Act of Oblivion be passed in the next free Parliament, to extend to all your Majesty's said Catholick Subjects and their Adherents, for all Manner of Offences, capital, criminal, and personal, and the said Act to extend to all Goods and Chattels, Customs, *Mesne* Profits, Prizes, Arrears of Rents taken, received, or incurred since these Troubles.

Answ. We humbly pray that the Laws of Force be taken into Consideration, and do humbly conceive, that your Majesty in Honour and Justice may forbear to discharge or release any Actions, Suits, Debts or Interests, whereby your Majesty's protestant Subjects, who have committed no Offence against your Majesty or your Laws, should be barred or deprived of any of their legal Remedies, or just Demands, which by any of your Majesty's Laws and Statutes, they may have against the popish Confederates, who are the only Delinquents, or any of their Party, for, or in Respect of any Wrongs done unto them, or any of their Ancestors or Predecessors, in or concerning their Lands, Goods, or Estates, since the contriving or breaking forth of the Rebellion, the said Confederates having without Provocation shed so much innocent Blood, and acted so many Cruelties as cannot be parallell'd in any Story : And we conceive it to be high Presumption in them upon so weak Grounds to propound an Act of Oblivion in such general Terms, some of the Confederates having been Contrivers or Actors of

It is very true, that the *Irish* Agents demeaned themselves to his Majesty, with great shew of Modesty and Duty, they were Men that lacked neither Art nor Behaviour, and confessed, that they believed that the Demands they were enjoined to insist upon, were such as his Majesty could not consent unto; and that the present Condition of his Affairs was not so well understood by them, or by those who sent them, before their coming out of *Ireland*, as it now was; which if it had been, they were confident

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The *Irish* Agents seemingly moved at what they were from the Confederates enforced to stand upon.

of such cruel Murthers, and other Acts of Inhumanity, as cry to God and your sacred Majesty for Justice; and they having of your Majesty's Revenues, Customs, Subsidies, and other Rights of your Crown in their Hands, are disbursed by them to the Value of two hundred thousand Pounds and more.

17. *Pro.* For as much as your Majesty's said Catholick Subjects have been taxed with many inhumane Cruelties, which they never committed, your Majesty's said Suppliants therefore, for their Vindication and to manifest to all the World their Desire to have all such heinous Offenders punished, and the Offenders brought to Justice, do desire that in the next Parliament all notorious Murthers, Breaches of Quarter, and inhumane Cruelties committed of either Side, may be questioned in the said Parliament, if your Majesty think fit, and such as shall appear to be guilty, to be excepted out of the said Act of Oblivion, and punished according to their Deserts.

Ans. We conceive this Proposition is made but for a Flowrish, and if the Confederates be so desirous to try their Innocency, as they pretend, they need not stay for another Parliament in *Ireland*, but submit to that which is now in Being, which is an equal and just Parliament, as in some of our Reasons touching that Point is expressed; and the offering to draw it to a new Parliament, is in effect to desire that they may be their own Judges; for as that Kingdom is now imbroiled and wasted, the chief Delinquents or their Confederates will be so prevalent a Faction in the next Parliament, that they will be able, and doubtless will clear all the Popish Party, how guilty soever, and condemn all the Protestants how innocent soever.

These Answers to the high and unexpected Demands of the Confederates, we have framed in humble Obedience to your Majesty's Directions; but being very sensible as of the Weight and great Importance of the Business, so also of our own Weakness and want of Time, and well knowing that some of your *Majesty's Privy-Councillors, Judges and Officers of that Kingdom, are now in Town, sent for over, and here attending by your Majesty's Command, who by their long Observations and Experience of the Affairs and State of *Ireland*, are better able to give your Majesty more full and satisfactory Answers touching the Premises than we can, and conceiving that † the Collection in Answer to the said Confederates Remonstrance, which we humbly presented to your Majesty the 17th of the last Month of April, may in many Things give your Majesty more light, than these our Answers do or can: We humbly beseech your Majesty, that the said Privy-Councillors, Judges, and Officers, as Occasion shall require, may be called upon and heard to give your Majesty the more Satisfaction in these Particulars, and that to the same purpose, the Book of the said Collections may be perused and considered of, as your Majesty shall find most requisite.

* Fol. 184.

† Since printed by *Husbands* 1644. intitled, The false and scandalous Remonstrance, &c. Answered; which, though humbly desired and fled to upon all occasions, was not read, P. 114.

After reading of which Propositions and Answers thereunto; the King asked the Protestant Agents, whether they had answered unto the Rebels Propositions 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? Who humbly made Answer to his Majesty, That they looked upon the Rebels Propositions as they appeared to them destructive to his Majesty's Laws, Government, and Protestant Subjects of *Ireland*. Then the Earl of *Bristol* said, That if they asked what by Law and Justice was due from the Rebels, their Answers were full; but now the King expected from the said Agents what prudentially was fit for his Majesty to do, seeing the Protestants were not in a Condition to defend themselves, and that the King would not admit the Protestants to join with the new *Scots*, or any other that had the Covenant. To which the Agents conceived not fit to answer more than what before in their Propositions and Answers they had humbly offered, pretending not to be Judges, but submissive Petitioners for what was committed to their Charge.

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confident they should have had such Instructions, as would better have complied with their own Desires, and his Majesty's Occasions; and therefore frankly offered to return and use their utmost Endeavours, to incline the Confederate Council, whose Deputies they were, and who then exercised the supreme Power over the Confederate Catholicks of that Kingdom, to more Moderation, and to return their full Submission and Obedience to his Majesty, upon such Conditions as his Goodness would consent unto for their Security. But how little of this was performed, you shall find in the Sequel of the Story; however, the King sent his Command the 16th of *February* 1644-5, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, to continue and renew their Cessation for another Year; and likewise a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to make a full Peace with his Catholick Subjects, upon such Conditions he found agreeable to the publick Good and Welfare, and might produce such a Peace and Union in that Kingdom, as might vindicate his Regal Power and Authority, and suppress the Rebels in *England* and *Scotland*. And so his Majesty dismissed the Catholick Agents, with Demonstration of much Grace and Confidence with this good Counsel, which he most pathetically poured out to them at their Departure. ' That they should not forget, the ' Preservation of the Nation, and Religion which they professed, and ' were so zealous for in *Ireland*, depended upon the Preservation of his ' just Rights and Authority in *England*: That they saw his Subjects ' of *Scotland*, contrary to all Obligations, had invaded *England*, and ' joyned with those Rebels against him, who without that Assistance ' would have been speedily reduced to their Obedience. And therefore ' if his Catholick Subjects of *Ireland* made haste, upon such Conditions ' as he might then grant without prejudice to himself, and which should ' be amply sufficient for the Security of their Fortunes, Lives, and Ex- ' ercise of their Religion, to assist him, whereby he might be enabled ' by God's Blessing to suppress that Rebellion, they might confident- ' ly believe, he would never forget to whose Merit he owed his Pre- ' servation and Restauration, and it would then be in his absolute Power ' to vouchsafe Graces to them, to compleat their Happiness, and which, ' he gave them his Royal Word, he would then dispense in such man- ' ner, 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 their Consciences obliged ' them not to ask, or on such, as though he could himself be content ' to yield to, yet in that Juncture of Time, would bring such great ' Damage to him, that all the Supplies they could give or send to him, ' could not countervail, and might be as beneficially granted to them ' hereafter, when he might better do it, they should delay their joyning ' with him, and so look on, till the Rebels Power prevailed against him ' in *England* and *Scotland*, and suppressed his Party in those Kingdoms, ' it would then be too late for them to give him help, and they would ' quickly find their Strength in *Ireland*, but an imaginary Support for ' his or their own Interest, and that they who with much Diffi- ' culty had destroyed him, would without any considerable Oppo- ' sition, ruin their Interest, and root out their Religion with their ' Nation, from all the Dominions which should be subject to their ' exorbitant Jurisdiction.' How much of this proved a Prophe- cy,

The King's Ad-
monition to the
Irish Agents at
their Departure.

cy, their sad Experience knows, and the World cannot but take notice of.

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Soon after the Confederate's Agents were dismissed, the Protestant's Committee of Parliament, who had managed their Scene with much Courage and Integrity, drew off, with the King's Favour and Promise to do the utmost he could for them.

In the managing of which Affairs, if they had not been very resolute, armed with much Truth, they would certainly have fallen under many Inconveniencies: For, besides what they met with at *Oxford*, they had still Correspondence, and accordingly acted, as they were animated by a Party of the Protestant Committee of the Parliament of *Ireland*, then resident in *Dublin*, who, that they might decline the Height of what those at *Oxford* proposed, were tempted by an Order of the Council-Board to certify, Whether the twenty-four Propositions * of his

* *The humble Propositions of your Majesty's Protestant Agents of Ireland, in pursuance of the humble Petition of your Majesty's Protestant Subjects, as well Commanders of your Majesty's Army there, as others presented to your Majesty, the 18th Day of April, 1644, and answered by your Majesty the 25th of the same.*

I. We most humbly desire the Establishment of the true Protestant Religion in *Ireland*, according to the Laws and Statutes in the said Kingdom now in force.

II. That the Popish titular Archbishops, Bishops, Jesuits, Friars, and Priests, and all others of the *Roman* Clergy, be banished out of *Ireland*, because they have been the Stirrers up of all Rebellion, and while they continue there, there can be no hope of Safety for your Majesty's Protestant Subjects: And that all the Laws and Statutes established in that Kingdom, against Popery and Popish Recusants, may continue of Force, and be put in due Execution.

III. That Restitution may be made of all our Churches and Church Rights and Revenues, and all our Churches and Chapels re-edified, and put in as good Estate as they were at the breaking out of the Rebellion, and as they ought to be, at the Charge of the Confederate *Roman* Catholics, as they call themselves, who have been the occasion of the Destruction of the said Churches, and possessed themselves of the Profits and Revenues thereof.

IV. That the Parliament now sitting in *Ireland* may be continued there, for the better Settlement of the Kingdom, and that all Persons duly indicted in the said Kingdom of Treason, Felony, or other heinous Crimes, may be duly and legally proceeded against, outlawed, tried, and adjudged according to Law: And that all Persons lawfully convicted and attainted, or to be convicted and attainted for the same, may receive due Punishment accordingly.

V. That no Man may take upon him or execute the Office of a Major or Magistrate in any Corporation, or the Office of a Sheriff or Justice of Peace in any City or County in the said Kingdom, until he have first taken the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance.

VI. That all Popish Lawyers who refuse to take the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, may be suppressed and restrained from Practice in that Kingdom, the rather because the Lawyers in *England* do not here practise until they take the Oath of Supremacy; and it hath been found by woful Experience, that the Advice of Popish Lawyers to the People of *Ireland*, hath been a great Cause of their continued Disobedience.

VII. That there may be a present absolute Suppression and Dissolution of all the assumed, arbitrary, and tyrannical Power, which the said Confederates exercise over your Majesty's Subjects, both in Causes Ecclesiastical and Temporal.

VIII. That all the Arms and Ammunition of the said Confederates be speedily brought into your Majesty's Stores.

IX. That your Majesty's Protestant Subjects ruined and destroyed by the said Confederates, may be repaired for their great Losses out of the Estates of the said Confederates, not formerly by any Acts of this present Parliament in *England* otherwise disposed of, whereby they may the better be enabled to re-inhabit and defend the said Kingdom of *Ireland*.

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X. That



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his Majesty's Protestant Agents of *Ireland*, presented to his Majesty the 18th of *April* 1644, did agree with their Sense, in order to the present Condition of the Kingdom: Whereby it is thought, that if it had

X. That the said Confederates may rebuild the several Plantation-Houses and Castles destroyed by them in *Ireland*, in as good State as they were at the breaking out of the Rebellion, which your Majesty's Protestant Subjects have been bound by their several Patents to build and maintain for your Majesty's Service.

XI. That the great Arrears of Rent due to your Majesty out of the Estates of your Majesty's Protestant Subjects at and since *Michaelmas*, 1641, may be paid unto your Majesty by such of the said Confederates, who have either received the said Rents to the uses of the said Confederates, or destroyed the same by disabling your Majesty's Protestant Subjects to pay the same; and have also destroyed all or the most part of all other Rents or means of Support belonging to your said Protestant Subjects. And that your said Protestant Subjects may be discharged of all such Arrears of Rents to your Majesty.

XII. That the said Confederates may give satisfaction to the Army, for the great Arrears due unto them since the Rebellion, and that such Commanders as have raised Forces at their own Charges, and laid forth great Sums of Money out of their own Purses, and engaged themselves for Money and Provisions to keep themselves, their Holds, and Soldiers under their Commands, in the due necessary Defence of your Majesty's Rights and Laws, may be in due sort satisfied, to the Encouragement of others in like Times and Cases which may happen.

XIII. That touching such parts of the Confederate Estates, as being fortified for their Treasons, are come, or shall duly come into your Majesty's Hands and Possession by that Title; your Majesty, after the due Satisfaction first made to such as claim by former Acts of Parliament, would be pleased to take the same into your own Hands and Possession, and for the necessary Increase of your Majesty's Revenue, and better Security of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, and the Protestant Subjects living under your gracious Government there, to plant the same with *British* and Protestants upon reasonable and honourable Terms.

XIV. That one good walled Town may be built and kept repaired in every County of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, and endowed and furnished with necessary and sufficient Means of legal and just Government and Defence, for the better Security of your Majesty's Laws and Rights, more especially the true Protestant Religion in time of Danger, in any of which Towns no Papist may be permitted to dwell or inhabit.

XV. That for the better Satisfaction of Justice, and your Majesty's Honour, and for the future Security of the said Kingdom and your Majesty's Protestant Subjects there, exemplary Punishment according to Law may be inflicted upon such as have there traiterously levied War, and taken up Arms against your Majesty's Protestant Subjects and Laws, and therein against your Majesty; especially upon such as have had their Hands in the shedding of innocent Blood, or had to do with the first Plot or Conspiracy, or since that time have done any notorious Murder, or covert Act of Treason.

XVI. That all your Majesty's Towns, Forts, and places of Strength destroyed by the said Confederates since the said Rebellion, may be by them and at their Charges re-edified, and delivered up into your Majesty's Hands, to be duly put into the Government under your Majesty, and your Laws of your good Protestants; and that all Strengths and Fortifications made and set up by the said Confederates since the said Rebellion, may be slighted and thrown down, or else delivered up and disposed of for Protestant Government and Security as aforesaid.

XVII. That according to the Precedents of former Times in Cases of general Rebellions in *Ireland*, the Attainders which have been duly had by Outlawry for Treason done in this Rebellion, may be established and confirmed by Act of Parliament to be in due form of Law transmitted and passed in *Ireland*, and that such Traitors as for want of Protestant and indifferent Jurors to indict them in the proper County, are not yet indicted, nor convicted, or attainted by Outlawry or otherwise, may upon due Proof of their Offences be by like Acts of Parliament convicted and attainted, and all such Offenders forfeit their Estates, as to Law appertaineth, and your Majesty to be adjudged and put in possession without any Office or Inquisition to be had.

XVIII.

had been said, that the twenty-four Propositions had been agreed to by the Protestants in general, there would have been an Endeavour, to have got some to have signed an Instrument against the Agent's Proceedings ; and

XVIII. That your Majesty's Protestant Subjects may be restored to the quiet Possession of all their Castles, Houses, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Leases, and to the quiet Possession of the Rents thereof, as they had the same before, and at the time of the breaking forth of this Rebellion, and from whence without due Process and Judgment of Law they have since then been put or kept out, and may be answered of and for all the mean Profits of the same, in the Interim, and for all the Time until they shall be so restored.

XIX. That your Majesty's said Protestant Subjects may also be restored to all their Money, Plate, Jewels, Household-stuff, Goods and Chattels whatsoever, which without due Process or Judgment in Law have been by the said Confederates taken or detained from them since the contriving of the said Rebellion, which may be gained in kind, or the full Value thereof, if the same may not be had in kind ; and the like Restitution to be made for all such Things, which, during the said Time, have been delivered to any Person or Persons of the said Confederates in trust to be kept or preserved, but are by Colour thereof still with-holden.

XX. That the Establishment and Maintenance of a compleat Protestant Army, and sufficient Protestant Soldiers and Forces for the time to come be speedily taken into your Majesty's prudent, just, and gracious Consideration, and such a Course laid down, and continued according to the Rules of good Government, that your Majesty's Right and Laws, the Protestant Religion and Peace of that Kingdom be no more endangered by the like Rebellions in time to come.

XXI. That whereas it appeareth in Print that the said Confederates, amongst other Things, aim at the repeal of *Poyning's Law*, thereby to open an easy and ready Way in the passing of Acts of Parliament in *Ireland*, without having them first well considered of in *England*, which may produce many dangerous Consequences both to that Kingdom and to your Majesty's other Dominions ; your Majesty would be pleased to resent and reject all Propositions tending to introduce so great a Diminution of your royal and necessary power, for the Confirmation of your royal Estate, and Protection of your good Protestant Subjects both here and elsewhere.

XXII. That your Majesty out of your Grace and Favour to your Protestant Subjects of *Ireland*, would be pleased to consider effectually of answering them, that you will not give order for, or allow of the transmitting into *Ireland*, any Act of general Oblivion, Release, or Discharge of Actions or Suits whereby your Majesty's said Protestant Subjects there may be barred or deprived of their legal Remedies, which by your Majesty's Laws and Statutes of that Kingdom they may have against the said Confederates, or any of them, or any of their Party, for, or in respect of any Wrongs done unto them, or any of their Ancestors or Predecessors, in or concerning their Lives, Liberties, Persons, Lands, Goods or Estates, since the contriving and breaking forth of the said Rebellion.

XXIII. That some fit Course may be considered of to prevent the filling or over-laying of the Commons House of Parliament in *Ireland* with Popish Recusants, being ill-affected Members ; and that Provision be duly made, that none shall vote or sit therein but such as shall first take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

XXIV. That the Proofs and Manifestations of the Truth of the several Matters contained in the Petition of your Majesty's Protestant Subjects of *Ireland*, lately presented to your Majesty, may be duly examined, discussed, and in that respect the final Conclusion of Things respite for a convenient Time, their Agents being ready to attend with proofs in that Behalf, as your Majesty shall appoint.

In answer whereunto it was replied by the Committee of Lords and others of *Irish Affairs* at *Oxford*.

I. That their Lordships did not think that the Propositions represented by the Protestant Agents to his Majesty, and that Morning read before their Lordships, were the Sense of the Protestants of *Ireland*.

II. That those Propositions were not agreeable to the Instructions given the said Agents, by the Protestants of *Ireland*.

III. That if those Propositions were drawn, they would lay a Prejudice on his Majesty and his Ministers to Posterity, these remaining on Record if a Treaty should go on and Peace follow, which the King's Necessity did inforce, and that the Lords of the

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and therefore their Proceeding was acknowledged to be according to their Instructions, and their Correspondent's Advice in Town: As in the Answer.

May it please your Lordships,

IN Obedience to your Lordships Commands, signified in your Order of the 5th of June 1644, directed to us the Persons under-named, requiring us to certify your Lordships, Whether the twenty-four Propositions of his Majesty's Protestant Agents of *Ireland*, presented to his Majesty, do agree with our Sense, in order to the present Condition of this Kingdom. We the said Persons do humbly certify, That we have perused the Propositions in the said Order mentioned, and do humbly conceive them, to be in Substance pursuant to the humble Petition of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, as well Commanders of his Majesty's Army here, as others, a Copy of which Petition hath been formerly presented to your Lordships, and from that Honourable Board transmitted to his Sacred Majesty, and by him graciously received, as may appear by his Majesty's Letters of the 6th of *November* last, whereof your Lordships were pleased to grant the Petitioners a Copy. And

the Committee apprehended, the said Agents did flatly oppose a Peace with the *Irish*.

IV. That it would be impossible for the King to grant the Protestants Agents Desires, and grant a Peace to the *Irish*.

V. That the Lords of the Committee desired the Protestant Agents to propose a way to effect their Desires, either by Force or Treaty, considering the Condition of his Majesty's Affairs in *England*.

To the First, the Protestant Agents replied, That they humbly conceived that the Propositions which they had presented to his Majesty, were the Sense of the Protestants of *Ireland*.

To the Second, That the Propositions are agreeable to the Instructions given to the said Agents by the Protestants of *Ireland*, and conduced to the well Settlement of that Kingdom.

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To the Third, That they had no thought to draw Prejudice on his Majesty or their Lordships, by putting in those Propositions, neither had they so soon put in Propositions, had not his Majesty by his Answer to the Protestant Petition directed the same.

To the Fourth, the said Agents humbly conceived, That they were employed to make Proof of the Effect of the Protestant Petition, to manifest the inhumane Cruelties of the Rebels, and then to offer such Things as they thought fit for the Security of the Protestants in their Religion, Lives, Liberties and Fortunes; That the said Protestants had no Disaffection to Peace, so as Punishment might be inflicted according to Law, as in the Propositions are expressed, and that the said Protestants might be repaired for their great Losses out of the Estates of the Rebels, not formerly by any Acts of this present Parliament in *England* otherwise disposed of, which the said Agents desired might be represented to his Majesty and the Lords of the Committee accordingly.

To the Fifth, That the said Protestant Agents were Strangers to his Majesty's Affairs in *England*, and conceived that part more proper for the Advice of his Councils than the said Agents, and therefore desired to be excused, for meddling in the Treaty further than the manifesting of the Truth of the Protestant Petition, and proposing in the Behalf of the Protestants, according to the Instructions given them, which the said Agents were ready to perform whensoever they should be admitted thereunto.

Touching which and other Particulars there were many Motions, but the Proofs they would have insisted upon, by the Importunity of other Affairs, never came to their due Discussion.

And that the said Propositions are, as we humbly conceive, in Substance pursuant unto certain Instructions, entituled, *Instructions for the Agents, who are to attend his most Sacred Majesty, on the Behalf of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects of Ireland*: Which Instructions were also presented at that Honourable Board, and there, upon serious Debate, according to the Pleasure of your Lordships in some Things, altered, and so a Copy thereof was delivered to your Lordships. And we humbly conceive, that the said Propositions, are such in Substance, as if way may be found, whereby his Majesty may bring to pass the Particulars therein conceived, they would conduce to the Establishment of the true Protestant Religion, the Honour and Advantage of his Majesty, and the future Security of his Highness, his Royal Posterity, this his Kingdom, and the Protestant Subjects therein. But how these Propositions stand, in order to the present Condition of this Kingdom, is a Thing far above us to resolve: All which we humbly leave to your Lordships grave Considerations. Signed,

*Will. Cooley, Will. Usher, Hen. Jones, Anth. Dopping,
Will. Plunket, Theod. Schoute, Peter Wybrants.*

When the *Irish* Confederates Agents returned into *Ireland*, most of them, as far as acted in view, performed their Promise and Engagements to the King, so as many of the Nobility and Gentry, and most of the Persons of considerable Fortune, together with the moderate Clergy, who are easie to be numbered, were convinced of the Necessity of submitting themselves entirely to the King, till he was able to grant them more, that they might not be glad to accept of less. But the evil Genius of that People, condemned to wilful Ruin and Misfortune, soon evidenced how unripe they were for Mercy, and that it was not so easie to allay the Spirits they had conjured up, as to foment and irritate them. The Nobility, and Men of known Fortune, whom Self-Interest, by this Time, had taught Loyalty, found that they had lost their Power, and the Reverence they had parted with to the Clergy, had much Influence on the common People, who, devoting themselves solely to their Clergy's Dictate, opposed all Conclusions, which, according to Wisdom and true Policy, were to be the Ingredients of a happy and lasting Peace. And so above two Years were spent, after these Agents Departure from the King in fruitless and ineffectual Treaties, the Earl of *Glamorgan*, in the Interim, treating in that wild Order with the Rebels, as under a pretended sufficient Authority from the King, utterly disowned, he blew them up to such a pernicious Expectation, by the feigned Articles he signed to them, the 25th of *August* 1645, so destructive both to Church and State, and so repugnant to his Majesty's publick Professions, and known Resolutions, as the Treaty of Peace, proceeding on more agreeable Terms by the Lord Lieutenant, found many Rubs and Impediments. Whilst the Strength and Power of the Parliament's Forces in *England* exceedingly increased, and his Majesty's Forces were defeated, and himself, for want of Succours promised out of *Ireland*, was compelled to deliver up himself to his *Scottish* Subjects, and was shortly after by them given into the Hands of the Parliament of *England*, who being, at last, split into several Factions, so varied Councils, as, in conclusion, he was betrayed, and suffered, to the Astonishment of the World.

The *Irish* Agents Behaviour on their Return into *Ireland*.

The Earl of *Glamorgan*'s unjust Management of the King's Affairs in *Ireland*. Legible in his Message, dated at *Oxford*, 29 Jan. 1645.

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But that I may not overslip the Series of this Story, which, through a conflux of Matter, will sometimes unavoidably be disturbed, I must take notice, that the first Cessation being near determined, the 5th of *September* 1644, there was a new Cessation agreed on by the Lord Lieutenant, and the *Irish* Commissioners, to begin on the 15th of *September*, and continue till the 1st of *December* following. And in respect that the Treaty of Peace had several Matters of Weight and Consequence, which necessarily required further Time to be prepared, and drawn into writing, it was agreed on at the Castle of *Dublin*, the 2d of *October*, *anno prædict*, that the Treaty should be adjourned to the 4th of *November* ensuing, the *Irish* Agents, in the Interim, to have liberty to continue in, or come to *Dublin*, as often as they should think fit, which Time they improved, and Affairs were so managed, as there was never any other Cessation till the Peace.

About which Time, the Earls of *Thomond*, *Clanrickard*, and *St. Albans*, the Lord *Rannelagh*, *Fitz-williams*, *Taaff*, and *Dillon*, who had never receded from his Majesty's Commands, writ to him, That betwixt two Parties, one, if they were disposed to make Invasion upon them, and the other, who sticking to the Covenant, disobeyed the Cessation, they were like to be ruined; and therefore implored his Majesty, to reconcile the Difference betwixt those, who were too high, either of the Confederates or Protestants, in their Demands, and declare against the *Scots*, who would make little Distinction, were it in their Power, between them, and those whom they now assailed.

In treating of Peace, we must not forget, that the Lord *Inchequin*, having been easily wrought on to agree to the Cessation, carried over many of his *Munster* Forces to the King, who, in Memory of his Service, bestowed on him a noble Wardship, and would have made him an Earl: But the Presidency of *Munster*, pre-disposed of to the Earl of *Portland*, being his aim, he returns again into *Ireland*, and from *Cork*, the 17th of *July* 1644, he and other Officers there writes to his Majesty, 'That no Peace could be concluded with the *Irish* Rebels, which would not bring unto his Majesty, and the *English* in general, a far greater Prejudice, than the shew of a Peace there would bring them an Advantage, &c. And thereupon besought him, that he would not so much regard so inconsiderable a handful of People as they were, as to purchase but a seeming Security, by leaving thereby the Protestant Religion in all likelihood to be extirpated, and his Majesty obnoxious to the Loss of that Kingdom: Further beseeching his Majesty, that he would be pleased to proclaim again the *Irish* to be Rebels, and not to pardon those who have committed so many barbarous Crimes that they are as far above Description, as they are short of Honesty, professing, they had his Majesty's Commission for what they did; the true Sense of which devilish Aspersions cast upon his Majesty, with other Reasons, made them resolve to die a thousand Deaths, rather than condescend to any Peace, referring themselves in other Things to their Declaration.'

And from the same Place, the Day * following, these * writ to both Houses of Parliament in *England*, much to the same Effect, importuning their Agreement with his Majesty, without which, the War could not be prosecuted as it ought; offering, for the securing of their Garrison to their Service, whom they pleased; concluding, That they hoped such

* July 18, 1644.
* The Lord Inchequin, the Lord Broghil, Sir Wil. Fenton, Sir Percy Smith, Lieut. Col. Wil. Brouck, Lieut. Col. Tho. Serle, Serjeant Major Muschamp.

a wise Assembly would distinguish betwixt the Effects of Necessity, the Cessation, and Dishonesty; including, in their Letter to both Houses, their Declaration, which I thought to have abbreviated, but it is so significant, that we shall find it unravels many Secrets then to come, and declares such Truths, as without Injury to their Merits we could not smother.

The unanimous Declaration of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects of the Province of Munster.

IF in the Undertaking of a just Design it were only requisite, that the Hearts and Consciences of the Undertakers were satisfied, we should not need to publish this Declaration; but lest our Enemies should traduce the Candour of our Actions and Intentions, we have made this Manifestation of them, which will acquaint the World with their Malice, and our Innocence.

We are confident, that all Christendom hath heard of the bloody Rebellion in *Ireland*; and we are as confident, the Rebels and popish Clergy have so palliated and disguised it, that many are fully persuaded, they had reason for what they did: But we believe, all Men of Judgment will change that Opinion, when they shall know, *That though they were a conquered People*, yet the Laws were administered unto them with as much Equity, as to the *English*; That they enjoyed their Religion, though not by Toleration, yet by Connivance; That their Lords, though Papists, sat in Parliament; and that the Election of the Knights of the Shire, and Burgesses, was free, and though of a contrary Religion, were admitted into the House of Commons. Yet for all these, and many other vast Favours and Privileges, when every one was sitting under his Vine and Fig-tree, without any Provocation, they resolve upon a general Extirpation, both of the Protestants and their Religion, which, without Doubt, they had effected, had not God been more merciful than they were wicked, and by a Miracle discovered this devilish Design; whereof, though we had notice just Time enough to secure our main Magazine at *Dublin*, yet we could not prevent the Butchery of Multitudes of innocent Souls, which suffered at the first in the Province of *Ulster*; and since they have continued this Rebellion with such Perfidiousness and Bloodiness, that though we had been as guilty as we are innocent, yet the prosecuting of the War with that Barbarousness, had rather been a Sin than Justice. But, by God's great Providence, when the Rebellion brake out first, the Parliament of *England* was sitting, unto whom his Majesty communicated so much of his Power over this Kingdom, as we shall hereafter mention, and gave them great Encouragement to prosecute the War against the Rebels, by granting Lands unto such as should adventure Money for the Maintenance of the War. Whereupon the Parliament, who were most willing to advance so good a Cause, sent us at first large Supplies, which had so good Success, that the divine as well as human Justice did proclaim them Rebels; for indeed God Almighty, since the Deliverance of the Children of *Israel* from the *Egyptians*, never appeared so visibly as in this War. But the unhappy Misunderstanding between the King and Parliament did so hinder the Continuance of those Supplies for this Kingdom, that all we received, in nine-

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teen Months, amounted not to five weeks Entertainment ; so that the Army which was sent to relieve us, lived upon us. And truly we may with Justice profess, that the Forces of this Province did feed as miraculously as fight, being never able to prescribe any certain Way of Subsistence for one Month together ; but when the poor Inhabitants were almost beggared, and no Means for the Forces to subsist on left, a Cessation of Arms was made for a Twelvemonth with the Rebels, which our Necessity, not Inclination, compelled us to bear with ; and the rather out of a firm Hope, that the Almighty, out of his infinite Goodness, would, within that Year, settle a right Understanding between the King and Parliament, that then they would unanimously revenge the crying Blood of so many Thousands of innocent Souls ; and until God blessed us with the Sight of that happy Union, we might keep our Garrisons, which otherwise we could not, the better to enable them to prosecute so just and honourable a Design. But this Cessation was as fatal to us, during the Time of Treaty, as afterwards it was ill observed ; for they, knowing what Agreement they would enforce us to condescend unto, did privately send one or two Persons to every Castle that we had demolished, which under Pretence of being by that Means in their Possession, they ever since detain, though it be contrary to the Articles. And which is more injurious, they have at all Times since entered upon what Lands they have thought fit, and detained them also ; and their devilish Malice having no bounds, they did place Guards upon the High-ways to interrupt our Markets, and punished divers of their own Party for coming with Provisions to us, thereby to deter all from bringing any Relief to our Garrisons, that so they might starve us out of those Places, that neither their Fraud or Force could get from us ; which that they might the better accomplish, they murdered divers of the poor *English*, that, presuming on the Article of Free Commerce, went abroad to buy Victuals ; which certainly would have caused them to have declined that Course of seeking Food, if Hunger, threatening them with more certain Death, had not forced them thereunto. And whereas we trusted, that these notorious Infidelities in them, and infinite Sufferings in us, would have been so visible to his Majesty, that nothing could have induced him to make a Peace with so perfidious a People, who through their fawning and insinuating with his Majesty, and by *the Counsel of some*, who represent, that there is no way left for the securing the Remainder of *English*, but by a Peace. We find his Majesty, being deluded by the first, and believing the last to be conducing to the Preservation of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, is concluding of a Peace, which will again admit those *Irish* Rebels to be Members of Parliament ; so that that Court which should afford Relief for our Grievances, will, by their over-swaying Votes, be our greatest Grievance.

Moreover, we are too truly informed by divers of their own Party, whose Names if we should publish, would be as great an Ingratitude as Folly ; the first, in betraying those that obliged us ; the last, in depriving our selves of all future Intelligence by them, that they have vowed never to submit to an *English* or Protestant Government, except they have liberty to exercise their Religion in Churches ; That the Forces of this Kingdom may be Train'd-Bands of their Men ; and that likewise those of their own Religion may be admitted to Places of Trust in the
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Common-wealth, which they call modest and moderate Demands ; though we hope they cannot seem so to any but themselves, and their Clergy, who, we find, do not think them enough, being they may not have all their Church-Livings. For we have certain Intelligence, that they have made a strong Faction, as well among my Lord of *Castlehaven's* Soldiers, as in all other Parts of the Kingdom, so that they are five Parts of six who will fly out into a new Action, when they see a convenient Time to execute their Design, which as yet they determine to forbear, until they see a Peace concluded ; supposing, that then the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* will intermix *Irish* and *English* without Distinction, to oppose the *Scots*, and that by that Means there will be a sufficient Number of their Party in our Garrisons to master them, which, when they find an Opportunity for, they will certainly seize into their own Hands ; upon notice whereof, the Faction abroad will, with all Expedition, apprehend the *English* in all Parts ; and having accomplished this Part of their Design, they will manifest that they are weary of the King of *England's* Government, and that they will trust none of his Protestant Subjects among them ; for we are certainly informed, that they will invite a foreign Prince to take them into his Protection, unto whom they will deliver Possession of what he pleases, and will become his Subjects.

And lest that Prince's Treasure should be exhausted by Wars in other Places, the Clergy have, with the Pope's Assistance, raised among those of their own Calling, and divers of the Gentry in *Italy*, one hundred thousand Pounds in Money, and a Quantity of Arms and Ammunition, that are now ready to be sent hither ; and they have employed one Doctor *Duyer* to go forthwith thither for it ; as also to get his Holiness to settle a Course for the raising of more Money, to be employed for the Advancement of that which they call the Catholick Cause.

Therefore out of a true Sense of our Injuries already suffered, and un-redressed, with a right Apprehension of inevitable Ruin, not only to our Lives and Estates, but likewise to the *English* Nation and Protestant Religion, we have re-assumed our Arms, according to our Duty to God, our King and Country, with inviolable Resolution to die, or frustrate this devillish Design.

And since those that die acting for the Gospel, are as perfect Martyrs, as those that die suffering for it ; we cannot but with Joy embrace any Effect, that proceeds from so glorious a Cause.

Neither can this Act be esteemed a Crime in us, since his Majesty, upon the Rebels first Infurrection, his Treasure being exhausted, gave his royal Assent for the passing of an Act of Parliament, wherein he granted, to all his Subjects that would adventure Money towards reducing of the Rebels, Lands proportionable to the Sum adventured, which would fall to the Crown, when the Conquest should be finished. And the better to secure the Adventurers, his Majesty obliged himself to make no Peace with the Rebels, but with the Advice and Approbation of the Parliament of *England* ; and by that Act, communicated to the Parliament that Power, which before was solely in himself. So that they not condescending to this Peace, our employing of their Aids, and re-assuming of those Arms put into our

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Hands by King and Parliament jointly, cannot be esteemed contradictory to his Majesty, in regard that their joint Act is so absolutely binding, that neither of them severally can annul it, as is evident in the Laws of the Realm.

Therefore if this War were only offensive, yet even Slander it self must acknowledge us innocent, having so just a Cause, so pious an Intention, and so lawful an Authority; much more it being defensive, and the Law both of God and Nature allowing every one to defend himself from Violence and Wrong.

Moreover, the King must never expect any Obedience from the *Irish*, but what proceeds either from their Interest, or Fear. Through the first of these, neither his Majesty nor we can hope for Assurance; for not granting them all their Desires, their Interest, which is more powerful with them than their Loyalty, will make them throw off their Subjection, and to become absolute, not scruple to destroy us: Then to expect any Security by their Fears, were frivolous; for though we have found their Hearts as ill as their Cause, yet they cannot be apprehensive of two or three thousand ill armed and unprovided Men, having all Things necessary, and so numerous a People at their Devotion.

And lest our Enemies should scandalize us with Breach of Faith, in violating the pretended Cessation; or with Cruelty, in expelling the *Irish* Papists from our Garrisons, who hitherto seemed adhering to us.

Concerning the first, we declare, that although our Necessities did induce us to submit, supposing the Cessation would have produced other Effects, as is before mentioned; yet we had no Power, without Authority from King and Parliament jointly, to treat or yield to it; or if it had been in our Powers, yet by the Rebels daily Breaches of it, we are disengaged from it.

Concerning the Second, we declare that our Garrison cannot be secured, whilst so powerful and perfidious Enemies are in our Bosoms; Powerful, being four to one in Number more than the *English*; Perfidious, in their constant Designs to betray us, some whereof we will instance, to convince their own Consciences, and satisfy the World of our just Proceedings.

One *Francis Matthews*, a *Franciscan* Friar, being wonderfully discovered in an enigmatical Letter, and as justly executed, before his Death confessed, that he had agreed to betray the City of *Cork* to the Lord of *Muskerry*; which must necessarily infer, that the chiefeft and greateft Part of that City were engaged in this Conspiracy, for otherwise he could not so much as hope the Accomplishment: And if this had taken Effect, it had consequently ruined all the Protestants in the Province of *Munster*, that being our chief Magazine, and greateft Garrison. Besides, upon this Occasion, other Friars being examined upon Oath, confessed, that in their daily Masses within that Town, and all other of our Garrisons, where Papists did inhabit, they prayed for the Advancement of the Catholick Cause, which they believed the Rebels fought for.

And lastly, we have lately discovered, that the now Major and Corporation had combined with the Rebels to betray the Town to them; and for that Purpose an Army was drawn to all the Parts adjoining to our

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our Garrisons; in the three chiefest whereof, we are confident, the Rebels had their Party; but by divine Providence, before the Plot could be executed, the Major presuming on his Speedy Success, contemned the Lord of *Inchequin's* Authority, by opposing the levying of the Monies granted by the *English*, for the Maintenance of the Soldiers, just about the Nick of Time that the Treachery was to be effected.

And he being committed upon this Occasion, the Rebels apprehending their Design to be discovered, withdrew their Forces. And lest this should be judged as an Act of the Major only, as a private Person, we desire the World to take Notice, that as soon as our Army, which forced their Obedience, was removed into *England*, the *Papists* generally resisted whatever could be propounded for our Security, and would have disenabled us to continue our Garrisons, had not the poor stripped *English* taken all that Burthen upon themselves.

Nay, they were so insolent, that they laboured to get Arms into their Hands, and to cause us to disband our Soldiers, which they affirmed to be kept as an unnecessary Charge upon the King, that so they might with more Facility receive the *Irish*, and ruin us.

In a Word, since they pretend the ground of this War to be for Religion, and that this is confessed by those who seemed to adhere to us; what Faith can be expected from such a People, whose Religion permits them to hold none with us?

By this preceding Relation, it is evidently seen, that unless we re-assume our Arms, we betray the Trust committed to us by God, the King and Parliament, and become Slaves both of Bodies and Souls. And therefore we have resolved to perform our Duty, though with apparent Hazard of our Lives; and likewise maintain that, which is a thousand Times more dear unto us, our Religion, and also defend our Garrisons for the King's just Use.

These, we take God to witness, are our Intentions, and we beseech him to punish us as strangely, as hitherto he hath preserved us, if we decline at all from these loyal and religious Resolutions; and we firmly hope, that the World will, by this Declaration, be as fully satisfied of the Justness of our Proceedings, as we ourselves are; then though we all lose our Lives in this Cause, we shall give our Friends occasion to rejoyce, and our Enemies to envy at so blessed an End.

This Return of the *Munster* Forces to the Parliament, was not so welcome to them, as it was strange to the Lord-Lieutenant, who thereupon expostulated the Business with the Lord *Inchequin*, who the 2d of *August*, writ to his Excellency, that on Suspitions of another intended Surprisal by the *Irish*, and out of a Care to protect the *English*, he had cleared *Cork*, *Youghall*, and *Kingsale*, of the *Irish*, and put himself into a Posture of Safety, which, with his return from *England*, was the worse resented, for that he was the first Man who moved the King to send for the Forces of *Ireland* into *England*. Upon his Revolt to the Parliament, he dreamed of sudden Supplies, but they were at that time so imbroiled in Business, as they had little Leisure to consider of *Ireland*, and less Means to help them, so as little was sent to him for eight or ten Months after; but they made him Lord President of *Munster*. Nor had the *Scots* much more Relief in the North; however, the new and old *Scots*, under *Monro*, joining themselves together unanimously, made

The Lord *Inchequin's* Revolt to the Parliament after the Cessation.

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The Scots preserve themselves against the Incurfions of the Rebels.

made a shift to preserve themselves againſt the Incurfions of the Rebels; and about *Midſummer*, 1644, they gathered an Army of ten thouſand Horſe and Foot, and came into the County of *Cavan*, and ſent a Party into *Longford*, and ſpoiled much of that Country, and marched to *Owen Roe* and the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, who lay with their Army about *Tonrages*, where they encompassed them, and, had they been ſufficiently vigilant, might certainly have defeated the Rebels; who, through the favour of a cloſe Night, eſcaped, though purſued, and at *Finagh-Bridge* met with a ſevere Slaughter; *Nugent's* Houſe of *Carleſtown* they burnt, and hanged him. In the Interim, *Duncannon*, one of the ſtrongeſt Forts in *Ireland*, under the Command of the Lord *Eſmond*, ſubmitted not to the Ceſſation, but, being ſtrongly beſieged by *Preſton*, was ſurrendered about *March*, 1644, before Sir *Arthur Loſtus*, who was to have been Governor of the Fort under his Lordſhip, arrived there with a competent Supply, who, finding himſelf diſappointed thereof, carried his Proviſions into *Munſter*, and the Lord *Eſmond* ſoon after died. What Difference ſoever there was between ſome Towns and the Lord-Lieutenant, yet for the Encouragement of any that ſhould bring Commodities to *Dublin*, *Tredagh*, *Dundalk*, *Carlingford*, *Cork*, *Kingsale*, or *Youghal*, for the Relief of his Maſteſty's Army and good Subjects there; a Proclamation paſſed at *Dublin*, the 20th of *May*, 1644, to free them for fix Months from all Customs and Impoſitions, in purſuance of a Proclamation from his Maſteſty at *Oxford*, the 17th of *March*, 1643. In *April* after, the Committee of both Kingdoms in *England*, to whom the Affairs of *Ireland* were, from the Parliament, committed, finding the Buſineſs of *Ireland* grow very heavy upon them, got themſelves quit thereof; and the Houſes inſtituted another to ſit at the *Star-Chamber*, of thirteen Lords and twenty-eight Commoners; but few in it that underſtood the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, beſides two Gentlemen whoſe Intereſt leading them to ſeveral Provinces, much injured the equal Management of the whole; and he, to whom the Proviſions were entrusted, ordered them at that rate, as the Complaint was great. About *May*, 1645, there were appointed Commiſſioners for *Ulſter*, *Arthur Anneſley*, Eſq; Sir *Robert King*, and Colonel *Beale*, a Citizen of *London*, who were to carry them twenty thouſand Pounds in Money, beſides Proviſions and Ammunition; but the Diſpatch was ſo ſlow, as they landed not there till *October*; beſides, ſome Commiſſioners ſhould have joined with them from *Scotland*, who never came upon the Place: So nothing could be orderly done, in that the Scots by a late Treaty pretended a Right in the Government of *Ireland*, which his Maſteſty in his Papers took juſt Exceptions againſt, they long certainly having it in their Deſign to make themſelves Maſters of the North of *Ireland*, ſince they failed of retaining any Intereſt in the Government in *England*. But Troubles increaſing in *Scotland*, through *Montroſs* and Colonel *Kittoe's* joining together, who had certainly taken *Edinburgh*, but that the Plague was violent there: Several of the late *Scotch* Regiments were drawn from *Ulſter*, that more than what gariſoned *Carrickfergus*, *Belfast*, *Colrain*, and ſome other Places near the Sea-coaſt, where they committed the moſt notorious Extortions and Oppreſſions ever laid upon a People, were not there left; and the Commiſſioners for the Parlia-
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ment before-mentioned acted in their own Place. Not long after whose Settlement in *Ireland*, the *Irish* growing insolent in *Connaught*, taking their Garrisons, and turning out many *English*, and others, who, by the Articles of Cessation, should have been better used, there came to them, by one Mr. *Galbreth*, Offers, tending to compose the Differences betwixt the Greatest then in Power, and them: But the Offer being found a Design to draw the *British* Army under another Command, the fruit of that Expectation soon withered, and *Galbreth* by Bonds was secured.

And that Affairs, more probably, might succeed, a general Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks, which consisted of all the Peers of that Party, and of all the Gentlemen and Burgeffes of Corporation Towns, which was as lively a Representation of the whole Nation, as they could make, towards the End of the Year, viz. the 6th of *March*, 1645, appointed and authorized a select Number of that Body, of the Persons of eminent Quality, and most eminent Ability, and such, as through all the Troubles had been employed and intrusted by them, in Places and Offices of highest Trust and Concernment, to treat and conclude with the Marquiss of *Ormond*, his Majesty's Lieutenant of that Kingdom, a firm and full Peace. For the expediting of which, his Excellency had had many and serious Invitations from his Majesty, as the most visible Means then left to revive the Hopes he was reduced to: To which end, in *June*, before he had sent Mr. *Daniel O Neal*, Groom of his Bed-chamber, into *Ireland*, a Person, by reason of his Relations there, much confided in; who, amongst other Things intrusted to his Charge, had it in his Instructions, the 27th of *June*, to acquaint the Marquiss of *Ormond*, That his Majesty would be glad he could frame such a Body there to send over, as might be worthy of his own coming to command it. And in a Letter from an honourable Person then at *Denbigh*, the 26th of *September*, 1645, his Excellency was again acquainted, That his Majesty persists in his earnest Desire to have him in *England*, for that, without Flattery, they were likely to be in more want of such a General, than of an Army; so as nothing was wanting to value his Fidelity and Courage. And yet the Impatience of some Men were such, not considering how that would be a scandalous Peace, that would be unavoidable, that they writ to their Friends, That if the Peace were not concluded, that it was not like that ever it would be by those that managed it then; so as they would have had the Queen Regent of *France*, to have concluded it with such as the Catholicks from *Ireland* should appoint. In such sort was his Excellency censured, who having discharged his Trust, could not, at those Men's time, reduce the *Irish* to a credible Compliance, the Fault of their several Ruptures amongst themselves, not his Remissness. In as much as * one better versed in the Subtilities of the *Irish*, than most of that Age, having, through the Eminency of his Employment, the Knowledge of their Councils and Intrigues, writes to an honourable * Person, ' That the Truth ' of it was, that the *Irish* had proceeded hitherto, as if they had had ' no good Intention, having not been contented with the Effects of more ' than their Agents did profess to expect, but in Effect, capitulated for ' the Protestant Churches through *Ireland*:' A Concession so detestable, as the King * taking notice (to Secretary *Nicholas*) of the Earl of *Glamorgan's* Agreement with the Rebels, declares, ' That were the Condition ' of his Affairs much more desperate than it is, he would never redeem

* The Lord principal Secretary.

* The Lord I. from *Ascat*, 27 Aug. 1645.

* In a Letter printed at *Oxford*, pag. 3.

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* Colonel Fitz-
William's Let-
ter to Lord D.
16 July, 1645.

In his Letter
from Caerdiff,
3d August 1645.

‘ them by a Concession of so much wrong, both to his Honour and Con-
science : It is (writes he, in that clear discovery of his Soul) for the de-
fence of his Religion, that he had undergone the Extremities of War
‘ here, and he will never redeem his Crown by sacrificing it there.’ Lines
so august and pious, that methinks none should dare read them, who
should presume to offer Incense, otherwise than he had paid his : The
Treaty for the Peace however went on, though by many cautious and
uneasy Steps. You have seen what Doubts some rais’d of his Excellen-
cy’s Proceedings herein, and by * one imploy’d with much Credit in
that Business, it is manifest, *That the Marquis was resolved never to*
condescend to the Demands of the Irish, who, writes he, resolved to have
them, or perish ; such their Insolency ! And we find through the whole
Scene, they wrought upon the Necessities of the King, their Demands,
as his Streights, ever increasing ; however, he assured the Queen, the
Irish should not cheat him, though it was possible they might cozen
themselves.

But before we proceed, it will be necessary to take notice of an un-
usual Guest, the Pope’s Nuncio, *John Baptist Rinuccini*, Archbishop
and Prince of *Fermo*, introduced by the first Legat, from the Confe-
derates to *Rome*, to Pope *Urban* the 8th, and other Princes of *Italy*,
Richard Bealing Esq; a leading Member of, and chief Secretary to their
supreme Council, by whose Means only he was sent into *Ireland*, even
whilst the Treaty of Peace, the utmost Grace his Majesty could vouch-
safe his People, was set on foot ; an acceptable and loyal Service ! as you
will hear in the Sequel of this Story. He arrived at the River of
Kilmare, in a Frigate of twenty-one Pieces, and twenty six *Italians*, of
his Retinue, besides divers regular and secular Priests, the 22d of *Octo-*
ber 1645. And amongst the Accounts of those Times, there is
a List given in of some Arms, Ammunition, and *Spanish* Gold ;
but not hearing as yet of the Blessing they produced, we shall, as
to those Particulars, confine our Pen, yet give you here the supreme
Council’s Address to his Holiness, in Acknowledgment of the Nuncio’s
Arrival.

Per supremum Consilium Confederatorum Catholicorum, in Regno Hi-
berniae, ad beatum Patrem nostrum *Innocentium* + Papam.

Beatissime Pater,

Quod in ipso limine sui Pontificatus rebus nostris consulere voluerit, &
Illustrissimum Virum Archiepiscopum Fermanum, Prælatum vestræ
sanctitatis Domesticum, & assistentem sedis Apostolicæ extraordinarium
Nuncium ad nos miserit, gratias quas possumus humillimè reddimus ;
illum si non quâ decuit magni scientiâ, certè insuperabili amore, & gaudio
recipimus, illum etiam de vestræ sanctitatis in nos nostramq; causam animi
effectu & sollicitudine discurrentem avidè audivimus, speramusq; nos Aposto-
lica benedictione, quam nobis vestræ sanctitatis nomine impertivit suffultos,
& subsidiis ulterioribus, quæ tanto bello necessaria duxerit paterna sanctita-
tis cura, tanti etiam & tam prudentis viri adhortationibus & consiliis, eo-
res nostras promovere posse, ut de stabilita in Hiberniam Catholica Religione
triumphare posset *Innocentius* Christissimus, quum & vestræ sanctitati &
nobis

The *IRISH* Infurrection.

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nobis victoriam à Deo exercituum humili & confidenti corde implorant demisse benedictionem obsecrantes,

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Kilkennia, 7. Jan. 1645

Vestræ Sanctitatis ad Pedum Oscula.

But to proceed to the Peace, in which all the Particulars, which might concern the Interest and Security of either Party, being maturely weighed and considered, and then every Article being first read, debated, and approved, in the general Assembly, without one dissenting Voice, the whole was concluded, and the Confederate Catholicks obliged to transport, within a very short Time, an Army of ten thousand Men into England, for the Service and Relief of the King; as by the succeeding Propositions with Colonel *Fitz-Williams*, is fuller evident.

Fitz-Williams's Propositions about the Treaty with the Queen, to bring Irish into England.

Colonel Fitz-Williams humbly prays and propounds as followeth,

THAT your Sacred Majesty will vouchsafe to prevail with his Majesty, to condescend to the just Demands of his *Irish* Subjects, the Confederate Catholicks in *Ireland*, at least in private. That upon the Consideration thereof, Colonel *Fitz-Williams* humbly propounds and undertakes, with Approbation of Mr. * *Hertogen*, now employed Agent for the said Confederate Catholicks in *Ireland*, to bring an Army of ten thousand Men, or more, of the King's Subjects, in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, for the King's Service, into *England*.

* To whom, and the *Irish* Agents, the King in his Letter to the Queen, Jan. 30 1644, advises not to give much Countenance.

That Colonel *Fitz-Williams* undertakes, for the Sum of 10000 *l.* sterling, to levy Ships, and arm the ten thousand Men, and so proportionably for more or less; and that the said Money may be paid into such hands, as may be safe for your Majesty, as well as ready for the said Colonel, when it shall appear the said Army shall be in readiness to be transported into *England*.

That upon the landing of the said Men, there shall be advanced to the Colonel one Month's Pay for all the Army, according to the Muster, for the present Support of the Army. That Colonel *Fitz-Williams* may be Commander in Chief thereof, and dispose of all the Officers, and only be commanded by the King, Prince, and ----- and qualified with such Benefits, as have been formerly granted unto your Majesty's Generals, that have commanded Bodies apart from the King's own Army, as the Earl of *Kingston*, and others, whereby the better to enable him in the Levies, as well as in the general Conduct of the Business. And in respect the Order gives no Power to the *Irish*, therefore that the said Forces shall not by any Order whatsoever be divided, at least that the Colonel may be supplied with a Body of ---- 2000, to be ready at the Place of landing. That the Colonel may be provided with Arms and Ammunition, or with Money requisite for himself, to provide necessary Proportions for to bring with him. That the Army shall be paid as other Armies of the King.

Having taken these Propositions into Consideration, we have thought fit to testify our Approbation and Agreement thereunto, under our Sign Manual, assuring, what hath been desired of us therein, shall

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shall be forthwith effectually endeavoured, and not doubting, to the Satisfaction of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*, and of the said Colonel; so that we may justly expect an agreeable Compliance and Performance accordingly from all Parties, in their several Concernments.

Henriette Marie.

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The first Peace concluded.

* Fol. 6r.

† In his Declaration for the Settlement of *Ireland*, fol. 10.

All Things thus stated and settled, the Commissioners, who had treated in the Peace, were sent by and in the Name of the Assembly, to *Dublin*, where the Lord Lieutenant resided, to sign the said Articles, and to receive his Lordship's Confirmation of them: And accordingly the Articles were, the 30th of *July* 1646, interchangeably signed and perfected with all Formality requisite, notwithstanding his Majesty's Letter from *Newcastle* the 11th of *June* 1646, to treat no farther with the Rebels; which *Perinchief* writes * was procured by the *Scots* to make their Ware the more valuable. And shortly after, they were, with great Solemnity and Ceremony published and proclaimed by the King at Arms at *Dublin*, and at *Kilkenny*, where the Supreme Council and the Assemblies of all the Confederate Catholicks were held, and then printed by their Authority: The Arch-bishop of *Firmo*, manifesting his Approbation of all that had been done, giving his Blessing to the Commissioners, when they were sent to *Dublin* to conclude the Treaty, and other Ministers from foreign Princes being present, consenting to, and witnessing the Conclusion, which, as the Cessation, his Majesty professeth † to have been forced to during the late Troubles, and was compelled to give the *Irish* a full Pardon for what they had before done amiss upon their Return to their Duty, and their Promise of giving him a vigorous Assistance, which, how answered by their Obedience, hereafter appears.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council.

Ormond,

WHEREAS Articles of Peace are made, concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between us, *James* Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of his Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, his Majesty's Commissioner, to treat and conclude a Peace with his Majesty's Roman Catholick Subjects of the said Kingdom, by vertue of his Majesty's Commission under the great Seal of *England*, bearing Date at *Buckingham* on the 24th Day of *June*, in the twentieth Year of his Reign, for and on the Behalf of his most excellent Majesty of the one part, and *Donogh* Lord Viscount *Muskery*, and others, appointed and authorized by his Majesty's said Roman Catholick Subjects, by vertue of an Authority of the said Roman Catholick Subjects, bearing Date the 6th Day of *March*, 1645, and in the twenty-first Year of his Majesty's Reign, of the other part; a true Copy of which Articles of Peace is hereunto annexed: We the Lord-Lieutenant and Council do by this Proclamation, in his Majesty's Name, publish the same; and do, in his Majesty's Name, strictly charge and command all his Majesty's Subjects, and all others inhabiting or residing within his Majesty's said Kingdom

Kingdom of *Ireland*, to take notice thereof, and to render due Obedience to the same in all the Parts thereof.

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And as his Majesty hath been induced to this Peace, out of a deep Sense of the Miseries and Calamities brought upon this his Kingdom and People, and out of a Hope conceived by his Majesty, that it may prevent the further Effusion of his Subjects Blood, redeem them out of all the Miseries and Calamities, under which they now suffer, restore them to all Quietness and Happiness, under his Majesty's most gracious Government, deliver the Kingdom in general from those Slaughters, Depredations, Rapines, and Spoils, which always accompany a War, encourage the Subjects and others with Comfort, to betake themselves to Trade, Traffick, Commerce, Manufacture, and all other Things, which uninterrupted, may increase the Wealth and Strength of the Kingdom, beget in all his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom, a perfect Unity amongst themselves, after the too long continued Division amongst them: So his Majesty assures himself, that all his Subjects of this his Kingdom, duly considering the great and inestimable Benefits, which they may find in this Peace, will with all Duty render due Obedience thereunto. And we, in his Majesty's Name, do hereby declare, That all Persons, so rendering due Obedience to the said Peace, shall be protected, cherished, countenanced, and supported by his Majesty and his royal Authority, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the said Articles of Peace.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the 13th Day of *July*, 1646.

Ri. Bolton, Canc.
Roscommon. Dillon.
Cha. Lambart.
Gerrard Lowther.
Fr. Willoughby.
Robert Forth.

La. Dublin.
Geo. Cloyne.
Arthur Chichester.
Hen. Tichborn.
Tho. Lucas.
Ja. Ware.

God Save the King.

An Abbreviate of the Articles of Peace concluded by the Marquiss of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Commissioner for the King; and the Lord Mountgarret, President of the Supreme Council; the Lord Muskery; Sir Robert Talbot; Dermot O Brian; Patrick Darcy; Jeffery Brown, and John Dillon, Esqrs. Commissioners for the Irish.

I. **T**HAT the Professors of the Roman Catholick Religion in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, or any of them, be not bound or obliged to take the Oath of Supremacy, expressed in the second of *Queen Elizabeth* commonly called, the Oath of Supremacy.

II. That a Parliament may be held on or before the last Day of *November* next; and that these Articles agreed on, may be transmitted into *England*, according to the usual Form, and passed, provided that nothing may be passed to the Prejudice of either Protestant or Catholick Party, other than such Things as upon this Treaty shall be concluded.

III. That all Acts made by both or either Houses of Parliament, to the Blemish or Prejudice of his Majesty's Roman Catholick Subjects, since the 7th of *August* 1641, shall be vacated by Acts of Parliament.

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IV. That no Actions of Law shall be removed before the said Parliament, in Case it be sooner called than the last of *November*; and that all Impediments which may hinder the Roman Catholicks to sit in the next Parliament, shall be removed before the Parliament sit.

V. That all Debts do stand in State, as they were in the Beginning of these Troubles.

VI. That the Plantation in *Connaught*, *Kilkenny*, *Clare*, *Thomond*, *Tipperary*, *Limerick*, and *Wicklow* may be revoked by Act of Parliament, and their Estates secured in the next Sessions.

VII. That the Natives may erect one or more Inns of Court, in or near the City of *Dublin*, they taking an Oath; as also one or more Universities, to be governed as his Majesty shall appoint; as also to have Schools for Education of Youth in the Kingdom.

VIII. That Places of Command, of Forts, Castles, Garrisons, Towns, and other Places of Importance, and all Places of Honour, Profit, and Trust, shall be conferred with equal Indifferency upon the Catholicks, as his Majesty's other Subjects, according to their respective Merits and Abilities.

IX. That 12000*l.* Sterling be paid the King yearly, for the Court of Wards.

X. That no Peer may be capable of more Proxies than two. And that no Lords Vote in Parliament, unless in five Years; a Lord Baron purchase in *Ireland* 200*l.* per annum; a Viscount 400*l.* and an Earl 600*l.* or lose their Votes till they purchase.

XI. That the Independency of the Parliament of *Ireland*, on the Kingdom of *England*, shall be decided by Declaration of both Houses, agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

XII. That the Council-Table shall contain it self within its Bounds, in handling Matters of State, as Patents of Plantations, Offices, &c. and not meddle with matter betwixt Party and Party.

XIII. That all Acts concerning Staple or Native Commodities of this Kingdom, shall be repealed, except Wooll, and Woolfels; and that the Commissioners, the Lord *Mountgarret*, and others named in the twenty-sixth Article, shall be authorized under the Great Seal, to moderate and ascertain the Rates of Merchandize, to be exported and imported.

XIV. That no Governor be longer resident than his Majesty shall find for the Good of his People, and that they make no purchase, other than by Lease for the Provision of their Houses.

XV. That an Act of Oblivion may be passed, without extending to any who will not accept of this Peace.

XVI. That no Governor, or any other Prime Minister of State in *Ireland*, shall be Farmers of his Majesty's Customs.

XVII. That an Appeal of all Monopolies be passed.

XVIII. That Commissioners be appointed to regulate the Court of Castle-Chamber.

XIX. That Acts prohibiting Plowing by Horse-tails, and burning of Oats in the Straw, be repealed.

XX. That Course be taken against the Disobedience of the Cessation and Peace.

XXI. That such Graces as were promised by his Majesty in the Fourth Year of his Reign, and sued for by a Committee of both Houses of Parliament,

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liament, and not expressed in these Articles, may in the next ensuing Parliament be desired of his Majesty.

XXII. That Maritime Causes be determined here, without Appeal into *England*.

XXIII. That the Increase of Rents lately raised upon the Commission of defective Titles, be repealed.

XXIV. That all Interests of Money due by way of Debt, Mortgage, or otherwise, and not yet satisfied since the 23d of *October*, 1641, to pay no more than 5*l. per Cent.*

XXV. That the Commissioners have power to determine all Cases within their Quarters, until the Perfection of these Articles by Parliament, and raise ten thousand Men for his Majesty.

XXVI. That the Lord *Mountgarret*, *Muskery*, Sir *Dan. O Bryan*, Sir *Lucas Dillon*, *Nick. Plunket*, *Rich. Bealing*, *Philip Mac-Hugh O Reley*, *Terlogh O Neal*, *Thomas Flemming*, *Patrick Darcy*, *Gerald Fennel*, and *Jeffery Brown*, or any five of them, be for the present Commissioners of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer, and Goal-Delivery, in the present Quarters of the Confederate Catholicks; with power of Justice of Peace, Oyer and Terminer, and Goal-Delivery, as in former Times of Peace they have usually had.

XXVII. That none of the Roman Catholick Party, before there be a Settlement by Parliament, sue, implead, or arrest, or be sued, impleaded, or arrested, in any Court, other than before the Commissioners, or in the several Corporations, or other Judicatures within their Quarters.

XXVIII. That the Confederate Catholicks continue in their Possessions until Settlement by Parliament, and to be commanded by his Majesty's chief Governor, with the Advice and Consent of the Commissioners, or any five of them.

XXIX. That all Customs, from the Perfection of these Articles, are to be paid into his Majesty's Receipt, and to his Use; as also all Rent due at *Easter* next, till a full Settlement of Parliament.

XXX. That the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, and Goal-Delivery, shall have power to hear and determine all Offences committed or done, or to be committed or done, from the 15th Day of *September* 1643, until the first Day of the next Parliament.

Thus the Marquis having performed all on his Part, that could be expected from him, and was in his power to do, and having received from other Parts all the Assurance he could require, there being no other way of engaging the publick Faith of the Nation, than that to which they had so formally engaged themselves to him in, he intended nothing then, but how his Majesty might speedily receive some Fruit of that Peace and Accommodation he thence expected, by sending Assistance to him: And to that Purpose, with Advice, and upon Invitation of several Persons, who had great Authority and Power amongst the Confederate Catholicks, the Lord Lieutenant took a Journey himself to *Kilkenny*, where he was received with that Respect and Reverence, as was due to his Person, and to the Place he held, and with such Expressions of Triumph and Joy, as gave him cause to believe, the People were glad to be again received into his Majesty's Protection.

A Protection his Majesty evidences, to his Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, * That it was as inevitably necessary, that they should not consent

The Lord-Lieutenant, upon Agreements on all Sides, repaired to *Kilkenny*, expecting there to receive Advance for his Majesty's Service.

* In his Works, fol. 326.

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sent to hinder him therein, as he had strong Reasons for the Cessation before, unless they could shew, how his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, may probably at least defend themselves, and that he should have no more need to defend his Conscience and Crown, from the Injuries of this Rebellion.

At this Peace the *Irish* seemed exceedingly enlivened; but the shew thereof quickly vanished, and a cloud of Jealousy began again to cover the Land. The Pope's Nuncio, and the titular Bishops, who depended on him, envied that Nation the Happiness and Glory they foresaw it would be possessed of by the Execution of that Agreement, and so, without any Colour of Authority, either by the old established Laws of that Kingdom, or those Rules they had prescribed to themselves since the Rebellion, they convened a Congregation of the Clergy at *Waterford*, a Town most at their Devotion, where the titular Bishop of *Ferns* was in the Chair, and resided; and therefore, it will not be amiss to take a short View of their Proceedings, that the unhappy, oppressed, and miserable *Ireland*, may clearly discern to whom it owes those Pressures and Grievances it is now overwhelmed with, and whether that Bishop be to be reckon'd in the Number of those, who suffer at present for his Zeal to Religion, his Allegiance to the King, and his Affection to his Country; or whether his Name be to be inserted in that Catalogue, which must derive to Posterity the Authors and Fomentors of so odious and causeless a Rebellion, in which such a Sea of Blood hath been let out, and the Betrayers of the Honour and Faith of that Country and Nation, and who are no less guilty of Extirpation of a Religion, they so much glory of, in that Kingdom, than *Ireton* or *Cromwel*, or that impious Power, under which they have perpetrated all their Acts of Blood, Cruelty, and Desolation.

At that Time, the Parliament of *England* having accommodated the *Spaniard* with two thousand Men; he in lieu thereof, so tempered the *Irish*, ever devoted to that Nation, that the *Spaniard* having then an Agent in *Ireland*, he took them off from doing any Thing effectual in our King's Business.

And the Congregation of the Clergy was no sooner assembled, than instead of prescribing Acts of Charity and Repentance to the People, for the Ill they had formerly done, and then inflaming their Hearts with new Zeal, and infusing pious Courage into them, to relieve and succour the King from those who oppressed him, according to their particular Obligation, by their late Agreement, which had been the proper Office of Prelates, and a Christian Clergy, they began to inveigh against the Peace, which themselves had so lately approved, and so formerly consented unto, as if it had not carefully enough provided for the Advancement of Religion, and would not suffer it to be proclaimed in *Waterford*; and sent their Emissaries and their Orders to all considerable Towns and Cities to incense the People against it, and against those who wished it should take effect; insomuch that when the King at Arms was proclaiming the Peace at *Limerick*, with that Solemnity and Ceremony as in such Cases is used throughout the World, with his Coat of Arms, the Ensign of his Office, and accompanied with the Mayor and Aldermen, and the most substantial of the Citizens, in their Robes, and with all the Ensigns of Magistracy and Authority, one *Molise*, a seditious Friar, stirred up the Multitude against him; which being led on by one *Fanning*, a

Person

A Congregation of Clergy are summoned, contrary to his Expectation, to *Waterford*.

They inveigh against the Peace they had lately consented to.

The King of Arms barbarously used at *Limerick*.

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Person notorious for many Outrages and Acts of Blood and Inhumanity in the Beginning of the Rebellion, violently assaulted them, and after many opprobrious Speeches, in contempt of the Peace and the Authority of the King, and tearing off the Coat from the Herald, beat and wounded him, and many of the Magistrates of the City, and some of them almost to Death: And lest all this might be excused, and charitably interpreted to be the Effect of a popular and tumultuous Infurrection, the lawful Mayor and other principal Officers who assisted him, in the Discharge of his Duty, were immediately displaced; and *Fanning*, the impious Conductor of that Rabble, was made Mayor in his Place; who, ' by Letters from the Nuncio, was thanked for what he had done, and encouraged to proceed in the same way, and had the Apostolical Benediction bestowed on him, for committing such an Outrage upon the privileged Person of an Herald, who in the Name of the King came to proclaim Peace: ' As by the Law of Nations must have been adjudged barbarous, and unpardonable in any Part of the World where Civility is planted, if he had come to have denounced War. And yet all this while, the Design it self was carried with so great Secrefy, that the Lord-Lieutenant, proceeding in his Progress for the settling and composing the Humours of the People, which he understood to have been in some Disorder by the Infusions of the ill-affected Clergy, never heard of any Force of Arms to second and support those mutinous Disorders, till being near to the City of *Cashel*, he was advertised by Letters from the Mayor, that *Owen O Neal's* Army was marching that Way, and had sent terrible Threats to that City if it presumed to receive the Lord-Lieutenant. And shortly after he found, that *Owen O Neal* used all possible Expedition to get between him and *Dublin*, that so he might have been able to have surpris'd and destroyed him; whereupon the Marquis found it necessary to lose no time in returning thither, yet resolved not only to contain himself from any Acts of Hostility, but even from those Trespasses which are hardly avoidable upon Marches, and paid so precisely for whatsoever was taken from the Inhabitants throughout all the Catholick Quarters, presuming, that those Persons of Honour, who had transacted the Treaty, would have been able to have caused the Peace to be observed in despite of those clamorous Undertakers.

The Confederates Treachery to cut off the Lord Lieutenant.

But when the unchristian Congregation of *Waterford* had made this Essay of their Power and Jurisdiction, they made all possible Haste to propagate their Authority, and ' declared the Peace to be void, and inhibited all Persons to submit thereunto, or to pay any Taxes, Imposition or Contribution which had been settled by the said Agreement; and without which, neither a standing Army, which was to be applied to the Reduction of those Towns and Provinces, which had put themselves under the Protection of the Parliament of *England*, and never submitted to the former Cessation, nor could be comprehended in the Peace, could be supported, or the ten thousand Men raised to be transported into *England* for the Succour of the King, as had been so religiously undertaken; which Inclination of theirs, the People so readily obeyed and submitted unto, ' That they committed and delegated the entire and absolute Power of governing and commanding, as well in Secular as Ecclesiastical Matters, to the Pope's Nuncio, who began his Empire with committing to Prison the Commissioners who had been instrumental in the Treaty, and making of the Peace by order of the general Assembly,

The Congregation at *Waterford* declared Peace void.

The Nuncio's exorbitant Carriage.

1646.

sembly, and issued out an Excommunication against all those who had or should submit to the Peace, which comprehended all the Nobility and almost all the Gentry, and some of the Clergy, which Excommunication wrought so universally upon the Minds of the People, that albeit all Persons of Honour and Quality received infinite Scandal, and well foresaw the irreparable Damage Religion it self would undergo, by that unwarrantable Proceeding, and used their utmost Power to draw the People to Obedience and Submission to the said Agreement, and to that purpose prevailed so far with General *Preston*, that he gave them reason to hope that he would join with them, for the Vindication of the publick Faith, and the Honour of the Nation, and compel those that opposed it to submit to the Peace; yet all these Endeavours produced no Effect, but concluded in unprofitable Resentments and Lamentation: In the mean time, *Owen O Neil*, when he found himself disappointed of his Design to have cut off the Lord-Lieutenant before he could reach *Dublin*, entered into the Queen's-County, and committed all Acts of Cruelty and Outrage that could be imagined, took many Castles and Forts which belonged to the King, and put all, who resisted, to the Sword; and his Officers, in cold Blood, caused others to be murdered, to whom they had promised Quarter, as Major *Pigot*, and others of his Family: About the latter End of *June*, this Year, Major-General *Monro* received a severe Defeat from *Owen Roe O Neil* at *Benburgh*, alias *Benburge* near *Charlemont* in the County of *Ardmagh*, whereby the whole Province was exposed to the Rebels Fury, in as much as if they had had the Courage or Policy to have prosecuted it, they might have destroyed all the *Scotch* Quarters, and endangered their Towns: But *Owen Roe*, instead of prosecuting the Victory, went presently with the Prisoners and Colours in Triumph to *Kilkenny*, so gave our Forces a Breathing, whilst the Parliament suspecting his Union with *Preston*, immediately ordered 50000*l.* out of the Excise, for the raising of more Men for *Ireland*, and some Horse, besides Foot, were presently sent over, with Ammunition and other Necessaries; these called at *Dublin*, but the Design being not then fit for their Reception, they were otherwise disposed of. And shortly after the Nuncio prevailed so much, that he united General *Preston* to his Army, at which time he took this Oath.

The Oath taken
by General *Preston*.

I *A. B.* swear and protest that I will adhere to the present Union of the Confederate Roman Catholicks, that reject the Peace lately agreed, and proclaimed at *Dublin*, and do nothing by Word, Deed, Writing, Advice, or otherwise to the Prejudice of that Union, and will to the utmost of my Power advance, and further the Good and Preservation of it, and of his Majesty's Rights, and the Privileges of free-born Subjects, to the Natives of this Kingdom.

The Nuncio besieges the Lord-Lieutenant in *Dublin*, and the Consequences thereof.

And then the Nuncio, as Generalissimo, led both Armies towards *Dublin*, where the Lord Lieutenant was so surprized with their Perfidiouness, that he found himself in no less Straights and Distresses from his Friends within, than from his Enemies without, who totally neglected those Forces, which, being under the Obedience of the Parliament of *England*, had always waged a sharp and bloody War with them, and at present made Inroads into their Quarters to their great Damage, and

and intirely engaged themselves to suppress the King's Authority, to which they had so lately submitted.

Left so prodigious an Alteration, as is now set forth, may seem to be wrapped up in too short a Discourse, and it may appear almost incredible, that an Agreement so deliberately and solemnly entered into by the whole Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, in a Matter that so intirely concerned their own Interest, should in such an Instant be blasted and annihilated by a Congregation of Clergy, assembled only by their own Authority; and therefore, without the Vice of Curiosity, all Men may desire to be informed by what Degrees and Method that Congregation proceeded, and what specious Pretences and Insinuations they used towards the People, for the better persuading them to depart from that Peace, they were even again restored to the Possession of: It will not be impertinent therefore to set down some important Particulars of their Proceedings, and the very Forms of some Instruments published by them, that the World may see the Logick and Rhetorick that was used to impose upon, and delude that unhappy People, and to intangle them more in that Labyrinth of Confusion, wherein they were long involved.

They were not content to suffer the Peace not to be proclaimed in *Waterford*, and to dissuade the People from submitting to it: But by a Decree dated the 12th Day of *August* 1646, which they commanded to be published in all Places, in the *English* and *Irish* Tongue, they declared by the unanimous Consent and Votes of all, even none contradicting, as they say, 'That all and singular the Confederate Catholicks, who should adhere or consent to the Peace, or to the Fautors thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, should be held absolutely perjured; especially for this Cause,' that in those Articles there is no mention made of the Catholick Religion, or the Security thereof, or any Care taken for the Conservation of the Privileges of the Country, as had been promised in an Oath formerly taken by them, 'but rather all Things referred to the Pleasure of the most renowned King, from whom in his present State, they said, nothing of certainty could be had: And in the Interim the Armies, and Arms, and Fortunes, even the supreme Council it self, of the Confederate Catholicks were subjected to the Authority and Rule of the Council of State, and Protestant Officers of his Majesty, from whom that they might be secured, they had taken that Oath.'

And the next Day, being informed, that the Lord Viscount *Mountgarret*, and Lord Viscount *Muskery*, were appointed by the supreme Council at *Kilkenny*, to go to *Dublin*, to confer with the Lord Lieutenant, upon the best Way to be pursued, for the Execution and Observation of the Peace: they made an Order in Writing, in which were these Words; 'We admonish in our Lord, and require the Persons who are departed to *Dublin*, that they forbear and abstain from going thither for the said End, or if they be gone, that they return, and this under Pain of Excommunication, commanding the right honourable the Bishop of *Ossory*, and other Bishops as well assembled as not assembled here, and their Vicars General, as also Vicars Apostolical, and all Priests, even Irregulars, that they intimate these Presents, or cause to be intimated, even by affixing them in publick Places; and that they proceed against the disobedient, in denouncing of Excommunication, as it should seem expedient in our Lord.

When

Some of the supreme Council being appointed to confer with the Lord Lieutenant, the Nuncio admonishes them not to proceed,

1646.

When the supreme Council notwithstanding these new Orders and Injunctions, continued still their Desire to observe the Peace; The titular Bishop of *Ossory*, published this extraordinary Writing.

Whereas, we have in publick and private Meetings at several Times, declared to the supreme Council, and others whom it might concern; That it was and is unlawful, and against Conscience, the implying Perjury, as it hath been defined by the special Act of the Convocation at *Waterford*, to both Common-wealths, spiritual and temporal, to do or concur to any Act, tending to the Approbation or countenancing the Publication of this unlawful and mischievous Peace, so dangerous, as it is now articulated, to both Common-wealths, spiritual and temporal; and whereas, notwithstanding our Declaration, yea, the Declaration of the whole Clergy of the Kingdom to the contrary, the supreme Council and the Commissioners, have actually proceeded to the Publication, yea, and forcing it upon the City, by Terror and Threats, rather than by any free Consent or Desire of the People: We having duly considered and taken it to Heart, as it becometh us, how enormous this Fact is, and appears in Catholicks, even against God himself, and what a publick Contempt of the holy Church it appeareth, beside the Evil it is like to draw upon this poor Kingdom, after a mature Deliberation and Consent of our Clergy, in Detestation of this heinous and scandalous Disobedience of the supreme Council, and others who adhered to them, in Matter of Conscience to the holy Church, and in Hatred of so sinful and abominable an Act, do by these Presents, according to the Prescription of the sacred Canons, pronounce and command henceforth a general Cessation of Divine Offices, throughout all the City and Suburbs of *Kilkenny*, in all Churches, Monasteries, and Houses in them whatsoever.

Given at our Palace of *Nova Curia*, the 18th of *August* 1646.

Signed,

David Ossorienfis.

That nothing yet might be ill represented of by the Lord Lieutenant, the supreme Council wins on his Patience.

This extravagant Proceeding, did not yet terrify those of the Confederate Catholicks, who understood, as they pretended, how necessary the Observation of the Peace was, for the Preservation of the Nation; but as they desired the Lord Lieutenant, to forbear all Acts of Hostility, upon how unreasonable a Provocation soever; so they sent two Persons of the supreme Council, Sir *Lucas Dillon*, and Dr. *Fennel*, to the Congregation at *Waterford*, to dispose them to a better Temper, and to find out some Expedient, which might compose the Minds of the People, and prevent those Calamities, that would unavoidably fall upon the Nation, upon their declining and renouncing the Peace, which you must understand in them, to be very real; But after they had attended several Days, and offered many Reasons and Considerations to them; The Congregation put a Period to all the Hopes and Consultations of that Nature, by issuing out a Decree of Excommunication, which they caused to be printed in this Form, and in these Words, and with these marginal Notes,

By

By John Baptift Rinuccini, *Archbifhop and Prince of Firmo, and by the Ecclefiaftical Congregation of both Clergies of the Kingdom of Ireland.*

1646.

A Decree of Excommunication againft fuch as adhere to the late Peace, and to bear Arms for the Hereticks of Ireland, and do aid or affift them.

NOT without Caufe, faith the Oracles of Truth, doth the Minifter of God carry the Sword, for he is to punifh him that doth Evil, and remunerate him that doth Good; hence it is that we have, by our former Decrees, declared to the World our Senfe, and juft Indignation againft the late Peace, concluded and published at *Dublin*, not only in its Nature, bringing prejudice, and deftruction of Religion and Kingdom, but alfo contrary to the Oath of Affociation, and withal againft the Contrivers of, and Adherers to the faid Peace: In Purfuance of which Decrees, being forced to unfeath the fpiritual Sword, We, to whom God hath given power to bind and loofe on Earth, affembled together in the Holy Ghoft, tracing herein, and imitating the Examples of many Venerable, and Holy Prelates, who have gone before us, and taking for our Authority, the facred Canons of Holy Church, grounded on Holy-writ, *Ut tollantur è medio noftrum qui hoc opus faciunt Domini noftri Jefu* deliver over fuch Perfons to Satan, that is to fay, We excommunicate, excrete, anathematize, all fuch as, after the Publication of this our Decree, and Notice either privately or publickly given to them hereof, fhall defend, adhere to, or approve the Juftice of the faid Peace; and chiefly thofe, who bear Arms, or make, or join in War with, for, or in behalf of the Puritans, or other Hereticks of *Dublin, Cork, Roughal*, of other places within this Kingdom, or fhall either, by themfelves, or by their Appointment, bring, fend, or give any Aid, Succour, or Relief, Vic-tuals, Ammunition, or other Provifion to them; or by Advice, or otherwife, advance the faid Peace, or the War, made againft us; Thofe, and every of them, by this prefent Decree, We do declare, and pronounce excommunicated, *ipfo facto, ut non circumveniamini à Satana, non enim ignoramus Cogitationes ejus.*

The Nuncio's
Excommuni-
cation.

Matth. xvi. 18,
19.
John xx. 23.

2 Cor. ii. 11.

Dated at *Kilkenny*, in our Palace of Refidence, the
5th Day of *October*, 1646. Signed,

*Johannes Baptista, Archiepifcopus Firmanus, Nuncius Apoftolicus,
de Mandato Illuftriffimi Domini Nuncij & Congregationis Eccle-
fiafticæ utriusque, Cleri Regni Hiberniæ, Nicholas Firmence Con-
gregationis Cancellarius.*

The Nuncio having thus fortified himfelf, made great Preparations to march with two Armies to *Dublin*, which confifting of fixteen thou-
fand Foot, and as many hundred Horfe, he believed, or feemed to
believe, he would take the Town by Affault as foon as he fhould ap-
pear before it; and in this Confidence, that we may not interrupt
the Series of this Difcourfe by any intervening Action, when the Armies
were within a Day's March of the City, the two Generals fent this
Letter, with the Propofitions annexed, to the Lord Lieutenant.

K k k

May

1646.

The two Generals Preston and O Neil, being with the Nuncio, engaged to sit down before Dublin, sends a Letter with Propositions.

May it please your Excellency,

BY the Command of the Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdom, who offer the inclosed Propositions, we have under our Leading two Armies ; our Thoughts are best to our Religion, King and Country, our Ends to establish the first, and make the two following secure and happy : It is the great part of our Care and Desires to purchase your Excellency to the effecting of so blessed a Work. We do not desire the Effusion of Blood ; and to that Purpose, the inclosed Propositions are sent from us ; we pray to God your Consideration of them may prove fruitful. We are commanded to pray your Excellency to render an Answer to them by two of the Clock in the Afternoon on *Thursday* next, be it War or Peace. We shall endeavour in our Ways to exercise Faith and Honour ; and upon this Thought we rest.

From the Camp, the
2d of *March*, 1646.

Your Excellencies most humble Servants,
J. Preston, Owen O Neil,

I. That the Exercise of the *Romish* Religion be in *Dublin, Tredagh*, and in all the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as free and as publick as it is now in *Paris* in *France*, or *Bruxels* in the *Low-Countries*.

II. That the Council of State, called ordinarily the Council-Table, be of Members true and faithful to his Majesty, and such of which there may be no fear or suspicion of going to the Parliament Party.

III. That *Dublin, Tredagh, Trim, Newry, Catherlagh, Carlingford*, and all Garrisons within the Protestant Quarters, be garrisoned by Confederate Catholicks, to maintain and keep the said Cities and Places for the Use of our Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, and his lawful Successors, for the Defence of this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

IV. That the present Council of the Confederates shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain, for the Use of his Majesty and his lawful Successors, and for the Defence of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, the above Cities of *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, and all other Forts, Places, and Castles, as above.

V. That the said Council, and all General Officers and Soldiers whatsoever, do swear and protest to fight by Sea and Land against the Parliamentarians, and all the King's Enemies : And that they will never come to any Convention, Agreement or Article with the said Parliamentarians, or any the King's Enemies, to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Rights, or of this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

VI. That according to our Oath of Association, we will, to the best of our power and cunning, defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the King's Rights, the Lives and Fortunes of the Subjects.

His Excellency is prayed to make Answer to the above Propositions, at furthest by two of the Clock in the Afternoon on *Thursday* next.

J. Preston, Owen O Neil.

The Lord-Lieutenant in great Straits at the Approach of the Nuncio to *Dublin*.

Let all dispassionate Men now consider what could the Marquis do, his Quarters were so strait and narrow, that they could yield no support to the few Forces he had left ; all his Garrisons besieged ; without, an Enemy ; being destitute of all Provisions within ; all the Army he had for

for the Field and Garrisons amounted not to five thousand Foot, and a thousand one hundred Horse, without Cloaths, Money, or fixed Arms, and with so inconsiderable a Store of Ammunition, that when the Nuncio was upon his March towards *Dublin*, he had not in that most important City, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, more than fourteen Barrels of Powder : So that not only the Inhabitants, but the Soldiers themselves, grew impatient of the Distresses they were in, and which inevitably they saw must fall upon them ; and they who had before presumed in Corners and Whispers, *to tax the Marquiss of not being zealous enough of the English Interest, and too credulous of what was promised and undertaken by the Irish*, had now the Boldness to murmur aloud at him, as if he had combined with the *Irish* to put all into their Hands : They who from the Beginning of the Troubles had been firm and unshaken in their Duty and Loyalty to the King, and chearfully suffered great Losses, and undergone great Hazards for being so, and been of the most constant Affection to, and Confidence in, the Marquiss, and resolved to obey him in whatsoever he should order for the King's Service, for the conducting whereof, he was solely and entirely trusted by his Majesty, could not yet endure to think of being put into, or falling under the power of the *Irish*, who, by this new Breach of Faith, had made themselves utterly incapable of any future Trust ; for what security could they publickly give for performance of the Contract, which they had not lately given for the Observation of that, which so infamously they had receded from ? Whereupon he found it absolutely necessary to make a shew of inclining to the *English* ; and sent to the Ships then riding in the Bay of *Dublin*, that they would transport some Commissioners from him to the Parliament, to treat about the Surrender of the City, and the other Garrisons under his Command. Which Proposition was embraced by them, and the Persons deputed * accordingly conveyed into *England*, who carried with them these Propositions from the Lord Lieutenant to the Parliament of *England*.

1646.

Upon the *Irish* Breach of Faith, the Lord Lieutenant made a Shew of delivering all into the Parliament's Hands.

* Sir Gerr. Lowther, Lord Chief Baron. Sir Francis Willoughby, Sir Paul Davis, Knights.

I. That the said Lord Lieutenant will prosecute the War against the *Irish* Rebels as vigorously as he shall be enabled thereunto by the Parliament of *England*, and that he will faithfully serve the Crown of *England* therein.

II. That whilst he hath the Government of this Kingdom and the Command of the Armies therein, none of the Supplies of Men, Money, Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, or any other Provisions of what Kind or Nature soever, which shall by the Parliament of *England*, be sent over, or joined with the Forces already under his Command, nor any of the said Forces now under his Command, nor any other Forces that shall be under his Command, shall in any wise be employed either within this Kingdom, or without it, but by the express Direction of the said Parliament of *England*.

III. That he will not upon any Command, or by Virtue of any Power or Authority whatsoever, enter into any Treaty with the said *Irish* Rebels, or conclude any Peace or Cessation with them without the Consent and express Command of the King and Parliament of *England*.

IV. He

1646.

IV. He will engage himself to the true Performance of all these Things by Oath or any other Means that can be proposed to a Man of Honour and Conscience.

September 26, 1646.

Ormond.

Which he frequently insisted on in his Treaty with the Parliament's Commissioners, who seemed not before to be acquainted therewith, or thought it expedient, upon the Treaty, to receive the same from him, which, however, as most important, He insisted upon, as also to have Directions from His Majesty ere he would deliver up the Sword, or render up the Garrisons, in his Power, to their Hands, waving, notwithstanding, the first Proposition, rather than that should be any let to the Treaty, which, in Conclusion, ended in delivering upon all the Parliament.

By this Means the Marquis was forthwith supplied with twenty Barrels of Powder, which the Captain of those Ships delivered to him the 10th of *March*, by the Permission of the Lord *Lisle*, the Parliament's Lord Lieutenant, without which, he could have made no Defence against the Nuncio; whereby the *Irish* had a fair Warning to bethink themselves, in Time, of returning to their Duty, since they might discern, that if they would not suffer *Dublin*, &c. to continue in the King's Obedience, it should be delivered to them who would deal less graciously with them, and had power enough to punish those Indignities, which had been offered. And the Marquis was still without other Engagement, than to do what he should judge most conducing to his Majesty's Service. However, the Rebels persisted in their Intentions against *Dublin*, where for a while we must leave them, and see what Course the Parliament took to infest their Quarters; much they were concerned, that Affairs went not on so successful there as they expected, where that they might have one Governor, answerable to the Exigencies of that Kingdom, they voted *Philip Viscount Lisle* Lord Lieutenant, passing thereupon, in *April*, 1646, a Patent to him for one Year, allotting him 40,000 *l.* with what else was requisite for his Dispatch; in raising which, they were so slow, many of the House being of an opposite Party, as he could not get away from *London* till the 1st of *February* 1646, arriving at *Bristol* the 6th, where he found several of his own Troops, and his Brother Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*'s in readiness to be transported for *Ireland*: But Money being not come, he was forced to quarter them thereabouts till its Arrival, and himself with 30,000 *l.* seven Pieces of Battery, a thousand Muskets, a hundred Barrels of Powder, embarked the 18th at *Minehead*, and landed near *Cork* the 20th, and came thither the Day following, where he was altogether unexpected, especially by the Lord *Inchequin*, he found Things in great Disorder, the Army filled with Officers disaffected to him, the Custodians and Contributions no way managed to the publick Advantage; thereupon reformed the Defects, and marching the 15th of *March* to visit *Talloe*, *Lismore*, *Youghal*, *Fermoy*, and other Places, found the Country protected even to the Walls of the Protestant Garrisons, so as no Mischief could be done by them to the Rebels; and about the 20th of *March*, *Knockmobun* was delivered to him. He ordered all Things for the best Advantage of the Interest he was put upon; and finding his Commission

was

The Parliament of England voted Philip Lord Lisle Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

He arrives in Ireland.

Knockmobun, a strong Garrison, Sir Rich. Osborn Governor.

1646.

was near expired, the General Officers petitioned, that in case his Lordship were not continued, the Command of the Army might rest in them, which the Lord President with others opposed. The Lord Lieutenant's Commission determined the 5th of *April* 1647. And shortly after such Animosities arose betwixt the Parliament's Commissioners and the Lord *Inchequin*, as doubtless, if some Privy Counsellors had not interposed, great Inconveniencies would certainly thence have risen. The Lord *Lisse* accompanied with the Lord *Broghil* and Colonel *Sidney*, went presently for *England*, and arrived at *London* about the Beginning of *May* following, taking the first Occasion to give the House an Account * of his Journey; which may be looked on as a Dream more than a Truth, considering the Shortness of the Expedition, though none could more prudently have acted, whilst he was upon the Place; nor was there any whom the Soldiers would more readily obey, such was his Courage, so great his Integrity. The Lord *Broghil* and Sir *Arthur Loftus*, at the same Time preferred Articles against the Lord *Inchequin*: But the Parliament was so imbroiled about the Disbanding the Independent Army, then mutinous, and *Inchequin* had so many, to favour themselves, countenanced him, as little, if any Thing, became of the Impeachment.

His Expedition with his Commission soon determined, being opposed by those who afterwards were accused.

* 7th of May.

But to return to the Confederates, who, when they saw the Ships returned from *England* with Supplies of Soldiers, Money, and great Store of Provisions, and the Commissioners to treat with the Marquis for putting all into the Parliament's Hands, raised the Siege, seeming less united amongst themselves, and desirous to make Conditions with the Lord Lieutenant, whilst General *Preston* and his Officers frankly entered into a Treaty with the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, whom the Lord Lieutenant authorized to that end, and with deep and solemn Oaths undertook and promised to stand to the Peace, and from thenceforth to be obedient to his Majesty's Authority, and to joyn with the Marquis of *Ormond* against all those who should refuse to submit unto them. On the other Side, the Commissioners from the two Houses of Parliament *, who were admitted into *Dublin* to treat with the Lord Lieutenant, observing the very ill Condition the Town was in, besieged by two strong Armies, by whom they within expected every Hour to be assaulted, concluded, that the want of Food, and all Necessaries for Defence, would compel the Marquis, with the Importunity and Clamour of the Inhabitants and Soldiers, to receive Supplies of Men, Money, and Victuals, which they had brought upon any Terms; and therefore stily insisted on their Propositions, refusing to consent, that the Marquis should send any Messenger to the King, that, upon Information how the Case stood, he might receive his Majesty's Direction what to do. And how the Parliament in *Ireland*, then in being, might be continued, which, by the delivering of the Sword, without his Majesty's Pleasure imparted, could not be secured from being dissolved; and without which, he then resolved not to proceed to any Conjunction with them, and so had privately dispatched several Expresses to the King, as soon as he discerned clearly, that the *Irish* were so terrified by the Nuncio and his Excommunication, that there was little hope of good from them, with full Information of the State of Affairs, and expected every Day a Return of some of the said Messengers, with signification of his Majesty's Pleasure.

The Confederates, upon Recruits out of *England*, piece again with the Lord-Lieutenant.

* Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Rob. King, Sir John Clerworthy, Sir Rob. Meredith, Knights. Rich. Sackway Esq;

The Lord-Lieutenant not being admitted to send to the King, the Treaty with the Parliament's Agents broke off.

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Thus the Treaty with the Marquis not succeeding, the Commissioners from the two Houses of Parliament returned again to their Ships, about the end of *November*, and carried all the Supplies they had brought to the Parliament's Garrisons in the Province of *Ulster*, being much incensed against the Lord-Lieutenant for declining an entire Union with them, and inclining, as they said he did, to a new Confidence in the *Irish*; concluding thereby that there would not be only a Loss of the Kingdom, but of thousands of Protestants, and together with them the Protestant Religion also. Yet they found but cold Entertainment amongst the *Scots*.

At which time, Dr. *John Maxwell*, formerly Bishop of *Ross* in *Scotland*, now Arch-bishop of *Tuam* in *Ireland*, hearing of Commissioners from the Parliament of *England*, grew so envenomed thereat, suspecting the Covenant, which he had ever abhorred, should be imposed, as fiercely imprecating it; and being broken with the Calamities of the Times, he died the 14th of *February*, 1646, and was buried in *Trinity-Church, Dublin*, at the Munificence of the Marquis of *Ormond*.

The Marquis of
Clanrickard's Fi-
delity.

By this time the Marquis of *Clanrickard* had an entire Trust, answerable to what he had begun to treat of with General *Preston*, from the Lord-Lieutenant, as a Person superior to all Temptations, which might endeavour to lessen or divert his Affection and Integrity to the King, or his Zeal to the *Romish* Catholick Religion, in which he had been bred, and to which he had most constantly adhered; he had taken great Pains to render the Peace, which had been so long in Consultation, effectual to the Nation, and had both by Discourse and Writing endeavoured to dissuade the Nuncio from prosecuting those rough ways, which he foresaw were like to undo the Nation, and dishonour the Catholick Religion: He found General *Preston* and the Officers of his Army less transported with Passion, and a blind Submission to the Authority of the Nuncio than the other, and that they professed greater Duty and Obedience to the King, and that they seemed to be wrought on by two Conclusions, which had been speciously infused into them: The first was, that the Lord Lieutenant was so great an Enemy to their Religion, that though they should obtain any Conditions from the King to their Advantage in that particular, he would oppose, and not consent unto the same. The other, that the King was now in the Hand of the *Scots*, who were not like to approve that Peace had been made, all that Nation in *Ulster* refusing to submit to it. And if they should be able to procure any Order from his Majesty to disavow it, the Lord Lieutenant would undoubtedly obey it. These specious Infusions the Marquis of *Clanrickard* endeavoured to remove, and undertook upon his Honour to use all the Power and Interest which he had in the King, Queen, and Prince, on Behalf of the *Romish* Catholicks, and to procure them such Privileges, and Liberty for the free Exercise of their Religion, as they could reasonably expect: And undertook, that the Lord Lieutenant would acquiesce with such Directions as he should receive therein without Contradiction, or Endeavour to do ill Offices to the Catholicks. He further promised, that if any Order should be procured from the King during the Restraint he was then in, to the Disadvantage of the Catholicks, then He would suspend any Obedience thereunto, until such Time as his Majesty should be at Liberty, and might receive full Information on their behalf. And upon the Marquis of *Clanrickard's* positive

tive Undertaking these Particulars ; and the Lord Lieutenant having ratified and confirmed all that the Marquiss had engaged himself for, General *Preston*, with all the principal Officers under his Command, signed this ensuing Engagement.

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WE the Generals, Nobility, and Officers of the Confederate Catholick Forces, do solemnly bind and engage ourselves, by the Honour and Reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and by the sacred Protestation upon the Faith of Catholicks, in the Presence of Almighty God, both for ourselves, and, as much as in us lies, for all Persons that are, or shall be under our Command, that we will from the Date hereof forward, submit and conform ourselves intirely and sincerely to the Peace concluded and proclaimed by his Majesty's Lieutenant, with such additional Concessions and Securities, as the right honourable, *Ulick* Lord Marquiss of *Clanrickard* hath undertaken to procure and secure to us, in such Manner, and upon such Terms, as is expressed in his Lordship's Undertakings, and Protestation of the same Date hereunto annexed, and signed by himself: And we, upon his Lordship's Undertaking, engage ourselves by the Bond of Honour and Conscience above-said, to yield intire Obedience to his Majesty's Lieutenant General, and General Governor of this Kingdom, and to all deriving Authority from them by Commission to command us in our several Degrees: And that according to such Orders as we shall receive from them, faithfully to serve his Majesty against all his Enemies or Rebels, as well within this Kingdom, as in any other Part of his Dominions, and against all Persons that shall not join with us upon these Terms, in Submission to the Peace of this Kingdom, and to his Majesty's Authority: And we do further engage ourselves, under the said solemn Bonds, that we will never, either directly or indirectly, make Use of any Advantage or Power wherewith we shall be intrusted, to the obliging of his Majesty or his Ministers, by any kind of Force, to grant unto us any Thing beyond the said Marquiss of *Clanrickard*'s Undertaking, but shall wholly rely upon his Majesty's own free Goodness, for what further Graces and Favours he shall be graciously pleased to confer upon his faithful Catholick Subjects in this Kingdom, according to their Obedience and Merit in his Service: And we do further protest, that we shall never esteem ourselves disobliged from this Engagement, by any Authority or Power whatsoever; provided on both Parties, that this Engagement and Undertaking be not understood, or extend to debar or hinder his Majesty's Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, from the Benefit of any further Graces and Favours which his Majesty may be graciously pleased to concede to them, upon the Queen's Majesty's Mediation, or any other Treaties abroad.

Upon the Marquiss of *Clanrickard*'s free dealing with the Confederates, General *Preston* and others sign an Engagement.

This was done about the End of *November* 1646, at Sir *Nicholas White*'s Castle of *Leixlip*; the Nuncio with the other Army under *Owen O Neal*, having been about the same Time compelled to raise their Siege from *Dublin*, and to retire for want of Provisions. Hereupon the Marquiss of *Clanrickard* was made by the Lord Lieutenant, Lieutenant General of the Army, and was accordingly received by General *Preston*'s Army being drawn in Battalia: And General *Preston* at the same Time received a Commission from the Lord Lieutenant,

Upon this there seemed to be some Agreement betwixt the Lord Lieutenant and Confederates, they taking Commissions from the Lord-Lieutenant.

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to command as Serjeant Major General, and immediately under the Marquis of *Clanrickard*. And shortly after, General *Preston* desired the Lord Lieutenant to march with as strong a Body as he could draw out of his Garrisons, towards *Kilkenny*, where he promised to meet him with his Army, that so being united, they might compel the rest to submit to the Peace.

And here, that you may have some Divertisement, you shall see in what Condition Hereticks are to be buried; to which end, we shall present you with a Copy of a Censure, under the Hand of *Nicholas*, Bishop of *Ferns*, against *Francis Talbot*, who died a Protestant.

‘ The Body of *Francis Talbot*, who died an obstinate Heretick, and
 ‘ finally therein impenitent, is to be buried in *Pœnam Hæreseos, &*
 ‘ *finalis impenitentiae, nec non in terrorem aliorum*, with only one Candle
 ‘ at the Grave, at nine of the Clock by Night, without a Bell in the
 ‘ Church or Street, without Priest, Cross, Book, or Prayer; the Place
 ‘ of his Burial is to be in the Alley of St. *Mary’s* Church-yard, near to
 ‘ the Garden of the Parsonage. All which, concerning the said Burial, we
 ‘ have ordered to be done with the Advice of Men learned in Divini-
 ‘ ty; and who shall exceed this Manner of the said *Francis’s* Burial,
 ‘ is to incur Church-Censures; no Wax Taper, or Candle, or Torch,
 ‘ is to be used.

Given at the Fryers Monastery,
 the last of *December*, 1646.

Nicholaus Episcopus Fernensis.

Yet after all, the Officers of General *Preston* being not Excommunication-proof, the Lord-Lieutenant was again disappointed.

When the Marquis was come within less then a Day’s March of the Place assigned by General *Preston*, for the meeting and joyning their Forces together, the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, who attended upon the Lord Lieutenant, received a Letter from *Preston* to this Effect: ‘ That
 ‘ his Officers being not Excommunication-proof, were fallen from him
 ‘ to the Nuncio’s Party, and therefore he wished, that the Lord Lieu-
 ‘ tenant would proceed no further, but to expect the Issue of a General
 ‘ Assembly, that would be shortly convened at *Kilkenny*, where he
 ‘ doubted not but that Things would be set right by the Consent of the
 ‘ whole Kingdom, which he said would be much better for his Majesty’s
 ‘ Service, than to attempt forcing the Peace upon those who were a-
 ‘ verse to it.

The Lord-Lieutenant returns to *Dublin*, which being not able to supply his Soldiers, they were forced to be quartered on the Country, where nothing but Victuals were taken by them.

Upon this new Violation of Faith, the Marquis of *Ormond* was compelled, after some Weeks stay in his Quarters, to return again to *Dublin*, where the Commissioners, who had been lately there from the two Houses of Parliament, had sowed such seeds of Jealousy and Discontent, as the Inhabitants refused to contribute further to the Payment and Support of the Army, being in truth so far exhausted by what they had paid, and impoverished by their total Want and Decay of Traffick and Commerce, as they were not able much longer to contribute, so that the Marquis was forced in the cold and wet Winter, to draw out his half starved and half naked Troops, only to lie in the Enemy’s Quarters, where yet he would suffer no Act of Hostility to be committed, or any thing else to be taken, but Victuals for the Subsistence of his Men. And in this uneasy Posture, he resolved to expect the result of the next General Assembly, which he supposed could not be so constituted, but that it would abhor the Viola-
 tion

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tion of the former Contracts and Agreements, and the inexcusable Presumption and Proceedings of the Congregation of the Clergy at *Waterford*; and that it would vindicate the Honour and Faith of the Nation, from the Reproaches it lay under, and from the exorbitant and extravagant Jurisdiction which the Nuncio had assumed. But he quickly found himself again disappointed; and, to the universal wonder of all, the new Assembly published a Declaration of a very new Nature: For whereas the Nuncio and his Party had committed to Prison those Noblemen and Gentlemen, who had been Commissioners in treating and concluding the Peace, and had given out Threats and Menaces, that they should lose their Heads for their Transgression; the Assembly presently set them at liberty, and declared, 'That the Commissioners and Council had faithfully and sincerely carried and demeaned themselves in the said Negociation, pursuant, and according to the Trust reposed in them: *And yet in the same Declaration*, declared, That they might not accept of, or submit unto the said Peace, and did thereby protest against it, and did declare the same Invalid, and of no Force to all Intents and Purposes. *And did farther declare*, That the Nation would not accept of any Peace, not containing a sufficient satisfactory Security for the Religion, Lives, Estates and Liberties of the said Confederate Catholicks.' And what they understood to be sufficient and satisfactory for Religion, &c. appears by the Propositions published before by the Congregation at *Waterford*, which they had caused the People to swear that they would insist upon; and which, instead of providing a Toleration of the *Romish* Catholick Religion, had, *in Truth, proved for the Extirpation of the Protestant, when they should think fit to put the same in Execution.* Nor was the only Argument and Excuse, which they published for these Proceedings, more reasonable, than the Proceedings themselves, which was, 'That the Concessions and Promises made unto them, by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, were much larger, and greater Security for their Religion, than those consented to by the Marquess: 'Whereas, in truth, those Concessions and Promises made by the Earl, as we have took notice, were disavowed and disowned by the Lord Lieutenant, before the Peace was concluded, and the Earl committed to Prison for his Presumption; which though it produced some Interruption in the Treaty, yet was the same after resumed, and the Peace concluded, and proclaimed upon the Articles formerly mentioned; so that the Allegation, of what had been undertaken by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, can be no Excuse, for their violating the Agreement afterwards concluded with the Marquiss. Whereby it appears, let the most favourable *Fucus* imaginable be put upon it, that though they released the Commissioners for the Treaty, as justifiable, yet *Herod* and *Pilate* were then made Friends, each Party consenting to damn the Peace.

This last wonderful Act put a Period to all Hopes of the Marquiss of *Ormond*, which Charity and Compassion to the Kingdom and Nation, and his discerning Spirit, would fain have cherished, in that inevitable Ruin and Destruction both must undergo, from that Distemper of Mind that possessed them, and had so long buoyed them up against his Experience and Judgment. And now those whose Natures, Dispositions, and Interest, made them most averse to the Parliament of *England*, grew more affrighted at the Thoughts of falling under the Power of the *Irish*; so that all Persons of all Humours and Inclinations, who lived under his Govern-

The Assembly at *Kilkenny* justify the Commissioners, yet agreed with the Congregation at *Waterford*.

The *Irish* being in all things found treacherous, those who were most averse to the Parliament, yet now wished the Lord Lieutenant might conclude with them.

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The Lord Lieutenant's Conviction, that the *Irish* intended to renounce the Crown of *England*.

A Motion to call in a foreign Prince.

ment, and had Dislikes and Jealousies enough against each other, were yet united and reconciled in their Opinions against the *Irish*. The Council of State besought the Lord Lieutenant to consider, whether it were possible to have any better Security from them, for the Performance of any other Agreement he should make, than he had for the Performance of that, which they now receded from, and disclaimed. And since the Spring was now coming on, whereby the Number, Power, and Strength of their Enemy would be increased on all Sides, and their Hopes of Succours were desperate, and so it would be only in his Election into whose Power he would put those, who had deserved as well from his Majesty by doing and suffering as Subjects could do, whether into the Hands of the *English*, who could not deny them Protection and Justice, or of the *Irish*, who had not only dispoiled them of all their Fortunes, and prosecuted them with all Animosity and Cruelty, but declared by their late Carriage, that they were not capable of Security under them, they therefore entreated him to send again to the two Houses of Parliament, and make some Agreement with them, which would probably be for their Preservation, whereas, with the other, whatever could be done, it was evident it would be for their Destruction. That which amongst other Things of importance made a deep Impression in the Marquis, was the Knowledge, that there had been from the Beginning of these Troubles, 'a Design, in the principal Contrivers of them, entirely to alienate the Kingdom of *Ireland*, from the Crown of *England*, to extirpate not only the Protestants, but all the Catholics, who were descended from the *English*, and who, in truth, are no less odious to the old *Irish*, than the other, and to put themselves into the Protection of some foreign Prince, if they should find it impossible to erect some of the old Families.' And how impossible and extravagant soever this Attempt might reasonably be thought, in regard, not only all the Catholics of the *English* Extraction, who were in Quality and Fortune much superior to the other, but many Noble, and much the best and greatest Families of the ancient *Irish*, perfectly abhorred and abominated the same, writ some. Yet it was apparent, that the violent Part of the Clergy, that now governed, had really that Intention, and never intended more to submit to the King's Authority, whosoever should be intrusted with it: And it had been proposed in the last Assembly by Mr. *Anthony Martin*, and others, *That they should call in some foreign Prince for protection*, from whom they had received Agents; as from his most Christian Majesty, *Monseigneur de Monry*, and *Monseigneur de Molin*; from his Catholick Majesty, *Don Diego de Torres*, his Secretary; from the Duke of *Lorraine*, *Monseigneur St. Katherine*; and from *Rome* they had *Petrus Franciscus Scarampi*, and afterwards *Rinuccini*, Archbishop and Prince of *Fermo*, Nuncio Apostolick for *Ireland*, whose exorbitant Power was earnest enough, how little more they meant to have to do with the King, and, as it would be thought, gave no less an Umbrage, Offence, and Scandal, to the Catholics, of Honour and Discretion, than it incensed those, who bore no Kind of Reverence to the Bishop of *Rome*; to whom, as their publick Ministers, they sent their Bishop of *Ferns*, and Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, as before, Mr. *Richard Bealing*; to *Spain*, they sent Father *Hugh Bourk*; to *Paris*, Father *Matthew Hartegan*; and to the Duke of *Lorraine*, by general Commission, *Theobald*, Lord Viscount *Taaf*, Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, and Mr. *Geoffry*

Geoffry Brown ; some of whose Instructions we shall here give you, that the Temper of that Council, and the Affections of those Men, what Pretence soever veils their Designs, may appear from the Instruments themselves.

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Kilkenny, Jan. 18, 1647.

By the supreme Council, and others, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, here under signing, and the Commons of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland.

Instructions to be observed, and by the Lord Bishop of Ferns, and Nicholas Plunket, Esq; Commissioners, appointed and authorized by, and in the Behalf of the Confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland, in the Court of Rome.

Imprimis. **Y**OU are to represent unto his Holiness, the deplorable Condition wherein the Confederate Catholicks are ; and for your better Information, to take with you, the Draught of the Representation of the present Condition of the Country, which you are to enlarge, and second by your own Expressions, according to your Knowledge ; and therefore desire, in regard *Ireland*, and Religion in it, is, humanely speaking, like to be lost, that his Holiness, in his great Wisdom and Piety, will be pleased to make the Preservation of a People, so constantly and unanimously Catholick; his, and the Consistory of the Cardinals, their Work. And you are to pray his Holiness, to afford such present effectual Aids, for the Preservation of the Nation, and the Roman Catholick Religion therein, as shall be necessary.

II. You are to let his Holiness know, That Application is to be made to our Queen and Prince, for a Settlement of Peace and Tranquility in the Kingdom of *Ireland*: And that for the effecting thereof, the Confederate Catholicks do crave his Holiness's Mediation with the Queen and Prince, as also with the King and Queen Regent of *France*, and with the King of *Spain*, and all other Christian Princes, in all Matters tending to the Avail of the Nation, either in point of Settlement to a Peace, or otherwise.

III. The Confederate Catholicks, having raised Arms for the Freedom of the Catholick Religion, do intend in the first place, that you let his Holiness know their Resolution, to insist upon such Concessions and Agreements in Matters of Religion, and for the Security thereof, as his Holiness shall approve of, and be satisfied with ; wherein his Holiness is to be prayed, to take into his Consideration, the imminent Danger the Kingdom is in, according to the Representations aforesaid to be made by you, and so to proceed in Matters of Religion, as in his great Wisdom and Piety may tend best, and prove necessary to the Preservation of it, and the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*.

IV. You are to represent to his Holiness, That the Confederates think fit to insist upon, as Security for such Agreements in Religion, as his Holiness will determine, that the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord-Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of the Kingdom, from time to time, should be Roman Catholicks, unless his Holiness, upon the said Representation of State Affairs here, or for some other Reason, shall think fit to wave that Proposition.

V. You are to represent to his Holiness, That the Confederate Catholicks Desire, that all the Concessions to be made, and agreed on, for the settling

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settling of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, be published at the same time with the Temporal Articles of the Settlement, if his Holiness, on representation of the State of Affairs here, or for some other Advantages, shall not think fit to determine, or suspend the publishing of those or some of them for a time.

VI. You are to represent to his Holiness, That no Change or Alteration is to be in any Part of the present Government of the Confederate Catholicks, until the Articles of Peace, or Settlement, pursuant to the present Authority and Instructions, you, and the Commissioners to the *English* Court in *France*, have been concluded, and expected, and published in this Kingdom, by those intrusted in Authority over the Confederate Catholicks.

VII. You are to take Notice, That the resident Council now named, are the Persons to serve for the Interval Government, until the next Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks, and the Assembly is at liberty to name others, if they please; and that no less than eight of the said Residents concurring, during the said Interval, shall make any Act or Order, obliging, and according as it is provided in the former Articles for the interval Government, in the late rejected Peace, the Forts, Cities, Towns, Castles, and Power of the Armies of the Confederate Catholicks, to remain and continue in their Hands, during the said interval Government.

VIII. You are to take Notice, That the Persons to be employed into *France* to the Queen and Prince, are to finish their Negotiation with the Queen and Prince, pursuant to their Instructions, with all possible Speed, after they shall receive his Holiness's Resolution from you out of *Rome*, in the Matters referred as aforesaid to his Holiness; and you are to use all possible Diligence, in procuring and sending his Holiness's said Resolution unto our said Commissioners, employed to the Queen and Prince.

IX. In case his Holiness will not be pleased to descend to such Conditions, as might be granted in Matters of Religion, then you are to solicit for considerable Aids, whereby to maintain War, and to ascertain and secure the same, that it may be timely applied to the Use of the Confederate Catholicks. And in case a Settlement cannot be had, nor considerable Aids, that may serve to preserve the Nation without a Protector, you are to make application to his Holiness, for his being Protector to this Kingdom, and by special Instance to endeavour his Acceptance thereof at such time, and in such Manner, as the Instructions sent by our Agents to *France*, grounded on the Assembly, doth import, whereof you are to have a Copy.

X. Though Matters be concluded by his Holiness's Approbation with the Prince and Queen, yet you are to solicit for Aids, considering our Distress, and setting before him, that notwithstanding any such Aids, we have a powerful Enemy within the Kingdom, which to expulse, will require a vast Charge.

XI. You are to take with you for your Instruction, and the better to enable you to satisfy his Holiness of the full State of Affairs here, the Copies of the Instructions at *Waterford*, the Articles of the late rejected Peace, and *Glamorgan's* Concessions, and the Propositions from *Kilkenny*, to the Congregation at *Waterford*, in *August*, 1646.

XII.

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XII. If Money be received in *Rome* by you, by way of Gift, Engagement, or otherwise, you are to bring, or send the same hither, to those in Authority, and not to dispose the same, or any Part thereof, otherwise than by Order from the General Assembly, or supreme Council; and for all Sums of Money so by you to be received, you are to give Account to the Authority intrusted here over the Confederate Catholicks.

XIII. You are to manage the Circumstance of your Proceedings upon the Instructions, according as upon the Place you shall find most tending to the Avail of the Confederate Catholicks.

Tho. Dublin.

Tho. Cashell.

Thom. Tuamen Electus, *Ewerus Clougherensis*, *David Ossorienf.* *Joba.* Episc. *Roscotensis* Fr. *Edmundus Laglensis*, *Franc. Ardensis* Episc. *Robert. Elect.* *Coses & Cluomer*, *Francis. Patricius Ardack.* Electus, *Rob. Dromore* Elect. *Henry O Neal*, *Rich. Bealing*, *J. Bryan*, *Robert. Devereux*, *Gerard Fennel*, *Farren.*

By the Command of the General Assembly,

N. Plunket.

These having been solicited, we shall now present you with their further Instructions, to importune other Princes.

Instructions for France, January 18, 1647,

YOU are to present your Letters of Credence, to his most Christian Majesty, and the several Letters you have with you, to the Queen, the Prince and Cardinal *Mazarine*, declaring the special Affection of the Confederate Catholicks, to his Majesty's Service, upon all Occasions, wherein they may serve him.

You are to desire his most Christian Majesty, the Queen Regent, and Cardinal *Mazarine*, their favourable and friendly Regard of the Affairs of the Confederate Catholicks, and to direct their Assistance in what they may, to further the settling of the happy Peace of this Kingdom, with advantageous and honourable Conditions, Commissioners being now sent, to conclude the same, if they may.

You are to let his most Christian Majesty, the Queen Regent, and Cardinal *Mazarine* know, That there be a considerable Enemy, in the Heart of the several Provinces of this Kingdom; that yet we have many Cities and Parts of the greatest Consequence in our Hands, and have sufficient Stock of Men, to defend the Nation and expel the Enemy, but do want Aids of Money and Shipping, without which, we shall be in Danger, the next Summer-Service; and therefore to solicit for considerable Aids in Monies, to be sent timely, the Preservation of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, depending thereon.

If you find upon the Place, that a Settlement of Peace cannot be had, according to the several Instructions, that go with the Commissioners to his Holiness, and Christian Majesty, and Prince of *Wales*, nor such considerable Aids, that may probably prove for the Preservation of the Nation; then you are to inform yourself, by Correspondence with our Commissioners employed to *Rome*, whether his Holiness will accept of

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this Offer, of being Protector of this Nation ; and if you find he will not accept thereof, nor otherwise send such powerful and timely Aids, as may serve to Preservation, then you are by Advice of other the Commissioners employed to his Majesty, and Prince of *Wales*, and by Correspondence had with the Commissioners employed to *Rome*, and by Correspondence likewise with our Commissioners employed since, if it may be timely had, to inform yourself, where the most considerable Aids for preserving this Nation may be had, by this Offer of the Protectorship of the Nation, in manner, as by other Instructions into *France*, grounded on the same of the Assembly is contained, and so to manage the Disposal of the Protectorship, as you, and the rest of our said Commissioners, shall find most for the Advantage of the Nation.

The like Instructions for Spain, bearing the same Date.

Upon these, and other Considerations, ever in his View, as that the *English* Interest in *Ireland* must be preserved by the *English*, and not by the *Irish*, the Marquis thought it much more prudent and agreeable to the Trust reposed in him, to deposite the King's Interest, and Right to the Crown of *Ireland*, into the Hands of the Lords and Commons of *England*, who still made great Profession of Duty and Submission to his Majesty, from whom it would probably return to the Crown in a short Time, than to trust it with the *Irish*, from whom less than a very chargeable War, would never recover it, in what State soever the Affairs of *England* should be ; and how lasting, and bloody, and costly, that War might prove, by the Intermeddling and Pretences of foreign Princes, was not hard to conclude : ‘ In that such Auxiliaries, many Times prove dangerous Assistance, not being over-tender, or much distinguishing betwixt the Party they come to assist, and that they come to subdue, when they are made Umpires in such Quarrels ;’ as may be guessed by the Accompt in the opposite Table † : of which the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *Ireland*, being very sensible, they thus in *March* expressed themselves, and their Condition to the Parliament of *England*.

The Declaration of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, assembled in Ireland, of the present Estate, and distressed Condition of the Protestants in the said Kingdom, and their Address unto the most honourable, the Parliament of England, for Relief.

WE, the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *Ireland*, having by the Mercy of God, your Care of us, and the Industry of those intrusted by his Majesty, with the Government here, preserved unto us, the Means of sitting together, and of delivering freely our Thoughts, concerning the Condition of this miserable Kingdom, whereof we are the representative Body, and finding withal the Government, ourselves, and indeed the Protestants in the Kingdom, reduced to that final Point of Extremity, that if not very speedily supported and preserved, all in these Parts must become a Prey unto the bloody and inhumane Rebels, and this City of *Dublin*, the chief Seat and Citadel of this Kingdom, with the other Garrisons depending thereupon, be turned into the prime Seats and Strengths of those, who have

given

† *An Account of what the subduing the Rebellion of Ireland, begun the 23d of October, 1641, hath cost, and what Damage the Protestants there have sustained thereby, and what Lands have been forfeited and disposed of to Adventurers, Soldiers, and other English, and what to the Irish, and now in their Possession: Abstracted out of the Accounts of Moneys in the Exchequer, during such Time as any regular Accounts were made up, and by probable and rational Estimates, for the Time in which no Accounts were kept, by reason of the general Rebellion and Confusion, and out of the Surveys, Decrees, and Settlements, made by his Majesty's Commissioners, for executing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation in Ireland.*

1. Moneys received and issued from the 6th of July, 1649, to the 1st of November, 1656, being 7 years and 4 months, according to an Account thereof, remaining as a Record, in the Auditor-General's Office in Ireland.	Transmitted out of England, in Specie - - - - -	1566848	13	4	
	Assessments in Ireland - - - - -	1309695	14	11	$\frac{1}{2}$
	Rents of forfeited and sequestered Houses, Lands, Fishings, &c. —	161598	8	7	$\frac{3}{4}$
	Tythes sequestered - - - - -	135524	3	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
	Customs and Excise - - - - -	252474	18	10	$\frac{3}{4}$
	Preys of Cows, Horses, and other Goods, taken from the Rebels, and for other casual Revenue - - - - -	083258	18	0	
					3509396 17 0 $\frac{1}{2}$

Money issued in England towards transporting Armies, raising Recruits, buying and sending over Provisions of all sorts for the Army, and other Moneys issued by Warrant from the then Council, or the Committee of the Army in England, which was not accounted for in Ireland, the Warrants and Accounts being never transmitted thither, of which there is a Reference in the Account of Record, in the Exchequer above-mentioned, which is estimated to be as much, if not more, than the above Sum of 3509396*l.* 17*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* In that all Clothes, Linnen and Woollen, Stockings, Shoes, Boots, Horses, Saddles, Arms, Ammunition, Tents, Bread, Cheese, and all other eating Provisions, were sent from England, and the Price thereof deducted from the weekly Pay of the Army, and not brought to Account, and so estimated as above

The Charges of the Armies in the several Provinces of Ireland, from the 23d of October, 1641, the Time the Rebellion broke out, to the 6th of July, 1649, from whence the Account is stated, as above, being about seven Years and nine Months, when no regular Accounts were or could be kept, by reason of the Confusion in which the Kingdom was by the Rebellion, there may be by probable Estimate added, without any Allowance, for Provision of all Sorts, after the Rate of what was paid the Army after the 6th of July, 1649, when Provisions were deducted

The Loss of Rents for fourteen Years, from October, 1641, until the Year 1655, reckoning the Land but at 12*d.* an Acre yearly, is 7608264*l.* 6*s.* and reckoning all the Corporations, Houses, and Tithes, but at a Moiety thereof, comes to

Besides the Loss by the Devastation of Houses, Orchards, Gardens, Improvements, Household-stuff, Corn, Cattle, and the impairing the Value of Land unto that Time, not to be estimated, but in Reason to be accounted, as much as before is computed for all other Charges, Losses, and Expences, if not much more, the same extending to the whole Kingdom.

2. By the Surveys of Ireland, there is in Ireland, as forfeited by the Rebellion, and belonging to Protestants, not forfeited, of Plantation-Acres, accounting 21 Foot to the Perch, and 160 Perches to the Arce, in the respective Provinces, the Quantity of Land hereafter mentioned.

Leinster	2603520	} Acres 10868949
Munster	3255874	
Ulster	2777875	
Connaught	2231680	

The which Lands are divided and distributed, as by the Surveys and Records of the Court of Claims will appear, as followeth:

To the Protestants, and others, that proved their constant good Affection, including the Bogs, Loughs, and Mountains in Ireland	6110292	} 10868949
To Adventurers		
To the Officers and Soldiers	396054	
To the Officers that served his Majesty against the Rebels in Ireland, before the Year 1649	1442839	
To his Royal Highness the Duke of York, as Regicides Lands	278041	
To Protestants on Provisions by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation	111015	
To the Bishops for their Augmentations, of which some have Possession	383975	
Reserved to his Majesty as undisposed, upon the Account of Lewis Dyke and Thomas Conyngham, being set out on fraudulent Adventures	118041	
Left of course Lands undisposed, the Title to the greatest Part whereof was doubtful	14006	
	73578	
Restored unto the Irish upon Decrees of Innocency		} 2041108
Restored to them by special Provisions in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation	965270	
Set out upon their Transplantations of Connaught and Clare, over and above what is confirmed to English Protestants, who purchased Interests there from the Irish	408083	
	667755	

So that the Irish, notwithstanding the Rebellion, and their great Complaints of losing all their Lands, are restored unto, and possessed of, almost one half of all the Lands formerly accounted forfeited by the Rebellion. Besides, that the 2717549 Acres granted to the English, hath cost as before, besides the Loss of hundreds of thousands of Men murdered by, and killed in subduing the said Rebels, the Sum of 22191258*l.* 3*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* And accounting the said 2717549 Acres to be worth 12*d.* per Acre, one Acre with the other yearly, they will come to 135876*l.* 9*s.* which for the Purchase thereof, at ten Years Purchase, comes to 1358764*l.* 10*s.* After which Rate, the Lands granted to the English and Protestants, are not the fifteenth Part of what the Money expended in subduing the said Rebellion, would have bought, and accounting the Devastations, and the Loss of many thousands of Mens Lives for nothing.

given ' evident Proof, that they aim not at less, than the Extirpation of all Protestants, and the setting up the abominable Idol of the ' Mass, and Superstition, and at the shaking off of all Loyalty and ' Subjection to the Crown of *England* : ' We therefore hold it our Duty, as being also perhaps the last, which we by reason of the near Approach of a powerful and pernicious Enemy, may have the Means to discharge in this Capacity, to make the present Address, and Representation of our miserable Condition, to the most honourable the Parliament of *England*, which, as it hath, in all times of common Danger, been the Fountain, from whence the Power and Lustre of the Crown of *England* in this Kingdom, hath sprung, so it is now the only Sanctuary, unto which, in behalf of ourselves, and the distressed Interest thereof, we can fly for Succour and Preservation. We hold it unnecessary to particularize our present Wants and Miseries, and Impossibilities of further Subsistence of our selves, since they are too well known, even to our Enemies, in so much as it may be feared, that the Benefit which we confidently expect, by the great Diligence and Wisdom of the most honourable, the Parliament of *England*, may not arrive timely, for our Relief and Preservation ; nor can we so misdoubt the Wisdom, Justice, and Piety, of those honourable Houses, whereof we have had heretofore, very real and great Experience, which we do here with all thankfulness acknowledge, as to fear that they will suffer the Protestant Religion, the Interest of the Crown of *England*, and of the Protestants in these important Garrisons, and Quarters, to be sacrificed unto the Fury of the merciless Rebels : But on the contrary, as we do earnestly desire, so are we most confident, that the Goodness and Wisdom of the most Honourable, the Parliament of *England*, will so seasonably send over a sufficient Power, as well to subdue and suppress these merciless and bloody Rebels, as to maintain these Places, accompanied with an Assurance from the most Honourable, the Parliament of *England*, for enjoying those Conditions of Honour, Subsistence and Safety, which have been lately offered by their Commissioners, for, and in the Name of the most Honourable, the Parliament of *England*, to those who have hitherto governed and preserved them, and to his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, and those who have faithfully and constantly adhered unto them, unto which they may be pleased to join such further Additions of Grace and Bounty, as to their Wisdoms and Goodness, shall be thought fit, as that they, and all the Protestants, and such others, as have faithfully and constantly adhered unto them, may find Security and Preservation therein, whereby we may heartily joyn under those, whom the said most Honourable, the Parliament of *England*, shall appoint, in prosecuting so pious a War, and being God's Instruments, for the bringing just Vengeance upon such perfidious Rebels, and in restoring the protestant Religion, and Interest of the Crown of *England*, in this Kingdom, to its due and former Lustre, which we will ever strive, with the Hazard of our Lives and Fortunes to maintain.

While the Marquis was in this Deliberation, being privy to the Parliament's Actions, he received Information, that the King was delivered by the *Scots*, to the Commissioners of the two Houses of Parliament, who were then treating with him, for the settling of Peace in all his Dominions ; and at the same Time, several Persons of Quality, arrived

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The King's Answer to the Lord Lieutenant, upon his Signification of his Streights in *Dublin*.

The Lord-Lieutenant delivers *Dublin* to the Parliament's Commissioners, though upon his Inclination, the *Irish* endeavour to delude him.
 * *Arthur Annesly*, Esq; *Sir Robert King*, *Sir Robert Meredith*, Colonel *John Moore*, Colonel *Michael Jones*, who carried over a Regiment of Horse, and 1000 Foot, and was made Commander in Chief of all the Forces, within the Province of *Leinster*, and Governor of *Dublin*, who upon his Entrance upon the Place, found eleven old Regiments of Foot, which he reduced to seven, viz. the Earl of *Kildare's*, the Lord *Moore's*, *Sir Henry Tickenhorne*, *Sir John Borlase, Jun.* Colonel *Francis Willoughby*, Colonel *Baily*, and *Flowers*, in all about four Thousand, no Recruit being sent to any of them.

arrived at *Dublin*, having been privately dispatched by his Majesty, with Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure, upon the Advertisement he had received of the Condition of *Ireland*, to this Purpose, 'That if it were possible for the Marquis to keep *Dublin*, and the other Garrisons, under the same intire Obedience to his Majesty, they were then in, it would be acceptable to his Majesty; but if there were, or should be, a Necessity of giving them up to any other Power, he would rather put them into the Hands of the *English*, than of the *Irish*,' which was the Rule, the Marquis was to guide himself by, who had likewise his other very important Considerations, which, if all the Rest had been away, had been enough to have inclined him to that Resolution. The King was now in the Power, and Hands of those, who raised a War against him, principally, upon the Credit of those Reproaches and Scandals, that had persuaded the People to a Belief of his Inclinations to Popery; and of his contriving, or, at least, countenancing the Rebellion in *Ireland*, in which so much Protestant Blood, had been so wantonly and cruelly let out: The Cessation formerly made, and continued with those Rebels, though prudently, charitably, and necessarily entered into, had been the most unpopular Act the King had ever done, and had wonderfully contributed to the Reputation of the two Houses of Parliament, if, according to the general Opinion then current, there should a Peace ensue, between the King and them; so that his Majesty would lose nothing by the Parliament being possessed of *Dublin*, and those other Towns, then in the Disposal of the Lord-Lieutenant: On the contrary, if they intended to pursue his Majesty, with continued and new Reproaches, and thereby to make him so odious to his Subjects, that they might with more Facility and Applause, execute their horrible Conspiracy against his Life, there could be nothing so disadvantageous to his Majesty, as the Surrender of *Dublin*, to the *Irish* Confederates; which being done by the King's Lord-Lieutenant, would easily be interpreted, to be by his Majesty's Direction, and so make a Confirmation of all they had published of that kind; and, among the ignorant seduced People, might have been a Countenance to, though nothing could be a Justification of their unparallell'd Dealings.

Hereupon the Marquis took a Resolution, since he could not possibly keep it himself, to deliver it into the Hands of the *English*; and to that Purpose sent again to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, that he would surrender *Dublin*, and the other Garrisons to them, upon the same Condition they had before offered; who quickly dispatched their Ships with Commissioners, * Men, and Money, and all other Provisions necessary to take the same into their Possession. The Confederate Catholicks were no sooner informed of this, but they sent again to the Lord Lieutenant an Overture of Accommodation, as they call it, yet the Messengers intrusted by them, were so wary, lest indeed by accepting what they proposed, they might be obliged to a Conjunction, that they refused to give their Propositions in Writing; and, when upon their Discourse, the Lord Lieutenant had writ what they had propounded, and shewed it to them, albeit, they could not deny but that it was the same, yet they refused to sign it; whereby it was very natural to conclude, that the Overture was made by them, only to lay some Imputation upon the Marquis, of not being necessitated to agree with the two Houses of Parliament, rather than with any Purpose of submitting to the King's Authority.

Authority. At last, being so far pressed, they found it necessary to let the Marquis know in plain Terms what he was to trust to, they sent him a Message in Writing, in which they declared, ' That they must insist upon the Propositions of the Clergy, formerly mentioned to be agreed at *Waterford*, and to which they had sworn; and that if he would have a Cessation with them, he must promise not to receive any Forces from the two Houses of Parliament in six or seven Months: ' Not proposing in the mean Time any way how his Majesty's Army should be maintained, but by a full Submission unto all their unreasonable Demands: Notwithstanding all which, the Parliament failing to make that speedy Performance of what they had promised, and their Commissioners not having, as it was agreed on, brought Bills sufficiently drawn to be accepted of, for 10,000 *l.* and the Marquis having it thereby in his Power, fairly to comply with the *Irish*, if they had yet recovered the Temper and Discretion that might justify him; He sent again to them, as well an Answer to their Overtures of Accommodation, as an Offer not to receive any Forces from the two Houses, for the Space of three Weeks, if they would, during that Time, consent to a Cessation, that a full Peace might be treated, and agreed upon. To which Motion, they never vouchsafed to return any Answer; about the same Time *Owen O Neil*, wisely foreseeing, that the Nuncio, or the supreme Council, did not enough consider, or foresee the evil Consequences, that would undoubtedly attend the Lord Lieutenant's being compelled to leave the Kingdom, and to put *Dublin*, and the other Garrisons into the Possession of the *English* Rebels, sent his Nephew *Daniel O Neil*, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, that if the Marquis would accept of a Cessation for two Months, which he believed, the Assembly, or supreme Council, would propose, with what mind soever, he would promise, and undertake, to continue it for a Twelvemonth; and in the mean Time, he would use his utmost Power, to procure a Peace. *Owen O Neil* was a Man of an haughty and positive Humour, and rather hard to be inclined to submit to reasonable Conditions, than easie to decline them, or break his Word, when he had consented; therefore the Lord Lieutenant returned this Answer; That if he would give him his Word, to continue the Cessation for a full Year, he would accept it, when proposed from the supreme Council for two Months; and he would in the mean Time, wave any further Treaty with the Parliament; yet sent him word, he would not hold himself by this Promise, longer than fourteen Days engaged, if he did not in that Time receive such a positive Effect of his Overture, as he expected. *Owen O Neil* accepted of the Condition, and with all possible speed, dispatched his Nephew *Daniel*, to the supreme Council at *Clonmel*, with a Letter containing his Advice, and another to the Bishop of *Clogher*, his chief Confident; to whom he sent Reasons at large, which ought to induce the Nation to desire such a Cessation. When the Council received the Letter, and knew that the Lord Lieutenant expected an Answer within fourteen Days, they resolved to return no Answer, till those Days were expired, and during that Time, committed *Daniel O Neil* to Prison, that he might not return to his Uncle; and when the Time was passed, they released him, on Condition that he should come no more into their Quarters.

In the Interim, the Parliament of *Ireland*, then sitting at *Dublin*, finding into what Straights the Kingdom was brought, and how

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his Excellency had struggled with the greatest Difficulties imaginable, for his Majesty's, and their Interest; they, the 17th of *March*, sent this Remonstrance, in Acknowledgment of his great Care and Indulgence.

The Remonstrance of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, declaring the Acknowledgment of their hearty Thankfulness to the most Honourable, James Marquiss of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, his Excellency.

WE the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament in our whole Body, do present our selves before your Lordship, acknowledging with great Sense and Feeling your Lordship's singular Goodness to us the Protestant Party, and those who have faithfully and constantly adhered unto them, who have been preserved to this Day, under God, by your Excellency's Providence and pious Care, which hath not been done without a vast Expence out of your own Estate, as also to the hazarding of your Person in great and dangerous Difficulties: And when your Lordship found your self, with the Strength remaining with you, to be too weak to resist an insolent, and upon all Advantages, a perfidious and bloody Enemy, rather than we should perish, you have in your Care transferred us into their Hands, that are both able and willing to preserve us; and that not by a bare casting us off, but by complying so far with us, that you have not denied our Desires of Hostages, and amongst them, of one of your most dear Sons: All which being such a free Earnest of your Excellency's Love to our Religion, Nation, and both Houses, do incite us here to come unto you with Hearts filled with your Love, and Tongues declaring how much we are obliged to your Excellency, professing our Resolutions are with all real Service, to the utmost of our Power, to manifest the Sincerity of our Acknowledgment and Affections unto you, and to perpetuate to Posterity the Memory of your Excellency's Merits, and our Thankfulness. We have appointed this Instrument to be entered into both Houses, and under the Hands of both Speakers to be presented to your Lordship.

*Richard Bolton, Chanc.
17 die Martii, 1676.
intr. per. Val. Savage
Dep. Cler. Parl.*

*Maurice Eustace, Speaker.
Int. 17. die Martii, 1676. per
Philip Fernely, Cler. Dom.
Com.*

What Effect this made upon his Excellency, you will here see.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHAT you have now read and delivered hath much surpris'd me, and contains matter of higher Obligation laid upon me by you, than thus suddenly to be answered; yet I may not suffer you to depart hence, without saying somewhat to you: And first, I assure you, that this Acknowledgment of yours is unto me a Jewel of very great Value, which I shall lay up amongst my choicest Treasures, it being not only a full Confutation of those Calumnies that have been cast upon my Actions, during the Time I have had the Honour to serve his Majesty here,

here, but likewise an Antidote against the Virulency and Poison of those Tongues and Pens, that, I am well assured, will be busily set on work, to traduce and blast the Integrity of my present Proceedings for your Preservation. And now, my Lords and Gentlemen, since this may perhaps be the last Time that I shall have the Honour to speak to you from this Place; and since that next to the Words of a dying Man, those of one ready to banish himself from his Country for the good of it, challenge credit, give me leave before God and you here to protest, That in all the Time I had the Honour to serve the King my Master, I never received any Command from him, but such as spake him a wise, pious, Protestant Prince, zealous of the Religion he professeth, the Welfare of his Subjects, and industrious to promote and settle Peace and Tranquility in all his Kingdoms; and I shall beseech you to look no otherwise upon me, than upon a ready Instrument set on work by the King's Wisdom and Goodness for your Preservation; wherein if I have discharged my self to his Approbation and Yours, it will be the greatest Satisfaction and Comfort I shall take with me, wherever it shall please God to direct my Steps. And now, that I may dismiss you, I beseech God long, long, to preserve my gracious Master, and to restore Peace and Rest to this afflicted Church and Kingdom.

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But to return. In conclusion, the Commissioners from the two Houses of Parliament having performed all that on their part was expected, the Marquis of *Ormond* delivered up *Dublin* and the other Garrisons into their hands, the 17th, some write the 18th of *June*, 1647, on Condition to enjoy his Estate, and not to be subject to any Debts contracted for the Support of his Majesty's Army under his Command, or for any Debts contracted before the Rebellion: That he, and all such Noblemen and Officers as desired to pass into any part of that Kingdom, should have travelling Arms, and free Passes, with Servants for their respective Qualities: That he should have 5000*l.* in hand, and 2000*l.* *per Annum* for five Years, till he could receive so much a Year out of his own Estate: And that he should have liberty to live in *England* without taking any Oaths for a Year; he engaging his Honour to do nothing in the Interim to the Prejudice of the Parliament. However, he delivered not up the *Regalia* till the 25th of *July*, at which time he was transported, with his Family, into *England*; where they admitted him to wait on the King, and to give his Majesty an Account of his Transactions: who received him most graciously, as a Servant who had merited highly from him, and fully approved all that he had done. The Straits his Excellency was then put to, were great, and, in consideration into whose hands the Government might fall, his Surrender of *Dublin* to the Parliament seemed extreme hazardous: Yet Providence so steered his Resolution in that Act, as doubtless the ground of his Majesty's Sovereignty, and the *English* preservation, how many Channels soever it passed through first, proceeded thence. Before He came away, the Soldiers had received such a tincture of Mutiny, as Mr. *Annesly* and Sir *Robert King*, for fear of Violence, privately quitted the Kingdom, before which, they, with Sir *Robert Meredith*, Colonel *Michael Jones*, and Colonel *John Moore*, took notice of the Insolency of the Soldiers, to exact Contribution and free Quarters at their Pleasure, forbidding them so to do, &c. by a Proclamation at *Dublin*, the 20th of *June*, 1647.

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* Edw. Parry,
Laonensis, Jac.
Margetson nunc
temporis Arma-
chanus, Ben.
Cuime, Ambr.
Anngier, Ja.
Sybald, Godf.
Rhodes, Hen.
Hall, exin, E-
pisc. Acadensis,
Jof. War. Jo.
Brookbank, Gil-
bert. Dean,
Dud. Boswell,
Rob. Parry,
Joan. Creighton
Can. Edw. Syng,
exin. Ardfertensis,
Rob. Dickson,
Rand. Ince,
Hen. Byrch,
Rich. Powell.

Soon after the Parliament's Commissioners were warm in the Government, having regulated their Militia, they put their Sickle into the Service of the Church, where they found many * so tenacious to the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and their Vows to their Ordinaries, as they could not be weaned from the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, in which Ministry they desired to finish their Course with Joy; and the 9th of *July*, 1647, they unanimously published a Declaration to that end, exactly drawn up with great Reason, Perspicuity, and Eloquence; as follows:

To the Honourable Commissioners from the Parliament of England.

The humble Answer and Petition of the Protestant Clergy of the City of Dublin.

Humbly shewing,

THAT whereas we having received from your Honours by *Anthony Dopping* Esquire, a Message consisting of two Branches; one of Demand, Whether the Ministers will officiate in their several Churches, not using the Book of Common Prayer?

The other a Concession to this Effect; That such as will officiate, may use the Directory, or such Service as is agreeable to the Word of God; but not use the Book of Common Prayer.

We hereto with all Meekness and Lowliness of Minds, return this our joint Answer.

1. That forasmuch as we see and know, that the Protestants of this City, for the most part, are much grieved in Heart for the want of the daily accustomed Service of God in the two Cathedrals, and the Parish Churches of this City, and for their late being deprived of us and our Ministry, which they have long enjoyed; we are very much troubled, and are very sorrowful in our selves for their Grief: We acknowledge our selves bound to preach the Gospel of Christ unto the People, and are so far from a voluntary Desertion of our Churches, People, Ministry, and the Exercise thereof, as that we shall rejoyce in nothing more, than that we may finish our Course with Joy, and the Ministry which we have received of the Lord *Jesus*, to testify the Grace of God.

2. That we have been, and still are effectually debarred from our Churches, and the Exercise of our Ministry by your Honours Injunction and Command, bearing Date the 24th of *June* 1647, wherein you require the Discontinuance of the Book of Common-prayer, and the receiving of the Directory, &c. which Injunction lies still upon us, with the Danger of Non-protection in case we disobey the same.

3. That we cannot consent with a good Conscience to the Discontinuance of the Book of Common-Prayer, and receiving the Directory in lieu thereof, or any other private Form of publick Service for the Reasons exhibited, and alledged in our * Answer the 22d of *June* last, whereto we humbly annex these Reasons following, amongst others which we debated upon in our mutual Conference the 25th of *June*, and on the same Day touched some of the Heads of them before your Honours.

I. We all at our Ordination, or being made Presbyters, have among other Things, made this solemn Promise before God, which we account the

* Which being given in writing, the Copies cannot be recovered, though the main of what is there insisted on, is here repeated.

the same with or little different from an Oath, 'that we would so minister the Doctrine and Sacraments, and Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realm hath received the same.'

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II. We have often taken the Oath of Supremacy, and sworn that the 'King's Highness is the only supreme Governor of this Realm, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical Things or Causes, as temporal, and that we shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, &c. granted or belonging to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this Kingdom.' Now should we receive a Directory printed, or any other Form without royal Authority, we do not conceive how this can stand with this our Oath.

III. As an Act of Parliament the Second of *Elizabeth*, still in force in this Kingdom, expressly commands the Use of this Book of Common-Prayer, so it forbids Common-Prayer or Administration of the Sacraments otherwise or after any other Manner of Form, with any private Dispensation whereof we cannot comply, we being bound to the Obedience thereof, *not only for fear of Penalty, but for Conscience sake*, Rom. 13. 5.

IV. Whereas the Book of Common-Prayer is one main Part of the Reformation established in the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*; the laying aside thereof and the receiving of the Directory or any other form would be, we conceive, considering the present State and Circumstances of Things, a departing in this from the Communion of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*.

V. It is evident, that as the Constitution of a Law in any matter Ecclesiastical, the order ever observed in the Church since Kings became *nursing Fathers* thereto, was, is, and ought to be this, That it first pass the Consultation and Determination of a lawful Ecclesiastical Council; and then, that it receive the Sanction and Confirmation of the civil supreme Magistrate; for this gives it the formal Strength and Vigour of a Law outwardly obliging, and that gives it Materiality and Substance, and supplies ground sufficient to make it a Law inwardly obliging Christian People to receive it. So in the Promulgation and Execution of that Law, concerning a matter Ecclesiastical, there was and is this Order observed: First, the supreme civil Magistrate remands and recommends it to the Ecclesiastical Governors, and they deliver it to the Rest of the Pastors, and they to the People. So that the immediate actual Reception of an Order Ecclesiastical by the Ministers, is from the Hand of the Bishop or Ordinary. And upon this is founded that solemn Promise made before God by every Minister at his Ordination, That he will reverently obey his Ordinary, and other chief Ministers, unto whom, the Government and Charge over him is committed, following with a glad Mind their godly Admonitions, and submitting himself to their godly Judgments.

Since then in this matter concerning the Book of Common-Prayer, all the required Premisses were fulfilled, and that any other Form, that for the Present we can use, wants all of them, we cannot without Breach of our Promise forementioned, and disordered Anticipation or Neglect of the Judgment of our Ordinances, receive any such or other Form, con-

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considering the King's Command concerning the only Use of the Book of Common-Prayer expressed in the Act of Parliament is still in force, and the Commands and Constitutions of our lawful Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy, still live and speak unto us, in the Canons made in the Year 1634, whereof the Third thus expressly, 'That Form of Liturgy or divine Service, and no other, shall be used in any Church of this Realm, but that which is established by Law, and comprized in the Book of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments.' Which Canon with all the Rest is confirmed and published by His Majesty's Authority under the great Seal of Ireland.

VI. It may be added, that the reformed Church of *Ireland*, under the Government of our dread Sovereign the King, is and ever was reputed a free national Church, and not subordinate unto or depending upon the Convocation of any other Church. And hence it was, that till the Convocation held at *Dublin*, Anno 1634, the Articles of the Church of *England* were not held, or reputed the Articles of the Church of *Ireland*, and when they were received, they were not received in any acknowledged Subordination to the Church of *England*, but for Manifestation of our Agreement with that Church in the Confession of the same Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, as is expressed in the first Canon. Hence it is, besides that our Canons were not imposed by the Church of *England*, nay when somewhat highly the Clergy was invited to submit to the Book of *English* Canons, the Convocation utterly refused the same, and framed a new Book of Canons for the Church of *Ireland*. Should we therefore receive or admit of any other Form, without the Authority of this Church, we should be held and esteemed before God and the World, guilty of unconscionably betraying of the Liberty of the free national Church of *Ireland*.

VII. The Book of Common-Prayer hath been in use in this Church from the Beginning of the Reformation; we have preached for it, and recommended it to the People as a form of God's publick Worship and Service; the People of God in this City for the most Part generally do love it, have been edified by it, are loth to part from it, and earnestly desire the Continuance of it. Now should we consent to the taking it away, and receive or use any other Form not established by Law, we should not avoid the guilt of Sin, it being all one *to destroy that which is well built*, as to build *that which a Man once destroyed*, which in the Apostles Judgment, *Gal. 2. 8. renders a Man a Transgressor*.

And withal we should, as Matters stand, give great Offence and Scandal to the Consciences of our Brethren, and so sin against them, who deserve better at our Hand, and for whom Christ died.

VIII. Lastly, that Reason given by the University of *Oxford* in this Point is not to be forgotten, that by our leaving of the Book of Common-Prayer, and receiving any other Form, we should condemn the Church and State for the Penalties and Censures against Recusants, and justify them in their Accusations and Imputations of Injustice and Tyranny, wherewith they boldly charge both our Churches of *England* and *Ireland*.

The Premises considered, as we hope your Honours discern hereby, that we have not lightly or obstinately or out of Faction, or any Spirit of Opposition forborn the Exercise of our Ministry since your Honours Injunction;

Where by what was controverted by some, as if the Reception of the *English* Articles abolish the *Irish*, it was evident there was no such Intention.

Injunction; so we do now with all Humility, present these our fervent Petitions to your Honours.

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1. That you would be pleased in Pity and Compassion to the Protestants of this City, and to us the Ministers, who else by your Injunction aforesaid, are indangered to be exposed to Banishment, loss of Estate, and of present Subsistence, with our Wives and Families; to restore us to our Churches, Ministry, and Exercise thereof, by permitting of us to use the Book of Common-Prayer, in our several Cathedral and Parish Churches, as formerly we used the same, before your Injunction aforesaid, and to grant us your Protection therein, till such Time as further Order be taken by a Convocation of the Clergy, and an Act of Parliament in this Kingdom: and in the mean time we shall endeavour to demean our selves in the whole Course of our Ministry, with such Christian Faithfulness and Moderation, as that we shall, by the Help of God, give no just Occasion of Offence.

2. That in case your Honours shall be pleased to grant this Petition, which we hope you will, if after our Stay and Residence here, we, or any of us shall, by the imposal of any thing against our Consciences, be forced hereafter to depart the Kingdom, we may then respectively have free Passes, and convenient Time to remove our Persons, Families, and Goods.

3. That during the time of our Residence here, we may enjoy the Profits, Benefits and Means of our several Church-livings for our Subsistence, which are due or allotted to us by the Law of the Land and Acts of State.

4. That whereas the * monthly Fast observed hitherto by Command of Authority on a *Friday*, was grounded upon the horrid Rebellion of the *Irish* Papists, begun, and the Danger we were all in, as on that Day, wherein the Rebels came to this City to surprize it, and the Evening of that Day, was the Time wherein that bloody Treachery, and Conspiracy was discovered, that we may be permitted still to keep the monthly Fast on that Day, being a Day of Preparation for the monthly Communion according to our Custom these five Years past.

* 30th of April, 1642, mentioned fol. 99.

And we shall ever Pray, &c.

Delivered the 9th Day of July, 1647.

Subscribed as followeth.

Ed. Laonensis.

Gilbert Deane.

Jac. Margetson, since Armachanus.

Dud. Boswel.

Ben. Culme.

Rob. Parry.

Amber. Anngier.

Joan. Creighton, Can.

Ja. Sybold.

Edw. Syng, since Arfeitenfis.

Godf. Rhodes.

Rob. Dickson.

Hen. Hall, since Ep. Academ.

Rand, Ince.

Jos. War.

Henry Byrch.

Jo. Brookbank.

Rich. Powel.

The time that the Marquis of Ormond agreed with the Parliament's Commissioners, was near the time that the Army had gotten the King into their Hands, having taken him from *Holmbey*, out of the Custody of

1647.

The Marquis of Ormond having free access to the King, acquaints him of the Impression he had made in many for his Service.

Some of the Scots being convinced of what they had done amiss in his Majesty's Service, better resolve, and encourage the Marquis of Ormond to return into Ireland.

of the Commissioners, to whom the *Scots* had delivered him: And the Marquis of *Ormond*, at his Arrival in *England*, found so many specious Pretences and Professions published by that Party, which then had the whole Power of the Army, and consequently of the Kingdom, that very many believed his Majesty's Affairs to be in no ill Condition; more seeming Respect was paid to his Person, and less Restraint upon the resort of his faithful Servants to him, than had been from the time that he first put himself into the *Scots* Power. The Army took upon them the Government of the Kingdom, having solemnly declared, 'That there could be no reasonable Hope of a firm and lasting Peace, if there were not an equal Care to preserve the Interest of the King, Queen, and Prince, as of the Liberties of the People, and that both should be with equal Care provided for together.' In this time of Freedom, and hypocritical Compliance, the Marquis had free Liberty of repairing to the King, where he gave him an account of all his Actions, and of the course he had taken for the reviving and preserving his Majesty's Interest in *Ireland*, by settling a Correspondence with many Persons of Honour there, who would keep the two Houses of Parliament, how great an advantage soever he had given them, by the Delivery up of *Dublin*, &c. into their Power, if they refused to return to his Majesty's Obedience, from obtaining any absolute Dominion in that Country; and who were most like to reduce the Nation from the Distemper with which they were transported, and to incline them to that Submission that was due from them to the King; with all which, his Majesty was very graciously and abundantly satisfied, and gave the Marquis Direction, in case the independent Army should proceed otherwise than they pretended, how he should behave himself, and comply with the *Irish*, if he could reduce and dispose them to be instrumental towards his or their own Delivery. And when his Majesty discovered, by the double Dealing, and hypocritical Demeanor of the Officers of the Army, of whom he had earlier Jealousy than other Men, as seeing farther into their dark Design, the little Good they meant him, he found it fit to receive some Overtures from the *Scottish* Commissioners, who were still admitted to reside at *London*, and to bear a Part in the Managery of the publick Affairs; and now plainly saw, that the independent Army, which they had so much despised, was grown superior to them, and meant to perform nothing less, than what they had so religiously promised before the King was delivered up at *Newcastle*. The King hereupon commands the Marquis of *Ormond* to confer with the principal Persons of that Commission who seemed very sensible of the Dishonour their Nation had incurred, and resolved, by uniting the Power of that Kingdom for his Majesty's Service to undo some of the Mischief they had wrought: And desired that the Marquis of *Ormond* would likewise transport himself into *Ireland*, to try once more if he could compose the Humours of that People to his Majesty's Obedience; that so those two Kingdoms, being intirely reduced to their Duty, might, with that Assistance they were like to find in *England*, persuade the Violent Party to comply with those moderate and just Conclusions, which would establish the Peace and Tranquility of the whole in a full Happiness to Prince and People. And from hence was that first Engagement designed, which was afterwards so unfortunately conducted by the elder Duke *Hamilton*, and concluded with the Ruin of himself, and of many worthy and noble Persons.

When

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The Subtily of
the independent
Army.

When the Army had by their civil and specious Carriage and Professions disposed the King's Party to wish well to them, at least better than to the Presbyterians, who seemed to have erected a Model of a more formidable and insupportable Tyranny, and were less endued with the Appearances of Humanity and good Nature, and had, by shuffling themselves into new Shapes of Government, and admitting Persons of all Conditions to assemble, and make Propositions to them in order to the publick Peace, given Encouragement to most Men to believe, that all Interests would, in some Degree, be provided for; and so had brought themselves into an absolute Power over all Interests, they began to lessen their outward Respects and Reverence to the King, to inhibit some of his Servants absolutely to resort to him; and more to restrain the frequent Access of the People, who out of their innate Duty and Affection, delighted to see his Majesty, they caused Reports to be raised and scattered abroad of some Intentions, in desperate Persons, of Violence upon his Majesty's Person; and upon this Pretence doubled their Guards, and put Officers of stricter Vigilance and more surly Disposition about him; so that whatsoever he said or did, or was said unto him, was more punctually observed. The Marquis of *Ormond* was looked upon with a very jealous Eye, and was forbid to continue his Attendance on him, or to come within twenty five Miles of *London*; and that Article in the Agreement at the Delivery of *Dublin*, viz. That he should engage his Honour not to act any Thing to the Prejudice of the Parliament in a Twelvemonth, there was an Intention to put him in mind of, by a Letter from the Committee at *Derby-house*; but before the Messenger came where he had been near *Bristol*, he, knowing of the King's being close Prisoner in *Carisbrook-Castle*, and that it would be to little Purpose to contest his Articles with the Parliament, privately shipped himself away for *France*, where he arrived safely about the End of the Year 1647, having spent in *England* little more than six Months.

The Marquis
now suspected by
the Army.

For a Time we must leave the Marquis in *France*, and return to Colonel *Jones* in *Dublin*, who, with those Forces that were left there by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and such as he brought and received out of *England*, amounting in all to three thousand, marched against Colonel *Preston*, approaching with his *Leinster* Forces to infect *Dublin*, and met him about twelve Miles from *Dublin*; who having gotten great Advantage of Ground, routed *Jones*, killed many of his Men, and took not a few Prisoners, *Jones* himself escaping with much Difficulty to *Dublin*.

Gen. *Preston*
routs Colonel
Jones.

Whether upon this Accident, or otherwise, I cannot determine; but great Divisions then arose betwixt the old *English*, who had *Preston* for their General, and the old *Irish*, who had *Owen Roe O Neal* for theirs: The old *English* had a gallant Army, consisting of near ten thousand Foot and Horse, well armed, and well disciplined, who thought, that if they would offer themselves Instruments to destroy the old *Irish*, they might at any Time have good Conditions from *England*; therefore under Confidence thereof, they went on with great Resolution, determining to do what they could to make themselves Masters of *Dublin*, and of all the *English* Quarters thereabouts, the easier afterwards to facilitate their Design against *Owen Roe* and his Confidants. *Preston* thus flushed with his late Victory, brought up

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*Preston's Advance
on a Design to
Dublin.*

his Army, possessed himself of most of the Out-garrisons, even within eight Miles of *Dublin*, and thence went with a Resolution to take in *Trim*, a Garrison of some Strength, under Colonel *Fenwick*, wherein there lay a Regiment of Foot, and some Troops of Horse. Upon which, *Jones* seeing himself in this Condition, marched about the 17th of *July*, with one thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, to *Sigginstown*, burning by the Way *Castle-martin*, taking good Prey from *Castle-bawn*, and was overtook by the Enemy near *Johnstown*, who falling on his Rear, cut off many; where Captain *Adam Meredith*, gallantly maintaining the Pass, was killed: A Gentleman of clear Valour, and greater Hope.

In the Interim, the Distractions of the Soldiers, daily mutinous, were very great, the Soldiers threatening to deliver up the Town to the Rebels, if they were not speedily and better supplied with Money and other Necessaries. However, in this high Distemper, Colonel *Jones* drew out, the first of *August*, three thousand eight hundred Foot, and two Regiments of Horse, besides Artillery, to the Relief of *Trim*, besieged by *Preston*; who upon his Approach quitted the Siege, intending to follow the Advice of a Person * then at *Leixlip*, a Castle ten Miles from *Dublin*, of great Trust and Abilities, that whilst *Jones* relieved *Trim*, he might attempt *Dublin*. Whereupon *Jones* follows, being assisted by Sir *Henry Tichborn* from *Tredagh*, Colonel *Moor* from *Dundalk*, with the *Newry*, *Carlingford* Forces, as Colonel *Conway*, with a Party of the Northern old *British*, making up in all seven hundred Horse, and one thousand two hundred Foot; and joined Battle with *Preston*, effectually seven thousand three hundred Foot, and one thousand forty seven Horse strong, besides what the Lord *Costlough* and the two *Nugent's* brought, at *Dungan's-Hill*, the 8th of *August* 1647, where, by plain Valour, *Jones* gained the greatest and most signal Victory the *English* ever had in *Ireland*; there was slain upon the Place five thousand four hundred and seventy, besides those afterwards which were gleaned up, which were many; amongst the slain, there were four hundred of Colonel *Kitto's* Redshanks: There were taken Prisoners, five Colonels, four Lieutenant Colonels, six Serjeant-Majors, thirty-two Captains, twenty-three Lieutenants, twenty-seven Ensigns, two Cornets, twenty-two Serjeants, two Quarter-Masters, two Gunners, the Clerk of the Store, thirteen Troopers, and two hundred and twenty-eight common Soldiers: *Preston* hardly escaped with the Horse; he lost his Carriages and Cannon, being four demi-Culverins, each carrying twelve pound Bullet, and sixty-four fair Oxen, attending the Train, which were of very great Use. Of ours some were wounded, but not above twenty slain: Of Note, we lost only two Cornets, and one Captain *Gibbs*, who, over-heated in the Service, died in drinking Ditch-water. After this Victory the Enemy quit and burnt the *Naas*, *Sigginstown*, *Harristown*, *Collanstown*, *Castlewarding*, and *Moyglare*. Nor had the Effect of this Victory ended thus, but that Pay and Provision for the Army were so scant, as necessity inforced them to return to *Dublin*, where they were met with the News of 1500 *l.* newly arrived, a Supply incompetent to furnish them forth immediately, though it satisfied them there was some Care taken for their Relief. And upon the certainty of this great Victory in *England*, considerable Supplies were hastened, and a 1000 *l.* sent Colonel *Jones* for his good Service.

* The Lord
Digby.

Dungan-hill Battle, the 8th of Aug. 1647, by some termed Lincb-Knock Battle.

vice. A little after which the Lord *Inchequin* took in *Cahir* Castle, the Town and Castle of *Cashel*, and eleven other Castles, in the County of *Tipperary*, which was exceeding well taken by the Parliament, no small Causes of Defection, having, a little before, been insinuated to them, of his Fidelity.

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About the Beginning of *October* Colonel *Jones* took the Field again, and having joyned with the *Ulster* Forces, under the Command of Colonel *Monk*, they marched out near two thousand Horse and six thousand Foot, taking in *Portleicester*, *Abboy*, and several of the Rebels Castles and Garrisons; and so having got great Prey of Cattle, and other Pillage, they returned to *Dublin*, and Colonel *Monk* went back into *Ulster* with that Party he carried thence.

Jones's and
Monk's good
Service.

And in *Munster* the Lord *Inchequin* was so active, as the Lord *Taaff*, appearing with a considerable Force, as General of the *Irish*, advancing towards the *English* Quarters, he nobly encountered him, though with much Disadvantage both of Men and Ground, at *Knocknones*, the 13th of *November*; where, after a sharp Dispute, excellently carried, with much Gallantry and true Soldiery, as to the Order of the Battle, he totally routed him and his Forces; amongst whom fell Sir *Alexander Mac Donel*, alias Colonel *Kilkitto*, the Rebels Lieutenant-General, and his Lieutenant-Colonel, besides some four thousand of their Infantry and Horse were slain, six thousand Arms recovered, thirty-eight Colours of Foot, some Cornets of Horse, Ammunition, *Taaff's* Cabinet, besides his Tent, and many Concerns of Importance, were also taken. We lost Sir *William Bridges*, Colonel of Horse, Colonel *Gray*, Major *Brown*, Sir *Robert Travers*, the Judge-Advocate, and some other Officers, upon the routing of our left Wing, who gallantly however sealed the Cause with their Blood. They were seven thousand four hundred and sixty-four Foot, and a thousand and seventy-six Horse, besides Officers; we not four thousand Foot, and one thousand two hundred Horse. Upon the Arrival of this News, the House of Commons voted 10000 *l.* for *Munster*, and 1000 *l.* with a Letter of Thanks, to the Lord *Inchequin*.

The Battle of
Knocknones, or
Knockness.

Things thus succeeding, it might be thought rational, that the Lord *Inchequin*, who had obtained so great a Victory over the Rebels, and thereupon was highly carested by the Parliament, should now have had no Design to have altered his Party. But he having been dealt with by those who best knew how to wean him off, sets forth a specious Declaration against the Parliament, over-awed by Independents and the Army; and hearing of *Laugborn's* Infurrection, and the *Scots* Invasion, grew thence more encouraged, that amongst the Presbyterians he went for a Patron; and distributing a little Money amongst the Soldiers, won so upon them, as afterwards he carried his Design, for some Time, undiscovered, sending to the Parliament this Declaration.

Inchequin medi-
tates the Altera-
tion of his Party.

Mr. Speaker,

IT is not without an unanswerable Proportion of Reluctancy, to so heavy an Inconvenience, that we are thus frequently put upon the asserting of our own Fidelities, to the Services of the honourable Houses; whereunto, as we have by several Evidences, the Mention whereof we make without Vain-glory, manifested our selves sincerely faithful,

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faithful, so hath it pleased the divine Providence, to prosper our Endeavours with very many improbable Successes; to the Attainment whereof, though we have struggled through all the Difficulties, and contended with all the Sufferances, that a People, unsupplied with all Necessaries and secondary Means, could undergo, yet have we encountered nothing of that Disaffection, or Discouragement, as we find administered unto us, by a constant Observation, that it is as well in the Power, as it is in the Practice of our malicious and indefatigable Enemies, to place and foment Differences upon us, not only to our extreme Scandal and Disgrace, which we should the less resent, if their Malice could terminate in us, but to the obstructing of the Supplies ordered and designed for publick Service, and to the irreparable Prejudice thereof, which our Enemies can value at so low a rate, as to put it into that Bargain, they are in hand to make for our Destruction. It being very approveable by us, that several Persons in Power there, do interpose their Endeavours, to continue us, by the impeding of Supplies, in a desperate, languishing, and perishable Condition upon the Place, and in a despicable and doubtful Esteem with the honourable Houses. Whereof there will need no other Instances, than that, after the several Promises made by Letters, from the honourable Committee at *Derby-House*, and Votes passed for transmitting Supplies unto us, especially in case of Major-General *Starling*, his being sent to attend the Pleasure of the Houses, the only Remora then alledged to make stay of seven thousand Suits of Cloaths, and 10000*l.* in Money, being before designed for our Relief, there is no more than 2700*l.* sent unto us in Money, and thereof but 1500*l.* designed for the feeding of us, and the Soldiers under our Command. And that notwithstanding the signal Testimony given of our real Intentions and Affections to that Cause and Service, in a late Engagement against the Rebels at *Knocknefs*, which we touch at, without any Affection of Vain-glory, the Votes then renewed for our Relief, and the Order for our Indemnity, which was conceived would not have found so much Hesitation, with those whose Service we had only profest, are laid aside, and nothing effectual or advantageous done in order thereto, for our avail, save the transmittal of 2700*l.* but on the contrary, new Jealousies and Distrust of us are re-embraced and fomented.

It is not therefore so insupportable a Discomfort to us, to observe our own Lives exposed a Sacrifice to the Malice of our now potent publick Enemies, who by the Conjunction of three several Armies, are not more encouraged to confront us in the Field, than we, by the Art and Practice used to withhold those just and necessary Supplies from us, disabled to joyn Battle with them, as to observe our honourable Reputation and Integrity, dearer to us than our Lives, brought into such frequent question, and unworthily mangled, depraved and slaughtered, by the calumnious Aspersions of our powerful and prevailing Adversaries, in despite of all our zealous and cordial Endeavours, to give indubitable Testimony and Evidence of our Fidelities. What if we be beyond any common Measure afflicted and dismayed? We are confident, that all Persons of Honour will acknowledge, that we have much more than common cause.

And now that our Adversaries have prevailed to deprive us, not only of all Hopes of subsisting here in your Service, but have proceeded for to provide, that we may not live hereafter but out of your Favour.

So

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So having intercepted and perverted the Comfort, we well hoped to have received from other Testimonies of our Sincerity, they have only left us this Expedient to testify our mindfulness of our Duty by, which is, to give humble Intimation to that honourable House, that we are involved in so great and extreme Exigencies of Distress and universal Want, with the Pressure of three joint Armies, upon our weak and naked Forces, that there remains no human Means discernable amongst us, to subsist by any longer in this Service, unless it shall stand with the Pleasure and Piety of those, in whose Service we have exhausted both our Blood and Livelihoods, to send us some seasonable and considerable Supplies, or that we should be inforced to entertain such Terms, as the Rebels will give us, which of all Things we abominate, as knowing our Necessities will render them such, as must be both obstructive and dishonourable, and therefore shall resolve of making that the last expedient, to preserve our own and many thousands of poor Protestants Lives by, or that it shall please the honourable Houses to send Shipping to fetch us off. And so in Discharge of our Duties both to God and Man, we humbly offer to Consideration, and remain.

Subscribed by the Officers under the Lord *Inchequin*.

This Remonstrance begat some Heats : Upon which many of the Subscribers were sent for over, and committed ; but upon Submission, soon released, and an Ordinance for their Indemnity published.

But to return to the Marquis of *Ormond*, whom, not long since, we left in *France* ; where finding himself at Liberty, and out of the reach of his Enemy, he then projected again to visit *Ireland*, having made the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, and the Lord *Taaff*, who, without any pause, had preserved their Allegiance entire, privy to what might best advance his Majesty's Interest, amongst those, who, opposing the Nuncio, seem'd resolute for his Majesty. And they, one in *Connaught*, the other in *Munster*, accordingly disposed the People to a ready Compliance, whilst the Forces under the Nuncio were much weakned, partly by the Defeat of General *Preston*, whose Army was routed and destroyed by the Parliament's Forces, within less than a Month after they had compelled the Marquis to leave the Kingdom, and partly by the dislike the great Council of the Confederate Catholics had, of the demeanor of the Nuncio, and the Experience they now had of his ill Conduct, and the Miseries he had brought them into, by forcing them to decline the Peace, which would have been so advantageous to them, and against which, the general Assembly at *Kilkenny*, the 2d of *March* 1647, published a Proclamation, conformable to what the Congregation of the Clergy before had passed at *Waterford* the 12th of *August*, 1646.

The Marquis of *Ormond* provides to return into *Ireland*, pre-poll-
fessing the Mar-
quiss of *Clanrick-*
ard, and the
Lord *Taaff*, with
the Design.

The Lord *Inchequin* had likewise held Correspondence with the Marquis of *Ormond*, while he was in *England* ; and as soon as the Marquis came into *France*, desired him to make what haste he could into *Ireland*, where he should find the Army, and all the important Towns of that Province, under his Command, ready to submit to him, and to be conducted by him in the King's Service, any way he should command. And in the mean Time he made an Agreement with the *Irish*, under the Command of the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, and the Lord *Taaff*, with the Approbation of the supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics, from

The Lord *In-*
chequin of the
same Party.

1648.

The Nuncio pursued close, and then quits the Kingdom.

Viz. 23d of Feb. 1648-9.

May 1648, to November following, and sent them five hundred Horse, under the Command of Major *Doily*, to assist them in an Expedition they were then entered upon against the Nuncio, and *Owen Roe O Neal*, in which they prevailed so far, that *Owen O Neal* found it necessary to retire to the great Towns, and they drove the Nuncio himself into the Town of *Galway*, where he summoned a national Synod the 15th of July, and they besieged him so close, that they compelled the Town, after near two Months Siege, to pay a good Sum of Money, to be distributed amongst the Soldiers, and to disclaim any further Subjection or Submission to the Nuncio's unlimited Jurisdiction, which, in Effect, had put all *Ireland* in Confusion. And when he had, with less Success than formerly, issued his Excommunication, the 27th of May 1648, against all those, who complied with the Cessation with the Lord *Inchequin*, he was compelled in the End, after so much Mischief done to the Religion he was obliged to protect, in an obscure Manner, to fly out of the Kingdom; and coming to *Rome*, had an ill Reception of the Pope, *Temerariè te gessisti*, said he; with which, and the Fate of *Fermo*, in his Absence, he soon after died. Nor indeed had any of those Apostolick Nuncios in *Ireland*, much better Fate: *Nicholas Sanders*, an *Englishman*, Anno 1579, was sent Nuncio by *Gregory* the 13th, who wandered in the Mountains of *Kerry*, and was there starved under a Tree. *Owen Mac Egan*, alias *Eugenius O Hegan*, of *Irish* Birth, *Vicarius Apostolicus* under *Clement* the 8th, was slain, leading a Troop of a hundred Horse against the Loyalists, Anno 1602-3.

After that the Nuncio was driven to *Galway*, He the 2d of August took an Occasion to expostulate with the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, about one of the Provincial Fathers of the *Franciscans* being by the Presidents Soldiers claped up in *Clare-Castle*, wondring so pious and true a Catholick should permit a Subject of the Apostolick See, to which the Clergy are only accountable, to be so used by Laicks; unto which the * 8th of August, the Marquis excellently replied, That unknown to him the Father was, at the Command of the supreme Council, taken, and by their Order was to be brought to *Kilkenny*; He revered the Clergy, but could not recede from the Order of that Council, for that the Holy Church gives not Protection to Criminals, or the God of Peace Impunity to the Seditious, enlarging well on that Subject; concluding, that if, under Pretext or Title of the Immunities of the Church, any should escape unpunished, There would be soon an End of the State and Temporal Jurisdiction. And having been thus entertained by the Nuncio, the Marquis freely proposes to Him these Questions, * That He might understand the Difference betwixt the Temporal and Ecclesiastical Authority.

* 342.
Car.

* 342.
Car. An. Hib.
344.

Quædam percontationes Reverendissimo Domino Nuncio a Clanrichardiæ Marchione propostæ.

1. **Q**Uâ potestate, vel Autoritate Nuncius Regiæ Majestatis subditos à fide sua & obedientia Statuto Regni, Regniq; Ordinibus debitâ abducatur?

2. Quâ potestate vel Autoritate Tribunos & Centuriones creet, militemq; conscribat, Qui nihil in communem hostem molitus Catholicorum Majestatis

Majestatis subditorum castella passim expugnet, prædas agat, omnia compilat ?

1648.

3. *Quâ potestate vel ratione hominibus perjuris faveat, eosque contra Rectores, universique regni Ordines teneat ac tueatur ?*

4. *Quâ potestate manifestos proscriptos perduelles in retinendis ac propagandis validis munitiõibus contra eos. Qui Regni clavum tenent, animet & sustentet ?*

5. *Quâ potestate Regiæ Majestatis obsequium professos, Ejusque in hoc regno proinde Præfectis adhærentes, quos potest, excommunicatos carceribus mancipet, aliosque omnes promiscue excommunicet ?*

To which no Answer, that I could ever discover, was returned, but his Will. Or that of *Anastafius*, I will command but not be commanded.

And because the impudent Injustice, and Imprudence of the Nuncio, and the lame Subjection of the People, to his immoderate Pride and Haughtiness, was, in truth, the real Cause, or rather Fountain, from whence this Torrent of Calamities flowed, which hath since overwhelmed that miserable Nation ; and because that exorbitant Power of his, was resolutely opposed by the Catholicks, of the most eminent Parts and Interests, and in the end, though too late, expelled by them ; it will be but Justice to the Memory of those noble Persons, briefly to collect the Sum of that unhappy Person's Carriage and Behaviour, from the Time that he was first designed to that Employment. And in doing hereof, no other Language shall be used, than what was part of a Memorial, delivered by an honourable and zealous Catholick, who was intrusted to complain of the insufferable Behaviour of the Nuncio to the Pope himself. But before we proceed to that, we shall be so just, that wherein the supreme Council disowned the Nuncio's Exorbitances, Oppressions, and Divisions through his Insolency we shall manifest their Repentment : acquainting you first that the Nuncio, disliking the Cessation, writes somewhat sharply to the supreme Council inveighing, with more than ordinary Detestation, against the Lord *Incbequin*, telling them that it was known through *Europe* how he had sacked *Cashell*, slain in *St. Patrick's Church* with horrible Sacrilege, several Priests and Women at the Altar, and afterwards compelled many Counties to pay Contribution, and at last, even before the Walls of *Kilkenny*, insulted over the chief Magistrate : To which the supreme Council having replied with much Respect and Ingenuity, they, as to this of the Lord *Incbequin*, told the Nuncio that what he did, he did as an Enemy. But upon the Cessation, the Means to induce a Peace, *Cashel*, the Cathedral, and all the Churches thereabouts would fall into their Hands, putting the Nuncio further in mind, That when there was but a Rumour, only, of agreeing with the Parliamentary *Scots*, he was forward to encourage them to join in that Association : That their Treasure was low, that *Jones* had all necessary Supplies from the Parliament, whilst they lacked even Corn : That the Confederate Commissioners, *Ferns* and *Plunket*, returned from *Rome* only with some Relicks, but no Money. Which working nothing upon the Nuncio, who the 27th of *May*, excommunicated all that adhered to that Cessation, the supreme Council in their Declaration of the 3d of *June*, first admonished both Seculars and Regulars, as all of their Association : That they no wise molest any of their respective Subjects, Priests, or Religious,

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for persevering in their Loyalty, or, in pursuance thereof, for approving the late Cessation made by them with the Lord Baron of *Inchequin*: Which not prevailing, they, in pursuance of the Oath of Association, the 20th of *June*, 1648, enjoined this Oath to be taken by all the Confederate Catholicks.

‘ I *A. B.* do swear and protest before God, and his Saints and Angels, that I will to the uttermost of my Power observe the Oath of Association, maintain the Authority of the supreme Council, and the Government established by the general Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdom, notwithstanding the present Excommunication issued forth by the Lord Nuncio, and four Bishops, against the Concluders, Maintainers and Adherents thereof, and unto the Cessation concluded with the Lord Baron of *Inchequin*, and notwithstanding any other Excommunication to be issued upon the said Ground; against which Excommunication, and those who issued it, I do appeal unto his Holiness as the indifferent Judge. And I do further swear, that, to the Hazard of my Life, I will suppress and oppose any Person or Party that shall stand in Arms in Opposition of the said Association.

So help me God.

And that their further Sense, which they seemed to be much satisfied in, might be fully known, we shall here give you their Prolocutor's following Letter, who though he joined with the Confederates, we must, from our Knowledge of his Parts and Affections, assure you, in his own Nature, was not averse to the *English* Interest.

Concilii Catholicorum Regni Hiberniæ Denunciatio ad Nuncium.

Domine mi,

PRæceptum mihi est ab hoc Generali Regni Conventu, Dominationi tuæ significare varias Oppressiones, Divisiones, Exorbitantia Crimina, & Capitales Offensas, Quas à Dominatione tua à tribus annis jam penè elapsis in hoc regno commissas, & hoc ipso Tempore in ineffabile Religionis Catholicæ detrimentum, Nationisque jam tam Antiquæ quam Catholicæ ruinam ac subversionem, sedisque Apostolicæ dedecus continuatas ac perpetratas, fæderati Hiberniæ Catholici ex sua Officiosa & filiali in summum Pontificem reverentiâ nimîâ & inauditâ apud ullam Nationem patientiâ hætenus toleraverunt, & in hunc usque Diem tolerant, tandem compulisse hæc Generalia Comitia ad valida & legitima ejus Præsidia recurrere pro conservandis Reliquiis Majorum Regni commodorum jam ad proximum integræ Ruinæ punctum actibus tuis, pravaque rerum Administratione redactorum. Quapropter Dominationem tuam certiozem faciunt, Declarationem*, ac Protestationem contra te paratam, & ad suam Sanctitatem brevi mittendam esse, cujus argumenti partem aliquam, quam tibi placebit notare, inclusum scriptum continet, ac deinde ad iter Romam versus suscipiendum, ibique te contra accusationem illam defendendam quam primum parare. Ac interim Dominatio tua sub interminatione pænarum, cæteroqui tam divinarum quam humanarum legum vigore incurrendarum, cavebit, ne per se.

Of which and the Consequences thereupon, see *Walsh*, f. 581. &c. Where the Clergy, especially Regulars, opposed the supreme Authority of the Confederates.

se, aut per ullum aliud Instrumentum, directe, aut indirectè, ullis Regni sese hujus rebus immisceat. *Maneo Kilkenniae* 19 Octobris, 1648.

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Dominationis tuæ admodum amicus, de mandato Comitiorum Generalium,

Rich. Blaka, Prolocutor.

But we suspect this Denunciation of theirs was rather delusive than entire, for that afterwards we shall find many of the Members of this Council, though it drove the Nuncio out of the Kingdom, stomached his Majesty's Authority seated in his Excellency; which runs in these very Words, speaking of the Nuncio.

‘ He declared before he left *Rome*, That he would not admit either
 ‘ in his Company or Family, any Person of the *English* Nation. In
 ‘ his Voyage, before he arrived at *Paris*, he writ to his Friends in *Rome*,
 ‘ with great Joy, the News, though it proved after false, that the *Irish*
 ‘ Confederates had treacherously surpris’d the City of *Dublin*, while they
 ‘ were in truce with the Royal Party, and treating about an Accom-
 ‘ modation and Peace. Arriving at *Paris*, where he shut himself up
 ‘ for many Months, he never vouchsafed, I will not say, to participate
 ‘ with the Queen of *England*, any Thing touching Nunciature, or in
 ‘ the least Degree to reverence or visit her Majesty, save only one Time
 ‘ upon the score of Courtesy, as if he had been sent to her Enemies,
 ‘ not Subjects. Being arrived in *Ireland*, he employed all his Power to
 ‘ dissolve the Treaty of Peace with the King, which was then almost
 ‘ brought to Perfection; and his Diligence succeeded, of which he
 ‘ valued himself, rejoiced, and insulted beyond Measure. In his Letters
 ‘ he writ to *Paris*, which were after shewed to the Queen, and he
 ‘ may truly say, that in that Kingdom, he hath rather managed the
 ‘ Royal Sceptre, than the pastoral Staff, and that he aimed more to be
 ‘ held the Minister of the supreme Prince of *Ireland*, in *Temporalibus*,
 ‘ than a Nuncio from the Pope, in *Spiritualibus*; making himself Pre-
 ‘ sident of the Council, he hath managed the Affairs of the supreme
 ‘ Council of State; he hath, by his own Arbitrement, excluded from
 ‘ it those, who did not second him, though by Nobleness of Birth,
 ‘ Allegiance, Prudence, and Zeal to Religion, they were the most Ho-
 ‘ nourable; of these he caused many to be imprisoned, with great
 ‘ Scandal, and Danger of Sedition; and, in short, he assumed a distri-
 ‘ butive Power both in civil and military Affairs, giving out Orders,
 ‘ Commissions, and Powers, under his own Name, subscribed by his
 ‘ own Hand, and made authentick with his Seal, for the Govern-
 ‘ ment of the Armies, and of the State, and Commissions for Reprizals
 ‘ at Sea. He stroke in presently, after his Arrival in *Ireland*, with that
 ‘ Party of the Natives, who are esteemed irreconcilable, not only to the
 ‘ *English*, but to the greatest and best Part of the *Irish* Nobility, and of
 ‘ the same People, to the most civil and most considerable of that Island.
 ‘ And the better to support that Party and Faction, he hath procured the
 ‘ Church to be furnished with a Clergy and Bishops of the same Tem-
 ‘ per, excluding those Persons who are recommended by the Queen,
 ‘ who, for Doctrine and Virtue, were above all Exceptions, all which
 ‘ is contrary to what your Holiness was pleased to promise. The
 ‘ Queen was not yet discouraged, but so laboured to renew the Treaty
 ‘ of Peace already once broke, and disordered by Monsieur *Rinuccini*,

An Express of
the Nuncio's Be-
haviour.

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that by Means of her Majesty, it was not only reassumed, but, in the End, after great Disputes and Oppositions on his Part, the Peace was concluded between the Royal Party and the Confederate Catholicks, and warranted not only by the King's Word, but also by the Retention of Arms, Castles and Forts, and of the Civil Magistrates, with the Possession of Churches, and of Ecclesiastical Benefices, and with the free Exercise of the Catholick Religion. And all this would have been exhibited by a publick Decree, and authentick Laws, made by the three Estates assembled in a free Parliament: By this Peace and Confederacy they would have rescued themselves, from the Damages of a ruinous War, have purchased Security to their Consciences, and of their temporal Estates, honoured the Royal Party, and the Catholicks in *England*, with a certain Restitution and Liberty of the King, whereon depended absolutely the Welfare of the Catholicks in all his Kingdoms, the Catholick Chair had quitted itself of all Engagements and Expence, with Honour and Glory. This Treaty of Peace on all Sides so desirable, Monsieur *Rinuccini* broke with such Violence, that he forced the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Vice-Roy of *Ireland*, to precipitate himself, contrary to his Inclination and Affection, into the Arms of the Parliament of *England*, to the unspeakable Damage of the King, and of the Catholicks, not only of *Ireland*, but also of *England*. He incensed the greatest and best Part of the Catholick Nobility, and rendred the venerable Name of the Holy Apostolick Chair, odious to the Hereticks, with small Satisfaction to the Catholick Princes themselves of *Europe*, as though it sought not the spiritual Good of Souls, but a temporal Interest, by making it self Lord over *Ireland*. And when the Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Byron* endeavoured, on the Marquis of *Ormond's* Part, to incline him to a new Treaty of Peace, he did not only disdain to admit them, or to accept the Overture, but understanding, that the Lord *Byron*, with great Danger and fatigue, came to Town, in the County of *Westmeath*, where he was to speak with him, he forced the Earl that was the Lord of it, to send him away, contrary to all Laws of Courtesy and Humanity, in the Night-time, exposed to extraordinary Inconveniencies and Dangers amongst those Distractions, protesting, that otherwise he himself would immediately depart the Town. By this Proceeding, Monsieur *Rinuccini* hath given the World an Occasion to believe, that he had private and secret Commission to change the Government of *Ireland*, and to separate that Island from the Crown of *England*. And this Opinion is the more confirmed, since that one *Mathony*, a Jesuit, hath printed a Book in *Portugal*, wherein he endeavours to prove, that all the Kings of *England*, have been either Tyrants or Usurpers of *Ireland*, and so fallen from the Dominion of it, exhorting all its Natives to get thither, and to use all Cruelty against the *English*, with Expressions full of Villany and Reproach, and to chuse a new King of their own Country. And this Book, so barbarous and bloody, dispersed through *Ireland*, is yet credited by the Catholick and Apostolick Chair: And the Continuation of the History of Cardinal *Baronius*, was published at the same Time, under the Name of *Olderico Raynaldo*, in which he endeavours to establish the supreme Right and Dominion in the Apostolick Chair, even in *Temporalibus*, over *England* and *Ireland*. I leave to every Man to consider,

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‘ consider, whether all these Actions are not apt enough to beget Jealousies, and naughty Blood, and whether I ought not, out of great respect to the publick Good, to represent, with some Ardency to your Holiness, the Actions of Monsieur *Rinuccini*, so unpleasant, and directly contrary to those Ends, for which, it was supposed, he was imployed. And I beseech your Holiness, if any King, not only Protestant but Catholick, had seen an Apostolick Nuncio to lord it in his Dominions, in such a Manner as Monsieur *Rinuccini* hath done in *Ireland*, what Jealousies, what Complaints, and how many Inconveniencies would thereby follow? Thus as to the Nuncio, from the Confederates themselves.’

Though he gives this Account of himself: For the better Understanding of this, saith he, Recourse must be had to the first rising of the *Irish*, which was upon this Occasion: The Parliament of *England*, having entered into an Agreement with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, called the *large Treaty*; in which there was a Clause to join against the common Enemy, wherein the Catholicks of *Ireland*, as well as others, if not chiefly, did apprehend themselves comprehended; to ballance which, or to prevent the Misery that might fall upon them thereby, being sensible of the Earl of *Strafford*’s Death, which purported some to be sent as Governor, that was not like to carry so fair to them, as he had done, the same being to be approved, at least, by the Parliament then sitting. For better Security, they endeavoured the supplanting all Protestants within that Kingdom, and tho’, at that Time, without Arms or Ammunition, got Possession of most Part of the Kingdom; whereupon was established a Council of twenty four, Part of Civil, and Part ecclesiastical Persons, of which twelve were to reside in *Kilkenny* or other Place, as Occasion and Need called, with this Resolution, agreed to hold a Parliament every Year, by, or in which, the said Council should be changed or continued. By this it was resolved, and after sworn by all the Catholicks, ‘ never to lay down Arms, until the *Roman Church* was settled, as of old in *Ireland*, and the King secured in all his Privileges, that of calling, and putting Period to Parliaments at Pleasure, with a negative Voice, being chiefly meant, and then in great Hazard to be lost.’ The Earl of *Ormond*, and *Inchequin*, Protestants, fearing the Issue of this League, and foreseeing the Inability to oppose it, treated with the Earl of *Clanrickard*, Lord *Muskery*, and other Lords Catholicks, that possessed many Church-benefices; a way erected by Queen *Elizabeth*, thereby to extinguish the Catholicks; and advertised them that the Restitution of the Catholick Discipline, would out them of all the said Profits, gained them to the other Side; though they continued still of the Council, in which they were a prevalent Party, taking to them such, when any went out, as were of *Ormond*’s Mind and Design: by which Means a Peace was suddenly concluded, upon Supposition, that the Affairs of the Catholicks required it, altho’ there was no Mention of the Interest of that Church in the Accord. About that Time, the King sent to this Council, the Earl of *Glamorgan*, with full Power to accord to the Catholicks as they desired, if they should send him ten thousand Men as they had offered; *Ormond* then at *Dublin*, under Pretext of treating, drew *Glamorgan* thither, took from him his Commission, and made him Prisoner,

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Prisoner, and certified the King, that himself could make a far better and more advantageous Peace with the Catholicks, which he did in thirty Articles. This Breach of Oath, made by the Council, gave Occasion to the Nuncio, *John Baptist Rinuccini*, Archbishop and Prince of *Fermo*, who had brought some Succours of Money and Arms into *Ireland*, to assemble the Clergy in *Waterford*, and excommunicate all such as should adhere to the Peace: Which notwithstanding, the said Marquiss advanced to *Kilkenny*, to execute the same; but *O Neil* returning victorious from the Defeat of twenty thousand *Scots*, in two Battles at *Benburgh*, and *Tirconnel*, *Ormond* goes back without doing of any Thing; whereupon were imprisoned the seven that signed the Peace. *Ormond* seeing himself out with the Catholicks, both because he had ill treated them, and by the Violence exercised by his Army, no sooner returned to *Dublin*, but he treated with the Parliament of *England*, for the Delivery of the Towns he held; which was done accordingly. Coming after to *London*, where he expected to be gratified by the Parliament of *England*, proportionable to the Service done them; but finding there no such Disposition, he went secretly to the Queen at *St. Germain's* to justify himself, and persuade her, 'That his rendering *Dublin*, and other Towns, were serviceable to the King her Husband, then Prisoner to the Parliament, because, 'said he, it is better that they have them, than the Catholicks, whom 'he affirmed to have failed in their Fidelity to their King,' although they renewed the above-mentioned Oath yearly. About this Time, another Assembly of Catholicks, sent to the Queen, and the Princes her Children, to desire certain Concessions in the Absence; and because of the Detention of the King her Husband, deputing others to *Rome*, with Instructions to the former Deputies, to act jointly with these; but contrary, those to the Queen, not waiting the Resolution, or Concurrence of them at *Rome*, *Muskery*, and *Brown*, two of those Deputies, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Marquiss of *Antrim*, who was chief, proposed, and obtained of the Queen, that she send into *Ireland*, the Marquiss of *Ormond*, as formerly to be Lord Deputy, or Vice-Roy: Who being brought into that Kingdom, by the Support of the said Supreme Council, of which seven always favoured him, they again concluded a Cessation of Arms with *Inchequin*, then reduced to such Necessities, that he was ready to fly into *Holland*, whither then he had dispatched part of his Goods, with good store of Money picked up there: The Suspension not to be hindred by the Nuncio, notwithstanding the Offers of Money, to satisfy the pressing Necessities, declared by the Council, together with *Owen Roe O Neal's* Offer to drive *Inchequin* quite out of *Munster*, at his own Charge, and at the Charge he would force out of those Parts, by his Soldiers: But at this time *Inchequin* was in a deeper Correspondence with the *Scots* Nation, which Way, *Ormond* was also to bias his Designs. The Nuncio thus disappointed, called a new Assembly of his Clergy, composed of *Hugh O Rely*, Primate of *Ireland*, *Thomas Fleming*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, *Thomas Welsh*, Archbishop of *Cassell*, *John de Bourk*, Archbishop of *Tuam*, and ten Bishops, who unanimously declared, 'That this Cessation of Arms, was much prejudicial to 'the Catholick Religion, and could not be embraced in Conscience, and 'so excommunicated all that adhered thereto.' Hitherto the Council had born it self with some Respect toward the Catholick Church, remembering

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membring the Clemency used by the Nuncio, in delivering some of them from Prison ; but upon this last Excommunication, they so threatned him, that he was forced to go privately from *Kilkenny*, to a Castle, where *Preston*, by Order of the Council, following, he fled to *Galway*, and called there a National Council, to pacify the Troubles of the Kingdom, which the aforesaid Council endeavoured to hinder, forbidding the Appearance of the Clergy, taking hold of divers Ecclesiastical Persons of his Household, imprisoning them ; so that the Nuncio despairing of re-establishing of the Affairs of the Catholics, and having Information, 'That *Ormond* had resolved, with all his Forces, to advance the Protestant Religion, and to destroy all Opposers,' and that the supreme Council of Catholics, had declared their Departure from the League, with their Confederates ; he departed, arriving in *France*. In the Interim, *Owen Roe*, judging that he could not in Conscience, join his Armies any longer with a Party, 'that called it self Catholick, and yet chased away the Nuncio,' declared his Separation from them, until they recal the Nuncio, and endeavour to obtain a Catholick Vice-Roy, and execute, in all other Points, the Oath they had taken. This was taken very ill by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and his Council, who charged *O Neal* with a Design, under colour thereof, to oppose the Affairs of the King, which occasioned him to object to them, not the aforesaid Oath, but a particular Declaration, which he had published ; where he, with all his Officers profess, 'That they intend only to re-establish the Catholick Religion, the Liberties of the Kingdom, and the Prerogatives of the King, in their former Glory and Splendor : ' The *Ormond* Party Catholick, being in such Perplexity, by Reason of these Differences, and their slighting the Nuncio, appealed to his Holiness ; but from *Rome*, it is certified, 'That the Pope, well understanding their Deportment, refused to give Audience, before he had heard his Nuncio ;' who in the end, rather received a Check, as before is mentioned, than an Approbation from his Holiness, for what he had done in *Ireland*.

And now, as to the Difference betwixt their Generals, and our Proceedings thereupon.

Colonel *Jones* finding the Distractions among the Rebels to grow very high, and that the old *English*, under the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, had taken the Castle of *Athlone*, and other Places from *Owen Roe*, and that *Athy* was besieged by Colonel *Preston*, and *Owen Roe*, came up to relieve it, and burnt and spoiled the Country thereabouts, thought it high time to be stirring out among them ; and thereupon sent out some of his Forces, which took in the Garrisons of the *Nabber*, and *Ballihoe*, formerly surprized by the Rebels ; but yet, not having his Provisions come from *England*, durst not himself stir forth, till he had sufficiently secured *Dublin* ; which in the first place, he began more strongly to fortify, that it might receive no Prejudice in his Absence. About which time, *Flemming*, an active Officer among the Rebels, took in *Cruces Fort*, and *Killaloe*, two Garrisons in *Pudsonbye's* Quarters.

Jones, finding *Clanrickard* active, stirs forth, and takes in some Castles.

Next, *Jones* secured Sir *Maurice Eustace*, Colonel *Gifford*, *Capron*, *Flower*, *Willoughby*, and several others, who, continuing their Affection to the Marquis, he suspected, and, by Order of the Committee of *Derby-House*, sent them to the Castle of *Chester*, detaining Colonel *Byron*, and Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Prisoners at *Tredagh*, suspecting these would deliver him, and the City, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, then every Day expected,

Several suspected to be for the Marquis of *Ormond*, sent into *England*.

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Colonel Monk
seizes on Carrick-
fergus.

Lord-Lieutenant out of *France*. The *Scots* Army under Duke *Hamilton*, about this time, entered *England*, to whose Proceedings, Major-General *Monro*, sent over into *Scotland*, his Son or Nephew *George Monro*, with two thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, as *Sir Robert Stewart*, his Son, with a Troop, and *Sir Fred. Hamilton* his, with a Regiment, and several others, disaffected to the Parliament of *England*, in hope to settle, with Advantage, there; by which means, *Belfast*, *Carrickfergus*, and *Colrain*, were left very weak, and much unguarded, which Colonel *Monk* finding, and understanding how contrary to all Compact, *Monro* had dealt with the Parliament of *England*, in sending over the Forces, maintained by them in *Ireland*, to fight against them in *England*; he began to think of some Means, to make himself Master of those Towns; he was at present at *Lisnegarvy*, and prepared a Party to go out to make an Inroad into the Rebels Quarters; he marched away in the Morning; but having sent some Persons of Trust, to remain near *Carrickfergus*, to attend his Advance thither, he returned in the Night over the Mountains, and came at Break of Day to the Gates of *Carrickfergus*, which he found open, and so entered without Resistance; he seized upon Major-General *Monro*, and sent him Prisoner into *England*, where he was by the House of Commons committed to the Tower. Colonel *Monk* having thus seized upon *Carrickfergus*, caused some Horse to march presently away to *Belfast*, which was surrendered into his hands by the Governor, and so was likewise *Colerain*, so as he presently became Master of all those Towns, disbanding, and sending away most of those Forces into *Scotland*, which opposed the Parliament, and hindered those broken Troops of *George Monro's*, which fled out of *England*, upon Duke *Hamilton's* Defeat at *Preston* in *Lancashire*, from returning into *Ireland*, and did use all Means to settle the Country in such a Posture, as that the Interest of the Parliament might be secured there. He planted Garrisons upon the Frontiers of *Ulster*, to hinder the Incurfions of the Rebels, and he gave the Quarters the *Scots* had, to such of the *British* as he found faithful to the Service. This was about *September*, 1648, a Service very acceptable in *England*; in Manifestation whereof, the Parliament sent him 500*l.* and made him Governor of *Carrickfergus*, by an Order of the 4th of *October*, and sent over Cloaths for some of those *Scottish* Regiments which came into him, and 5000*l.* in Money, for the two Provinces of *Ulster* and *Connaught*, to be equally divided. *Sir Charles Coot* there being very active, not long after took in the strong Fort of *Culmore*, near *Londonderry*, seizing on, at the same Time, *Sir Robert Stewart*, whom he sent Prisoner to the Parliament; upon which, the *Scots* mutinied; but by a Letter from *Sir Robert Stewart*, they were pacified, and all the Affairs of that Province, managed by *Sir Charles Coot*, *Sir Robert Stewart* being at Liberty upon his Parole.

Some Suspicions
that the Lord *In-
chequin* would
have submitted
to the Parlia-
ment.

Before this, *Townsend*, and *Doily*, two Colonels under *Inchequin* in *Munster*, sent over to the Committee at *Derby-House*, some Propositions for the Surrender of the Towns in *Munster*, upon Condition of Indemnity, and receiving part of the Arrears for the whole Army; this was pretended to be acted by the Consent of *Inchequin*, and that he with his own Hand, had approved and interlined them in several Places. Hereupon, the Committee of *Derby-House*, sent back Colonel *Edmond Temple*, with an Answer to those Colonels, and Power withal to treat with the Lord *Inchequin* about somewhat more certain and more reasonable, to be pro-
pounded

pounded by him. But before his Arrival there, Sir *Richard Fanshawe*, the Prince's Secretary, was come from the Prince to *Inchequin*, with a Declaration of the Prince's Design, to send the Duke of *York* into *Ireland*, with such of the revolted Ships as remained in *Holland*, and to let him know the Hopes he had, that by his Assistance, and the Army under his Command, both he and his Father might be restored: This so puffed up *Inchequin*, as that he would hear of no Overtures, and made him absolutely disavow to have had any Knowledge of the Propositions sent over, and thereupon imprisoned *Townsend* and *Doily*, thereby putting an issue to that Negociation: Fortifying, besides all the Harbours against the Parliament's Forces, placing and displacing their Officers, as he thought most convenient, to introduce the King's keeping a Correspondence with the West of *Ireland*, as yet free to all Trade, and holding frequent Intelligence with *Jarvey*, where the Prince, was said, would keep his Court; thus the Interest of the Parliament was wholly lost in *Munster*, where Sir *William Fenton*, Colonel *Fair*, Captain *Fenton*, and other Officers, for their Affections to the Parliament, being imprisoned, were exchanged in *December*, for the Lord *Inchequin*'s Son, imprisoned in the Tower, about *October*, 1648.

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The Lord *Inchequin* taken off his Inclinations, by Hopes of greater Honour.

Near this Time *Owen Roe* attempted to rescue *Fort-Falkland*, besieged by the Lord *Inchequin* and Colonel *Preston* joined; but he was repulsed with the Loss of many Men, as his Lieutenant-General *Rice Mac-Guire*, and *Lewis More*, dangerously hurt; which put *Owen* to such Straits, as he made an Overture to Colonel *Jones*, by his Vicar-General *O'Rely*, to surrender *Atby*, *Mary-burrough*, and *Rebban*, and lay down his Arms, if he and his Confederates might have the Privileges they had in King *James's* Time: But *Jones* could better improve the Offers to a beneficial Delay, than ascertain any Thing. Though afterwards *Owen Roe* and his Council of Officers, further offered, That if he, nor the new expected Army from *England*, would not molest him in his Quarters, but give him leave to depart with his Forces into *Spain*, he would not join with *Ormond*, *Preston*, or *Inchequin*.

And here we must resume our Account of the Marquis of *Ormond*, who after he had in vain solicited Supplies of Money in *France*, to the end that he might carry some Relief to a Kingdom so harrassed and worn, and be the better thereby able to unite those, who would be sure to have Temptation enough of Profit, to go contrary to the King's Obedience; his Excellency was at last compelled, being with great Importunity called by the Lord *Inchequin* and the rest, who were resolved to uphold his Majesty's Interest, to transport himself, unfurnished of Money sufficient, Arms or Ammunition considerable, and without any other Retinue than his own Servants, and some old Officers of the King's: And in this Equipage he embarked from *Havre de Grace* in a *Dutch Ship*, and arrived about the End of *September*, 1648, at *Cork*, where he was received by the Lord *Inchequin*, Lord-President of *Munster*, and the *Irish*, with much Contentment; soon after whose Arrival, even the 6th of *October*, he published the ensuing Declaration.

The Marquis of *Ormond's* return into *Ireland*.

By

By the Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland.

ORMOND,

TO prevent the too frequent Prejudices, incident through Jealousies, Distrusts, and Misconstructions to all Undertakings, we account it not the least worthy our Labour, upon the Instant of our Arrival, to prepare this People whose Welfare we contend for, with a right Understanding of those Intentions in us, which, in order to his Majesty's Service, we desire may terminate in their good.

To enumerate the several Reasons by which we were induced, for Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the *English* Interest, to leave the City of *Dublin*, and other his Majesty's Garrisons then under our Power in this Kingdom, in the Hands of those intrusted by his two Houses of Parliament, were to set forth a Narrative in Place of a Manifest. It may suffice to be known, that those Transactions had for one main Ground this Confidence, That by being under the Power of the Houses, they would upon a happy expected Composition of Affairs in *England*, revert unto, and be re-vested in his Majesty as his proper Right.

But having found how contrary to the Inclinations of the well-affected to his Majesty's Restoration in *England*, the Power of that Kingdom hath unhappily devolved to Hands, employed only in the Art and Labour of pulling down, and subverting the Fundamentals of Monarchy, with whom a pernicious Party in this Kingdom do equally sympathize and co-operate. And being filled with a deep Sense of the Duty and Obligations that are upon us, strictly to embrace all Opportunities of employing our Endeavours, towards the Recovery of his Majesty's just Rights, in any Part of his Dominions. Having observed the Protestant Army in the Province of *Munster*, by special Providence discovering the Arts and Practices used to intangle the Members thereof, in Engagements as directly contrary to their Duties towards God and Man, as to their Intentions and Resolutions, to have found Means to manifest the Candour and Integrity thereof, in a Disclaimer of any Obedience to, or Concurrence with those Powers or Persons, which have so grossly varied even their own professed Principles of preserving his Majesty's Person and Rights, by confining him under a most strict Imprisonment, his Majesty also vouchsafing graciously to accept the Declaration of the said Army, as an eminent and seasonable Expression of their Fidelity toward him, and in Testimony thereof, having laid his Commands upon us to make our Repair unto this Province, to discharge the Duties of our Place.

We have as well in Obedience thereunto, as in Pursuance of our own Duty, and Desire to advance his Majesty's Service, resolved to evidence our Approbation and Esteem of the Proceedings of the said Army, by publishing unto the World our like Determination in the same ensuing Particulars. And accordingly we profess and declare,

First, To improve our utmost Endeavours for the Settlement of the Protestant Religion, according to the Example of the best reformed Churches.

Secondly, To defend the King in his Prerogatives.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, To maintain the Privileges and Freedom of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subjects; that in order hereunto we shall oppose, to the Hazard of our Lives, those Rebels of this Kingdom, who shall refuse their Obedience to his Majesty, upon such Terms as he hath thought fit by us to require it; and we shall endeavour to the utmost, the suppressing of that Independant Party, who have thus fiercely laboured the Extirpation of the true Protestant Religion, the Ruin of our Prince, the Dishonour of Parliament, and the Vassalage of our fellow Subjects, against all those who shall depend upon them, or adhere unto them. And that this our Undertaking might not appear obnoxious to the Trade of *England*, but that we desire a firm Union and Agreement be preserved betwixt us, we do likewise declare, that we will continue free Traffick and Commerce with all his Majesty's good Subjects of *England*; and that we will not in the least Manner prejudice any of them that shall have Recourse to our Harbours, either in their Bodies, Ships, or Goods; nor shall we take any Thing from them without Payment of ready Money for the same. And now that by his Majesty's said Command, we have proceeded to re-enter upon the Work of his Service in this Province, we conceive no higher Testimony can be given of his Majesty's Acceptation, or of the Estimation we bear about us towards their Proceedings, than by resorting unto them in Person with his Majesty's Authority, and exhibiting unto them the Encouragement and Satisfaction they may receive in this Assurance, That as we bear an especial Regard to their present Undertakings and Performances, accompanied with a real Sense of their former Sufferings; so lest there should any Advantage be derived unto those, who endeavour to improve all Opportunities of sowing Sedition and Distrust by this Suggestion, that the former Differences in Judgment and Opinion, which have induced Persons to serve diversly under his Majesty, and the Parliament, will occasion Prejudice, or ill Resentments to arise towards such Persons, as have not formerly concurred in Judgment with others in his Majesty's Service. We do declare, that we are qualified with special Power and Authority from his Majesty, to assure them, that no Distinction shall be made in any such Consideration, but that all Persons now interested and engaged in this Cause shall be reflected upon with equal Fervor and Regard; and that we shall make it our Endeavours so to improve and confirm his Majesty's gracious Disposure towards them, as that we will never call to memory any past Difference in Opinion, Judgment, Action or Profession, to the Prejudice of any Member of this Army, or any Person relating to it; but on the contrary, shall be very ready to attest our good Affections towards them, in the Discharge of such good Offices as shall be in our Power; in return whereof, we shall only expect their Perseverance in their present Engagements for his Majesty's Service, with such Alacrity, Constancy and Affection, as may suit with their late publick Declaration and Professions. To whom we desire this Assurance also may be inculcated, That as we shall in the future use our utmost Care and Diligence to provide for their Preservation from the like Hardships, to those they have formerly undergone; so we have already employed our best Industry and Endeavours for the Settlement of such a Course, as we may, with most Reason, hope, will, in these uncertain Times, produce a constant and competent Subsistence

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for them, enabling them to make such a Progress in their present Undertakings, as may, with the Accomplishment of the great Ends thereof, establish their own Honour and Content. Thus much we have thought fit to publish unto the World, to furnish it with an Evidence of strong Conviction against us, if we ever swerve, to the best of our Power, from the just Ways of maintaining the true Protestant Religion, the Honour and Interest of his sacred Majesty, the just Rights of Parliament, the Liberties of the Subjects, and the Safety, Quiet, and Welfare of the People intrusted to our Care.

At Cork, 6th October 1648.

The Marquis of Antrim and the Lord Muskery sent to the Queen and the Prince in France, to consider the Confederates Condition.

Here it must not be forgotten, that during the Time the Marquis was in France, and after the Parliament's Forces had, upon so great Inequality of Number, defeated the *Irish*, and in all Encounters driven them into their Fastnesses, the Confederate Catholicks had easily discerned the Mischiefs they had brought upon themselves, by forcing the King's Authority out of the Kingdom, and introducing another, which had no Purposes of Mercy towards them: And therefore they had sent the Lord Marquis of *Antrim*, who from the Beginning had passionately served them in their most intimate Concerns, the Lord Viscount *Muskery*, and others, as their Commissioners to the Queen of *England*, and to her Son the Prince of *Wales*, who were both then at *Paris*, to beseech them, since by Reason of the King's Imprisonment they could not be suffered to apply themselves to his Majesty, to take Compassion of the miserable Condition of *Ireland*, and to restore that Nation to their Protection; making ample Professions and Protestations of Duty, and of applying themselves for the future to his Majesty's Service, if they might be once again owned by him, and countenanced and conducted by his Authority. And thereupon the Queen and Prince answered those Persons, 'That they would shortly send a Person qualified to treat with them, who should have Power to give them whatsoever was requisite to their Security and Happiness.' With which Answer they returned well satisfied into *Ireland*: So that as soon as the Lord Lieutenant was landed at *Cork*, he wrote, the 4th of *October*, to the Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks then at *Kilkenny*, 'That he was upon the humble Petition which they had presented to the Queen and Prince, come with full Power to conclude a Peace with them, and to that Purpose desired, that as little Time might be lost as was possible; and that Commissioners might be sent to him at his House at *Carrick*, whither he would go to expect them;' within fourteen Miles of the Place where the Assembly then sat, who were so much gladder of his Presence, by the Obligation which they had newly received from the King's Authority: For when the *Nuncio* and *Owen O Neal* had thought to have surprized them, and to have compelled them to renounce the Cessation, the Lord *Inchiquin* being sent unto by them for his Protection, had marched with his Army to their Relief, and forced *O Neal* over the *Shannon*, thereby restoring them to Liberty and Freedom, so that they returned a Message of Joy and Congratulation to the Lord Lieutenant for his safe Arrival, and appointed Commissioners to treat with him at the Place appointed.

The Queen and Prince's Answer.

A Copy of the Marquis of *Ormond's* Letter to the supreme Council afore-mentioned, was gotten by Colonel *Jones*, and sent over to the Committee of *Derby-house*; and being read in the House of Commons, it was voted to be sent down into the *Isle of Wight*, to the Commissioners then treating there with the King, to know if he would avow it; and in Case he did disavow it, that then he would declare against the Marquis: Whereupon his Majesty signified, 'That in Case other Things were composed by the Treaty, the Concerns of *Ireland* should be left wholly to the Management of the Houses.' And in the Interim writes to the Marquis of *Ormond* this Letter.

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His Majesty's
Answer to the
Parliament's
Message touch-
ing the Lord-
Lieutenant.

C. R.

RIGHT trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, We greet you well. Whereas We have received several Informations from Our two Houses of Parliament, concerning your Proceedings with the Confederate Roman Catholicks in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the several Votes and Extracts whereof We do herewith transmit unto you, and forasmuch as We are now engaged in a Treaty of Peace with Our two Houses, wherein we have made such large Concessions, as We hope will prove the Foundation of a blessed Peace. And we having consented by one Article, if the said Treaty take effect, to entrust the Prosecution and Management of the War in *Ireland* to the Guidance and Advice of Our two Houses; We have therefore thought fit hereby to require you, to desist from any further Proceedings upon the Matters contained in the said Papers; And We expect such Obedience unto this Our Command, that Our Houses Desires may be fully satisfied.

Given at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*, the 25th of *November*,
in the 24th Year of our Reign.

To Our Right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and
Councillor, *James* Marquis of *Ormond*.

As soon as the Parliament received this Letter, some were of Opinion that it should be immediately sent to the Marquis of *Ormond*; yet others, aiming at what afterwards was brought upon the Stage, laid it, as it's said, aside: We find by the Event it produced nothing, for the Treaty proceeded, a Peace ensuing; though, as yet, *Owen Roe* was so far from being reconciled to the supreme Council, or any that adhered thereunto, as he fell most violently, in the End of *November*, upon the Earl of *Clanrickard's* Party, gaining *Jamestown* by Composition, and *Drumrusk* by the Sword, *Rory Mac-Guire*, the prime Instrument herein, with several other Officers, and common Soldiers, to the Number of four or five Hundred being there slain; *Owen Roe's* Party afterwards putting all to the Sword, save Major *Bourk* his Wife and Children, cruelly harassing the whole County of *Roscommon*.

The 19th of *October*, the Confederate Catholick's Commissioners came to *Carrick*, an House of the Marquis's, where he continued about twenty Days, which they spent principally in Matters of Religion; in treating whereof, they were so bound and limited by their Instructions, and could make so little Progress of themselves, being still to give an Account to the Assembly of whatsoever was proposed or offered by the Lord Lieutenant,

The Confede-
rates Commis-
sioners come to
the Lord-Lieu-
tenant at *Carrick*.

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nant, and to expect its Direction or Determination before they proceed ; that for the husbanding of Time, which was now very precious, the prevailing Party in *England* every Day more discovering their bloody Purposes towards the King, the Assembly thought it fit to desire the Marquis to repair to his own Castle at *Kilkenny*, which they offered to deliver into his Hands, and that, for his Honour and Security, he should bring his own Guards, who should have the Reception due to them : And upon this Invitation, about the middle of *November*, he went to *Kilkenny* ; before the Entry into which, he was met by the whole Body of the Assembly, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, and in the same Town was received with all those requisite Ceremonies by the Mayor and Aldermen, as such a Corporation use to pay to the supreme Authority of the Kingdom ; so that greater Evidence could not be given of an entire Union in the Desire of the People of returning to the King's Obedience, or of more Affection and Respect to the Person of the Lord Lieutenant, who by his steady pursuing those Professions he had always made, by his Neglect and Contempt of the Parliamentarians, and their prodigious Power whilst he was in *England*, by his refusing all Overtures made by them unto him for his particular Benefit, if he would live in the Kingdom, and by their declared manifest Hatred and Malice towards him, was now superior to all those Calumnies they had aspersed him with ; and confessed to be worthy of a joint Trust from the most different and divided Interests and Designs : However, there were so many Passions, and Humours, and Interests to be complied with, and all Conclusions to pass the Approbations of so many Votes, that it was the middle of *January* before all Opinions could be so reconciled, as to produce a perfect and entire Contract and Agreement, which about that Time passed with that miraculous Consent and Unity, that in the whole Assembly, in which there were Catholick Bishops, there was not one dissenting Voice : So that on the 17th of *January* 1648, the whole Assembly repaired to the Lord Lieutenant in his Castle at *Kilkenny*, and there with all Solemnity imaginable presented him, by the Hand of their Chairman or Speaker, the Articles of Peace, as concluded, assented, and submitted unto by the whole Body of the Catholick Nation of *Ireland* ; which he received, and solemnly confirmed on his Majesty's behalf, and caused the same that Day to be proclaimed in that Town, to the great Joy of all who were present, and it was with all speed accordingly proclaimed, and as joyfully received in all the Cities and incorporate Towns which professed any Allegiance to the King throughout the Kingdom ; and for the better Reception thereof amongst the People, and to manifest the Satisfaction and Joy they took in it, the Catholick Bishops sent out their Declarations and Letters, that they were abundantly satisfied in whatsoever concerned Religion, and the secure Practice thereof : Certainly well they might, for unless it had been at such a Time that his Majesty had been reduced to the utmost Extremity, a Prince could be compelled to such disingenuous and hard Terms, could never have been stood upon with a free and generous Prince ; in as much as his present Majesty, in his Declaration for the Settlement of *Ireland*, there takes notice, ' That no body could wonder that he was desirous, though upon difficult Conditions, to get such an united Power of his own Subjects, as might have been able, with God's Blessing, to have prevented the infamous and horrid Parricide intended. But how ineffectual this his Indulgence after proved, will appear,

The Peace of
1648 concluded.

'*pear*, by these Wretches foolishly forfeiting all the Grace which they might have expected from him.' But to proceed. When the Articles of Peace were presented, in that solemn Manner to him by the Assembly, after a Speech made by the Chairman, * the Lord Lieutenant expressed himself in these Words.

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* Sir Richard Blakes Knight.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Shall not speak to those Expressions of Duty and Loyalty, so eloquently digested into a Discourse, by the Gentleman appointed by you to deliver your Sense; you will presently have in your Hands greater and more solid Arguments of his Majesty's gracious Acceptance, than I can enumerate, or perhaps you your selves discern: For besides the Provision made against the remotest Fears, fear of Severity of certain Laws, and besides many other Freedoms and Bounties conveyed to you and your Posterity by those Articles, there is a Door, and that a large one, not left, but purposely set open to give you Entrance, by your future Merit, to whatsoever of Honour and Advantage you can reasonably wish: So that you have in present Fruition what may abundantly satisfy, and yet there are no Bounds set to your Hopes; but you are rather invited, or, to use a new Phrase, but to another and better End, you seem to *have a Call from Heaven* to exercise your Arms and uttermost Fortitude, in the noblest and justest Cause the World hath seen; for let all the Circumstances incident to a great and good Cause be examined, and they will be found comprehended in that which you are now warrantably called to defend----Religion; not in the narrow circumscribed Definition of it, by this or that late found out Name, but Christian Religion is our Quarrel, which certainly is as much and fatally struck at, I may say more, by the blasphemous Licence of this Age, than ever it was by the rudest Incursions of the most barbarous and avowed Enemy to Christianity; the venerable Laws and fundamental Constitutions of our Ancestors are trodden under impious, and, for the most part, mechanick Feet.

The Lord-Lieutenant's Speech upon the presenting of the Articles of Peace.

The sacred Person of our King, the Life of those Laws, and Head of those Constitutions, is under an ignominious Imprisonment, and his Life threatened to be taken away by the sacrilegious Hands of the basest of the People, that owed him Obedience; and, to endear the Quarrel to you, the Fountain of all the Benefits you have but now acknowledged, and which you may further hope for by this Peace, and your own Merit, is endangered to be obstructed by the execrable Murder of the worthiest Prince that ever ruled these Islands.

In short, Hell cannot add any Thing to the desperate Mischiefs now openly projected: and now judge if a greater and more glorious Field was ever set open to Action, and then prepare your selves to enter into it, receiving these few Advices from him, that is thoroughly embarked with you in the Adventure.

First, let me recommend to you, that to this, as unto all holy Actions, as certainly this is, you will prepare your selves with perfect Charity, a Charity that may obliterate whatever Rancor the long continued War may have contracted in you, against any that shall now co-operate with you in so blessed a Work; and let his Engagement with you in this, whoever he is, be, as it ought to be, a Bond of Unity, of Love, of Concord, stronger than the nearest Ties of Nature.

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In the next place, mark and beware of those, who shall go about to renew Jealousies in you, under what Pretence soever, and account such as the infernal Ministers, imployed to promote the black Design on foot, to subvert Monarchy, and to make us all Slaves to their own avaritious Lusts. Away, as soon and as much as possible may be, with Distinction of Nation and Parties, which are the Fields wherein the Seeds of those Rancor-weeds are sown by the great Enemy of our Peace.

In the last place, let us all divest our selves of that preposterous and ridiculous Ambition and Self-interest, which rather leads to our own threatned general Ruin, than to the Enjoyment of Advantages unreasonably desired.

And if at any Time you think yourselves pinched too near the Bone by those Taxes and Levies that may be imposed for your Defence, consider then how vain, how foolish a Thing it will be to starve a righteous Cause for want of a necessary Support, to preserve your selves fat and gilded Sacrifices to the Rapine of a merciless Enemy.

And if we come thus well prepared to a Contention so just on our Parts, God will bless our Endeavours with Success and Victory, or will crown our Sufferings with Honour and Patience; for what Honour will it not be, if God hath so determined of us, to perish with a long glorious Monarchy? and who can want Patience to suffer with an oppressed Prince? But as our Endeavours, so let our Prayers be vigorous, that he may be delivered from a more unnatural Rebellion, than is mentioned by any Story, now raised to the highest Pitch of Success against him.

I should now say something to you as to my self, in Retribution to the advantageous mention made of me and my Endeavours, to the bringing this Settlement to pass: But, I confess, my Thoughts were taken up with those much greater Concernments. Let it suffice, that as I wish to be continued in your good Esteem and Affection, so I shall freely adventure upon any Hazard, and esteem no Trouble or Difficulty too great to encounter, if I may manifest any Zeal to this Cause, and discharge some Part of the Obligations that are upon me, to serve this Kingdom.

The Lord Lieutenant, by the Commissioners of Trust, infinitely abridged in his his Office.

The Commissioners of Trust.

* Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costelloe, Lord President of Connaught, Donnoogh Lord Viscount Muskery, Francis Lord Baron of Atbunry, Alexander Mac Donnel Esq; Sir Lucas Dillon Knt. Sir Nicholas Plunket Knight, Sir Richard Barnwal Baronet, Geoffry Brown, Donnoogh O Callaghan, Tirlagh O Neal, Miles Reily, Gerald Fennel, Esquires.

It will not here be necessary to insert the Articles of Peace at large, which are publickly known to the World, though we shall sum them up in brief. It is sufficient that the Lord Lieutenant granted all that was enough, in the Judgments of the Romish Catholick Bishops, and even of the Bishop of *Ferns*, that Incendiary, and still waspish Prelate, requisite to a peaceable and secure Profession of that Religion, with such countenancing of, and support to it, as from the first planting of it, it had never, in some respects, been possessed of in that Kingdom; but was likewise compelled so far to comply with the Fears and Jealousies of divers, who by often breaking their Faith, and from a greater Guilt were apprehensive, that all that was promised to them, might not be hereafter observed, as to divest himself of that full and absolute Power, that was inherent in his Office, and was never more fit to be exercised, than for the carrying that Design, in which they seemed all to agree, and to make twelve Commissioners, * named and chosen by the Assembly, to look to the Observation and Performance of the said Articles, until the same should be ratified, in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, joint Shareers

with

with him in his Authority : So that he could neither levy Soldiers, raise Money, or so much as erect Garrisons, without the Approbation and Consent of the major Part of those Commissioners ; the Danger and Mischief of which Limitation and Restraint he foresaw enough, but found the uniting that People, and composing them to an entire Confidence in the Peace, which could be compassed no other Way, was so necessary, that he could not sacrifice too much to it : And then the Abilities and the Affections of the Commissioners, were so well known and approved by him, that having most of them, in appearance, the same good Ends with him, he presumed, he should with less Difficulty be able to persuade, which were the nearest and most natural Ways that conduced thereunto.

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The Heads of the Articles of Peace, 1648.

I. **T**HAT the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland* have free Exercise of Religion, all Penalties taken off, not obliged to the Oath of Supremacy, to enjoy all Churches and Church-Livings they have in present Possession, and the Exercise of Jurisdiction therein.

II. That a Parliament be had within six Months, or when after the Roman Catholicks shall desire.

III. That all Laws made in the Parliament of *England* since 1641, in Blemish of the Catholicks, are at the next Parliament to be vacated.

IV. All Indictments against any Catholicks since 1641, be vacated.

V. All Impediments to be taken away, that Catholicks be elected in Parliament.

VI. All Debts to remain as they were *February* 8th, 1641, notwithstanding any Attainder.

VII. The Estates of the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of *Connaught, Clare, Thomond, Limerick, and Tipperary*, be secured by an Act.

VIII. All Incapacities of the Natives in *Ireland* be taken away by Act.

IX. All Honours, Trusts, Employments, or such like, be conferred as well upon Catholicks as Protestants.

X. That the King take 12000 *l. per Annum*, in Lieu of the Court of Wards.

XI. No Nobleman to have more Proxies than two in Parliament, and all Blanks to be null.

XII. That the depending of the Parliament of *Ireland* upon *England*, shall be as both shall agree and stand with the Laws of *Ireland*.

XIII. That the Council-Table meddle only with Matters of State.

XIV. That all Acts forbidding the Transport of Wooll be nullified by the next Parliament.

XV. That if any have been wronged by Grants from King *James*, or since, they may petition, and have Relief in Parliament.

XVI. That divers particular Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, who have been, as they conceived, wronged shall now be righted.

XVII. That all who had their Estates taken from them in *Cork, Youghall, and Dungarvan*, have Restoration or Rent.

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XVIII. That in the next Parliament an Act of Oblivion pass to all in *Ireland*, and that adhered to them.

XIX. That no Officer of Eminency in *Ireland* farm the Customs.

XX. An Act to pass against Monopolists.

XXI. That the Court of *Castle-Chamber* be regulated.

XXII. That the Acts for prohibiting plowing with Horses by the Tails, and burning Oats in the Straw, be null.

XXIII. An Act for taking off the Grievances of the Kingdom.

XXIV. That Maritime Causes be determined in *Ireland*.

XXV. That no Rents be raised upon the Subjects, under Pretence of defective Titles.

XXVI. That Interest-Money be forgiven from 1641.

XXVII. That all this be acted, and be of Force, till a Parliament agree the same.

XXVIII. The Commissioners for the Catholics that treated, agree upon such as shall be Commissioners of the Peace and hear all Causes under 10 l.

XXIX. That all Governors of Towns, Castles and Places made by the King, be with the Approbation of the Catholick Commissioners.

XXX. That none of his Majesty's Rents be paid until a full Settlement in Parliament.

XXXI. That the Commissioners of *Oyer and Terminer* do try Murthers, Stealing, and all inferior Trespasses of that Nature.

XXXII. That hereafter such Differences as shall arise between Subjects, be determined by a Court in *Ireland*, not transferred to *England*.

XXXIII. That the *Roman* Clergy, that behave themselves according to the Agreement, be not molested.

Lastly, That his Majesty please to grant whatever else is necessary for the Roman Catholics.

Upon which Peace, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Taaff*, and that Party, engaged to raise for *Munster*, four thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse; the supreme Council and *Preston* for *Leinster*, four thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse; *Inchequin*, three thousand Foot and six hundred Horse; the Lord of *Clanrickard* for *Connaught*, proportionable to the first: In all, fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, besides what *Owen Roe*, upon his uniting afterwards, might bring in, computed to be five thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, that in the whole, a gallanter Army, had they been unanimous, could scarce have been marshalled.

With what Consent and Unity soever this Peace was made, by those who had any Pretence to Trust, or to whom there was the least Deputation of Authority and Power by the Nation, yet *Owen O Neal*, with whom the Earl of *Antrim* joined, had the greatest Influence upon the Humours and Inclinations of the old *Irish*, who had given themselves up to the Nuncio, and who indeed had a better disciplined, and consequently, a stronger Army at his Command, than the Confederates thought he could have gained to his Devotion, still refused to submit to it. So that the Lord Lieutenant, as soon as the Peace was concluded, was as well to provide against him, to remove some Garrisons he held, which infested those who obeyed the Acts of the Assembly, and to prevent his Incurfion, as to raise an Army against the Spring,

Owen O Neal
and *Antrim*
refuse to submit to the Peace.

Spring, to march against the *English*, who were possessed of *Dublin*, and all the Country and important Places of that Circuit, and who, he was sure, would be supplied with all Assistance of Shipping, Men, Money, Victuals and Ammunition, which the Parliament of *England*, who had now murdered their Sovereign, and incorporated themselves under the Name and Title of a Common-wealth, could send them. And he was in a worse Condition to prevail against both these, by the unhappy Temper and Constitution of the *Scots* in *Ulster*, who being very numerous, and possessed of the strong Towns, though in Profession they abhorred the Regicides, and were not reconcilable to *Owen O Neal* and his Party, were, as yet, as uninclined to the Peace made with the Confederates, and far from paying an Obedience and full Submission, to the Orders and Government of the Lord Lieutenant, maintaining, at the same Time, the Presbyterian Form in their Church, and an utter Independency in the State, and out of those contradictory Ingredients, compounding such a peevish and wayward Affection and Duty to the King, as could not be applied to the bearing any Part, in the great Work the Marquis was incumbent to.

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The Scots not
yet willing to
join in the Peace.

As soon as he heard of the Murder of the King, he proclaimed our present Sovereign, *Charles II.* King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, at *Carrick*, the 16th of *February*, 1648.

And being, by a Clause in his late Commission from his Majesty, qualified with special Power and Authority, to make no Distinction, in difference of Judgment, betwixt any who should subject their Assistance to his Majesty's Service, he soon won the *Scots* to a Compliance, though under the Shackles of their Covenant, who immediately used the most favourable Arguments they could, to win *Sir Charles Coote* to their Party. And to that End, from the Congregation of the Presbytery at *Belfast*, the 15th of *February* 1648, they tempt him, by several Representations, with their Sense: To which, the 7th of *March* ensuing, *Sir Charles Coote*, and the Council of War, held at *Londonderry*, returned these Reasons for their Disagreement.

First, We find no part of God's Word authorizing us, being but a Branch of a subordinate Kingdom, to declare against the Parliament of *England*, under whom we serve, who are the visible Authority of both Kingdoms, and against an Army, acting by their Power, before we receive from themselves a Declaration, and Grounds of those Proceedings, wherewith they are aspersed.

Secondly, For the Covenant we have taken, on which your Representations seem to be grounded, we cannot find, we have sworn to act, according to the Principles you now declare: For, in some Things, if we admit of your Representation, we shall be necessitated to act against what we have sworn unto in the Covenant. For,

The first Article, wherein we are bound to a Preservation of the present Discipline in *Scotland*; we are in the same Article obliged, to a Reformation of the same in *England* and *Ireland*, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best reformed Churches, which no doubt, the Parliament will in due Time establish: In the Interim, we are unsatisfied with any Power, that acts in this Case, without their Direction.

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For what you speak in relation to the King's Person, we have yet no certainty out of *England* concerning that Matter, and it is an Action of so transcendent Degree, that till we receive some positive Resolution concerning it from *England*, we ought not to proceed in giving our Sense of it.

In the 5th Article of the Covenant, we are sworn to endeavour the continuing the Kingdoms in Union, in which we desire your selves to be Judges, if the publishing of your Representations, be a probable Way to observe the Oath.

In the 6th Article, we are sworn to defend those joyned with us in this Covenant, and not to suffer our selves directly or indirectly to combine against them : Now, till we receive a full Declaration of their falling from those Principles of this Covenant, how can we with safety to our own Consciences, declare a War against them, without breaking the Covenant in this Particular ?

In the next Place, We find some Things in your Representations, wherein, as we conceive, you are not rightly informed.

First, In that you say, *The Parliament hath broken the Covenant, in opposing the Presbyterial Government* ; which can no ways appear, since the same Government, by their Appointment, is observed throughout *England*, and that the Covenant obligeth them to establish the Government no further, than is agreeable to God's Word.

Secondly, You say, *That you have deeply sworn in the first Article, to maintain the Church-Government, as it is in the Church of Scotland* ; which they have not sworn, the Part of the Oath, for Preservation of the Government, relating only to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Reformation of Religion, to the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*.

Thirdly, 'Tis affirmed, *That the Power now governing in England, doth labour to establish by Law an universal Toleration of all Religions* ; which yet was never done by them.

Lastly, The sad Consequences which will unavoidably follow, if we pursue the Intention of the Representations, are these :

First, By declaring such an open War against the Parliament, we should deprive our selves of all Succours and Supplies out of *England*, which have been hitherto a great part of our Subsistence.

Secondly, The pursuing of such a War, will unavoidably sow such Divisions amongst us, who, in these Parts, are of such different Principles and Practices, that we shall soon become Instruments of our own Ruin.

Thirdly, It will compel us, for our own Preservation, to joyn with the Rebels, or desert this Kingdom.

And lastly, It will, without any lawful Call, engage us in a War against an Army, who have, under God, been the Instruments of redeeming *England* out of Thraldom, and was not long since acknowledged to have been so instrumental, in settling *Scotland* in the Peace and Quietness it now enjoyeth, and this at the Charge of *England*, as the Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth thankfully witness.

These Things therefore being duly weighed, we desire you, in the Fear of God, seriously to take this our Answer into your Considerations, and to remember on whom the Guilt of innocent Blood will fall, if you inforce

inforce a War ; and to set before your Eyes, the Punishment from Heaven, which hath still attended the Endeavours of all, who have deserted the Quarrel in this Kingdom, to engage against the Parliament of *England*. From visible Judgments, we are resolved, by God's Assistance, to take so good Warning, as we will not be guilty of destroying the Cause, we have so long laboured into Countenance for your Representations, till we be better satisfied in our Consciences, though we will not directly or indirectly countenance any Sectaries or Schismatics, whoever is truly so called, contrary to our solemn League and Covenant ; but we will, to the utmost of our Endeavours, continue faithful in the Prosecution of the Rebels in this Kingdom, and their Abettors, wherein we shall not doubt of the Blessing and Protection of the Almighty, upon our lawful and just Endeavours. And for furtherance hereof, we desire, in the last Place, that we should all declare against the Peace last made by the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, as that which will, if not protested against, ruin and destroy your Service of this Kingdom, against the Rebels.

Here it is evident, that Sir *Charles Coote* could by no ways be brought on ; yet the Peace being settled, his Excellency endeavoured to work over Lieutenant-General *Jones* to his Party ; to which end his Excellency vouchsafed to write to him many Letters from *Thurles*, the 27th of *March*, 1649, all answered without the least Compliance on *Jones's* Side. He, by his Reply the 31st of *March*, 1649, charging the fatal and inhumane Act, perpetrated on his Majesty, to his Excellency's Arrival in *Ireland*, during the Treaty at *Carisbrook*, whereby the Sincerity of that Treaty was questioned, occasionally, writes he, producing what thereupon followed ; so as in Conclusion he professed, ' That were there neither King or Parliament, he should yet stand firm to his Principles, to preserve the *English* Interest in *Ireland*, that being a Cause alien from what was acted in *England*, foreign to his Work and Trust, which if he should not perform, would not easily be expiated by a slender or lean Manifest : ' Upon which no more Letters passed betwixt them ; though the Lord *Inchiquin* in *June*, from the Camp at *Finglass*, 1649, renewed the Attempt, and was answered with the like Resolution, and some Reflections on his Lordship.

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The Lord-Lieutenant treats with *Jones* to come in.

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Inchiquin does the like, but ineffectually.

About which Time, *Ireland* came again to be seriously thought of by the Parliament, though hitherto it was, in some Respects, made a Stale for several Designs then on Foot. *Jones* was much confided in ; but it was thought requisite, the Weight of that Business should lye on other Shoulders, not his ; *Cromwel* therefore, about the 28th of *March*, was voted General of *Ireland*, *Skippon*, under the Title of Marshal General, having refused the Command ; and these ensuing Votes, passed thereupon.

1. That such Regiments as should be allotted for the *Irish* Service, should have their Arrears audited, stated, and Debentors given for their respective Services.

2. That visible Security should be given, so that any Friend, or other, being intrusted with a Debentor, might receive it at a Time prescribed by the Parliament.

3. That those who go for *Ireland*, should be first satisfied for their Arrears, since 1645.

4. That out of the 120000 *l. per Menssem*, for *England* and *Ireland*, three Months Pay should be given to those that go.

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5. That private Soldiers, and Non-commission Officers, should receive two Months Pay of Arrears; and Commission-Officers, under a Captain, one Month's Pay.

6. That Magazines for Provisions be settled at *Bristol, Chester, Liverpool, Beaumaris, and Milford.*

7. That a sufficient Squadron of Ships be appointed for the *Irish* Coast.

8. That Ships should be victualled at *Dublin, Liverpool, and Beaumaris*, and a Court of Admiralty should be erected at *Dublin*, to prevent their coming into *England*, to dispose of Prizes, and so neglect the Service.

9. That the Pay of the Officers and Soldiers, should be according to the *Irish* Establishment, only the Officers to receive for the present, the same Pay as here.

10. That an Hospital for sick and maimed Soldiers, should be erected at *Dublin*.

11. That the Parliament's Forces already in *Ireland*, and those then ready to go over, should be in one Army, and one Establishment.

12. That five thousand Quarters of Bread-Corn, two hundred Ton of Salt, two hundred Ton of Cheese, should be transported with those who now go over.

13. A competent Train of Artillery, with Arms, Ammunition, &c. should be sent, and a Care to be taken to send over Recruits of Horse, as there should be occasion.

Lastly, That there be Recruits of Horse, Foot, Arms, Saddles, &c. ready to supply the Service of *Ireland*, to be sent over as need shall require.

Thus provided, *Cromwell* prepares for his Journey; though to accommodate him with an Army of eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, no small Difference arose betwixt the Presbyterian and Independent at that Time, undermining each other, the Levellers being pragmatick: He, however, carried over some of the discontented Persons on each Side, finding them there Work enough against a common Enemy: And so prepared for his Journey, 120000 *l.* being borrowed of the City, upon the Credit of the Ordinance of 90000 *l.* a Month. In the Interim he gets Sir *Theophilus Jones*, who was sent to the Parliament from his Brother, dispatched for *Ireland* with one thousand five hundred Quarters of Corn, and 10000 *l.* in Money, little enough to hearten the Soldiers, frequently then deserting the Parliament, and flying to the Marquis of *Ormond*; yea, the Regiment the Parliament sent under Colonel *Tutbil*, being made up of Volunteers, most of those engaged in *Colchester* Design, mutinied, being sent over without Money, Provisions, or Cloaths, thereby indangering the City more than the Marquis.

The Scots in the Interim, in a Remonstrance and Declaration, to which, on the least Motive, they are naturally inclined, of the general Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, concerning present and eminent Danger the 13th of *February* 1649, declared amongst other Things, as Grievances that the standing Armies in *Ireland*, under the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchequin*, and the Lords of *Ards*, and *George Monra*, forgetting all the horrible Cruelty that was exercised

exercised by the *Irish* Rebels, upon many thousands of the *English* and *Scottish* Nations in that Land, have entered into a Peace and Association with them, that they may the more easily carry on the old Designs of the *Popish*, *Prelatical*, and *Malignant* Party; and the Lords of *Ards*, and *George Monro*, have by Treachery and Oppression, brought the Province of *Ulster*, and Garrisons therein, under their Power and Commands; which urging with much Violence, afterwards produced a Declaration from the King, in dislike of the Peace 1648, much insisted on by the *Irish*, and indeed, as you will hear, begat the Grounds of a future Distaste.

So that whosoever will wisely revolve and consider this wild Conjunction of Affairs, and that to the subduing the Power, Strength, and Wealth of the Parliament, and the equal Malice and Headiness of *Owen O Neal*, and his Party, as much, or in Truth more contracted against the Confederate *Irish*, than the King's Authority, and the forming and disposing the useles, and unprofitable Pretences of Affection in the *Scots*, and reducing them to Obedience, the Marquis brought over with him neither Men nor Money, considerable, nor any Advantage, but that of his own Person, Wisdom, and Reputation, and was now, upon the Peace, to constitute an Army, not only of several Nations, and Religions, and of such Passion, and Superciliousness in these Opinions, which flowed from their several Religions, but of such Men, who had for about the Space of eight Years, prosecuted a sharp War against each other with all the Circumstances of Animosities, Rapine, and Revenge; and who were now brought into this Reconciliation and Conjunction, rather by the wonderful Wisdom and Dexterity of the principal Commanders, than by their own Charity and Inclination; and that in the forming of this Army, he had not above six or seven Officers, upon whose Skill in martial Affairs, and Affection to him, he could with any Confidence depend; but was to make Use of very many, who were utterly unknown to him, and such who either had no Experience in the War, or who had been always in the War against him; I say, whosoever without Passion considers all this, will rather wonder, that the Marquis did not sink under the Weight of the first Attempt, nay, that he could proceed with Success, in any one Enterprize, than that an Army so made up, should upon the first Misadventure be dissolved into Jealousies and Prejudices, amongst themselves; and that all Confusions should follow, which naturally attend such Compositions.

As soon as the Peace was thus concluded, proclaimed and accepted, the Lord Lieutenant took a Survey of the Stores of Arms, Ammunition, and other Provisions necessary for the Army, which was to be brought together in the Spring, and found all very short of what he expected, and what was absolutely necessary to the Work, and Ways for raising of Money, with which all the Rest was to be supplied, in no Degree to be depended upon; The Cities, and Incorporate Towns, where, upon the Matter, all the Wealth was, having never submitted further to the General Assembly, than by declaring themselves to be of their Party; but like so many Common-Wealths, ordered all Contributions, and Payments of Money, by their own Acts and Determinations; nor would upon the most emergent Occasions, suffer any Money to be raised in any other Proportion, or in any other Manner, than best agreed with their Humours and Conveniencies. So that the Commission-

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The Difficulty the Lord-Lieutenant encountered in forming his Army.

The Lord-Lieutenant finds Arms and Money no ways answerable to his Expectation.

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ers, advised and besought the Lord Lieutenant, to make a Journey in Person, to such of those Corporations, as were best able to assist him, and by his own Presence, Assistance, and Interest, endeavour to persuade them, to express that Affection to the Peace they had professed; and thereupon he went with a competent Number of the Commissioners to *Waterford*, which gave 8000*l.* and three hundred Barrels of Corn; and from thence he went to *Limerick*, and then to *Galway* and *Kilkenny*, from which several Places, he procured the Loan of more Money, Corn, and Ammunition, than the General Assembly had ever been able to do, for most of which last, he was forced to bargain with *Patrick Archer*, and other Merchants, for a Supply thereof, engaging the King's Customs, and the Tenths of Prizes, for payment; and by this Means, which cost him much Labour and Time, he found himself in a Condition to draw several Forces together; which he did about the Beginning of *May*, having made the Lord *Inchequin*, Lieutenant-General of the Army; the Earl of *Castlehaven*, Lieutenant-General of the Horse; and the Lord *Taaff*, Master of the Ordnance, at the General Rendezvous at *Cashol*, whilst the *Scots* reduced *Ulster*, and *Connaught*; and it being thought fit, to lose as little Time as might be, in marching towards *Dublin*, as soon as any considerable number of Men were once together; he sent the Earl of *Castlehaven* with some Forces, to take in several Garrisons, which were possessed by *Owen O Neal* in the *Queen's* County, which was the Way he intended to march, and so would have no Enemy in his Rear; and the Earl of *Castlehaven* accordingly took the Fort of *Maryburrrough*, and other Places in that County, and *Athy*, and *Reban*, in the County of *Kildare*, whereby their Passage was open for the further March.

The Lord-Lieutenant constitutes the Officers of the Army, to march against *Dublin*.

The Lord-Lieutenant begins the Campaign in *May*, but was forced to use his own Credit to begin the Service, some write but with eight thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse.

Having thus began the Campaign, the Lord-Lieutenant appointed a general Rendezvous for the whole Army, at *Cloghgrenan*, alias *Glaughgrenan*, an House of his upon the River *Barrow*, near the Castle of *Catherlough*, where he made a Conjunction of all the Forces, Protestant and *Irish*; who by the Wisdom and Temper of the principal Officers, mingled well enough, and together about the End of *May*, made a Body, as, 'tis generally reported, of three thousand seven hundred Horse, and fourteen thousand five hundred Foot, with a Train of Artillery, consisting of four Pieces of Cannon; but when they were thus met, all the Money which could be raised by the Commissioners, or which had been raised by the Corporate Towns, was so near spent in drawing the Forces out of their Quarters, and in those short Expeditions into the *Queen's* County, and County of *Kildare*, that they could not have advanced in their March, if the Lord Lieutenant had not upon his own private Credit, borrowed 800*l.* of Sir *James Preston*, by means whereof, he gave the common Soldiers four Days Pay; and so about the Beginning of *June*, marched from *Cloghgrenan*, and the same Evening, appeared before *Talbot's* Town, a strong Garrison of the Enemy's, which together with Castle *Talbot*, two Miles distant from the other, was within three Days surrendered to the Marquis, upon Promise of Quarter, which they had; and then he marched to *Kildare*, which Town was likewise surrendered unto him; as were Castle *Sallogh*, and Castle *Carby*, at *Kildare*: He was compelled to stay three or four Days, both for want of Provision, and for a Recruit of two thousand Foot, which by the Lord *Inchequin's* Care and Diligence, was then upon their March, and being joined, he

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was in hope by a sudden and speedy Motion, to have engaged *Jones*, who at that Time, viz. 12th of *June*, was marched from *Dublin*, as far as *Johnstown*, with his Army, consisting of one thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot, and so having encouraged his Soldiers with three Days Pay, which he was likewise compelled to borrow on his Credit, out of the Pockets of Persons of Quality attending on him, and of the Officers of the Army, he passed the River of *Liffy*; and *Jones* having upon Intelligence of his Motion, in great Disorder raised his Camp, and retired into *Dublin*; after that Major *Cadogan*, by his Command, had done notable and severe Service about *Tecroghan*, burning the Country, not in five Years before visited, and had beaten a part of the Marquis's Forces, though he got not so much by his Victory, though considerable, as *Jones* afterwards lost by Treachery, the Garrison of *Allan* being delivered up for 200*l*. The Marquis encamped his whole Army at the *Naas*, twelve Miles from *Dublin*, that he might maturely deliberate what was next to be undertaken, being now the middle of *June*.

That which appeared worthy of Debate was, whether the Army should first make an Attempt upon *Dublin*, in which it was believed there were very many both Officers and Soldiers, and other Persons of Quality, well affected to the King's Service, and who had formerly served under the Marquis, and esteemed him accordingly, who might make that Work more easy; or whether the Army should be first employed in the taking in of *Trim*, *Tredagh*, and other Out-garrisons, from whence the City received much Provisions of all kinds, and from whence Provisions to the Army would be cut off, and much other Prejudice might arise. But upon full Consideration, the Council of War, which consisted of the General Officers, inclined to the former; concluding, that if they could take *Dublin*, all other Places would quickly fall into their Hands; and if they should delay it, and waste their Provisions in those lesser Attempts, there might probably arrive out of *England*, such Supplies of Men, Money, and other Necessaries to *Jones*, which were daily expected, as might render that important Work almost impossible: Hereupon, the Lord Lieutenant marched the very next Morning toward *Dublin*, and that Afternoon re-passed the whole over the River of *Liffy*, by the Bridge of *Lucan*, and encamped near that Place, to rest his Men a few Hours: He marched very early in the Morning, being the 19th of *June*, and appeared by Nine of the Clock at a Place called *Castleknoch*, in View of the City; and hearing that *Jones* had drawn out all his Horse into the Green, not far from the Walls, he sent a Party of Horse and Musketters to face them, while he drew his whole Body, within less than Cannon-shot of their Gates, hoping thereby to give some Countenance to those in the Town, to raise some Commotion therein; and having spent some Part of the Day in this Posture and Expectation, after some slight Skirmishes between the Horse, writes one; others say considerable, where the Earl of *Clanrickard's* Regiment of Horse was forely beaten, though they rallied twice; He found it necessary to draw off, and encamped that Night at a Place two Miles from the Town, called *Finglass*, whither great Multitudes of Roman Catholics, whereof most were aged Men, Women, and Children, whom *Jones* had turned out of the City, repaired to him, whom he sent with all due Order, for their Reception, into Quarters adjacent.

Dublin resolved to be first attempted.

The Lord-Lieutenant appears before *Dublin*.

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The Lord Inchequin defeats a Party of Jones's Horse sent to Tredagh.

The Lord Inchequin takes in Tredagh.

The Marquis was no sooner in his Quarters, then he received sure Intelligence, that *Jones* had sent his Horse to *Tredagh*, from whence they would have been able to have distressed his Army several Ways, and to have interrupted Provision which came out of the Country, out of the Magazines, which were at least thirty Miles distant; And several Officers were of Opinion upon the View they had taken that Day of the Enemy, and the Countenance they had observed of their own Men, that they were not presently provided for a formal Siege, and as ill to attack the Town by a brisk Attempt; and therefore he resolved to remain encamped at that Place for some Time, whereby he might take the Advantage of any Opportunity, that within the Town would administer unto him: And presently sent the Lord *Inchequin*, Lieutenant-General of the Army, with a strong Party of Horse, to pursue *Jones's* Horse, which were sent for *Tredagh*; which he did so successfully, that he surprized one whole Troop, and afterwards encountered Colonel *Chidley Coote*, in the Head of three hundred Horse, whereof he slew many, and routed the rest, who in great Disorder fled to *Tredagh*. The Lord *Inchequin* presently sent Advertisement of this Success, and that he had reason to believe, that if he pursued this Advantage, and attempt the Town, while this Terror possessed that Party, he should make himself Master of it; whereupon in Respect of the great Importance of the Place, the Reduction whereof would produce a secure Correspondence with, and give Encouragement to the *Scots* in *Ulster*, who made great Professions, in which they were ever free, of Duty to the King, and had now under the Conduct of the Lord Viscount *Montgomery* of *Ards*, driven Sir *Charles Coote* into the City of *London-derry*, and upon the Matter beleagued him there, the Lord Lieutenant by the Advice of the Council of War, approved the Lord *Inchequin's* Design, and to that Purpose sent him two Regiments of Foot, and two Pieces of Artillery, and such Ammunition and Materials, as could be spared; wherewith he proceeded so vigorously, that within seven Days, he compelled the Besieged to yield to honourable Conditions, so reduced *Tredagh* to the King's Obedience, after he had been twice beaten off, the Town having not above six hundred Men, who had spent all their Ammunition, left to defend so large a Circuit, some of which afterwards revolted to the Marquis; and Colonel *Coote* with one hundred and fifty Horse, and near four hundred Foot marched to *Dublin*.

There was now very reasonable Ground for Hope, that the Parliament's Party would quickly find themselves in notable Streights and Distresses, when it was on a sudden discovered, how very active and dexterous, the Spirit of Rebellion is to reconcile and unite those, who were possessed by it, and how contrary soever their Principles and Ends seem to be, and contribute jointly to the opposing and oppressing that lawful Power, they had both equally injured and provoked. The Parliament Party, who had heaped so many Reproaches and Calumnies upon the King, for his Clemency to the *Irish*, who had founded their own Authority, and Strength upon such Foundations as were inconsistent with any Toleration of the Roman Catholick Religion, and some write, so bitter are their Pens, even with Humanity to the *Irish* Nation, and more especially to those of the old native Extraction, the whole Race whereof they had, upon the Matter, sworn to an utter Extirpation;

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tion ; and *Owen O Neal* himself was of the most ancient Sept, and whose Army consisted only of such, who avowed no other Cause for their first Entrance into Rebellion, but Matter of Religion ; and that the Power of the Parliament, was like to be so great and prevalent, that the King himself would not be able to extend his Favours and Mercy towards them, which they seemed to be confident, he was, in his gracious Disposition, inclined to express ; and therefore professed to take up Arms against the exorbitant Power only of them, and to retain Hearts full of Devotion and Duty to his Majesty ; and who at present, by the under-hand and secret Treaties with the Lord Lieutenant, seemed more irreconcilable to the Proceedings of the General Assembly, and to the Persons of those whom he thought governed there, than to make any Scruple of submitting to the King's Authority, in the Person of the Marquis, to which, and to whom, he protested all Duty and Reverence. These two so contrary and disagreeing Elements, had, I say, by the subtle and volatile Spirit of Hypocrisy and Rebellion, the Arts of the Time, found a Way to incorporate together ; and *Owen O Neal* had promised and contracted with the other, that he would compel the Lord Lieutenant to retire, and draw off his Army from about *Dublin*, by his invading those Parts of *Leinster*, and *Munster*, with his Army, which yielded most, yea, all the Provisions and Substance to the Marquis, and which he presumed the Marquis would not suffer to be spoiled and desolated by his IncurSIONS ; for the better doing whereof, and enabling him for this Expedition, Colonel *Monk*, Governor of *Dundalk*, who was the second Person in Command, amongst the Parliament's Forces, had promised to deliver to him, out of the Stores of that Garrison, a good Quantity of Powder, Bullet, and Match, proportionable ; for the fetching whereof, *Owen O Neal* had sent *Farral*, Lieutenant General of his Army, with a Party of five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse. At that Time *Tredagh* was taken by the Lord *Inchequin* ; who, being there advertised of that new contracted Friendship, resolved to give some Interruption to it, and made so good haste, that within few Hours after *Farral* had received the Ammunition at *Dundalk*, he fell upon him, routed all his Horse, and of the five hundred Foot, there were not forty escaped, but were either slain, or taken Prisoners, and got all the Ammunition, and with it so good an Account of the present State of *Dundalk*, that he immediately engaged before it, and assisted by the Lord of *Ards*, who a little before, had been chosen by the Presbyterian Ministers, their Commander in Chief, thereby possessing himself of *Carrickfergus*, and *Belfast*, in two Days compelled *Monk*, who would else have been delivered up by his own Soldiers, to surrender the Place, where was a good Magazine of Ammunition, Cloath, and other Necessaries for War, most of the Officers and Soldiers, with all Alacrity engaging themselves in his Majesty's Service ; though the Governor shipt himself for *England*, and landing shortly after at *Chester*, he went immediately to *Bristol*, where *Cromwel*, the Parliament's Lord Lieutenant, was then to come for *Ireland* ; who received him very courteously ; but, after he had remained some Days there, advised him to go up to the Parliament, to give them Satisfaction, in the Cessation he had made with *Owen Roe O Neal*, the 8th of May 1649, which he did ; And the Business of that Cessation being brought into the House, it was much resented ; and after some Debate, more then ordinarily had on other

Owen O Neal, and the Parliament's Party agree.

Inchequin routs *Farral*.

Takes in *Dundalk*.

1649.

Colonel Monk
dismissed the Par-
liament's Service.

Occasions, several severe Votes passed against it; only Colonel *Monk*, being conceived to have made it out of a good Intent, for preserving the Interest of the Parliament, was held to be clear, and not thought fit hereafter to be questioned: But this was taken as a fair Way of laying him aside; whereupon Colonel *Monk* retired to his own Estate, unhappy only in being the Instrument of their Preservation, who were not sensible of his Merits.

And now that all Parties might be kept entire, the Marquis of *Ormond* publishes a Declaration, upon Instructions from the King, designed purposely for *Ulster*.

AFTER my hearty Commendations, upon some Representations, that have been lately made unto us, we have thought fit, to send you down the ensuing Instructions:

I. That so far as your Power extends, you cause every Person, without Distinction, who have submitted to his Majesty's Authority, and to the Peace of this Kingdom, to be put into the actual Possession of his Estate, he paying, and contributing to the Maintenance of the Army, and necessary Burthens of the Country, proportionable to the Rest of his Neighbours.

II. That you cause the Articles of War to be put in Execution, amongst all the Forces under your Command, whereof we send you down herewithal a Copy.

III. Whereas it is well known to belong to us, as General of the Army, in this Kingdom under his Majesty, to dispose of all military Offices and Commands, whether in Chief or Subordinate, which Right we cannot in Honour suffer to be lost from the Sword; and whereas some Commissions lately have been procured, giving Power to other Commanders, to name and place all Sorts of military Officers, under the respective Commands; in which Commissions nevertheless, and much more in the Instructions, there is an express Reference to us, and to our Approbation, from which they are to receive their Validity. We do therefore Order and Declare our Pleasure thereby, That no Commander whatsoever, within the Province of *Ulster*, do assume to themselves, the Nomination of military Officers, as Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, Cornets, or Ensigns, upon pretence of any late Commission, but leave them to our Discretion, as in this Kingdom hath ever been accustomed.

IV. If any Person shall speak or act to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Authority, or Affairs, let him upon Proof be forthwith imprisoned, and his Estate secured, and an Information sent up to us of the Nature of his Crime, that we may give further Order therein. And if any Ecclesiastical Person in his Prayer or Sermon, shall presume to excite the People to Sedition or Disobedience, or shall intermeddle in Pulpit or Consistory with the Managery of Civil Affairs, or shall derogate from the present Government or Governors of this Kingdom, or shall teach, that his Majesty is not to be admitted to the Possession of his Crown, until he hath given satisfaction to his Subjects, or until he have taken such Oaths and Covenants, as are imposed upon him, without his Consent, without Law, contrary to the Dictates of his own Conscience; upon Proof thereof, without further Circumstance, let his Estate be confiscated to the Use of the Army, and himself be either imprisoned,

imprisoned, or banished, or tryed for his Life, as the Enemy shall deserve.

V. If there be any Person whose Loyalty is suspected, let the Chief in Command upon the Place, administer unto him the Oath of Allegiance ; and if he refuse it, let them secure both his Person and Estate, and send up an Information to us, that we may cause Proofs to be made against him.

VI. Although we cannot now take notice of the *Scotch* Army in this Kingdom, or of any distinct from that which is committed into our Hands by his Majesty ; we expecting a joint Obedience of all Forces, *English, Scotch, and Irish*, indifferently, as Branches of the Army under our Command ; yet in respect your old Quarters are straightened by the Garrison of *Belfast*, by our very good Lord, the Lord Viscount *Montgomery*, of the *Ards* ; we are well pleased in lieu thereof, to assign unto you for the Enlargement of your Quarters, so much of the Countries of *Antrim*, as was possessed or enjoyed by Sir *John Clotworthy's* Regiment, now disbanded of themselves ; and because we cannot but judge, that this Dissolution of them proceeds from the Averseness to his Majesty's Service, and therefore we require that none of them be admitted into any Troops, as Horsemen, or Dragooners.

VII. For Answer to your other Proposition ; if any Postage shall be sent down from them, or from the other Provinces of the Kingdom into *Ulster*, for his Majesty's Service upon any Occasion ; it is our Pleasure, they have their Quarter and Provision for the present in these Quarters, through which they pass ; but the whole Province of *Ulster* is to contribute proportionably towards the Charge.

VIII. Let the Siege of *Derry* be prosecuted by the common Advice of the Lord Viscount *Montgomery* of *Ardes*, *Robert Stewart*, Sir *George Monro*, and Colonel *Audley Mervin*.

IX. We desire the said four Persons last mentioned likewise to consider and certify, what fit Augmentation of Quarter and further Provision, may be assigned to the Regiment and Troops of *Esteline* without Prejudice, or with the least Prejudice to any other of his Majesty's Forces.

ORMOND.

Upon the Lord *Inchequin's* Success at *Dundalk*, the lesser Garrisons of *Newry*, *Narrow-Water*, *Green-Castle*, and *Carlingford*, were easily subjected ; and the Lord *Inchequin*, in his return, being appointed to visit the Town of *Trim*, the only Garrison left to the Parliamentarians in those Parts, except *Dublin*, in two Days after he had besieged it, he made himself Master of it, and so returned with his Party, not impaired by the Service, to the Lord Lieutenant in his Camp at *Finglass*. *Owen O Neal* still continued his Affection to the Parliamentarians ; and when he found that his Design of drawing the Marquis of *Ormond's* Army from *Dublin* could not prevail, he hastened into *Ulster*, and upon the Payment of 2000*l.* in Money, some Ammunition, and about 2000 Cows, he raised the Siege of *Londonderry* the 8th of *August*, the only considerable Place in that Province, which held for the Parliament under Sir *Charles Coote*, and which was even then reduced to the last Extremity, by the Lord Viscount *Montgomery* of *Ardes*, Sir *George Monro*, Sir *Robert Stewart*, Colonel *Audley Mervin*, and others, and must in few Days have submitted

Inchequin takes in *Trim*.

Owen O Neal, in behalf of the Parliament, raises the Siege of *Londonderry*.

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Sir Charles Coote
censured for his
Compliance with
Owen O Neal.

mitted to the King's Authority, if it had not, in that Manner, been relieved by the *Irish* under *O Neal*, with whom Colonel *Richard Coal*, in the Behalf of Sir *Charles Coote*, Lord President of *Connaught*, had made Articles of Cessation, as Colonel *Monk* had done before, on the grounds of Necessity, the 22d of *May*, 1649, the Benefit of which he acquainted the State with, desiring that the Propositions presented by him might be accepted; which was thought by them a Demand so extravagant, and of such dangerous Consequence to the whole Kingdom, as it was ill resented, *Owen Roe* and his Party having been first engaged in those horrid Massacres, and presently rejected: And though Sir *Charles Coote* was not censured, because it was presumed he did it out of Necessity; yet several Votes passed against him as to that Cessation, though he was continued in his Employment; and having received the Pleasure of the Parliament concerning the Cessation made by him with *Owen Roe*, presently acquainted him therewith, who, according to Articles betwixt them, did soon retire, and, as we shall see afterwards, came to an Agreement with the Marquis of *Ormond*, finding he could not by any Means, he could use, draw himself or his Party to be accepted of by the Parliament, an Attempt he earnestly solicited, engaging to maintain their Interest with the Hazard of his Life and Fortune against all Opposers whatsoever; with whom joined the Lords, Gentry, and Commons of the Confederate Catholics of *Ulster*: Though many were of Opinion, that all that was done both by Sir *Charles Coote* and Colonel *Monk*, was transacted by the Privity, if not Consent, of the Grandees in *England*; but the Grounds to fasten this upon them could never be found, though the Business hath been narrowly searched into: Known it was, that there was a Person sent over, and many Overtures made by a Priest, *O Rely*, to the Committee of *Derby-House*, but with what Reception, the Certainty yet remains in the Clouds. However, Sir *Charles Coote* having by this Means delivered himself from the Straitness of a Siege, and having received some new Supplies of Men and Provisions out of *England*, Colonel *Hunks* being sent from *Cromwel* with Forces to his Relief, presently marched out, and cleared the Country about him; and afterwards, in *October*, got such a Strength together, as he went to *Colerain*, and took in that Town by *Assault*, and so went on to the Siege of *Carrickfergus*. However, he so represents the Parliament's slow Supplies, as, in *June* this Year, there is exhibited his Complaint, truly a sad one, in reference to their Neglect, and in Conclusion, desires either to be supplied answerable to his Condition, or to be discharged from his Employment.

The Lord-Lieutenant, upon the View of his Army, found it considerable rather to block up the City, than make a regular Siege.

But to look backwards. All the Places of Moment near *Dublin* being, as we have shewn, reduced by the Marquis of *Ormond*'s Party, who on the 24th of *July* took a View of his whole Army, and found it to consist of no less than seven thousand Foot, and about four thousand Horse; others write more; which though a good Force, was not equal to the Work of forming a regular Siege of so large and populous a City as *Dublin*, and as unfit to storm it; therefore it was resolved still to continue the former Design of straitning it, until the Necessities within abated the Obstinacy of that People; for the better doing whereof, the Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costiloe*, was appointed to remain still on the North-side of the Town, with a Body of two thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, to block it up, having two or three small Places of Strength to retire to upon Occasion; and

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and that the Sea, as far as his Power might extend, might not be unprovided, his Excellency granted Letters of Mart, the 6th of *July*, signed by Secretary *Lane*, to Captain *Joseph Containe* of *Waterford*, and others. And then the Lord Lieutenant marched with the Remainder of the Army over the River of *Liffy* to the South Side, to a Place called *Rathmines*, where he resolved to incamp, and from whence, by reason of the Narrowness of the River, he might discourage an Attempt of sending Relief into the Town by Sea from *England*. And in Truth, if he had come time enough to have raised a Work upon the Point, some Interruption might have been given to that Enterprize; but it pleased God, that that very same Day, the 25th of *July*, the Marquis marched thither, in Sight of his Army, a strong Gale of Wind from the East brought into *Dublin* Harbour Colonel *Reynolds*, Colonel *Hunks*, and Colonel *Venables*, with a good Supply of Horse, viz. six hundred, and one thousand five hundred Foot, Money, and all other Necessaries whereof the Garrison stood in need, which marvellously exalted the Spirits of those, who were devoted to the Obedience of the Parliament, and depressed the Minds of them, who watched all Opportunities of doing Service to the King. There were then in *Dublin* five thousand Soldiers, besides Inhabitants. However, the Marquis pursued his Resolution, and encamped that Night at *Rathmines*, and the next Day made himself strong there, till, upon Information, he was sure to receive an Account of the State and Condition of the Enemy, that he might better conclude what was next to be done.

Colonel *Reynolds*,
Hunks, and *Venables*, arrive at
Dublin.

There were many Men within the City who found Means to send the Marquis still Advertisement of what was necessary for him to know, and some Ships, which brought Supplies for the Parliament's Forces there, brought likewise Intelligence from those that wished well to the King's Service, unto the Lord Lieutenant, and unto other Persons of Honour that were with him, and from several Persons of known Integrity, and who were like enough to know what was transacted in the Councils of the Parliament's Party: It was informed, that this Supply, which was already landed at *Dublin*, was all that was intended for that Place, and believed it to be sufficient to defend it against any Army the Marquis could bring to attack it; and that *Cromwel* who was known to be ready in *England* to embark with a great Army meant to land in *Munster*, a Country but lately fallen from their Devotion, and where there were still many inclined to him, and thereby to compel the Lord Lieutenant to rise from *Dublin*. And it is very true, that at that Time *Cromwel* was resolved to have proceeded in that manner, after he had with much seeming Difficulty been brought to accept of the Place, the Presbyterians laying Wagers he would never come, and the Independents sought to divert him from it by their unexpected Mutinies, on a Tenet, *That all were to enjoy their own Principles*. Yet upon this joint Intelligence of *Cromwel's* Advance, for it came from some Persons to the Lord Lieutenant, and from others to the Lord *Inchequin*, it was, upon Consultation with the General Officers, concluded absolutely necessary, that the Lord *Inchequin*, being Lord President of *Munster*, should immediately, with a strong Party of Horse, repair into that Province, whereby at least the Garrisons there might be supported against any sudden Attempt of the Enemy, if they should land there; and that the Army being thus weakened by the Quality, as well as the Number of this Party, who were the best Horse of the Body, the Lord

Cromwel accepts
of the Lieute-
nanthip.

The Lord *Inchequin* suspecting
that *Cromwel*
might land in
Munster, went
thither.

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Lieutenant should retire to *Drumnagh*, being a Quarter of greater Strength and Security than that of *Rathmines* was, or could be made, and was at such Distance, as might as well block up the Enemy as the other; and from thence, an interrupted Communication might be held with that Party, which encamped on the north Side of the River. And upon this Conclusion, the Lord *Inchequin* departed towards *Munster*. When it was known that his Excellency was to retire, the Officers and Soldiers expressed much Trouble, and seemed to believe the reducing of the Town not to be a matter of that Difficulty as was pretended, if they could hinder the Parliamentarians Horse from grazing in the Meadows near the Walls, which was the only Place they were possessed of to that Purpose, they could not be able to subsist five Days; and it would be in their Power to take that Benefit from them if they possessed themselves of the Castle of *Baggatrath*, very near adjoining to that Pasture, which was already so strong, that in one Night it might be made sufficiently fortified. And this Discourse, which was not indeed unreasonable, got so much Credit, that the Council of War intreated the Marquis to decline his former Resolution of retiring to *Drumnagh*, the Earl of *Castlehaven*, General *Preston*, Sir *Arthur Aston*, and Major General *Purcel*, having viewed *Baggatrath*, and assured the Lord Lieutenant, that it might be possessed and sufficiently fortified in one Night.

It is no wonder that in an Army thus constituted and composed, the Marquis thought not fit, by his Authority to restrain it from pursuing an Enterprize of so much Gallantry, and which had so much Possibility of Success: And indeed, he still retained some Hope of Advantage by the Affection of that City, and that, even in these last Supplies that were sent over, there were many that laid hold of that Opportunity to transport themselves, for the Advancement of the King's Service, and with Purpose quickly to change their Masters, so that he was contented to recede from his former Resolution, and on the 1st of *August* at Night sent a strong Party, viz. one thousand five hundred Foot, under Major General *Purcel*, to possess themselves of *Baggatrath*, with Engineers, and such other Materials as were necessary to fortify it: And because he concluded, that the Enemy would immediately discover what they were doing, and would use their utmost Endeavours to prevent the Execution of a Design, which would bring such irreparable Damage to them, he gave strict Order for drawing the whole Army in Battalia, and commanded, that they should stand in Arms all that Night, himself continuing in the Field on Horse-back till Morning; as soon as it was Day, he went to visit the Place that was to be fortified, which he found not in that Condition he expected; the Officer * excusing himself, by having been misguided in the Night, so that it was very late before he arrived there, though it was not an *English* Mile distant from the Camp; wherewith the Marquis being unsatisfied, displaced the Officer who commanded the Party, and put another of good Name and Reputation into the Charge, and appointed him to make his Men to work hard, since it appeared, that in four or five Hours it might be so well fortified, that they need fear no Attempt from the Town; and that they might be sure to enjoy to much Time, he commanded the Army to remain in the same Posture they had been all Night; and about nine of the Clock, seeing

no

A Party sent to fortify *Beggatrath*, under *Purcel*.

* Major General *Purcel*.

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no Appearance of any Sally from the Town, which he had so long expected, he went to his Tent to refresh himself with a little Rest, which he had not obtained for the Space of an Hour, when he was awakened by an Alarm from the Enemy, and putting himself immediately upon his Horse, quickly found, that his Officers and Lieutenant General *Preston* had not been so punctual in their Duty as they ought to have been, but had quitted their Posts, out of an unhappy Confidence, that the Besieged would not adventure, at that Time of the Day, to make any Sally, as soon as the Marquis went to repose himself; so that a strong Party out of the Town, about Ten of the Clock in the Morning, the 2d of *August* 1649, marched directly to *Baginbun*, and with less Opposition than ought to have been made, beat, routed, and dispersed the Party that possessed it; who, finding their Horse not so ready to assist them as they expected, quitted the Place with all imaginable Confusion which encouraged *Jones's* Party, who were seconded immediately by the whole Power in *Dublin*, to advance further towards the Army, which they discerned to be in high Disorder, than at their coming out they intended. The Lord Lieutenant used all Means to put the Horse in order, sending the Lord *Taaff* to command the Foot: But Sir *William Vaughan*, Commissary General of the Horse, being in the first Charge killed, they who followed him were immediately routed, notwithstanding that the Forces from *Dublin* marched only in single Troops and Companies, having not Time to draw together in Battalia; whereupon so great a Consternation seized upon the Spirits of all the rest, that the Marquis could prevail with none to stand with him, but the Regiments of his Brother, Colonel *Butler* and Colonel *Grady*, some write *Miles Reylie*, with which he charged the Enemy, wherein, Colonel *Grady*, being slain, and his Brother sore wounded and taken Prisoner, that Body was entirely broken; and from that Time, it was not in his Power, by all the Means he could use, to rally any Party of Horse and to make them so much as stand by him; so that, when he was environed by the Enemy, attended with very few of his own Servants, and two or three Gentlemen, he was forced to make his Way through them, and to quit the Field; when a small Body of Foot, under Colonel *Gifford*, which still kept the Ground, and valiantly defended themselves, finding that they were deserted by their Horse, were compelled to surrender their Arms to *Jones*; the Lord *Taaff* making his own Way so prosperously, that he got to the North-side, where he found that Body, composed of the Lord *Dillon's*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong's*, the Lord *Moor's*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Purdon's* Regiments of Horse; Colonel *Warren's*, Colonel *Wallis*, and Colonel *Mick. Byrnes* Regiments of Foot, which had been left at *Finglass* in Arms, and which had not seen the Enemy that Day; upon which, the Lord *Taaff*, used all possible Endeavours to persuade them to attempt a Recovery of what was lost, which, in so great Disorder of the Enemy, which such Success usually produceth, was not reasonably to be despaired of: But the Apprehension, Jealousies, Fright and Terror, was so universal, that he could not incline them to it, nor to do more than, and that in great Confusion, to provide for their own Security: Whilst the Marquis directed his Letters to them, ordering therein the one Half of them to go to *Tredagh*, and the other Half to *Trim*, for the Security of those Places, whilst himself went to *Kilkenny* to rally what he

The Lord Lieutenant's Forces routed at Rathmines.

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he could of the Army, and to raise what new Forces he should be able. This was the unhappy, and indeed fatal Defeat at *Rathmines*, by the Bishops at *Jamestown* 1650, thought so improvident and unfortunate, as nothing happened in Christianity more shameful. Yet in his Excellency's Letter from *Kilcolgan* the 2d of *December* 1650, to the Assembly at *Logbreogh* so answered, as hitherto no Reply hath been attempted. The News of which, and the Consequences thereof, was received and proclaimed, writes *Walsh*, fol. 583, with much gladness and excess of Joy in *Rome*, as that which made for the Nuncio's Party. It was the first and only Loss that fell upon any Army or Party of which the Marquis had the Name and Title, and here he had no more than the Name, of the supreme Commander, and these the whole Circumstances of it. In this Battle were slain on the Place, and in the Chace, about four thousand, and two thousand five hundred and seventeen taken Prisoners, and two whole Cannon, three Demi-cannon, one long square Gun carrying a Ball of twelve Pound, one Saker-drake, one Morter-piece, all these Brasses, besides two hundred Draught-Oxen for the Train, and the richest Camp of Commodities an Enemy could well be Master of. But not to speak further of the sad Misfortune of this great Commander, than whom, no Man was more justly magnified for his Courage, confided in for his Loyalty, relied on for his Wisdom, trusted in for his Care to prevent ill Accidents, and Dexterity to take Advantages; he was indeed looked upon as the Restorer of his Country, and as the only Person, by whose Management of the *Irish* War, the injured King was like to arise out of his Father's Ruins to the Glory and Greatness he was born to; though upon this Defeat, those, whose Crimes were no otherwise to be veiled than by this Misfortune, cast the Miscarriage thereof solely upon him; a Fate incident to great Men, to be extremely magnified on Success, and upon any notable Disaster to be as much depressed, and peradventure neither justly.

Soon after this Defeat, *Jones* was writ to by his Excellence, to have a List of the Prisoners he had taken from him. To whom it was replied, *My Lord, since I routed your Army, I cannot have the Happiness to know where you are, that I may wait upon you.*

Michael Jones.

The Defeat at *Rathmines* altered Consultations.

This Defeat at *Rathmines* altered the Result of Counsels at Court, till then very strong for his Majesty's Repair into *Ireland*, the *Scots* having given ill Proofs of their Integrity and Faith: And certainly the *Irish* were at that Time so disposed, as properly they would have submitted to his Majesty, whatever afterwards might have been the Result of their Compliance: And for the Parliament, they had at that Time so inconsiderable a Footing in *Ireland*, possessing not a Garrison in *Munster* or *Connaught*, and in *Ulster* none but *Londonderry* and the Fort of *Culmore*, as in *Leinster*, little but *Dublin* and *Ballishannon*, as his Majesty's Presence, it was thought, would have wrought on some, reduced others, and brought in all.

The Lord Lieutenant from *Rathmines* retires to *Kilkenny*.

When the Marquis, as we have said before, found the Consternation to be so great in his Soldiers, as they could not be contained from dispersing, and had sent Orders to those on *Finglass* Side, to march to *Tredagh* and *Trim*, for the strengthening of those Garrisons, which he believed *Jones* might, upon the Pride of his late Success, be inclined to attack; whilst

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whilst himself went to *Kilkenny*, as the fittest Rendezvous to which he might rally his broken and scattered Forces, and from whence he might best give Orders and Directions for the making of new Levies: And in his March thither, the very next Day after the Defeat at *Rathmines*, he made an halt, with those few Horse he had rallied together, and summoned the strong Fort of *Ballishannon*, which he had before left blocked up by a Party of Horse and Foot, and, having found Means to persuade the Governor to believe that *Dublin* had been surrendered, and that his Army was returning, he got that important Place into his Hands, without which Stratagem, *Jones* would have pursued his Conquest even to *Kilkenny* it self, which he had found in a very ill Condition to defend it self: For in a whole Weeks Time after the Marquis's coming to *Kilkenny*, he could draw together but three hundred Horse, with which he found it necessary that Day seven-night after the Defeat, to march in Person to the Relief of *Tredagh*, which was besieged by *Jones*, and defended by the Lord *Moor*; but upon the Approach of the Marquis no nearer than *Trim*, the Siege was raised, and *Jones* returned to *Dublin*, and his Lordship entred *Tredagh*, whither he resolved to draw his Army as soon as might be, and issued out his Orders accordingly, hoping in short Time, if no other Misfortune intervened, to get a Body of Men together able to restrain those of *Dublin*, from making any great Advantage of their late Victory: But he had been there very few Days, when he received sure Advertisement, that *Cromwel* himself was landed with a great Army of Horse and Foot, and with vast Supplies of all Kinds at *Dublin*, where he arrived within less than a Fort-night, viz. on or about the 15th of *August*, after the unfortunate Defeat at *Rathmines*.

Colonel *Jones* besieging *Tredagh*, was raised by the Lord Lieutenant's coming to *Trim*.

Cromwel lands at *Dublin*.

The Scene being now altered, and the War the Lord Lieutenant was to make could be only Defensive, until the Parliamentarians should meet with a Check in some Enterprize; and his own Men by Rest, Discipline, and Exercise of their Arms, might again recover their Spirits, and forget the Fears they had contracted of the Enemy. He in the first Place therefore took Care to repair the Works and Fortifications of *Tredagh*, as well as in so short a time could be done, and got as much Provision into the Town as was possible; and then with a full Approbation of all the Commissioners, he made choice of Sir *Arthur Aston*, a Roman Catholick, and a Soldier of very great Experience and Reputation, one at *Reading* and *Oxford* formerly confided in by his Majesty, a Gentleman of an ancient and yet flourishing Family in *Cheshire*, to be Governor thereof, and put a Garrison into it of two thousand Foot, and a good Regiment of Horse, all choice Men, and good Soldiers, with very many Gentlemen and Officers of good Name and Account, and supplied it with Ammunition and all other Provisions, as well as the Governor himself desired; and having done so, he marched with his Horse and small Remainder of Foot to *Trim*, from whence he had sent to the Lord *Inchiquin*, to bring up as many Men to *Tecroghan* the Rendezvous as he could out of *Munster*, now the Apprehension of *Cromwel*'s Landing there was over, and endeavoured from all Parts to recruit his Army, hoping, that before the Parliamentarians could be able to reduce any of his Garrisons, he might be empowered to take the Field.

The 24th of *August* 1649, the Commons assembled in Parliament set forth a Declaration, declaring all Persons who had served the Parlia-

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ment of *England* in *Ireland*, and had betrayed their Trust, or adhered to, or aided and assisted his late Majesty, or his Son, to be Traitors and Rebels, and accordingly to be proceeded against by a Court-Martial; whereby some were sentenced, others sent into *England*, some imprisoned there, and many disbanded, though they had served against the Rebels from the first Discovery.

Upon *Friday* the 30th of *August*, *Cromwel* marched out of *Dublin*, having settled the Affairs of that City, Civil and Military, instituting Sir *Theophilus Jones* Governor in his Absence, with an Army of nine or ten thousand Men, chosen out of the General Muster, where appeared a compleat Body of fifteen thousand Horse and Foot, came before *Tredagh*, *Monday* the 2d of *September*, of which the Marquis of *Ormond*, was no sooner advertized, than he came to *Trim*, to watch all Opportunities to infest the Enemies Quarters; and having full Confidence in the Town, and in the Experience of Sir *Arthur Aston*, who had sent him several Advices to precipitate nothing, for that he doubted not to find *Cromwel* play a while, the Goodness and Number of the Garrison being such, that *Cromwel* would not be able to get the Town by any Assault: But here again he found his Expectations disappointed, for the Enemy resolved not to lose their Time in a Siege; and therefore as soon as they had sent their Summons the 9th of *September*, and it was rejected, they made a Breach the next Day with their Cannon, and stormed the Place; and though they were for some Time stoutly resisted, and twice beaten off, yet at the third Onset, led by *Cromwel*, they entered, and pursued their Victory with so much Cruelty, that they put the whole Garrison in Arms to the Sword, not sparing those upon second Thoughts, to whom, in the Heat of the Action, some of *Cromwel's* Under-Officers promised and gave Quarter; a Crime, writes one, then in the Action, themselves were most guilty of, they again resuming Arms when they had engaged to lay them down: So that, except some few who, during the Time of the Assault, escaped at the other Side of the Town, and others, who mingling with the Rebels as their own Men, disguised themselves, that they were not discovered, there was not an Officer, Soldier, or Religious Person belonging to that Garrison left alive, besides those, after Decimation, sent to *Barbadoes*; and all this within the Space of nine Days after the Enemy appeared before the Walls; and when very many Royalists as well as *Irish* were glad that they were engaged before the Place, that was likely to be so well defended, and to stop their further Progress for that Season of the Year.

This indeed was a much greater Blow than that at *Rathmines*, and totally destroyed and massacred a Body of near three thousand Men, with which, in respect of Experience and Courage of the Officers, and Goodness and Fidelity of the common Men, the Marquis would have been glad to have found himself engaged in the Field with the Enemy, though upon some Disadvantages: And he had not now left with him above seven hundred Horse and one thousand five hundred Foot, whereof some were of suspected Faith, and many new raised Men: And though the Lord *Inchequin* was ready to march towards him with a good Party of Horse and Foot, and the Lord Viscount of *Ardes* with the like of *Scots*; yet he had neither Money to give them one Day's Pay, or Provision to keep them together for twenty-four Hours: The Commissioners were either dispersed, or their Orders for collecting Money

*Cromwel gains
Tredagh by
Storm, &c.*

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ney not executed or regarded; and when in those Straits the Lord Lieutenant issued out Warrants for raising of Men and Money, they complained of the Breach of Articles of the Treaty, and talked amongst themselves of treating with the Enemy. That which was most conciliable, and which all Men saw was fittest to be practised, was, to put all their Men into Garrisons, and thereby secure the most considerable Places, and therewithal, Winter now approaching, to have prosecuted their Levies, and by good Discipline and Exercise of their Men, recover their Spirits against the Spring: But this was not at all in the Marquis's Power to do, he was restrained by the Articles of the Treaty from making any new Garrison, and from changing any old Governors, without the Approbation of the Commissioners; and he and the Commissioners together had not Credit and Power enough with the chief Cities and incorporate Towns, which were most worth keeping, and consequently most likely to be attempted by the Rebels, to force or persuade them to receive Garrisons. So *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Limerick* and *Galway*, the most considerable Ports of the Kingdom, declared, they would admit of no Soldiers; nor indeed did they further obey any other Orders which were sent to them than they thought fit themselves. If this fatal Distemper and Discomposure had not been discovered to be amongst them, it is not to be believed that *Cromwel*, what Success soever he had met with, would have engaged his Army, which with being long at Sea, Change of Air, and long Duty, was much weakened, and had contracted great Sickneses in the Sieges after the Beginning of *October*; yet being encouraged, and, in Truth, drawn on by the Knowledge of this Humour and Obstinacy of the *Irish*, against all Remedies that could preserve them, he withdrew his Forces from *Tredagh*, having taken in first *Trim*, *Dundalk*, *Carlingford*, *Newry*, and other smaller Garrisons thereabouts, and returned to *Dublin*, having sent Colonel *Venables* down with some Forces to oppose *George Monro*, who had a good Strength with him, and to relieve *Londonderry*, but was not able to keep the Field: In his March, he was set upon in his Quarters by Colonel *Trevor*, who had five or six hundred Horse with him, and gave him a desperate Attack; but the Morning appearing, he was beaten out by Captain *Meredith* and his Troop, who was appointed by Colonel *Venables* to charge him; this was upon his march towards *Belfast*, which was surrendered unto him upon Conditions from the *Scots*: And while he was here, he sent out a Party under Colonel *Conally*, who was encountered as he marched to *Antrim* by *George Monro*, and a good Strength of Horse, and routed; *Conally* was there slain by Colonel *John Hamilton*. Such are the Dispensations of the Almighty, as he did not live to receive the Fruit of so great Services as he had done to that Kingdom, in discovering the Plot. *Moses* saw the good Land, but never entered.

At *Dublin*, *Cromwel* refreshed his Soldiers a few Days, and, intending to fish in troubled Waters, resolved presently to appear before *Wexford*; which the Marquis of *Ormond* suspecting, upon *Cromwel*'s Return from *Tredagh* to *Dublin*, removed his Army from *Castle Jordan* down towards the Counties of *Wexford* and *Kilkenny*, there not only to lye secure till *Owen O Neal*'s Army should come up to him, according to Agreement, as you shall hereafter hear, but also ready

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* Near *Eniscorthy* there was a Monastery of *Franciscans*, which, upon the Approach of the Army, quitted the Place, and their Provisions very considerable.

Cromwel takes in *Wexford*.

dy to be drawn into either *Wexford* or *Kilkenny*, as there should be Occasion. *Cromwel*, according to his Resolution, the 27th of *September*, marched from *Dublin*; but before he marched thence, or presently after, he cashiered the seven old Regiments which *Jones* had continued at *Dublin*, allowing the Colonels, for a little Time, a small Pension, which he soon took off; though they were the first who, to that Instant, had served against the Rebels. And then he marched towards *Wexford* through the County of *Wicklow*, taking the People into Protection, and not suffering the Soldiers in his Army to commit any Spoil as he went, but to pay for all Provisions, in his March he took in several Castles and Garrisons, as *Killinkerrick*, *Arcklow*, *Little Limerick*, *Iniscorpin*, alias *Eniscortby*, *Ferns Castle*, and the Fort of *Wexford* *; and the first of *October* with his Army he fate down before *Wexford*, the Inhabitants whereof appeared willing, under Colonel *David Synnot* their Governor, to make Defence, albeit they had too long neglected the Means thereof, and were at last, when Part of the Enemies Army was lodged within half a Musket-shot of their Walls, contented to receive an Assistance of Men from the Lord Lieutenant, which upon the first Intimation his Excellency hastened to them, of the choicest of those he had left, all Catholicks, for that was still insisted upon, under the Command of his Cousin Sir *Edmond Butler*, with near one thousand five hundred Men, who with some Difficulty passed the River into that Part of the Town which the Parliament's Army could not infest; but he had not been two Hours in the Town, before Captain *James Stafford*, Governor of the Castle, whom the Lord Lieutenant would have removed from that Charge, not as being unfit for it, but because he was a Catholick, and had exercised that Charge during the Time that the Confederates were in Arms against the King, gave up that Place to *Cromwel*, and took Conditions under him, *Cromwel* having thus gained the Castle, advanced his Flag upon the Castle, and turned the Guns against the Town; which the Townsmen perceiving, their Hearts failed them, and the Soldiers in Confusion quitted the Walls, not expecting the Return of their Commissioners, who treating with *Cromwel*, had procured the Safety of the Inhabitants of the Town, and the Preservation of it from Plunder, as Leave for the Soldiers to depart every one to their own Homes, they engaging not to bear Arms any more against the States of *England*, and lastly, of Life to the Officers. Yet in great Consternation, Fear having surpris'd the Townsmen and Soldiers before their Commissioners return, they endeavoured to pass over the Water for the Safety of their Lives: Which *Cromwel's* Soldiers perceiving, about the 14th of *October*, presently clapt Scaling-Ladders to the Walls, and entered the Town without any Resistance, wherein all found in Arms were put to the Sword, to the number of two thousand; among which, Sir *Edmond Butler*, endeavouring, when he discovered their Treachery, to escape, was killed, before he had been two Hours in that City: *Cromwel*, in the Interim not losing twenty Men in the whole Siege, though, as you may see, Colonel *David Synnot*, Governor of the Town and Castle of *Wexford*, had Confidence by the Propositions he sent; 1. That the Inhabitants of the Town should exercise, without Disturbance, the Roman Catholick Religion. 2. Their religious Orders and Priests should enjoy their Monasteries and Churches. 3. The Bishop *Nicholas Ferns*, and his Successors,

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fors, should have their undisturbed Jurisdiction of their Diocess. 4. Their Officers and Soldiers should march out with flying Colours, and the other Punctilio's of Honour. 5. Whosoever of the Inhabitants hereafter should desire to depart the Town, should have whatever was theirs with them. 6. That all Freemen should have their Immunities and Liberties hitherto enjoyed, they adhering to the State of *England*. 7. None to be disturbed in their Possession. 8. Whoever afterwards should desire to depart, may have safe Conduct into *England*, or elsewhere. 9. That all enjoy a full Liberty of free-born *English* Subjects, in what Port soever they should traffick in *England*. 10. That no Memory remain of any Hostility or Distance betwixt the Parliament and those that kept the Town and Castle. All which, *Cromwel* accounting impudent, had no Effect.

From this Torrent of Success and Corruption, no body will wonder, that *Cromwel* marched thence without Control, and took in *Ross*, a strong Town situate upon the *Barrow*, and far more considerable for Navigation than *Wexford*, the River admitting a Ship of seven or eight hundred Ton to ride by the Walls; of this Place Major-General *Lucas Taaff* was Governor, who had with him a strong Garrison, re-enforced by one thousand five hundred Men, even in the Sight of *Cromwel's* Army, who, when he came before it, to save Blood, sent a Summons to the Town; which was answered suitable to his Mind by the Governor; but the great Guns sending in the next Summons, the Town was surrendred on Condition, the 19th of *October*, That they within should march away with Bag and Baggage. Capitulating for which, *Taaff* demanded Liberty of Conscience for such as should stay. To which *Cromwel* replied, That he meddled not with any Man's Conscience; but if by Liberty of Conscience was meant a Liberty to exercise the Mass, he judged it best to use plain Dealing, and to let him know, where the Parliament of *England* had Power, that will not be allowed.

The Marquis of *Ormond*, out of a too deep Sense of the Stupidity, nay Madness and Ingratitude of that People, for whose Protection and Defence he had embarked himself, his Fortunes, and his Honour, and whose Jealousy and fond Obstinacy made the Work of their own Preservation more difficult and impossible, than the Power of their Enemy could do, about this Time desired nothing so much as an Opportunity to fight *Cromwel*, and either to give some Check to his swelling Fortune, or to perish gloriously in the Action; and to that Purpose drew all his Friends to him, then about the *Graige* and *Thomastown*, with an Intention to fight him, his Excellency's Army being exceedingly increased, by the Conjunction of *Inchequin's* and *Owen Roe's* Armies, had he not been diverted by a false Alarm of the Enemy's being gone as far as *Bennet's-Bridge* towards *Kilkenny*, whereby he was drawn thither for the Defence of that City, otherwise he had engaged them before their getting to *Carrick*.

Ross being now in *Cromwel's* Possession, he caused a Bridge of Boats to be made, under Protection of the Town, over the River *Barrow*, and the Army to sit down before *Duncannon*, a strong Fort commanded by Colonel *Wogan*; but the Place being so well provided of all Necessaries, it was judged convenient not to lose time about it. And presently after Colonel *Abbot* reduced *Enistoege*, a little walled Town, about five Miles from *Ross*, to the Parliament's Obedience. And about the same Time, Colonel *Reynolds*, with twelve Troops of Horse, and three of Dragoons, marched towards *Carrick*, having divided his Men into two Parts; whilst

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the

The Lord Lieutenant sought all Opportunities to fight *Cromwel*.

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Carrick taken in.

the Besieged were amused with the one Party, he entered the Gate with the other, taking the Place, and about one hundred Prisoners, without the Loss of one Man. But to look back.

The Means the
Lord Lieutenant
took to reduce
O Neal.

The Commissio-
ners of Trust dis-
sent from the
Lord Lieutenant.

From the Time that the Peace was concluded at *Kilkenny*, the Lord Lieutenant well discerned the Mischief he should sustain, by being to provide against the Attempts of General *Owen O Neal*, as well as against the *English* Forces, and that at least he could hope for no Assistance from the *Scots* in *Ulster*, as long as they feared him. And therefore he sent *Daniel O Neal*, Nephew to the General, to persuade him to be included in the same Peace; but he was so unsatisfied with the Assembly, that he declared he would have nothing to do with them, or be comprehended in any Peace they should make: But if the Marquis would consent to some Conditions he proposed, he would willingly submit to the King's Authority in him. The Marquis was content to grant him his own Conditions, having indeed a great Esteem of his Conduct, and knowing the Army under his Command to be better disciplined than any other of the *Irish*. But the Commissioners of Trust would by no means content to those Conditions, whereby it is evident, though these would be thought to adhere to the Marquis, that they had alien Thoughts to his Majesty's Happiness, and declared, if the Lord Lieutenant should proceed thereupon to an Agreement, it would be a direct Breach of the Articles of Peace. And thereupon *Owen O Neal* made that Conjunction with *Monk*, as is before spoken of, and about the very Time of the Defeat at *Rathmines*, relieved Sir *Charles Coote* in *Londonderry*, and thereby kept the King from being entirely possessed of the Province of *Ulster*, which, but for that Action, would have been able to have sent strong Supplies of Men and Provisions, to the Assistance of the Marquis. And it is well known, that while the Lord Lieutenant was in a hopeful Condition to prevail against the Parliament, the Commissioners of Trust, and the principal Persons of Interest, had no mind to agree with General *O Neal*, out of Animosity to his Person and Parts, and in Confidence that the Work would be done without him: And others, who were of his Party, had as little Mind that he should be drawn into a Conjunction with the Marquis, because they knew, if he was once engaged under him, they should no more be able to seduce him, to join with them in any Actions of Sedition. And upon these Reasons, the Persons, who were deputed by the Commissioners to treat with him, and were known to have an Interest in him, on the one Side persuaded *Owen O Neal*, that the Lord Lieutenant had broken the Articles of Peace, and that he could have no Security, that what should be promised should be performed to him; and on the other Side informed the Marquis, that *Owen O Neal* insisted on such extravagant Propositions, that the Commissioners of Trust would never yield to them. But after the Arrival of *Cromwel* and his Success against *Tredagh*, the Commissioners of Trust thought it high Time to unite to him: And *Owen O Neal* himself discerned, how unsafe he should be, by the prevailing of the *English* Party, who, notwithstanding the signal Service performed by him to them, had publicly disavowed the Agreement which their Officers had made with him. And thereupon, by the Interposition of Colonel *Daniel O Neal*, at that Time Governor of *Trim*, all Particulars were agreed betwixt the Lord Lieutenant and him, the 12th of October 1649, with the

Consent

Consent of the Commissioners of Trust; the Management of which was committed to Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, and Sir *Richard Barnewal* Baronet, authorized by the Lord Lieutenant, to conclude with General *Owen O Neal*, for whom there was the Bishop of *Clogher*, and *Tirlagh O Boyle*, who agreed in eighteen Articles, about the Time *Cromwel* was before *Wexford*: Infomuch that he promised to bring his Army within a few Days, and join with the Lord Lieutenant, which, though himself lived not to accomplish, dying at *Cloughoter-Castle*, in the County of *Cavan*, about the Beginning of *December*, was shortly after performed. So that about the Time that *Wexford* was taken, the Lord Lieutenant was not without Hope, by the Advantage of a Pass, and by cutting off his Provisions, to have made *Cromwel's* return to *Dublin* very hard, without losing a good Part of his Army; when on a sudden, and all together, all the considerable Places in the Province of *Munster*, as *Cork*, *Youghal*, *Kingsale*, *Bandon-bridge*, *Moyallo*, and other Garrisons, revolted to the Parliament, and thereby gave them a safe Retreat and free Passage, and necessary Provisions of all that they wanted, and Harbours for Ships, to bring all to them that they could desire.

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O Neal dies.

The Garrisons in *Munster* revolt to the Parliament.

The Lord *Inchequin* being so totally betrayed by those Officers whom he trusted most, and had most obliged, and that after he had in vain tryed to reduce them by Force, he could not, without much Difficulty, obtain the Liberty and re-delivery of his Wife and Children to him, which when he had procured, he fled for Safety into *Thomond*, to his Kindred.

This Defection, in so fatal a Juncture of Time, when the straits *Cromwel* was in, by the Winter, and want of Provisions, had raised the Spirits of all Men, and when they looked upon themselves, as like to have at least some hopeful Encounter with him, was not a Loss, or a Blow, but a Dissolution of the whole Frame of their Hopes and Designs, and introduced a Spirit of Jealousy and Animosity in the Army, which no Dexterity or Interest of the Lord Lieutenant could extinguish or allay. In answer to whose Revolt it's said, besides what may be drawn from the *Munster* Remonstrance, that those Towns declared, with the Lord *Inchequin*, for the King, in hopes that the Marquis would so have adjusted the Differences betwixt them and the *Irish*, that there might have been such a visible Power left in him, as to have managed the Government answerable to the Dignities of his Office, and the Security of the Protestants and their Religion: But when they perceived that the first was slighted and the latter not ascertained, nay in Effect at the Confederates Mercy, they again reflected on their own Security and their Religion, in hope that though they adhered to the Parliament, who at that Time had shaken off the Regal Power, whereunto they never assented, there might yet be a possibility, through a Change, to reinvest all again in the Royal Line with a Preservation, in the Interim, of themselves and their Religion, which were like wholly to be ruined by a joynt Compliance with the Confederates.

The Revolt of the *Munster* Garrisons begot a Jealousy in the *Irish* Army.

Fol. 298.

From the first Hour of the Peace, the *English* and *Irish* had not been without that Prejudice towards each other, as gave the Marquis much trouble, and they were rather incorporated by their Obedience and Submission, to the Authority and Pleasure of their chief Commander, than united by the same Inclinations and Affections, to any publick End. Infomuch

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much as before the Defeat at *Rathmines*, there were many of the *Irish*, who much feared the swift Success of the Army, and apprehended, the Lord Lieutenant's speedy reducing of *Dublin*, would give him such Power, and make him more absolute than they desired to see him, and therefore were not sorry for that Mischief. On the other side, the *English* were much troubled, to see the Authority and Jurisdiction of the Marquis so restrained and limited by the Articles, and that the Army was neither recruited, disciplined, nor provided, as it ought to be, solely by his Want of Power; and they had a very low Opinion of the Spirit and Courage of the *Irish*. But now upon this Defection in *Munster*, there was a Determination of all Confidence and Trust in each other; the *Irish* declaring, 'That they suspected all the *English* Nation, and made the Treachery of those, who so infamously had betrayed their Trust, an unreasonable Argument for Jealousy, of those who remained in the Army, who being a handful of gallant Men, and of most unshaken Fidelity to the King, were indeed, in respect of their Courage and Experience in the War, the Party to be principally depended upon in any Action or Encounter, and of which the Enemy had only an Apprehension.

Cromwel makes his Attempt upon *Waterford*, but draws off to his Winter-Quarters.

Though the Season of the Year, for it was now towards the End of *November*, and the Sicknesh that was in *Cromwel's* Army, made it high Time to betake themselves to their Winter-Quarters, and such was their Resolution; yet hearing of the gaining of *Carrick*, and of the present Distemper amongst those, who had the whole Strength the Lord Lieutenant was to trust to, and knowing all the Clergy had the full Dominion in all incorporate Towns and Places of Importance, and would keep the People from submitting to those Expedients, which could only preserve them, he resolved to make an Attempt, with his Army, consisting of about two thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot, upon *Waterford*, hoping to reduce that important Place, before the Army should draw into Winter-quarters, knowing well enough, that the Marquis could not keep the small Body he had together, many Days, which was true: For he, having not Money to give them half a week's Pay, or Provision to serve half so long, was compelled to suffer part of them, viz. the Scots, to go to their Quarters; who, upon the Plains of *Lisnegarvy*, being joyned with Sir George Monro, to relieve *Carrickfergus*, were, upon the 6th of *December*, met with by Sir Charles Coote, who gave them such a blow, as they were afterwards never able to make head in *Ulster*. However, the Marquis was resolved not to leave *Waterford* to the Enemy, though the Inhabitants had so obstinately and disobediently refused to receive a Garrison, which would have prevented their present Pressures; whereas, they were now closely besieged to their Walls, on all that Side of the Town which lay to *Munster*; the other being open, and to be relieved by the River *Sure*, which there severs *Leinster* and *Munster*, and washeth the Walls of the Town on that Side. The Inhabitants seeing Destruction at their Door, abated so much of their former Madnesh, as to be willing to receive a Supply of Soldiers; yet under a Condition, that they might be all of the old *Irish* of *Ulster*, who, under the Command of *Owen O Neal*, had long opposed the King's Authority, and were now newly joyned with the Marquis, and in express Terms refused any of their Neighbours and Kindred, the Confederate *Irish* Catholicks of *Munster* or *Leinster*, to the great Offence and Scandal of that Part of the Nation, which had been as zealous for their Religion

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ligion as any. However, since there was no other Way to preserve them, the Lord Lieutenant was content to comply even with that Humour; and so choosing a strong Party of near one thousand five hundred Men, and putting them under the Command of Lieutenant General *Farral*, who was the most acceptable to them, his Excellency himself marched with them, and put them into the Town; which he had no sooner done, than *Cromwel* thought it convenient to raise his Siege, having taken in *Passage-Fort*, within two Miles of *Waterford*; and marched to *Dungarvan*, delivered up the 3d of *December*, where he found the Lord *Broghal*, who, partly by his own Interest, and the Disaffection in the Soldiers to the Lord *Inchequin*, had gotten in all the Towns in *Munster*, that had formerly been under the Parliament: A Service most considerable, and such as was of very great Advantage to *Cromwel*, who was now in great Straits where to take up his Winter-Quarters, for his sick and distressed Regiments, his Army, partly by Sickness, partly by leaving Garrisons in the several Places he had taken in, being so much weakened and impaired, so as he brought not, of all the Men he carried over with him, above five thousand Horse and Foot to *Dungarvan*; where Colonel *Jones*, who sickened in his Way thither, died about the 18th of *December*, 1649, of a purple Fever; a Person certainly of much Gallantry, and one in the Discipline of the Army, whereof he was Lieutenant-General, very exact, carrying his Victories oftner more by the dint of his Sword, than the number of his Men: And though he passes not in the History of our Age, without some Reflections, as too obstinately adhering to *Cromwel*, whom he used to call, *Companion in Labours*, yet those who were intimate with him, had that Certainty of his Worth, as nothing so much steered him in the Service of *Ireland*, as a just Reflection on the Murthers and Insolencies committed by the *Irish* on the Protestants, not otherwise to be pacified, than by a due Revenge: And had he survived this Service, it is confidently believed, *Cromwel*, how well soever he spoke of him, would have found some Expedient to have laid him aside. *Cromwel* having thus gained *Dungarvan*, shortly after betook himself to his Winter-Quarters, garrisoning at *Bandon-Bridge*, Colonel *Ewer*, and his Regiment; at *Kinsale*, Colonel *Stabber*; at *Cork*, Colonel, *Phaier*; and Colonel *Cook* at *Wexford*; and *Youghal*, and other adjacent Places, was assigned the Head-Quarters. Whilst the Marquis of *Ormond*, sensible of what might be the Product of so uncontrol'd a Success, having left *Waterford*, in his Thoughts full of the Sense of the late Benefit and Preservation, which, by his Vigilance, that City had received, in *December*, a Season much colder than usually had been observed in that Country, cast all Ways imaginable to hinder the Enemy's future Attempt upon that Place, and to reduce *Passage*, *Wexford*, and other Places weakly manned and provided by *Cromwel*. And accordingly he drew his Forces together, and leaving them on the other Side of the River *Sure*, himself with a Train only of forty or fifty Horse, consisting of his Friends and Servants, went into the Town, presuming he should be able to persuade them to submit to join in whatsoever should manifestly appear for their own Benefit or Advantage. When he came into the Town, he found Lieutenant-General *Farral* engaged in a Design to take *Passage*, a Place seized on by *Cromwel*, when he had retired from *Waterford*, and which was an inconvenient Neighbour to that City. Colonel *Wogan*, who had been seasonably sent by the Marquis into *Dun-*

Cromwel draws off from *Waterford*, goes to *Dungarvan*.

Colonel *Jones* dies about the 18th of Dec.

The Lord Lieutenant's Endeavours to impede *Cromwel*.

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The Lord Lieutenant's gallant Attempt to relieve the Party that went to take in *Passage*.

cannon, even when the first Governor placed thereby the Confederate Catholics, was ready to deliver it up to the Enemy, and who had with notable Courage defended it against *Cromwel*, and in the End, after the Loss of a great Number of his Men, compelled him to retire, had agreed to meet Lieutenant General *Farral*, Commander of the *Ulster* Forces, at a Place and House appointed, and together to fall on *Passage*. Though the Marquis had not been informed of the Contrivance of the Design, yet he knew well enough, what Interpretation would be made of his Interposition, or Command, or Warriness, should he declare against it, therefore he was very willing it should proceed: The Matter was well laid, and carried with Secrecy being hopeful enough. Lieutenant General *Farral* had not been marched from the Town many Hours, when the Marquis discovered from some Place of Prospect in the Town, a strong Party of Horse, marching in good Order, the Way that led to *Passage*, which belonging to the Enemy, made him conclude, that they had Notice of the Design. Whereupon he presently sent for the Mayor of the Town, and shewing him the inevitable Danger their whole Party was in, which was the only Strength against any Enterprize of the Enemy, if they were not instantly relieved, required him presently to send some Body over the Water, for the transporting, from the other Side of the River, of a Regiment or two of Horse, with which he would himself endeavour to rescue them. How apparent soever the Danger and Mischief was, and how visible and natural soever the Remedy, all the Commands and Intreaties he could use, could not prevail to get one Body, or their Consent, that any of his Horse should be suffered to march through the Town, without which they could not go to their Relief. When he had in vain tried all the Means he could invent, to convince and persuade them to so natural an Action, he caused all his Friends and Servants aforementioned, to mount their Horses, and with all imaginable Haste himself led them towards *Passage*, that he might at least discover, though he was not like to prevent, the Loss that was to ensue. When he came within Sight of the Town, he could discern a Party of Foot, marching in great Haste and Disorder towards him, being pursued by the Enemy's Horse, who had even overtaken them, having fallen upon the Remainder, and either killed them upon the Place, or taken them Prisoners. Though the Company which attended the Marquis, was too few to encounter the Enemy's Horse, with any considerable Hope, yet he drew them up in that Manner on the Side of an Hill, that the Enemy imagining their Number to be more considerable, thought fit to lessen their Pace, and to send small Parties to discover them; which being again entertained by the like Number in like Skirmishes, the Foot as much improving their March, they were in the End, by the Marquis's frequent opposing of his own Person, to retard the Enemy's Pursuit, preserved; and so brought back with him into the Town about half of those who had marched thence, the rest being killed or taken Prisoners by Colonel *Zanckey*, which also had been infallibly destroyed, if the Marquis had not taken that desperate Course to redeem them, as he might in Hope have recovered all the others, who were made Prisoners, and defeated all that Body of the Enemy, and consequently have taken *Passage*, if the City would have permitted his Horse to have been transported over the River,

ver,

ver, and to have marched through it. His Excellency's Forces had not better Success in their Attempt to re-take *Carrick*, governed by Colonel *Reynolds*, meerly through the Want of Pick-axes and Spades, though his Confidence of the Design, built on the brittle Assurance of his Commanders, had brought him almost thither, where, if it had not been for Colonel *Milo Power*, who acquainted him of his Army's being baffled, and of its Removal thence, he had been surprized by the Enemy. And the Lord *Inchequin's*, Lieutenant Colonel *Trevor's*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong's* Expeditions against *Wexford* and *Ross*, ended in the like Loss and Misfortune. The Marquis, however leaves nothing unattempted to fortify *Waterford*, what Discouragements soever he had received by the Insolency of some Men, instigated by the Violence and Opiniastrife of the Clergy; In as much as he knew, *Pas-sage* or the other Places could not be regained, without he might bring his Army over the River, which they would not admit of; nay, desiring that his Army might for a little Time be but hutted under their Walls, where they should receive their Provisions and Pay, duly out of the Country, and so should be a Security and Benefit to the Town, without the least Damage in any Degree. This Proposition also found no more Regard than the former; and instead of consulting, with what Circumstances to comply with so just and necessary a Demand of the King's Lieutenant, it was proposed in the Council of the Town, 'To seize on his Person, and to fall on all who belonged to him, as an Enemy;' Which Advice met with no other Reprehension, than that for the present, the major Part did not consent unto it. Of all which, when the Marquis was fully informed, he thought it Time to depart thence, and to leave them to their own Imaginations; and so marched away with his Army, which after this Indignity, it was a Thing impossible to keep them together; And, because the principal Towns refused to admit them in, he was fain in the Depth of Winter, to scatter them over all the Kingdom. The greatest Part of the *Ulster* Forces were sent into their own Province, there to chuse a new General, according as their Conditions allowed them; for *Owen O Neal* was dead; and *Luke Taaff* with his Men, were sent back into *Connaught*, to my Lord of *Clanrickard*; The Lord *Inchequin*, with the Remainder of such as belonged unto him, went over into the County of *Clare*; the Lord *Dillon* with his into *Meath*, and towards *Athlone*; all the rest were scattered several Ways; only Major General *Hugh O Neal*, was admitted with one thousand six hundred *Ulster* Men into *Clonmel*, as Governor, whilst the Marquis went to his Castle of *Kilkenny*; from thence he dispatched the 24th of *December* an Account to the King, who was then in the Isle of *Jersey*, of the true Estate of his Affairs in that Kingdom; by which his Majesty might see how much *Cromwel's* Forces, who disclaimed any Subjection to him, prevailed against his Authority; and how it was equally contemned, deluded, or disregarded by his Subjects, who made all the Professions of Obedience and Duty to him; which was a Method, these ill Times had made his Majesty too well acquainted with. And from this Time, which was towards the end of *December* 1649, the Marquis never did, or could draw together into one Body, a Number of five hundred, what Endeavours he used to do it, will be mentioned in order hereafter.

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The Lord Lieutenant disappointed in the retaking of *Carrick*, and good Service done by Colonel *Milo Power*.

The Treachery of *Waterford* against the Lord Lieutenant.

His Account of the State of *Ireland* to the King.

As

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The Clergy the
Fomenters of all
Misconceits a-
gainst the Lord-
Lieutenant.

His Desire to
clear their Suspi-
cions, being, by
their Orders on-
ly, met at *Kilkenny*.

As soon as the Lord Lieutenant came to *Kilkenny*, he consulted with the Commissioners of Trust, without whose Approbation and Consent he could do no Act that was of Importance; what Remedy to apply to the Disorder and Confusion which spread itself over all their Affairs; they had been still Witnesses of all his Actions, of his unwearied Pains and Industry, and of the little Fruit that was reaped by it; how his Orders and Commands, and their own had been neglected and disobeyed in all those Particulars, without which, an Army could not be brought or kept together; how those Places which the Rebels had possessed themselves of, had been for the most Part lost by their own obstinate Refusal, to receive such Assistance from him, as was absolutely necessary for their Preservation; and yet that they had raised most unreasonable Imputations and Reproaches on him, as if he had failed in their Defence and Relief. They had seen the wonderful, and even insupportable Wants and Necessities the Army had always undergone; and knew very well how all Warrants had been disobeyed for the bringing in of Money and Provisions, for the Supply thereof. And yet their Country was full of clamour and discontent, for the Payment of Taxes, and being exhausted with Contribution; He desired them therefore, to examine where any Misdemeanors had in truth been, and that they might be punished; and from whence the Scandal and Calumnies proceeded, that the Minds of the People might be informed and composed. The Commissioners for the most Part had discharged the Trust reposed in them; yet there were some amongst them, too able and dexterous in Business, who always maligned the Person of the Marquis, or rather his Religion, and the Authority he represented; and what Professions soever, they made of respect to him, still maintained a close Intelligence and Correspondence with those of the Clergy, who were the most disaffected to his Majesty's Interest; and who from the Misfortune at *Rathmines*, had under-hand fomented and cherished all the ill Humours and Jealousies of the People. The Commissioners advised the Marquis, as the best Expedient to satisfy the Country; that Orders might be sent to them, to elect some few Persons amongst themselves, to send to *Kilkenny*, as Agents, to represent those Grievances which were most heavy upon them, and to offer any Desires which might promote their Security, alledging, that they could by this Means be clearly informed, how groundless those Jealousies were, and the Artifices would be discovered, which had been used to corrupt their Affections: though the Marquis well saw how tedious and inconvenient this Course might prove, and rather advance all the scandalous and seditious Designs then suppress them; yet he foresaw as well, that if it were declined by him, he should be unavoidably reproached, with not being willing to be informed of the just Grievances of the People, and consequently not to remedy them; and therefore without giving countenance to any such irregular Convention, by any formal Summons of his own, he gave way that the Commissioners should write their Letters to that Purpose, and accordingly the Agents did come thither from the several Countries, to communicate and present their Complaints and Desires together, in *January* following; and the Lord Lieutenant received them with good Countenance, and wished them freely to consult together as soon as they could, to present whatsoever they had to say to him; to which, they should be sure to receive a speedy Answer.

About

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About which Time, Colonel *Barry*, who through the whole Scene had been intrusted by the supreme Council, to negotiate with the King, and was not ill thought of by the Marquiss of *Ormond*, had then Licence from *Cromwel*, to visit his Wife and Family at *Castlelions*, under the Parliament's Obedience, where he transacted, through the Mediation of a noble Person, many Concerns, to the composing of Differencies with the greatest; though what tended to an Agreement with *Inchequin*, would never in the least be indulged; and the rest then spoke of had a Fate, not seasonably to be composed.

In the mean Time, the Bishops and Clergy of themselves, and without any Authority, received or desired from the Lord Lieutenant, assembled at *Clonmacnoise*, upon the River *Shannon*, upon whose Councils and Conclusions, all Mens Eyes were more fixed, then upon what the Agents should represent at *Kilkenny*; it being very evident, that many of the Catholick Nobility of the Kingdom, and some principal Persons of Quality and Interest, formally concurred with the Marquiss; and the Commissioners of Trust, were for the most Part, as zealous for the Execution and Observation of the Articles of Peace, and that the same might be rendered useful to the Nation: Yet the Clergy and religious Persons, had found means to obstruct that Union, which was necessary for the carrying on the Work; and especially had that Influence upon the corporate Towns, that no Garrisons would be admitted therein, or such Submission paid to the Lord Lieutenant, or the Commissioners Orders, as were essential to their own Defence, and to the making War against the Enemy; so that all Men were in Suspence, what would be the Issue of that Meeting. And it cannot be denied, but that those Bishops, and that Part of the Clergy which were best affected, and knew the Ways which were most conducing to the Happiness of their Country, prevailed so far, that the Conclusions which were made there, seemed full of Respect for the King's Service, and wholesome Advice and Council to the People; 'They declared how vain a Thing it was, to imagine that there would be any Security for the Exercise of their Religion, for the enjoying of their Fortunes, or for the Preservation of their Lives, by any Treaty with or Promise from the Parliament. That they abhorred all factious Animosities and Divisions, which raged amongst themselves, to the Hindrance of the publick Service; and therefore enjoined all the Clergy, of what Quality soever, and Ecclesiastical Persons by Preaching, and all other Means, to incline the People unto an Union of Affection; and to the laying aside of all Jealousies of each other, and unanimously to concur in opposing the common Enemy; and appointed the Bishops and other Persons, to proceed with greater Severity against those religious and spiritual Persons who should underhand cherish and foment those Jealousies and Divisions.' In a Word, they said so much, and so well, that when the Lord Lieutenant was informed of it, and when he saw the Extract of their Determinations, he conceived some hope, that it might indeed make good Impression on the People, and produce a very good Effect: The Particulars of which here follows.

The Clergy's Assembly at *Clonmacnoise*, whence they intitle their Merits.

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The Copies of Acts and Declarations, by the Ecclesiastical Congregation of the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, met at Clonmacnoife, the fourth Day of December 1649. And since concluded.

By the Ecclesiastical Congregation of the Archbishops Bishops, and other Prelates.

WHEREAS heretofore many of the Clergy and Laity, did in their Actions and Proceedings, expresse much Discontents and Divisions of Mind, grounding the same on the late Difference of Opinion happened amongst the Prelates and the Laity; by which the Nation was not so well united, as was necessary in this Time of great Danger, wherein all, as with one Heart and Hand, ought to oppose the common Enemy. We the Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates of this Kingdom, met *motu proprio*, at *Clonmacnoife* 4 Decembris 1649, having removed all Differences among us, not entering into the Merits of Diversities of former Opinions, thought good for removing of all Jealousies from our own Thoughts, Hearts, and Resolutions; and from others, who had Relation, or were adherent to the former Diversity of Opinions, to manifest hereby to all the World, that the said Divisions and Jealousies grounded thereupon, are now forgotten, and forgiven among us on all Sides, as aforesaid. And that all and every of us, of the above Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates, are now by the Blessing of God, as one Body united: And that we will, as becometh Charity and our pastoral Charge, stand all of us as one intire Body, for the Interest and Immunities of the Church, and of every the Prelates and Bishops thereof; and for the Honour, Dignity, Estate, Right and Possession, of all and every the said Archbishops, Bishops and other Prelates. And we will as one intire and united Body, forward by our Councils, Actions and Devices, the Advancement of his Majesty's Rights, and the good of this Nation in general and in particular Occasions, to our Power; and that none of us in any Occasion whatsoever, concerning the Catholick Religion, or the good of this Kingdom of *Ireland*, will in any Respect single himself, or be, or seem opposite to the rest of us, but will hold firm and intire in one Sense as aforesaid; hereby detesting the Actions, Thoughts, and Discourses of any, that shall renew the least Memory of the Differences past, or give any Ground of future Difference among us. And do in the Name of *Iesus Christ*, exhort all our Flock to the like brotherly Affection and Union, and to the like Detestation of all past Differences or Jealousies as aforesaid, arising hitherto among them. And we desire that this our Declaration be printed, and published in each Parish, by Command of the respective Ordinaries. *Ut videant opera vestra bona, & glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in Caelis est.*

Datum apud Clonmacnoife, 13 Decem. 1649.

Signed by,

Hugo Ardmachanus, Fr. Thomas Dublin, Thomas Cashel, Joann. Archiep. Tuam, Fr. Boetius Elphyn, Fr. Edmundus Laghlinensis & Procurator Waterfordiensis, Emerus Clogher, Robertus Corcagiensis & Cluanensis,

fis, Nicholaus Fernensis, Edmundus Limericensis, & Procurator Episcopi, Ossoriensis, Franciscus, Aladensis, Andræus Finiborensis, Joan. Laonensis, Fr. Oliverus Dromorensis, Fr. Antonius Clonmacnosensis, Fr. Hugo Duacensis, Fr. Arthur Dunensis, & Connerensis, Fr. Terentius Imolacensis, Fr. Patr. Ardagh, Oliverius, Deis Procurator Episco. Medensis, Dr. Joa. Hussey Procurator Episco. Ardfertensis, Fr. Joannes Cantwel Abbas, S. Crucis, Dr. Thadeus Clery Episcop. Rapo. Procurator, Fr. Gregorius o Ferraile Provin. Ordinis Prædicatorum Provin. Hiber. Fr. Thomas Mackeyernane Provin. Fratrum Minorum Provin. Hiber.

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Walterus Clonfortensis Congregationis Secretar.

By the Ecclesiastical Congregation of the Kingdom of Ireland.

WE the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries, and Prelates of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, having met at *Clonmacnose propria Motu*, the fourth Day of *December*, in the Year of our Lord God 1649, to consider of the best Means to unite our Flocks, for averting God's Wrath fallen on this Nation, now bleeding under the Evils that Famine, Plague and War bring after them, for effecting a present Union, decreed the ensuing Acts.

I. We order and decree as an Act of this Congregation, That all Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries, within their respective Diocesses, shall enjoin publick Prayers, Fasting, general Confession, and Receiving, and other Works of Piety, *toties quoties*, to withdraw from this Nation God's Anger, and to render them capable of his Mercies.

II. We order and decree as an Act of this Congregation, That a Declaration issue from us, letting the People know, how vain it is for them to expect from the common Enemy commanded by *Cromwel*, by Authority from the Rebels of *England*, any Assurance of their Religion, Lives, or Fortunes.

III. We order and decree as an Act of this Congregation, That all Pastors and Preachers, be enjoined to preach Amity. And for inducing the People thereunto, to declare unto them the absolute Necessity that is for the same, and as the chief Means to preserve the Nation, against the Extirpation and Destruction of their Religion and Fortunes, resolved on by the Enemy. And we hereby, do manifest our Detestation, against all such Divisions between either Provinces or Families, or between old *English*, and old *Irish*, or any the *English* or *Scots* adhering to his Majesty. And we decree and order, that all ecclesiastical Persons, fomenting such Dissentions, or unnatural Divisions, be punished by their respective Prelates and Superiors, *Juxta gravitatem excessus, & si opus fuerit, suspendantur beneficiis & Pastores à beneficio & officio ad certum tempus, Religiosi autem à Divinis juxta circumstantias delicti*. Leaving the Laity offending in this kind, to be corrected by the Civil Magistrate, by Imprisonment, Fine, Banishment, or otherwise, as to them shall seem best, for plucking by the Root so odious a Crime; the Execution whereof, we most earnestly recommend to all those having Power, and that are concerned therein, as they will answer to God for the Evils that thereout may ensue.

IV.

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IV. We decree and declare excommunicated, those high-way Robbers, commonly called the Idle-Boys, that take away the Goods of honest Men, or force Men to pay them Contribution ; and we likewise declare excommunicated all such as succour or harbour them, or bestow, or sell them any Victualing, or buy Cattle, or any other Thing else from them wittingly ; likewise all ecclesiastical Persons, ministring Sacraments to such Robbers, or Idle-Boys ; or burying them in holy Grave, to be suspended *ab officio & beneficio, si quod habent*, by their respective Superiors, *juxta gravitatem delicti*. This our Decree is to oblige within fifteen Days after the Publication thereof, in the respective Diocesses.

Signed by,

Hugo Ardmachanus, Fr. Tho. Dublin, Tho. Cashel, Joan. Archiep. Tuam. Fr. Boetius Elphyn, Fr. Edmundus Laghlinensis & Procurator Waterfordiensis, Emerus Clogher, Robertus Corcagiensis & Cluanensis, Nicholaus Fennensis, Edmundus Limericensis, & Procurator Episcopi Ossoriensis, Franciscus Aladensis, Andreas Finiborensis, Joan. Laonensis, Fr. Oliverus Dro-morensis, Fr. Antonius Clonmacnosensis, Fr. Hugo Duacensis, Fr. Arthurus Dunensis, & Connerensis, Fr. Terentius Imolacensis, Fr. Patric. Ardagh, Oliverius Deis Procurator Episc. Medencis, Dr. Joannes Hussey Procurator Episc. Ardfertensis, Fr. Joannes Cantwel Abbas, S. Crucis, Dr. Thadeus Clery Episc. Rapo. Procurator.

Walterus Clonfortensis Congregationis Secretar.

By the Ecclesiastical Congregation of the Kingdom of Ireland.

WE the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries, and Prelates of this Kingdom of Ireland, having met at *Clonmacnose propria Motu*, on the 4th Day of December, in the Year of our Lord God, 1649, taking into our Consideration, among other the Affairs then agitated and determined for the Preservation of the Kingdom, that many of our Flock are mislead by a vain Opinion of Hopes, that the Commander in Chief of the Rebels Forces, commonly called, the Parliamentaries, would afford them good Conditions, and that relying thereon, they suffer utter Destruction of Religion, Lives, and Fortunes, if not prevented. To undeceive them in that their ungrounded Expectation, we do hereby declare as a most certain Truth, that the Enemy's Resolution is, to extirpate the Catholick Religion out of all his Majesty's Dominions, as by their several Covenants doth appear, and the Practice wherever their Power doth extend, as is manifested by *Cromwel's* Letter of the 19th of October, 1649, to the then Governor of *Ross*. His Words are : ' For that which you ' mention concerning Liberty of Religion, I meddle not with any Man's ' Conscience, but if by Liberty of Conscience, you mean a Liberty to ' exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain Dealing, and to let you ' know, where the Parliament of *England* have Power, that will not be ' allowed of.' This tyrannical Resolution they have put in execution in *Wexford, Drogheda, Ross*, and elsewhere. And it is notoriously known, that by Acts of Parliament, called, *the Acts of Subscription*, the Estates of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom are sold, so as there remaineth now no more, but to put the Purchasers in Possession, by the Power of Forces drawn out of *England*. And for the common sort of People, towards whom

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whom if they shew any more moderate Usage at the present, it is to no other End but for their private Advantage, and for the better Support of their Army, intending at the Close of their Conquest, if they can affect the same, as God forbid, to root out the Commons also, and plant this Land with Colonies to be brought hither out of *England*, as witness the Number they have already sent hence for the Tobacco-Island, and put Enemies in their Places.

And in Effect this Banishment, or other Destructions of the common People, must follow the Resolution of extirpating the Catholick Religion, which is not to be effected without the massacring or banishment of the Catholick Inhabitants.

We cannot therefore in our Duty to God, and in Discharge of the Care we are obliged to have, for the Preservation of our Flocks, but admonish them, not to delude and lose themselves with the vain Expectation of Conditions to be had from that merciless Enemy. And consequently we beseech the Gentry, and Inhabitants, for God's Glory, and their own Safety, to the uttermost of their Power, to contribute with Patience, to the Support of the War against that Enemy, in Hope that by the Blessing of God, they may be rescued from the threatened Evils, and in time be permitted to serve God in their native Country, and enjoy their Estates, and Fruits of their Labours, free from such heavy Levies, or any other such Taxes, as they bear at present: Admonishing also, those that are enlisted of the Army, to prosecute constantly according to each Man's Charge, the Trust reposed in them, the Opposition of the common Enemy, in so just a War, as is that they have undertaken for their Religion, King, and Country, as they expect the Blessing of God to fall on their Actions. And that to avoid God's heavy Judgment, and the Indignation of their native Country, they neither plunder nor oppress the People, nor suffer any under their Charge, to commit any Extortion or Oppression, so far as shall lie in their Power to prevent.

Signed by,

Hugo Ardmachanus, Fr. Tho. Dublin, Tho. Cashel, Joan. Archiep. Tuam. Fr. Boetius Elphyn, Fr. Edmundus Laghlinensis & Procurator Waterfordiensis, Emerus Clogher, Robertus Corcagiensis & Cluanensis, Niccolaus Fernensis, Edmundus Limericensis, & Procurator Episcopi Ossoriensis, Franciscus Aladensis, Andreas Finiborensis, Joan. Laonensis, Fr. Oliverus Dromorensis, Fr. Antonius Clonmacnossensis, Fr. Hugo Duacensis, Fr. Arthurus Dunensis, & Connerensis, Fr. Terentius Imolacensis, Fr. Patric. Ardagh, Oliverius Deis Procurator Episc. Medencis, Dr. Joannes Hussey Procurator Episc. Ardfertensis, Fr. Joannes Cantwel Abbas, S. Crucis, Dr. Thadeus Clery Episc. Rapo. Procurator.

Walterus Clonfartensis Congregationis Secretar.

But the People weary of the War, the Plague encreasing, and ill provided to endure those Extremities, *Cromwel* forced daily upon them, they flocked from all Places unto him, and lived under Contribution, whilst the Marquis of *Ormond* finding it in vain, to qualify the Discontents at *Kilkenny*, went about the End of *Christmas* to the Marquis of *Clanrickards*, in *Connaught*, who consulting together, found nothing effectual to compose the Differences, the Clergy still irritated amongst them; whereupon his Excellency returned to *Kilkenny*, where the Agents spent some Time in

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preparing

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The Deputies of
the Counties ad-
journ to *Juni*.

preparing Heads of such Grievances, as they thought fit to present to the Lord Lieutenant, who called still upon them to dispatch ; but, upon Conference with the gravest of the Commissioners, they found how groundless all those Slanders were, which they had believed before they came thither, and so could not agree of any Particular to complain of ; Besides they met with some Disturbance there, for *Cromwel*, well knowing how the Marquis's small Forces were scattered abroad, marched with a strong Party towards that Town ; with which the Agents were so alarmed, that they would stay no longer there, but desired the Marquis of *Ormond* to let them adjourn to *Juni*, in the County of *Clare*, which they did ; and though they met there, yet they never agreed of any Draught of Grievances to be presented, though they made ill use of their Meeting, to propagate the Scandals and Imputations which had been groundlessly raised, and to inflame the People with the same Untruths ; notwithstanding this Alarm and Danger the Lord Lieutenant's Person, and the City were really in, all the Power and Authority he had, could not in ten Days draw five hundred Men together, to resist the Enemy : However the Townsmen appeared ready, and prepared for their Defence, and the Marquis putting all his own Friends and Servants on Horseback, with which, making a Troop of about a hundred, he looked with so good a Countenance upon the Enemy, that he retired ; and shortly after the Lord Lieutenant committed the Charge of the Place, and the Country adjacent, to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, and went himself upon a more important Business to *Limerick*.

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Cromwel, having continued in his Winter-Quarters in *Munster* scarce two Months, finding the Weather prove very favourable in the End of *February*, his Soldiers much recovered from the Distempers, which the Change of Air had caused in them at their first coming over, marched out with a Body of three thousand Horse and Foot, and having received all necessary Supplies from *England*, divided his Forces into two Parties, the one he led, the other was committed to *Ireton's* Care, who marched away to *Carrick*, there to reinforce himself by the Conjunction of Colonel *Reynolds*. These Forces were to march into the Enemy's Quarters two several Ways, the better to amuse the Enemy, and to meet together at a Rendezvous near *Kilkenny*, *Cromwel* in his March took in *Cahir-castle*, *Kiltenan*, *Goldenbridge*, *Clogheen*, and *Roghil* Castles, and seating himself before *Callan*, joyned with the other Part of the Army under *Ireton*, enforced by the Addition of the Forces under Colonel *Reynolds* and Colonel *Zanckey*, which, in their Way, had took in *Arkenon*, *Dundrum*, *Knockober*, *Bullinard*, and other Castles. The Forces being joyned *Callan*, *Cashel*, *Featherd*, *Graige*, and *St. Thomastown*, with the Castles and Garrisons thereabouts, were easily subdued : And *Cromwel* resolving to besiege *Kilkenny*, knowing it was strong, sent for *Huson*, Governor of *Dublin*, to march speedily to him with all the Forces he could conveniently draw together ; which he did, and, by the way taking in *Ballisannon*, *Kildare*, *Leighlin*, and other Places, joins with *Cromwel's* Army near *Goram*, which was presently taken : From hence *Cromwel* with his Army, consisting of sixteen thousand Foot and six thousand Horse, marches against *Kilkenny* ; upon whose Approach, the General Assembly fled to *Athlone*, and from whence the Earl of *Castlehaven* was drawn out with his Forces, by Reason the Sicknefs raged so, having left Sir *Walter Butler* and Major *Walsh*, with about fifty Horse, and

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and four hundred Foot to defend the Place ; where a Breach being made, and assaulted by *Cromwel's* Soldiers, they were beaten back with the Loss of some Men, and about six hundred Arms ; though he had it surrendred to him shortly after upon these Terms : 1. To deliver up the City and Castle to him, *viz. Cromwel*, with all the Arms, Ammunition, and publick Store. 2. That the Inhabitants should be protected in their Persons, Goods, and Estates, from the Violence of the Soldiery, and they that would remove, to have three Months after the Date of the Articles. 3. That the Governors, Officers, and Soldiers might march away with their Bag and Baggage. 4. That the City should pay two thousands Pounds to *Cromwel*. From hence *Cromwel* having well refreshed his Army after the Siege of *Kilkenny*, approaches *Clonmel*, garrisoned by two thousand Foot and one hundred and twenty Horse, under the Command of *Hugh O Neal*, who behaved himself so discreetly and gallantly in its Defence, that *Cromwel* lost near two thousand five hundred Men before it, and had gone away without it, had not the Powder been spent, which forced the Governor and Soldiers in the Night to forsake the Town, and go to *Waterford*, leaving the Townsmen to make Conditions for themselves ; which they did, as to the safeguard of their Lives and Estates. Whilst these Things were agitating, the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, *Castlehaven*, and the Bishop of *Clougher*, held a Council at *Baltimore* in *West-Meath*, to consult the Security of the Nation ; which *Cromwel* hearing of, sent Colonel *Reynolds* and Sir *Theophilus Jones*, with two thousand five hundred Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, against them, with which they dispersed them, and those Forces which the Marquis of *Clanrickard* and the Earl of *Castlehaven* had brought out of *Connaught* to the Relief of *Tecrogham*, within twenty Miles of *Dublin*, and being joyned with the *Dublin* Forces, took in *Trim*, *Balahuse*, *Finagh*, and other Places. In the Time that *Clonmel* was besieged, the Bishop of *Ross*, with four thousand Foot and three hundred Horse endeavours its Relief ; but is overcome by the Lord *Broghil* near *Bandon-Bridge*, and himself taken Prisoner, and hanged in the Sight of *Caringdred* ; which Castle thereupon yielded to the Lord *Broghil*. In this Hurry, the Forces in *Ulster*, being, besides, much shaken by Reason of several Interresses, the Nobility, Gentry, and Commanders for the King scattered a Declaration, that none who would submit to his Authority should suffer either in Religion, or State ; but it prevailed little. During the Leager of *Clonmel*, absolute Orders were brought to *Cromwel* from the Parliament for his sudden Return ; as also two Expresses from the Council of State to that Purpose, which, after the compleatment of that Siege, he fulfilled, leaving the Kingdom about the End of *May* 1650, having made Colonel *Ireton* his Deputy.

The Siege of
Clonmel.

Here we cannot but take Notice, that there were several Precepts by the Archbishop of *Ardmagh* and others, to pray for the Success of *Oliver's* Forces ; whilst *Dominick Dempsey*, a *Franciscan*, esteemed a grave and holy Man, and therefore a leading Person, and *Long* the Jesuit, asserted, that the King being out of the Roman Catholick Church, it was not lawful to pray for him particularly, or publickly in general on any other Day than on *Good-friday*, as comprehended amongst the Infidels, alias *Jews*, *Mahometans*, *Pagans* and *Hereticks* ; and

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and then for the spiritual Welfare of his Soul, not for his temporal Prosperity.

Though the Parliamentarians, by the Faction and Obstinacy of the *Irish*, who could not hitherto be induced to make reasonable Provision for Defence, had prevailed far, and possessed themselves of many good Places without considerable Opposition, yet there remained a good Part of the Kingdom free from their Power; the whole Province of *Connaught* was still intire, and the Cities of *Waterford*, *Limerick*, and *Galway* in Possession of the Catholics, which might be made so strong, as not to fear any Strength *Ireton* could bring before them, and are so situated for all Advantages of Sea, that they might, being well supplied, maintain a War against the whole Kingdom: they had also the Forts of *Duncannon* and *Sligo*, as also the strong Castles of *Caterlough*, *Athlone*, *Charlemont*, *Carlow* and *Nenagh*, from whence the Confederates might bring into the Field twice the Number of Men which the Enemy had; so that there wanted only Unity, Order, and Resolution to preserve themselves; to improve which, the Marquis of *Ormond* resolved to begin with *Limerick*, and if he could have disposed that City unto a full Obedience, and to receive a Garrison, he made no Question not only to fortify it against any Attempt of the Enemy, but under the Countenance of it, and by the Security of the River *Shannon*, to Quarter his Troops, raise Contribution for their Support, Discipline his Men, and, in effect by the Spring so to recruit his Army, that he might not suspect to prevail against the Enemy wherever he should engage: And to this Purpose he went himself thither from *Kilkenny* in *January*, hoping that the good Resolution of the Bishops of *Clonmacnoise* had well prepared the People to comply with him; but when he came thither, albeit he was received with outward Demonstrations of Respect, he found the Temper not such as he desired, whatsoever the Bishops had declared; 'The Clergy had observed none of those Directions, nor were any in so much Credit as they who behaved themselves quite contrary to those Determinations.' And if no Way could be found to allay this Spirit, all his Endeavours he saw would be without any Fruit: Hereupon he resolved to try, whether that Part of the Clergy which wished well to the Kingdom, could use as efficacious Means to preserve, as the other, who desired Confusion, did to destroy it: And upon Advice with the principal Persons of the Catholick Nobility, and with the Commissioners of Trust, he did by his Letters of the 27th of *February* 1649, desire as many of the Catholick Bishops as were within convenient Distance, to meet him at *Limerick*; which they accordingly did the 8th of *March* following.

When they came thither, he conferred with them in the Presence of the Commissioners of Trust with all Frankness, upon the distracted and disjointed State of Affairs, and freely told them, 'That without the People would be brought to have a full Confidence in him, and yield perfect Obedience to him; and without the City of *Limerick* might be persuaded to receive a Garrison, and obey his Orders, it was not to be hoped that he could be able to do any thing considerable against the Enemy; He desired them therefore, if they had a Mistrust of him, or a Dislike of his Government, that they would as clearly let him know it; assuring them, that such was his Desire of the People's Preservation, that there was nothing within his Power consistent with his

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‘Duty to the King, and agreeable with his Honour, that he would not do at their Desires for that End: Withal letting them see, that his Continuance with the Name, and not the Power of the Lord Lieutenant, could bring nothing but Ruin upon the Nation, as well as Dishonour on him.’ So that again he propounded to them in plain Terms, ‘Either that they would procure a due Obedience to be yielded to him, or propose some other Way by his quitting the Kingdom, how it might be preserved.’ After consultation together, they returned with many Expressions of Respects and Affection to his Person, and faithfully promised to endeavour all that Obedience he desired; withal presenting, the 13th of *March*, to him ‘a Paper of Advice, which contained, as they said, certain Remedies, for removing the Discontents and Disgusts of the People, and for the advancing of his Majesty’s Service:’ Amongst which they proposed, ‘That a Privy Council might be framed by the Peers, and other of the Natives of the Kingdom, as well Spiritual as Temporal, to sit daily with him, and determine all the weighty Affairs of the Country by their Council; and many other Particulars concerning the raising of Men, and conducting the War.’ To every one of which, his Excellency, from *Limerick*, gave them, sitting at *Logbreogh*, an Answer in writing, amongst which he told them, ‘That he could not understand how the present Distresses of the Kingdom could proceed from the want of a Privy Council, or how the framing of such a Council could advantage the Management of the War, which by the Articles of Peace was to be done by the Commissioners of Trust, with whom he did always communicate all Matters of Importance; and therefore he could not think it fit unnecessarily to presume upon doing a Thing, for which he had neither Power nor Precedent, the Nomination of all Persons to be of the Privy Council being always reserved by the King to himself: Yet rather than he should be wanting in any Thing that was in his Power to satisfy the People in, he wished, that the particular Acts which the Privy Council had heretofore done, and were now necessary to be done, might be instanced, and as far forth as should appear necessary and fit, he would qualify Persons, free from just Exceptions, with such.’ And so answered all their Propositions, that they seemed to be well satisfied therewith; and thereupon published a Declaration, dated at *Logbreogh*, the 28th of *March*, 1650, in which they professed, ‘That they did and would endeavour to root out of Men’s Hearts all Jealousies and sinister Opinions conceived either against his Excellency or the present Government; and that they intreated him to give them further Instructions; declaring that they were not deterred from the want of the expected Success in the Affairs of the Kingdom, but rather animated to give further Onsets, and to try all other possible Ways; and did faithfully promise, that no Industry or Care should be wanting in them, to receive and execute his Directions.’

When the Marquis first proposed to the Commissioners of Trust, that *Limerick* and other Places might be garrisoned, he offered to them the Names of three Persons of the Roman Catholick Religion, and of eminent Quality, Reputation and Fortunes, that out of them they might chuse one for the Command of *Limerick*: But resolving afterwards to call this Assembly of Bishops thither, and to be there himself in Person, he deferred the proceeding further in it, till then, that with their own Advice such a Person might be chosen for that important Charge,

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that

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*Limerick so far
from complying,
as it performed
not outward
Civility.*

that should be beyond any Possibility of a just Exception from that Corporation. Now he took all imaginable Pains, and descended to all the Arts of Persuasion to satisfy those Citizens, who, he perceived, were the most leading Men, of the Necessity of their speedy receiving a Governor and a Garrison, for the Preservation of their Interest, and whatsoever could be of any Value with any People: But he was so far from prevailing with them, 'That they performed not those outward Civilities and Respects to him, which had been in no other Place denied.' The Officer who commanded the City Guards, neither came to him for Orders, or imparted them to him; no Officer of the Army, or any other Person, could, without special Leave from the Mayor, which was often very hardly obtained, be admitted to come to his Presence, to receive his Commands and Directions for the resisting and opposing the Enemy, who at that very Time prevailed in the County of *Limerick*: And to publish more the Contempt they had of the King's Authority, they committed to Prison the Lord Viscount *Kilmallock*, a Catholick Peer of the Realm, and an Officer of the Army, the Lord Lieutenant being on the Place, for no other Reason than for quartering, for one Night, some few Horsemen under his Command, by the Marquis of *Ormond's* Order, within the Liberties of that City: All this being done so contrary to the Injunction which the Bishops had published for the Direction of the People, and at a Time when they were assembled there. And when the Marquis of *Ormond* despaired, their Contempts being so high, of persuading them, to what absolutely concerned their proper Interest, he thought it not agreeable to the Honour of his Master to remain any longer in the Place, where such Affronts and Contempts were put upon his Authority; and yet being willing still to expect some good Effects from the Observation and Discretion of the Bishops, who could not but discern what Ruin must immediately attend such Licence and Disobedience, he appointed all the said Bishops, and as many more as could be persuaded to come thither, and the Commissioners, to meet him at *Logbreogh*; where, about the 19th of *March*, they attended him at *Logbreogh*.

*The Assembly
appointed at
Logbreogh.*

When they appeared at *Logbreogh*, the Marquis represented to their Memories what they had before been themselves Witnesses of, and observed at *Limerick*, and the Neglects he had born there; 'Desired them to remove those causeless Distrusts, which being maliciously infused into the Peoples Minds, did slacken, if not withdraw their Obedience from his Majesty's Authority; and wished them to consider how impossible it was for him, with Honour, or any Hope of Success, to contend against a powerful, absolutely obeyed, and plentifully supplied Enemy; himself under such domestick Disadvantages of Distrust and Disobedience; and concluded, that if the Consequence of the Service could not induce them to be all of one Mind, in putting a Garrison into *Limerick*; or, if being all of one Mind, they could not induce the City to Obedience and Submission to such their Determination, he could no longer entertain a hope of giving any Check to the Enemy, and would thereupon consider how otherwise to dispose of himself.' Both the Bishops and Commissioners were really, or at least seemed so, and intirely convinced of the Necessity of erecting that Garrison, and of putting that City into a better Posture of Defence than it then appeared to be in: The Commissioners, in whom
that

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that Trust was reposed by the Articles of Peace, ordered it to be done, and sent two of their own Members, *viz.* Sir *Richard Everard* Baronet, and Dr. *Fennel*, with their Order to *Limerick*, and with a Letter to the Mayor to conform thereunto; and the Bishops writ to the Archbishop of *Cashel*, and the Bishop of *Limerick*, both then at *Limerick*, 'desiring them to use their utmost Endeavours to incline the City 'to submit to the Direction of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Commissioners.' And having done this, they departed to those Places, they thought fit to dispose the People, as they professed to all Acts of Conformity and Obedience. But the Commissioners in short Time returned from *Limerick*, without having in any Degree prevailed with them to receive either a Governor or Garrison, or to conform themselves to any Orders the Lord Lieutenant, or the Commissioners should send to them, otherwise than as they agreed with their own Inclinations: Instead of making Choice of any of those three who were nominated to them for their Governor, they upon the Matter declared, 'That they would keep that Power in their own Hands;' and for receiving of a Garrison, they proposed some Particulars, what Men of the *Irish* Catholics, and what they would not, what Course should be taken for the Support of them, and through what Hand it should pass, and many other Things, directly contrary to the Articles of Peace which had been with Solemnity proclaimed in that City, and unto which they had professed all Submission.

All this Perverseness, Obstinacy, and Ingratitude, could not yet extinguish the Affections and Compassion the Marquis had towards them; and he clearly discerned, that it proceeded not from the Spirit that was included and confined within the Walls, but that it was the same that was generally working in other Places: He was well enough satisfied that they who were most passionately possessed with it, had no Correspondence with the Parliament, nor had a Mind to be subjected to their Power; he was willing therefore to believe, that they had fancied and imagined to themselves some Expedient for their own Preservation, which could not fall within his Comprehension; and that they might have contracted a Prejudice to his Person, or to his Religion, which might keep them from such an Union and Confidence as they might be reduced unto under some Catholic, who might be as zealous to preserve his Majesty's Interest, and recover the Kingdom to his Obedience; and he was the more confirmed in this his Apprehension, by revolving the several Passages which had happened at his being at *Limerick*, during the Time that they seemed to pay him all Respect when the Lord *Inchequin* had been then with him, towards whom they had observed the Marquis had a great Confidence and Friendship, as he well deserved: At which Time, some principal Persons of the City, and with them some of the Bishops, had under a shew of great Confidence and Trust, repaired to the Lord Lieutenant, and declared unto him, That all that Indisposition and Waywardness of the People, proceeded from the Prejudice they had against the Lord *Inchequin*, who had always, they said, prosecuted the War against them with the most Rigour and Animosity: and the Places and Persons which had been most at his Devotion, having treacherously revolted to the Parliament, the People were not confident of him, and jealous, that the Marquis had too great a Confidence in him: so that if he would dismiss that Lord, and discharge the Troops that yet remained under his Command,

The Citizens of
Limerick's Ani-
mosity against
the Lord *Inche-*
quin.

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The Citizens of Limerick insinuate to the Lord Inchequin as much against the Lord Lieutenant, as before they did against him.

mand, of which, some frequently ran away to the Parliament, not only that City, but the whole Nation would, as one Man, be at his Disposal. While these Insinuations were thus proposed to the Lord Lieutenant, other Persons, and those as leading Men, with an equal Number of Bishops, applied themselves to the Lord *Inchequin*, and told him, ' That whilst the Affairs were conducted by the Marquis of *Ormond*, they expected no good Fortune; that they looked upon him as not of their Nation, and one so solicitous for the *English* Interest, and all *English* Men, that he was nothing regardful of them and theirs: But that his Lordship was of the most ancient Extraction of *Ireland*, and under that Notion looked upon with great Affection and Reverence by the *Irish*; and if the Government and Command were exercised by him, there would be such an Obedience paid to him, that he would in short Time grow strong enough to oppose the Enemy, and recover his Country.' When these two Lords had communicated each to other, as they quickly did, the excellent Addresses, which had been made to them, and agreed together how to draw on, and encourage the Proposers, that they might discover as much of their Purposes as was possible, they easily found *their Design was to be rid of them both*: And when they perceived, by the Continuance of the same Friendship, that they had communicated with each other, they less dissembled towards both, but proceeded with those Disrespects which are mentioned before.

The second Affemby at *Logbreogh*.

The Marquis having sadly considered all this, and that nothing might remain unattempted by him, that he could possibly imagine might tend in any Degree to the Recovery or Preservation of the Kingdom, he appointed another Meeting to be at *Logbreogh* the 25th of *April*, and summoned thither all the Catholick Bishops, as many of the Nobility as could with any Security come thither, the chief Gentlemen of Quality of the Parts adjacent, and several Officers of the Army; where being met together, he gave them in the first Place an Answer in writing to a Paper he had received from the Archbishop of *Tuam*, the first of *April*, intituled, ' The Grievances presented by the Congregation of Prelates, assembled, *propria motu*, at *Clonmacnoise*; in which he made it evident, how much they were mistaken in the matter of Fact, and that which was really amiss proceeded from themselves, and their not observing the Orders and Rules they were bound by, and could not be prevented by him; and consented to all the good and practicable Ways proposed by themselves for remedying the like for the future. He remembered them of the Pains he had taken of the Propositions he had made, of the Orders he had given, and of the Neglects, Disobedience, and Affronts he had received, by which alone the Enemy made that Progress in their Successes: He shewed them a Letter he had received lately from his Master the King, bearing Date on the 2d of *February*, from *Castle Elizabeth* in the Isle of *Jersey*, in answer to one writ from *Kilkenny* in *December*, in which his Majesty signified his gracious Pleasure to him, ' That in case of the Continuance of that Disobedience in the People, and Contempt of his Authority, he should withdraw himself and his Majesty's Authority out of that Kingdom.' Whereupon he told them, having received so little Effect of all the Pains he had taken, and so ill Returns for all the Affection he had shewed to them, he was resolved to make use speedily of the Liberty the King had given him,

The Lord Lieutenant had Licence from the King, on the Disobedience of the *Irish*, to withdraw.

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as to his own Person, which he found was rendred so unacceptable to the People; yet if they could propose to him any way how he might depofite the King's Authority in fuch manner, as it might not be expofed to the fame Affronts it had received in him, and might be applied to the Prefervation of the People, and Recovery of the Nation, he would gladly gratify them, and would heartily wifh, that they might receive that Happinefs by his Abfence, which they could not receive in his Prefence; and to that Purpofe defired them to confult ferioufly and maturely among themfelves.

Upon this, all the Bifhops, Nobility, and Commiffioners of Truft, with the principal Gentlemen, expreffed very much Trouble at the refolution the Marquifs had taken, and on the laft Day of *April*, from *Loghbreogh* 1650, made an Addrefs to him in writing under their feveral Hands, in which, amongft other Things, they told him, ' That they conceived themfelves in duty bound for his better Information of the Inclination of that Nation, humbly to prefent to him, That however his Excellency might not have met with a ready Concurrence to fome Propofals made, for the advancing his Majesty's Service, occafioned through fome Mifunderftanding in fome few Perfons and Places, yet the Country generally, and the Nation in it, as they had already, by expending their Subftance in an extraordinary Meafure, and their Lives upon all Occafions, abundantly testified their fincere and irremovable Affections, to preferve his Majesty's Rights and Interests intire to him; fo they would for the future, and with like Cheerfulnefs, endeavour to overcome all Difficulties which the Enemies Power and Succefs had laid in their Way, and that they who were there met, doubting not but the fame was the general Senfe of the Nation, would with all Care and Earneftnefs, endeavour, not only to conferve in the People fuch their good Inclinations, but if any Perfon or Place fhould be refractory, or decline that Obedience which is due to his Majesty's Authority, they would contribute their beft Endeavours to reduce them, and make them conformable to the fame.' And after many other fpecious Professions and Proteftations of their Zeal to obey his Excellency, ' They humbly befought him to appoint Commanders in the feveral Provinces, to whom thofe of his Majesty's Subjects, who by the Excitement of the Clergy, ready with all Alacrity to undergo, that Care fhould be encouraged to take up Arms, might repair for the oppofing the Power of the Rebels.' How refpective foever this Addrefs was, and how folemnly foever it was represented, as neither the one or the other could be more formal, the Lord Lieutenant was refolved not to be longer fatisfied with thofe general Declarations of their good Defires and Purpofes; and therefore the very next Day he fent them a Letter, containing what he would expect from them, which for the more clear Manifeftation of the whole Proceedings, fhall be here faithfully inferted, and was in thefe Words:

The Affembly at *Loghbreogh* addrefs to the Lord Lieutenant, upon his Refolves to leave the Kingdom.

AFTER our hearty Commendations, in answer to your Letter of the laft of *April*, we think fit to mind you, That upon our communicating unto you his Majesty's Letter of the 2d of *February*, we then acquainted you at large with what had paffed at *Waterford*, which being by us represented to his Majesty, occafioned his fending the faid Letter, as alfo, that we found the City of *Limerick* had taken Example thereby

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to affront and contemn his Majesty's Authority placed in us, and from us, by consent of the Representative of the Confederate Catholicks at the Conclusion of the Peace, derived to the Commissioners; both which you pass over with an Extenuation of those Disobediences, and by attributing them to some Misunderstandings, you seem in a manner to excuse them: Whereas we had reason to expect, that, suitable to your general Professions, you would have resented the particular Department of those Places, and proposed unto us how the Contrivers thereof might be brought to Justice, and the Places reduced to perfect Obedience: For as for your Professions of Care, and Earnestness to endeavour, not only to conserve in the People the good Inclinations you find in them; but that if any Person or Place shall be refractory, or decline that perfect Obedience due to his Majesty's Authority, you will contribute your best Endeavours to reduce them, and make them conformable to the same, cannot be evidenced or made good by you, but by applying those your Endeavours, where we give you particular undeniable Instances of Refractoriness and Disobedience; so there can be no Instance thereof more pregnant, nor, if it be persisted in, more destructive to his Majesty and the Nation, than that of *Limerick*, to the immediate reducing whereof, we therefore thought, and do now expect you would effectually apply yourselves. We are well satisfied, that the generality of the Country and Nation, who have given the Proofs you mention of their sincere Affections to preserve his Majesty's Rights entire to him, will persevere therein, if those upon whose Example and Advice they very much fix their Resolutions be active and industrious to lead and exhort them thereunto. But we must withal let you know, that we cannot hope that those their good Affections and Alacrity in Defence of his Majesty, and their own Interests, can be successful, if the City of *Limerick*, and all other Cities and Towns, be not in perfect Obedience, and immediately be put under a military Government for military Matters, and thereby into a Condition of Defence and Offence: Which to conceal from the People, were, towards them as great a Treachery, as it would be in us a vain Rashness, without such Obedience first gained, to attempt the opposing the Strength and Power of the Rebels. And therefore we must, and do declare, that as the particular Refractoriness of the City of *Waterford*, hath more than any human Means contributed to all the Successes of the Rebels in those Parts, since our being at *Waterford*: And as the want of a strong Garrison in *Limerick*, which we long since desired might be received there, but could not prevail, hath been the greatest visible Means, whereby the said Rebels have with small or no Resistance gained or destroyed the County of *Limerick*, and other Parts adjacent; so the entire Loss of the Kingdom to his Majesty, and the Destruction of the Nation, which we have no Hope to prevent, but by strongly and presently garrisoning and fortifying the said City, must be imputed to the Obstinacy of that City, if it shall persist therein.

As to those Distrusts and Jealousies of the People, occasioned, as you say, for want of Success in Services, the Sense of their Sufferings, and their Apprehensions for want of Redress of their Grievances: We answer, That both the want of Success, and the Sense of their Sufferings, whether from the Enemy, or the Soldier, cannot so reasonably be attributed to any human Cause, as to the want of garrisoning the Army in principal Towns and Cities, wherein we cannot yet prevail, nor ever could, till by
the

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the Enemy's lying at one End of a Town, we were not, without articling and conditioning, permitted to put such Men as we could then get, in at the other End. For, for want of garrisoning the Army, and by being forced to quarter it at large, it was not possible to have them exercised, their Arms kept in Order, nor they under necessary Discipline; which, when they were to be brought together, rendered them worse than so many new raised Men, by how much they had contracted a licentious Liberty, and Habit of Rapine and Disobedience. Nor could we prevent the Fraud in Muster, or reasonably exact a strict Account from Officers of Men so scattered, who, when they should be employed upon Service, were forced, or pretending a Necessity, wherein we could not disprove them, to range the Country, to get in the Means that should enable them to serve. As to their Apprehension, for want of Redress to their Grievances, we understand not what Grievances are thereby meant, unless those delivered unto us by the Archbishop of *Tuam*, on the first of *April*. For other Grievances, though we long expected and desired them, we never saw, save a Paper given unto us on the 13th of *March*, at *Limerick*, which for the Forgery, false Calumny, and other misbecoming Passages contained in it, was, as such, disavowed by the Clergy then met; and to those given us on the first of *April*, we returned herewith such Answers, as, considering the generality of them, is possible for us to give.

We have already, with the Advice of the Commissioners, and as we believe, with the Approbation of such of the Bishops as were present, appointed the Earl of *Castlehaven* to command the Forces in *Leinster*; and in *Munster*, with like Advice and Approbation, we have employed Colonel *David Roch* to command for a necessary Expedition; besides, there is always upon the Place, one General Officer, that will readily receive and employ any, that shall be prevailed with to take Arms, as is promised; and in case we find fitting Obedience and Reception from the City of *Limerick*, we shall in Person be ready to receive and conduct such Forces in the said Province.

In *Ulster*, we have, in pursuance to an Agreement made with that Province, given Commission to the Bishop of *Clogher*; and in *Connaught*, the Lord Marquis of *Clanrickard* commands the Army.

We know no Use to which any Money raised upon the People hath been employed, but to the Maintenance of the Forces; if you do, we shall desire to be therein informed, to the end, that any past Misapplication thereof may be examined and punished, and the like prevented in future.

To conclude, we seriously recommend to your Consideration, the Ways of procuring such Obedience to his Majesty, and his Authority in the general, and particularly from the City of *Limerick*, as may enable and encourage us with Honour, and hope of Success, according to our Desire, to use our utmost Industry, and encounter all Hazards, for the Defence of this Kingdom and Nation, against the Tyranny that will certainly be exercised upon them, and the unsupportable Slavery they will be subject unto, if the Rebels prevail. And so we bid you heartily farewell. From *Loghbreogh*, May 1, 1650.

Your very Loving Friend,

For the Archbishops, Nobility, Bishops,
the Commissioners authorized by us, in
pursuance of the Articles of Peace, and
others assembled at *Loghbreogh*. These.

O R M O N D.

Upon

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Upon the Receipt of this Letter, they made another Address to the Marquis, in writing, in which they said, ' They were very far from intending by any Expressions they had used, to excuse that Deportment of the City of *Limerick*; nor could any Man, they said, more feelingly than they, resent their personal Disrespects towards his Excellency, while he was lately in that City, whereof they had in their Letters, then ready to be sent by a Committee, employed by them to that Corporation, take Notice: And they did hope, that they would by their Deportment, hereafter merit to have it understood, that it proceeds from Ignorance rather than Malice; and that concerning the garrisoning of the City, the Clergy that had met lately there, and the Commissioners of Trust, had written very effectually to them, and employed two of the Commissioners of Trust thither, to solicit their Compliance to his Excellency, and to represent to them the Danger and Prejudice that would ensue their Refractoriness: And though it had not taken that Effect with them which was expected, yet they humbly offered his Excellency, that a second Essay was to be made, and his Excellency's further positive Commands to be sent thither, whereunto if they would not listen, they promised in as much as in them lay, that they would in their respective Degrees and Quality and according to their respective Powers, so far as should be thought fit and necessary, upon Consideration had of what had been proposed hitherto between his Excellency, the Commissioners of Trust, and them, concerning the garrisoning of that City, co-operate to reclaim them, and bring them to a perfect Obedience; humbly desiring, that what Resolution soever should be taken by that City, yet that his Excellency would be pleased not to impute it to any Disaffection in them, or want of Zeal in the Nation, to advance his Majestys Service. And in regard the transacting of that Business might take up some Time, it was humbly desired his Excellency would be pleased, to apply his immediate Care for the forwarding of the Service, and settling of Affairs in other Parts of the Kingdom, answerable unto the present Dangers and Condition wherein it was, that there might be some visible Opposition to the growing Power of the Enemy.' At the same Time that they sent this Address to the Marquis, signed by the Names of the Bishops and Commissioners, which was the 2d of May 1650, they likewise sent the Archbishop of *Tuam*, and Sir *Lucas Dillon*, to *Limerick*, with as reasonable and pressing Letters to that Corporation, for receiving a Garrison, and Obedience to the Marquis's Orders.

This Demeanor in the Assembly, and all the visible Results of their Consultation, together with so deep Professions of Loyalty to the King, and of Respect to his Lieutenant, prevailed so far with the Marquis, that he again declined his Purpose of quitting the Kingdom, and thereupon dismissed a Frigate, which he had bought and fitted for his own Transportation; and though the Archbishop of *Tuam* and Sir *Lucas Dillon* returned from *Limerick*, without that entire Submission from the City which was expected, yet he was willing to make the best Interpretation of their general Professions of Duty, and to believe that they would by Degrees be induced to do what they ought; and that he might be the hearer to them, to encourage any such Inclination, he removed to *Clare*, twelve Miles from *Limerick*, and gave Orders to the

Troops,

Troops, which for Conveniency of Quarters were scattered at a greater Distance, to be ready to draw to a Rendezvous. And he was shortly after very reasonably induced to be almost confident, that the City was well disposed; for having one Day, about the 11th of *June*, visited some Troops, which he had assembled within four Miles of *Limerick*, and returning at Night to *Clare*, the next Day two Aldermen of the City came to him with this following Letter, from the Mayor of that Corporation.

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May it please your Excellency,

THE City Council have given me Command to signify, and humbly to offer to your Excellency, That it was expected by them, that you would, being so near the City yesterday, bestow a Visit upon it, which is no Way doubted had been done by your Excellency, if your greater Affairs had not hindered you from the same, and yet do expect when those are over, your Excellency will be pleased to step hither, to settle the Garrison here, the which without your Presence, cannot be, as is humbly conceived, so well done, or with that Expedition, as our Necessity requires, the Particulars whereof we refer to Alderman *Piers Creagh*, and Alderman *John Bourk*, their Relation, to whom we desire Credence may be given by your Excellency, and humbly to believe that I will never fail to be

Limerick, 12 June,
1650.

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

For his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant
General, and General Governor of *Ireland*.

John Creagh, Mayor of
Limerick.

This Letter might very well have raised an Expectation and Assurance, that there would be no more Scruples of receiving a Garrison; yet the Aldermen who brought it, made such Pauses in answering some necessary Questions, that the Marquis returned them the same Night with this Answer.

AFTER our hearty Commendations, we have received your Letter of this Day's Date, by the Conveyance of Alderman *Piers Creagh*, and *John Bourk*, and heard what *John Bourk* and the other had to say, as from that Corporation. In answer whereunto, we imparted some Particulars unto them, wherein we expected Satisfaction, which if you send us to the Rendezvous to-morrow, where we intend to be, we shall visit that City, and imploy our utmost Endeavours in settling the Garrison necessarily desired there, both for the Defence and Satisfaction of that City. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

From *Clare*, June 12, 1650.

To our very loving Friend
the Mayor of *Limerick*,
These.

Your loving Friend,

ORMOND.

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The

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The Particulars he proposed to them were, 1. To be received in like manner, and with such Respect, as the Lord Lieutenants heretofore had always been. 2. To have Command of the Guard, giving the Word and Orders in the City. 3. That there might be Quarter provided within the City, for such Guards of Horse and Foot as he should carry in, which should be part of the Garrison, and whereof a List should be given at the Rendezvous. The next Day when the Marquis came to the Rendezvous, two Aldermen met him there, and informed him, that the City had consented to all that he had proposed to them, except only the Admittance of his Guards, which they were unwilling to do; whereupon he sent Messengers back with this Answer, 'That he intended not the drawing in of his Guards, out of any Mistrust he had of the Loyalty of the Magistrates of that City to his Majesty, or of their Affection to himself, but for the Dignity of the Place he held, and to prevent any popular Tumult that might be raised by desparate interested Persons against him, or the Civil Government of that City, whereunto he had cause to fear some loose People might by false and frivolous Suggestions be too easily instigated. *And to take away all possibility of Suspicion from the most jealous, he told them,* The Guards he meant to take with him, should consist but of a hundred Foot and fifty Horse, and even those too to be of their own Religion, and such as having been constantly of their Confederacy, were interested in all the Benefits of the Articles of Peace.' And so, not imagining that they could refuse so reasonable an Overture, he went towards the City; but when he came very near the Gates, the same Aldermen came again to him, to let him know, That there was a Tumult raised in the City by a *Franciscan* Friar, called Father *Wolf*, and some others, against his coming into the Town, and in Opposition to the Desires and Intentions of the Mayor, and the principal Citizens, and therefore dissuaded his Excellency's going thither, until the Tumult should be quieted. So that the Lord Lieutenant was compelled, with that Affront, to return, and rested that Night at *Sbanbuoly*, three Miles from the City, from whence he writ to them the Sense he had of the Indignity offered him, 'And wished them to consider, not only by what Power they had been made a Corporation first, and by whose Protection they had since flourished, but also what solid Foundation of Safety, other than by receiving the Defence he had offered them, was or could be proposed to them, by the present Disturbers of their Quiet: And desired their present Answer, That in case he might be encouraged to proceed in the Way he had laid down, of serving the King, and preserving that City from the Tyranny of the Rebels, he might immediately apply himself thereunto, or failing in his Desires therein, he might apply himself, and the Forces he had gathered for that Purpose, to some other Service.' But neither this, nor all he could do, upon subsequent Treaties and Overtures, moving from themselves, could not at all prevail with them. No! not his Offer of putting himself into the City, and running the Fortune of it, when *Ireton* was encamped before it: But they continually multiplied and repeated their Affronts towards him, with all imaginable Circumstances of Contempt; and in the End, that we may have no more Occasion of mentioning the seditious Carriage of this unfortunate City, broke open his Trunks of Papers, which he had left there, seized upon the Stores of Corn laid up there for the Supply of the Army,

when

Wolf's Insurrection.

Limerick still refractory and contemptuous.

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when he believed that Place would have been obedient to him, and some Corn belonging to himself, and disposed of all according to their own Pleasure, and received some Troops of Horse into the City, which contrary to the Marquis's Order left the Army, and with those Troops levied and raised Contribution in the Country adjacent, upon those who had honestly paid the same for the Use of the Army, according to those Orders which they were to obey. And when the Marquis sent to the Mayor, to deliver the Officer of the said Regiment as a Prisoner, to the Guard appointed to receive him, he could receive no other Answer, and that not in a Week, than that the Government of that City was committed to Major General *Hugh O Neal*, and therefore he the Mayor would not meddle therein. And when the like Orders were sent by the Marquis to *Hugh O Neal*, he returned Answer, That he was only a Cypher, and not suffered to act any Thing, but what the Mayor and Council thought fit. So that, in truth, that City was no less in Rebellion to the King, than the Army under *Iretton* was, though it did for a Time resist that Army, and could never have been subdued by it, if it had ever been in that Obedience to the King, as by their Obligation it ought to have been, and therefore must have less Peace of Conscience to support them, in the Calamities they have since undergone.

In the Letter formerly inserted from the Marquis, of the first of *May*, it is said, That in Pursuance of a former Agreement, he had granted a Commission to the Bishop of *Clogher*, for the Command of the Province of *Ulster*; it will be therefore necessary to express what that Agreement was, and the Proceedings thereupon: Amongst the Articles which had been made with General *Owen O Neal*, it was provided, that in Case of the said *O Neal*'s Death, or Removal by Advancement, or otherwise, before any Settlement in Parliament, to which all the Articles of Peace related, that the Nobility and Gentry of the Province of *Ulster*, should have Power to name one to the Lord Lieutenant, or chief Governor for his Majesty, to command in the Place of the said *O Neal*; and the said Command was to be conferred accordingly upon the Person so to be named, and according to his Power: *Owen O Neal* being dead, the Nobility, Bishops, and principal Gentry of that Province, made Choice of the Bishop of *Clogher* to succeed him in the Charge, and having signified such their Election under their Hands to the Lord Lieutenant, the 1st of *April*, he granted such a Commission to him as he was obliged to do.

James Marquis of *Ormond*, Earl of *Ormond* and *Oserry*, Viscount *Thurles*, Lord Baron of *Arklow*, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Chancellor of the University of *Dublin*, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved Bishop Ever Mac Mahon.

ORMOND,

WHEREAS upon the Treaty with General *Owen O Neal*, deceased, it was amongst other Particulars, concluded and agreed upon, that in Case of Death or Removal of him, such other General or Commander in Chief, should be authorised by Commission from us, to command his Majesty's Forces of the Province of *Ulster*, Natives of the Kingdom,

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Kingdom, as should be by general Consent of the Gentry of that Province elected, and made choice of for the same. And whereas in a general Meeting lately held by the Gentry for that Purpose, it was agreed upon, and so represented unto us, that you should exercise that Command over the said Forces. We therefore upon the Consideration thereof, and of the Care, Judgment, Valour and Expedience, in martial Affairs, as also of the Readiness and good Affections of you, to do his Majesty's Service, have nominated and appointed, and we do hereby nominate and appoint you, the said Bishop, *Ever Mac Mahon*, to be General of all his Majesty's said Forces, of Horse, and Foot, of the Province of *Ulster*, Natives of the Kingdom. Giving thereby unto you, the said Bishop, *Ever Mac Mahon*, full Power and Authority, to take the said Charge and Employment upon you, and the said Forces, and every of them, to lead and command according to the Use and Discipline of War, and such further Order and Instructions, as you shall from time to time receive from us, or other his Majesty's chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, the Time being, in that behalf, willing and hereby requiring all the Officers, Troopers, and Soldiers, of the said Forces, to obey you, as their General, and to be at, and perform your Commands, as they shall issue unto them upon all Occasions of his Majesty's Service, as they will answer the contrary.

In witness whereof, we have signed this our Commission, and caused our Seal of Arms to be thereunto affixed, at *Logbreogh*, the first Day of *April*, 1650.

In Execution of which, the Bishop with great Activity and Courage proceeded, in infesting the *English* Garrisons and Army in that Province, as much as was in his Power; and having an Army, consisting of about five thousand Horse and Foot, about the 20th of *June*, 1650, when the Lord Lieutenant himself could not draw one thousand Men together, or keep them, if together, the Space of forty-eight Hours, he encountered not far from *Londonderry*, with Sir *Charles Coote*, who commanded the Parliament's Forces in Chief in that Quarter, and was then inferior in Foot to the Bishop, though otherwise he had a great Advantage of him, by having near treble the number of Horse; notwithstanding which Inequality, the *Irish*, for a while, behaved themselves handsomely, but in the End, were totally defeated; so that the Bishop was compelled after he saw the Day was irrecoverably lost, to quit the Field with a small Party of Horse: The next Day in his Flight, he had the Misfortune near *Eniskelin*, to meet with the Governor, Major *King* of that Town, in the Head of a Party, too strong for him, against which however, the Bishop defended himself with notable Courage, though after he had received many Wounds, he was taken Prisoner, and soon after, by the positive Order of Sir *Charles Coote*, whom within less than a Year he had relieved, when in great Extremity, hanged. This was a most happy Victory for the Parliament, in that three thousand of the Rebels were there slain, all meer *Irish*, out of an Opinion they could not prosper, as long as they had any *English* joined with them; and for that End, had thoroughly purged their Army, which, being stiled by them, the Confident Victorious Army of the North, had a full Return of God's Vengeance, they being the first Incendiaries and Actors in those barbarous Cruelties, which ensued their Insurrection:

The Bishop of
Clogher defeated.
His Character.

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Infurrection: This was the unfortunate End of that unhappy Prelate, of whom since he bore so great a Part in the Troubles of *Ireland*, and was much superior in Parts to any Man of that Party, it will not be impertinent or uncharitable to mention some Passages of his Life, that thereby his Nature and Disposition may be the better collected; and indeed the Spirit and Temper of Mind, which those kind of Men were possessed with, who had the greatest Abilities to do hurt. Some few Years before the Rebellion, this *Ever Mac Mahon*, being then an Arch-Priest, and residing for the most Part in or near *Dublin*, repaired, as you have heard, to a prime Instrument of State, and discovered to him the Contrivances abroad, in reference to bring Troubles upon that Kingdom, who being thereupon pardoned, still, as any Thing of that Nature proceeded, informed the State thereof: And though, according to the Formality of Law, he should have sued out his Pardon, yet that he might still be confided in by the Confederates, who knew not who the Discoverer was, he meerly trusted to the King's Mercy and Clemency, and through the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*, he proved faithful to the Crown. From the Beginning of this Rebellion, his Power was very great with those that were opposite to any Reconciliation, upon the first and second Conclusion of Peace by the Confederate Catholicks, continuing firm to that Party which followed *Owen O'Neal*, or rather governed *Owen O'Neal*, who commanded that Party; and over and above those Demands which concerned Religion, to which they seemed to adhere with more than ordinary Zeal, and thereby drew a Dependency of that Clergy to them, they insisted upon the Restitution of the great Estates in *Ulster*, which was not in the Power of the Crown to make, without Violation of several Acts of Parliament, and defeating many Descents and Purchases, which had passed without any Interruption or Claim for the Space of one hundred and fifty Years. This impossible Expectation kept both *Owen O'Neal*, and the Bishop of *Clogher*, from concurring with the Confederate Catholicks, in the Peace they made with his Majesty, 1648, and the Animosity they contracted against the Confederates, inclined them to relieve *Londonderry*, when, as is remembred before, it was even ready to be reduced by his Majesty's Forces, rather than to submit to the Peace made by them with the Lord Lieutenant: To whose Divisions, the State of *England*, saith *Rehly*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, owes their present Possession of *Ireland*, and therefore infers that that Party of the *Irish* Natives, ought to be not only on that Account favoured and trusted, but because also, they never had Affection for the King or his Family: Yet after they had found it necessary to make that Agreement with the Marquis, in 1649, being neglected by the Parliament, it must be acknowledged, that the Bishop performed and observed it very justly, as he was punctual in what he promised, and applied himself with all Dexterity and Industry to the Advancement of his Majesty's Interest; so that during his Time, he restrained the Clergy from making any Acts, which might discourage the People from their Obedience to the King's Authority. And the Duke of *Ormond* acknowledges, that for these twenty Years he had to do with the *Irish* Bishops, he never found any of them, either to speak the Truth, or to perform their Promise to him, only the Bishop of *Clogher* excepted, who during the little Time he lived after his Submission to the Peace, and Commission received from him, he could not charge. And therefore, how inconvenient soever his Service had

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been to the Peace and Happiness of that Nation, his Death was very unseasonable.

Upon the News of the Bishop of *Clogher's* Defeat, the 26th of *June*, the Lady *Fitzgarret*, after a well-regulated Defence, surrendered up her Castle of *Tecrochan*, to Colonel *Reynolds*, and Colonel *Huetson*, who had taken in *Kilmallock*, *Harristown*, *Naas*, *Ballymole*, *Rabridge*, *Tallo*, *Athy*, *Marryborough*, *Dermot's Castle*, besides the Places mentioned before; and on the 19th of *August*, followed the Surrender of *Carlow*, which, by the Care of *Ireton*, together with *Waterford*, and *Duncannon*, had since the Beginning of *June*, been close blocked up, which, *Preston* understanding, surrendered also *Waterford* within few Days, on Conditions, which brought with it the Delivery of the strong Fort of *Duncannon*: About the same Time, *Charlemont* and *Catherlough*, were surrendered to Sir *Charles Coote*, and Colonel *Venables*, after they had took in *Culmore*, *Londonderry*, *Eniskillen*, which was delivered by Sir *George Monro*, to Sir *Charles Coote*, for 500 *l.* though a little before he had received 1200 *l.* from the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, for to secure it, *Colerain*, also *Ardmagh*, *Carrickfergus*, *Knockfergus*, *Belfast*, *Cloughbouter*, *Castle-Jordan*, *Carlingford*, *Margrave*, *Monaghan*, *Lislaghan*. In the mean Time, Colonel *Henry Ingoldsbj*, who was sent to block up *Limerick* at a Distance, overcame three thousand Rebels coming to its Relief, whereof nine hundred were slain, the rest routed and taken Prisoners. In *August* the Lord *Inchiquin* gathering Forces in *Kerry*, was disturbed by Colonel *Phaer*, who in his Return thence, took in the Castle of *Kilmurry*, and thence went against the Lords, *Roch* and *Muskerry*, who headed the Rebels in the West. The Army having refreshed itself at *Waterford*, *Ireton* from thence intended for *Limerick*, yet wanting Provision for such a Siege, takes his Journey through the County of *Wicklow*, which afforded him one thousand six hundred Cows, besides Sheep, and other Provisions; from thence Sir *Hardress Waller*, with an equal Share of the Booty, was sent with a considerable Force to straiten *Limerick*, who in his Way near *Limerick*, took in *Bally-glaughan*, *Bally-cubbain* and *Garrygaglain*, three strong Castles, whilst *Ireton* and Sir *Charles Coote*, joining Forces, appeared before *Athlone*, to try if they could gain that Garrison; but finding the Bridge broke, and the Town on this Side burned, Sir *Charles Coote* staid there to straiten it, whilst *Ireton* taking two Castles in *Mac Colcoche's* Country, and the *Burr*, which the Enemy had left and burned, presently seated himself before *Limerick*, where he had certain Intelligence, that the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, who upon Notice of the Enemies being at *Athlone*, marched with considerable Forces towards its Relief, if any Thing should have been attempted, had retaken the two Castles, and laid Siege to the *Burr*, to whose Relief Colonel *Axtell*, Governor at *Kilkenny*, having made a Conjunction at *Rocrea*, with the *Wexford* and *Tipperary* Forces, resolutely marched; whereupon the Marquis of *Clanrickard's* Forces under their chief Commander, he being gone with the other Part of his Army towards *Limerick*, retreated to *Meleake* Island, a strong Fastness, but were beaten thence the 25th of *October*, with the Loss of near one thousand five hundred Men, two hundred Horse, Waggon, and Baggage: Upon this Success, the *Irish* quitted all their adjacent Garrisons, and *Ireton*, the Winter coming hard on, drew off from *Limerick*, having settled the

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the Garrisons round about it, with about one thousand two hundred Men, and took in *Neanagh*, a strong Castle, in *Low Ormond*, upon whose Surrender, *Castle-town* and *Dromaneer*, yielded also, whence, endeavouring to gain *Killalough Pass*, though without Effect, he went to his Winter Quarters about the 10th of *November* at *Kilkenny*. To provide for whom, and the Forces in *Ireland*, the Parliament was at a great Stand, the Prosecution of the War in *Scotland*, having exercised the uttermost Force they could raise, so as they now began to cast about, which Way might be most likely to disburthen themselves of some Part of that Charge; and for this Purpose, they appointed Commissioners to be sent into *Ireland*, which were four Members of Parliament, Mr. *Corbet*, Colonel *Ludlow*, Colonel *Jones*, and Mr. *Weaver*: The main Errand they went upon, was to find out some Means in that Kingdom, for the raising of certain Sums of Money yearly towards the Maintenance of the Army; these were designed about the Beginning of *October*, and were to be in Readiness to embark at *Milford-Haven*, by the Midst of *December* 1650.

But to return to the Marquis of *Ormond*, whose Endeavours could not work the Confederates to any reasonable Resistance, though they saw their Cities and Towns won on every Side, who towards the End of *July* received a Letter subscribed by two Persons, who stiled themselves Archbishops of *Dublin* and *Tuam*, in these Words.

May it please your Excellency,

THIS Nation, become of late the Fable and Reproach of Christianity, is brought to a sad Condition, notwithstanding the frequent and laborious Meetings and Consultations of Prelates; we find Jealousies and Fears deep in the Hearts of Men, Thorns hard to be plucked out; we see most Men contributing to the Enemy, and rendering their Persons and Substance useful to his Malice, and destructive to Religion, and the King's Interests: This Kind of Men, if not timely prevented, will betray irremediably themselves and us. We find no Stock or Subsistence ordered for maintaining the Soldiery, nor is there an Army any Way considerable in the Kingdom, to recover what is lost, or defend what we hold; so, as humanly speaking, if God will not be pleased, for his Mercy's sake, to take off from us the heavy Judgment of his Anger, we are fair for losing sacred Religion, the King's Authority and *Ireland*; the four Archbishops, to acquit their Consciences in the Eyes of God, have resolved to meet at *Jamestown* about the 6th Day of the next Month, and to bring along as many of the Suffragans, as may repair thither with Safety. The End of this Consultation is, to do what in us lies for the Amendment of all Errors, and the Recovery of this afflicted People; if your Excellency shall think fit in your Wisdom, to send one or more Persons to make Proposals for the Safety of the Nation, we shall not want Willingness to prepare a good Answer, nor will we despair of the Blessings of God, and of his powerful Influence, to be upon our Intentions in that Place: Even so we conclude, remaining,

The Confederate Clergy's Resolution to meet at *Jamestown*.

24 *July* 1650. Your Excellencies most humble Servants,
For his Excellency the Lord *Fra. Tho. Dub. Joh.* Archbishop *Tuamen*.
Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Whosoever

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Whosoever reads this Summons or Intimation, will believe it to be *Satis pro Imperio*; and that such a Direction, *To send one or more Persons to make Proposals unto them, for the Safety of the Nation*; and such a negligent Expression, *That we shall not want willingness to prepare a good Answer*, could not proceed but from a superior to an inferior Dependant: However as the Marquiss knew it would be to no Purpose to inhibit their Meeting, so he thought fit to write to them in this manner.

The Lord Lieutenant's Reply to the Clergy's insolent Letter.

AFTER our hearty Commendations, we received yours of the 24th of July, on the first of this Month, and do, with much Grief acknowledge, that this Nation is brought into a sad Condition, and that by such Means, as when it shall be known abroad, and by story be delivered to Posterity, will indeed be thought a Fable; for it will seem incredible that any Nation should so madly affect, and violently pursue the Ways leading to their own Destruction, as this People will appear to have done; and that after the certain Ruin they were running into, as evidently and frequently discovered unto those, that in all Times, and upon all Occasions, have had Power to compel or persuade them to whatever they thought fit; and it will be less credible, when it shall be declared, as in truth it will be, that the temporal, spiritual, and eternal Interest and safety, even of those that had this Power, and that have been thus forewarned, did consist in making Use of it to reclaim the People, and direct them into the Ways of Preservation. To be plain, it cannot be denied, but the Disobedience we have met with, which we at large declared unto many of you, who with divers others of the Nobility and Gentry, were assembled at *Loghbreogh*, in April last, were the certain ready Ways to the Destruction of this Nation, as by our Letters of the first of May, to that Assembly, we made apparent. Antient and late Experience hath made evident, what Power those of your Function have had, to draw the People of this Nation to what they thought fit, whether your Lordships have been convinced that the Obedience which we desired, should be given to his Majesty's Authority, in us, pursuant to the Articles of Peace, was the Way to preserve the Nation, we know not; or whether your Lordships have made Use of all the Means at other Times, and upon other Occasions, exercised by you, to procure this necessary Obedience, we shall not now determine: Sure we are, that since the said Assembly, not only *Limerick* hath persisted in the like Disobedience, for want of due Compliance from those Places, but principally from *Limerick*, it hath been impossible for us to raise or imploy an Army against the Rebels, for to attempt it any where on the other Side of the *Shannon*; but near *Limerick*, and without the absolute Command of that City to secure it, could be no other than the certain Ruin of the Design, in the very Beginning of it, the Rebels Power being such, as to dissipate with Ease, the Foundation that should be laid there; and to have done it on the other Side of the *Shannon*, was impossible, since the Ground-work of the Army must be raised and supported from thence, which while it was in forming, would have exhausted all the Substance of those Parts, and not have effected the Work, for want of such an Army, which with God's Assistance, might certainly have been raised long since, if *Limerick* had obeyed our Orders. The Rebels have without any considerable Resistance from abroad, taken

in

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in *Clonmel*, *Tecroghan*, *Catherlough*, and reduced *Waterford*, and *Duncannon*, to great, and we fear irrecoverable Distress; the Loss of these Places, and the want of any visible Power to protect them, have doubtlessly induced many to contribute their Substance, and personal Assistance to the Rebels; from which, whether they might have been with-held by Church Censures, we know not, but have not heard of any such which issued against them; and lastly, for want of such an Army, the Rebels have taken to themselves the Contribution, which might considerably have assisted to support an Army, and preserve the Kingdom. If therefore the End of your Consultation at *Jamestown*, be to acquit your Consciences in the Eyes of God, the Amendment of all Errors, and the Recovery of this afflicted People, as by the Letter, giving us Notice of your Meeting, is professed, we have endeavoured briefly to shew, that the Spring of our past Losses, and approaching Ruin, ariseth from Disobediences, and it will not be hard to shew, that the Spring of those Disobediences ariseth from the Forgeries invented, the Calumnies spread against the Government, and the Incitement of the People to Rebellion, by very many of the Clergy. That these are Errors frequently practised, and fit for Amendment, is no more to be doubted, than without they be amended, the Affection of the People will continue, and, as it is to be feared, end in their utter Destruction, which, if prevented, by what your Consultation will produce, the happy Effect of your Meeting will be acknowledged, without questioning the Authority by which you meet, or expect Proposals from us, which other than what we have formerly, and now by this our Letter made, we hold not necessary: And so we bid your Lordships heartily farewell. From *Roscommon*, the 2d of *Aug.* 1650.

To our very good Lords, the
Archbishops, and Bishops,
met at *Jamestown*.

Your Lordship's very loving Friend,

ORMOND.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter the several Bishops who met at *Jamestown*, sent the Bishop of *Dromore*, and Doctor *Charles Kelly*, to the Lord Lieutenant with this Letter of Credit.

May it please your Excellency,

WE received your Letter of the second currant, where to our Grief and Admiration, we saw some Expressions, that seem meant for casting a Blame upon us of the present sad Condition of the Kingdom, which we hope to answer to the Satisfaction of your Excellency, and the whole Nation: In the mean time we permit this Protestation, as we are Christian Catholick Prelates, that we have done our Endeavours with all Earnestness and Candor, for taking away from the Hearts of the People, all Jealousies and Diffidences, that were conceived the Occasion of so many Disasters that beset the Nation: And that in all Occasions, our Actions and Co-operations were ready to accompany all your Excellency's Designs, for the Preservation of all his Majesty's Interests in this Kingdom; whose State being in the present desperate Condition, we thought it our Duty to offer unto your Excellency our Sense of the only Possibility we could devise for its Preservation; and that by the Intervention and Expression of my Lord of *Dromore*, and Doctor *Charles Kelly*, Dean
M m m m of

The Clergy's
Answer.

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of *Tuam*, who shall clearly deliver unto your Excellency, our Thoughts and good Intentions, as to this Effect: Praying your Excellency to give full Credit to what they will declare in our Names in this Business, which will be still owned as our Command laid upon them, and the Declaration of the sincere Hearts of

Jamestown, 10 Aug.
1650.

Your Excellency's most humble Servants,

H. Ardmagh, Jo. Archiep. Tuam, Jo. Rapotensis, Nico. Fernensis & Procurator Arch. Dublin, Eug. Kilmore, Walt. Clonfert. & Procurator Leghlin, &c.

When, *viz.* the 12th of the same, the two Persons had delivered their Credential Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, he wished them, in regard of the Importance of the Matter they were intrusted with, to set down what they had in Command in writing; whereupon they presented him the 13th with this following Letter.

May it please your Excellency,

WE being intrusted by the Clergy met at *Jamestown*, to deliver a Message unto your Excellency, importing their Advice, what the only Means is, as they conceive, that may serve to free the Nation from the sad Condition, whereunto it is reduced at present, do in Obedience to your Excellency's Commands, signified for giving in the Substance of the said Message in writing, humbly present the same as followeth. That whereas they doubt not your Excellency hath laboured by other Hands, to bring the best Aids that possibly could be had from abroad, for the Relief of this gasping Nation, yet finding now in their Consciences no other expedient Remedy for the Preservation thereof, and of his Majesty's Interests therein, more prevalent than your Excellency's speedy repair to his Majesty, for preventing the Ruin and Dissolution of all, and leaving the King's Authority in the Hands of some Person or Persons faithful to his Majesty, and trusty to the Nation, and such as the Affection and Confidence of the People will follow, by which the Rage and Fury of the Enemy may receive Interruption: They humbly offer this important Matter, of the Safety or Destruction, of this Nation, and the King's Interest, to your Wisdom and Consideration, hoping the Kingdom by your Excellency's Presence with his Majesty, and intrusting safely the King's Authority, as above, may, with God's Blessing, hold out until relieved with Supplies from his Majesty; the Prelates will in the mean Time, do what lies in their Power to assist the Person or Persons so intrusted. The great Trust his Majesty doth repose in your Excellency, the vast Interest in Fortune, Alliance, and Kindred, you have in this Nation, and your Experience in the Management of Affairs of greatest Consequence, will, we doubt not, added to other the Reasons proposed by us, induce you to embrace this Advice, as proceeding from our pious Intentions, that look only on the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, the Support of his Majesty's Authority, and the Estates, Liberties, and Fortunes of his Subjects of this Kingdom, which we humbly offer, as

Aug. 13th, 1650.

Your Excellency's most humble Servants,

Fr. Oliver Dromore, Charles Kelly.
Though

The Bishop of
Dromore, and
Doctor *Kelly's*
Negociation
with the Lord
Lieutenant.

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Though the Marquis did not expect, that the Meeting of the Bishops and Clergy in that Manner at *Jamestown*, would have produced any better Effect, than their former Meetings in other Places had done, yet he could not imagine, that their Presumption would have been so great, as it appeared by this Message to be. And when he communicated it to the Commissioners of Trust, they were no less seemingly scandalized at it, and believed, that upon serious Conference with the Bishops, they should be able to reform their Understandings and their Wills, and therefore desired the Marquis, that instead of sending a particular Answer to the Matter of the Message, he would write to them, 'To give him a Meeting at *Logbreogh*, on the 26th of the same Month, to the End, that upon a free Conference, they might be induced to understand how pernicious a Thing they had advised, in order to their own Security.' And the Bishop of *Dromore*, and Dr. *Kelly*, returned with this Proposition, and the Marquis, making no Doubt of their Compliance, so far as to meet at the Place appointed, went thither at the Day assigned; but they, instead of meeting him themselves, sent their Bishops of *Cork* and *Clonsfert*, no otherwise intrusted than to receive his Answer to the Proposition they had made, for his leaving the Kingdom: To which, when he saw he could not draw them to a Conference, he, the 31st of *August*, returned, 'That they might well remember, that upon the Disobediences he had formerly met with, he had obtained leave from his Majesty to have departed the Kingdom, and that if themselves the Bishops, Nobility and Gentry, met together, had not in *April* last, in Writing and Discourse, given him Assurance, that they not only desired his Stay, but would endeavour to procure such Obedience to him, as might enable him with hope of Success to have gone on in the War, he would have made use of the Liberty given unto him by his Majesty, to have freed himself from the Vexation which he had since endured, and the Dishonour which he foresaw he should be subject to for want of Power, without which, as he then told them, he should be able to do nothing considerable for the King or the Nation: That he had transmitted those Assurances to his Majesty, with his own Resolution to attend the Effects: That he plainly observed, that the Division was great in the Nation under his Government, yet it would be greater upon his removal, of which, in a free Conference, he would have given them such pregnant Evidence, as he held it not fit to declare to them by writing. For these and other Reasons he told them, That unless he was forced by inevitable Necessity, he was not willing to remove out of the Kingdom, and desired them to use all Means within their Power, to dispose the People to that Dutifulness and Obedience that became them.'

The Message from the Bishops being justly re-sented by the Lord Lieutenant, he writes to them to meet him at *Logbreogh*, but they augment their Contempts.

This wrought nothing on the Temper of those Men, who were resolved not to be satisfied with any Thing the Marquis could say unto them: Infomuch, that within few Days after, they had received his Answer from *Logbreogh*, at the Time when the Parliamentarians were strong in the Field, and had then passed the *Shannon*, if they had not been restrained by the few Troops the Marquis still kept on Foot, they published an Excommunication against all those, of what Quality soever, who should feed, help, or adhere unto the Lord Lieutenant; in which, this Circumstance is observable, That though they did not publish this Excommunication

The Bishops of *Jamestown*, instead of what might have been offered with respect to the Lord Lieutenant, insolently published an Excommunication.

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munication until the 15th of *September*, it was enacted in their Assembly at *Jamestown* the 12th of *August*, which was within two Days after they had sent the Bishop of *Dromore*, and Dr. *Kelly*, to persuade the Marquis to leave the Kingdom, and the Day before they delivered their Message: So that they thought any Thing that the Lord Lieutenant should return to them, would be impertinent to the Matter in hand; or if they were not so delighted with their own Proceedings, that they have themselves carefully published to the World in Print, would it be believed, that Persons, who in the least Degree pretended the Care of the People's Welfare and Security, could, at such a Time, when a potent Enemy was in the Field, set all Men loose from all Government, Civil and Martial, and not direct them whom they should follow and obey: For if it be said, That they were advised to return to their Association, and until a general Assembly of the Nation could be conveniently called, unanimously to serve against the common Enemy, since no Persons were named or appointed to conduct them, it must be acknowledged, that they were left without any Direction at all, to the Rage and Fury of those, who intended nothing but their Reduction.

A malicious Declaration from the Bishop of *Jamestown*, with Animadversions thereupon.

Together with their Excommunication, they published, in the Head of the Army a Declaration intitled, 'A Declaration of the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates and Dignitaries of the Regular and Secular Clergy of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, against the Continuance of his Majesty's Authority in the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, for the Misgovernment of the Subjects and the ill Conduct of his Majesty's Army, and Violation of the Articles of Peace.'

If the Archbishops, Bishops, and Secular and Regular Clergy of *Ireland*, will take upon them to declare against the King's Authority, where his Majesty hath placed it, and will make themselves Judges of his supreme Minister, for the government of the Subjects, and the ill Conduct of his Majesty's Army, they assume an Authority to themselves, that no other Christian Clergy ever pretended, and sufficiently declare to the King, 'how far they are from being Subjects, or intending to pay him any Obedience, longer than they are governed in such Manner, and by such Persons, as they think fit to be pleased with.' If the Marquis of *Ormond* had misgoverned the People, and conducted his Majesty's Army amiss, the Clergy are not competent Judges of the one or the other. And for the Violation of the Articles of Peace, the Commissioners, nominated and appointed to provide for the due Execution of them, were the only Persons who could determine and remedy such Violation, and who well knew there was no Cause for their Complaint. But on the other Hand, as hath been before mentioned, these Men obstructed that Concurrence and Obedience in the People, without which those Articles could not be observed, or the Security of the People provided for.

The Preface of that Declaration, according to their usual Method, justified and magnified their Piety and Virtue, in the Beginning and carrying on the War, extolled their Duty and Affection to their King, in submitting to him, and returning to their Allegiance, when they said, they could have better, or as good Conditions from the Parliament of *England*, intimated what a vast Sum of Money they had provided, near half

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half a Million of *English* Pounds, besides several Magazines of Corn, with a fair Train of Artillery, great Quantity of Powder, Match, Ammunition, with other Materials for carrying on the War, and many other Particulars of that Nature, the monstrous Untruths whereof doth sufficiently appear, in what hath been said before. The Marquiss having been forced to borrow those little Sums of Money, out of the Pockets of his Friends, and to spend all that he raised upon the Sale of a good Quantity of his own Land, for the Support of his Wife and Children, to enable the Army to march, which was not then, whatever hath been since, repaid to him. And the Magazines of Corn and Ammunition, and other Materials for War, being so absolutely unfurnished, that it was not possible for him to reduce those small Forts of *Maryborough* and *Athy*, held by *Owen O Neal's* Party, till he had by his own Power and Interest, procured some Supplies before clearly mentioned, so far were these Men from making that Provision they brag of. What Conditions they might have had from the Parliament of *England*, may be concluded by the Usage they have since found, nor if they were put to it, would they be able to prove their Assertions, divine Vengeance having made that Party more merciless towards them, whose Forwardness, Obstinacy, and Treachery against the King's Authority, contributed most to their Service, than those who worthily opposed them, and were most Enemies to their Proceedings.

They endeavoured by all imaginable Reproaches and Calumnies, to lessen the People's Reverence towards the Lord Lieutenant, laying such Aspersions on him in the said Declaration, as might most alienate their Affections, though themselves knew them to be untrue, and without Colour. They complained that he had given Money, Commissions for Colonels, and other Commands, unto Protestants, and upon them consumed the Substance of the Kingdom, who most of them either betrayed or deserted the Service; whereas they knew well, that there was not one Protestant Officer, to whom the Lord Lieutenant gave a Commission, who betrayed any Place committed to him, or otherwise treated in Order to their Support, than all the other Officers of the same Condition in the Army; nor did they quit the Service, until many of them had gallantly lost their Lives, and that the Clergy had so far incensed the People against them, only for being Protestants, that the Marquiss was compelled to give them Leave to depart the Kingdom, or otherwise to dispose of themselves; and the Parliament Commanders gave Passes to such as would depart the Kingdom, and gladly entertained such as went over to their Party.

They accused him of Improvidence in conducting the Army, after the Defeat at *Rathmines*, of not relieving *Tredagh*, of permitting Play, Drinking and Licentiousness in the Camp, and as bold Aspersions, as, without Excommunication, might gain Credit with the People, and reflect upon his Honour, where he was not enough known. Whereas the Action at *Rathmines* is before set down at large, and the taking of *Tredagh* by a Storm, when it was scarce apprehended: And it is notoriously known that in his Person he was so strict and vigilant, that he gave not himself Freedom and Liberty to enjoy those Pleasures, which might very well have consisted with the Office and Duty of the most severe General; and that in above three Months Time, which was from his first drawing the Forces to the rendezvous, till after the Misfortune at

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Rathmines, he never slept out of his Soldier's Habit : So that the Malice and Craft of those unreasonable and senseless Calumnies, are easy enough to be discerned, and can only make an Impression upon vulgar Minds, not well informed of the Humour and Spirit of the Contrivers.

They magnified exceedingly the Merit of the Prelates, the Declaration they had made at *Clonmacnoise*, their frequent Expressions of their Sincerity, and most blame the Marquiss, for not making use of their Power and Diligence, toward the advancing the King's Interest ; but rather for suspecting and blaming them by his Letter to the Prelates at *Jamestown*, before mentioned, and they said, Words were heard to fall from him, dangerous as to the Persons of some of the Prelates. To all which, little need be said, since there is before so just and full Mention of their fair Declarations, Professions and Actions, which accompanied them : And for the Danger the Persons of some Prelates were in, they will be ashamed to urge, when it is known, that their Bishop of *Killaloe* was brought to him in Custody, even after he had signed this Declaration and Excommunication, and set at Liberty by him, and whom the Bishops themselves, in their Letter, of the 12th of *September*, 1650, to the Earl of *Westmeath*, &c. do acknowledge to be preserved by the Marquiss ; and for which many will rather expect an Apology, than for any Jealousy he could entertain of the Persons, who behaved themselves in that manner towards the King's Lord Lieutenant.

They charge him with having represented to his Majesty, that some Parts of the Kingdom were disobedient, which absolutely deny any Disobedience by them committed ; and that thereby he had procured from his Majesty a Letter, to withdraw his own Person, and the royal Authority, if such Disobedience was multiplied, and so leave the People without the Benefit of Peace. This was the Reward his Excellency, out of his Envy to a Catholick loyal Nation, prepared for their Loyalty and Obedience, sealed by the shedding of their Blood, and the Loss of their Substance. Whether the obstinate and rebellious Carriage of *Waterford*, *Limerick*, and other Places, which brought Destruction upon themselves, did not deserve and require such a Representation to be made unto the King, may be judged by all Men, upon what hath been before truly set down of those Particulars ; and if the Places themselves had not acknowledged that Disobedience, yet the Prelates seemed to lament those Acts of Disobedience, and most earnestly dissuaded him from leaving the Kingdom, promising all their Endeavours to reduce the People to Obedience, which was only in their Power to have done, else the Marquiss would not so long have exposed himself and his Honour to those Reproaches, or suffered his Person with the impotent Title of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to have remained in that Kingdom ; and every Day to hear of the rendering and betraying of Places to the Enemy, which he could no more remedy, than he could infuse a Spirit of Obedience, Unity, and Understanding, into that unhappy infatuated Nation ; yet he was so far from wishing that his Majesty should absolutely withdraw his royal Authority from them, how unworthy soever they made themselves of it, that he offered to leave the King's Power, in the Person of the Marquiss of *Clanrickard*, as he afterwards did, hoping that since their great Exception was to him for being a Protestant, they would with all Alacrity have complied with the

the other, who is known to be a most zealous Roman Catholick, yet a great Royalist.

They reproached him, that while he was an Enemy to the Catholicks, he had been very active in unnatural Executions against them, and shedding the Blood of poor Priests and Church-men: But since the Peace, he had shewed little of Action, keeping himself in *Connaught* and *Thomond* where no Danger was, or the Enemy appeared not. Here you see, they would neither suffer him to have an Army to oppose the Enemy, nor be content that he should retire into those Places where the Enemy could least infest him, and from whence with those few Troops which remained with him, he defended the *Shannon*, and kept the Enemy from getting over the River, while he stayed there. And for the former Activity and Success against them, which they were content to impute to him, it was when he had a free Election of Officers, an absolute Power over his Garrisons, where he caused the Soldiers continually to be exercised, their Arms kept in Order, and from whence he could have drawn his Army together, and have marched with it to what Place he would: Which Advantages he was now without, and the Enemy possessed of; and therefore it was no Wonder, that they now obtained their Victories, as easily as he had done formerly: But since they were so disingenuous and ungrateful, there being many amongst them, whose Lives he had saved, not without Suspicion of being favourable to them, when he should have been just, to charge him with being active in unnatural Executions against them, and in shedding the Blood of poor Priests and Church-men; and for the Improvement and Propagation of Calumny, it hath pleased some Persons, to cause that Declaration to be translated in *Latin*, and printed, thereby to make him odious to the Roman Catholicks, and have named two Priests who they say were by his Order executed, and put to Death in cold Blood, and after his Promise given to save their Lives, whose Names were Mr. *Higgins*, and Mr. *White*. It will not be impertinent to set down at large the Case of these two Persons, that from thence, Men who have no mind to be deceived and misled, may judge of the Candour and Sincerity of those Persons, who would obtrude such Calumnies to the World.

It must therefore be known, that when these two Priests were put to Death, the War was conducted and carried on by the two Houses of Parliament; that the Government of *Ireland* was in the Hands of the two Lords Justices, who upon the inhuman and barbarous Cruelties first practised by the *Irish* Catholicks, in the Beginning of the Rebellion, had forbidden any Quarter to be given to those whom they found in Arms, and principally against all Priests, known Incendiaries of that Rebellion, and prime Actors in exemplary Cruelties; and the Marquis of *Ormond* was then only Lieutenant General of the Army, and received all Orders from the Lords Justices and Council, who having Intelligence that a Party of the Rebels intended to be at such a Time at the *Naas*, ordered him to draw some Troops together, with hope to surprize them; and the Lieutenant General marching all Night, came early in the Morning into the Town, from whence the Rebels, upon Notice, were newly fled: In this Town some of the Soldiers found Mr. *Higgins*, who might, it's true, have easily fled, if he had apprehended any Danger in the stay; when he was brought before the Marquis, he voluntarily acknow-

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acknowledged that he was a Priest, and that his Residence was in the Town, from whence he refused to fly away with those that were guilty, because he not only knew himself very innocent, but believed he should not be without ample Evidence of it, having by his sole Charity and Power, preserved very many of the *English* Protestants, from the Rage and Fury of the *Irish*, and therefore he only besought the Marquis to preserve him from the Violence of the Soldiers, and to put him securely into *Dublin*, to be tried for any Crime ; which the Marquis promised to do, and performed it, though with so much Hazard, that when it was spread abroad amongst the Soldiers, that he was a Priest, the Officer into whose Custody he was intrusted, was assaulted by them, and it was as much as the Marquis could do to relieve him, and compose the Mutiny. When he came to *Dublin*, he informed the Lords Justices and Council of the Prisoner he had brought with him, of the good Testimony he had received of his peaceable Carriage, of the Pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had Credit, from entering into Rebellion, and of very many charitable Offices he had performed, of which there wanted not Evidence enough, there being many then in *Dublin*, who owned their Lives, and whatever of their Fortunes was left, purely to him, so that he doubted not, but that he would be worthy of their Protection : Within few Days after, when the Marquis did not suspect the poor Man to be in Danger, he heard that Sir *Charles Coote*, who was Provost Martial General, had taken him out of Prison, and caused him to be put to Death, in the Morning before or as soon as it was light ; and had he done otherwise, his Provost Marshal's Commission would have been violated, being grounded on the King's Proclamation of the first of *January* 1641, to prosecute the Rebels with Fire and Sword, and by Orders of the State forbidden also to allow any Quarter to those whom they found in Arms, especially all Priests, known Incendiaries of the Rebellion and prime Actors of exemplary Cruelties, and he might have been brought to have answered his Contempt at a Council of War ; of which Barbarity, the Marquis complained to the Lords Justices, but was so far from bringing the other to be questioned, that he found himself to be upon some Disadvantage, for thinking the Proceeding to be otherwise then it ought to have been : This was the Case of Mr. *Higgins*, and this the Marquis's Part in it ; and the poor Man was so far from complaining of his Breach of Promise at his Death, how confidently soever it be averred, that he exceedingly acknowledged the Favour he had received from his Lordship, prayed for his Prosperity, and lamented his want of Power to do that, which the World saw his Inclination prompted him to.

The Proceeding against Mr. *White*, was very different, and in this Manner ; The Marquis being upon his March with his Army, he quartered one Night at *Clonin*, an House of the Earl of *West-Meath's*, who was residing there with his Wife and Family ; when he was at Supper, many of the Officers being at the Table, the Lady of the House, upon some Whisper she received from a Servant, expressed some Trouble in her Countenance, which the Marquis, who sat next her, perceiving, asked her what the matter was, she told him in his Ear, that she was in great Apprehension of an honest Man who was in her House, and much feared the Soldiers, confessing he was a Priest ; the Marquis replied, that if he was in the House, and kept himself there, he

was

was in do Danger ; for, as the Soldiers would attempt nothing while the Marquiss staid there, so he would leave a Guard at his Departure, that should secure it against Straglers, or any Party that should stay behind ; which he did accordingly. In the Morning when he was ready to march, he received Information, that the Rebels were possessed of a Pass, by which he was to go ; whereupon he sent some Troops to get a Foard, three Miles from the Way the Army was to march, and by that means, to come upon the Rear of the Rebels by the Time the Army should come to the Pass ; which being done, after a short Encounter, in which many were killed, the Rebels were put to flight, and the Pass gained : In this Action, Mr. *White* was taken on Horse-back with a Case of Pistols, who desired to be brought to the Marquiss, which being done, he told him he was the Person, for whom the Countess of *West-Meath* had besought his Favour the Night before, and that his Lordship had promised that he should be safe ; the Marquiss told him, if he were the same Person, it was his own Fault that he was not safe, if he had staid in the House he was in, this had not befallen him ? That it was now out of his Power to preserve him, himself being bound to pursue those Orders which the Lords Justices had given him ; nevertheless, he did endeavour to have saved him, at least till he might be brought to *Dublin*, but the whole Army possessed with a bitter Spirit against the *Romish* Clergy, mutinied upon it, and in the End compelled the Marquiss to leave him unto that Justice, which they were authorized to execute, and so put him to Death. Who can now upon these two Instances, and no other can or have been given, reasonably and honestly say, that the Marquiss hath had his Hands defiled with the Blood of Priests ? And from the Time that he had the chief Power committed to him, there was not one Priest, how maliciously, rebelliously, or treacherously soever, they behaved themselves against the King's Service, and the Person of the Lord Lieutenant, who suffered Death, but also all other Acts of Blood and Rage, which are not necessary, though hardly avoidable in the most just War, were declined and discountenanced by him ; nay ! for his Respect to Affairs of this Nature, that they might be evenly, and without Passion carried on, did he not often undergo, even with his own Party, a Suspicion of not being sufficiently faithful ? The Consequences of which had many Censures : The truth is, the Rebellion was odious to him, yet his Desire, often to reclaim the *Irish* by Mercy, palliated, what otherwise might have finished, some thought, the War, sooner then it had its Determination.

I shall pass over the many Tautologies, and impertinent Calumnies in the said Declaration, all which are sufficiently answered and cleared, by what is already contained in this Narrative, and shall * only insert their Conclusion in their own Words, as followeth,---- ‘ For the Prevention of these Evils, and that the Kingdom may not be utterly lost to his Majesty, and his Catholick Subjects, this Congregation of Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates and Dignitaries of both Clergies of this Kingdom, found our selves bound in Conscience, after great Deliberation, to declare against the Continuance of his Majesty's Authority, in the Person of the Lord Marquiss of *Ormond*, having by his Misgovernment, ill Conduct of his Majesty's Army, and breach of publick Faith with the People, in several Particulars of the Articles of Peace, rendered himself incapable of continuing that great Trust any longer,

* In that *Walsh* is at large in his Append. of Instruments, fol. 99.

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‘ longer, being questionable before his Majesty, for the aforesaid Injuries and ill Government, to which Effect, we will join with other Members of this Kingdom, in drawing a Charge against him : And we hereby manifest to the People, that they are no longer obliged to obey the Orders and Commands of the said Marquis of *Ormond*, but are, until a General Assembly of the Nation can be conveniently called together, unanimously to serve against the common Enemy, for the Defence of the Catholick Religion, his Majesty’s Interest, their Liberties, Lives, and Fortunes, in pursuance of the Oath of Association, and to observe in the mean Time the Form of Government the said Congregation shall prescribe, until otherwise ordered by an Assembly, or until upon Application to his Majesty, he settle the same otherwise. And we do fulminate the annexed Excommunication of one Date, with this Declaration against all Opposers of the said Declaration.’

Here we are arrived at one of the most fatal Conclusions of a desperate People any History ever mentioned ; yet, as the Case stood, it was not possible for his Excellency to chastise their Folly and Madness ; such a Reverence and Esteem this unhappy Nation hath ever had of their Clergy, that a seditious Friar, and he happily none of their highest Order neither, could take the Colours in the Head of a Regiment, and, pronouncing Damnation to those who should presume to march, contrary to the General’s Command, caused the Soldiers to throw down their Arms, and disband, as fell out in an Expedition at *Kilkenny*. Nor was it possible for the Marquis of *Ormond* to procure Justice to be inflicted in a civil or martial Way upon an ecclesiastical Person, let his Crime be what it would ; since even they whose Zeal and Affection to his Majesty’s Service was unquestionable, and who were as highly offended at the intolerable Carriage and Proceedings of the Bishops and Clergy as they ought to be, and whose Duty was not in the least Degree shaken by their Declaration and Excommunication, were yet so tender of those Immunities and Privileges which were said to belong to the Church, and so jealous of the Behaviour of the People in any Case, which should be declared a Violation of those Privileges, that they would by no Means have an Hand in inflicting capital Punishment upon any Church-men, without the Approbation and Co-operation of the Bishops, who were not like to be so hard-hearted as to consent unto any Judgment upon the Accessories in those Crimes, in which themselves were the Principal : So that he must not only have determined by his own single Will and Judgment, what was to be done in those Cases, but he must have executed those Determinations with his own Hand. And this Consideration obliged the Marquis to all those Condescensions and Sufferings, and upon all Occasions to endeavour to dispose and persuade those Prelates from any obstinate and ruinous Resolutions, rather than to declare them to be Enemies, whom he could neither reform or punish.

The Excommunication was no sooner published by the Congregation, and consented and approved by the other Part of the Bishops and Clergy, sitting at *Galway*, but they quickly discerned how imprudently, as well as unwarrantably they had proceeded in order to their own Ends ; and that they had taken Care only to dissolve and disband all their Forces, without making any kind of Provision for the Opposition of the Parliament’s Forces, who had quickly notice of their ridiculous Madness, and were thereupon

The obstinate
Obedience of the
People to the
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Upon the Ex-
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thereupon advancing with their whole Power upon them; the People generally, who foresaw what must be the Issue of that Confusion, thought of nothing but compounding with the Enemy upon any Condition; the Nobility, prime Gentry, and the Commissioners of Trust, who saw their whole Power and Jurisdiction wrested from them, and assumed and exercised by the Congregation, continued their Application to the Lord Lieutenant, and desired him not to leave them exposed to the Confusion which must attend his Departure. The gravest and most pious Clergy lamented the unskilful Spirit of the rest; and even some of the Bishops, and others, who were present at the Congregation, and subscribed to the Excommunication, disclaimed their having consented to it, though they were obliged to sign it for Conformity: So that they found it necessary within less than three Days after the publishing it, to suspend that dreadful Sentence; and yet that it might appear how unwillingly they did those Acts of Sobriety and Gentleness, it will not be amiss to set down the Letter it self, which the titular Bishop of *Clonfert*, and Doctor *Charles Kelly* writ to the Officers of the Army, under the Command of the Lord Marquis of *Clanrickard* to that Purpose, which was in these Words.

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S I R S,

Yesterday we received an Express from the rest of our Congregation at *Galway*, bearing their Sense to suspend the Effect of the Excommunication proclaimed by their Orders, till the Service at *Athlone* be performed, fearing on the one Side a Dispersion of the Army, and on the other Side have received certain Intelligence of the Enemy's Approach unto that Place, with their full Force and Number of fighting Men, and thereupon would have us concur with them in suspending the said Excommunication. As for our Part, we do judge that Suspension to be unnecessary, and full of Inconveniences, which we apprehend may ensue, because the Excommunication may be obeyed, and the Service not neglected, if the People were pleased to undertake the Service in the Clergy's Name, without Relation to the Lord of *Ormond*: Yet fearing the Censure of Singularity in a Matter of so high a Strain against us, or to be deemed more forward in excommunicating than others; also fearing the Weakness of some, which we believed the Congregation feared, we are pleased to follow the major Vote, and against our own Opinion concur with them, and do hereby suspend the said Censure as above; provided always, that after the Service performed, or the Service be thought unnecessary by the Clergy, or when the said Clergy shall renew it, it shall be presently incurred, as if the said Suspension had never been interposed. And so we remain,

The Bishop of *Clonfert* and Dr. *Kelly's* Letter to the Officers of the Army, giving them Reasons why the Excommunication should be suspended.

Corbeg, Sept.
16, 1650.

Your assured loving Friends in Christ,

Walter Bish. of Clonfert, Charles Kelly.

If this authentick Truth, of which there is not room for the least doubt, were not inserted, who could believe it possible, that Men endued with common Understanding, and professing the Doctrine of Christianity, and Allegiance of Subjects, could, upon Deliberation, publish such Decrees?

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Decrees? And who can wonder that a People, enslaved to, and conducted by such spiritual Leaders, should become a Prey to any Enemy, though supplied with less Power, Vigilance, and Dexterity, than the Parliament's Forces always were, who have prevailed against them, and who by all kind of Reproaches, Rigour, and Tyranny, have made that forward and unhappy Congregation pay dear Interest for the Contempt and Indignity with which they prosecuted their Sovereign and his Authority.

His Majesty's Declaration, being then in Scotland, against the Peace of 1648, concluded with the Rebels, they being infamous.

August 12.

His Majesty that now is, being about this Time in Scotland, in prosecution of the Recovery of his Kingdoms, was, by the Kirk Party, which possessed the Power of that Kingdom, forced to sign a Declaration, 'By which the Peace concluded with the *Irish* Catholicks in 1648, by Authority of the late King of ever glorious Memory, and confirmed by himself, was pronounced and adjudged void, and that his Majesty was absolved from any Observation of it:' And this not grounded upon those particular Breaches, Violations, and Affronts, which had been offered to his Majesty's Authority, and contrary to the express Articles, Provisos, and Promises of that Treaty; but 'upon the supposed Unlawfulness of concluding any Peace with those Persons, who were branded with many ignominious Reproaches.' And though this Declaration in point of Time issued after the Excommunication at *Jamestown*, yet the Notice of it came so near the Time of the Publication of the other, that the Clergy inserted it in their Declaration, as if it had been one of the principal Causes of their Excommunication, thereby deluding the People, as if that Expedient of their Excommunication had been the only Foundation of Security to the Nation, and their particular Fortunes.

The Lord Lieutenant, upon the Certainty of the King's Declaration, summons an Assembly at *Logbreogh*, to clear the Doubts arising on the King's Declaration.

When the Marquis first heard of that Declaration in Scotland, he did really believe it a Forgery, contrived either by the Parliament, or the *Irish* Congregation, to seduce the People from their Affection and Loyalty to the King; but soon after, viz. the 13th of *October*, being assured of its Authentickness, he immediately, with the Advice of the Commissioners of Trust, issued his Orders, viz. the 24th of *October*, for the meeting of an Assembly at *Logbreogh*, on the 15th of *November*, and in the mean Time, on the 23d of *October*, for the better composing of the Minds of Men, and preventing those Distempers and Jealousies which might be infused, he writ from *Enis* to the Commissioners of Trust, and took Notice of that Declaration which was published in Scotland, and told them, that however the Affronts put upon his Majesty had been many, and were obstinately persisted in to that Day, and in such Places, whereupon evidently depended the the Preservation or Loss of the whole Kingdom, whereof he had several Times given Notice to them, and followed the Ways advised by them for the reclaiming the said Places without Success; yet considering the Declaration gained from his Majesty, was without hearing what could be said by the Nation in their own Defence, and such as involved it generally, without Exception, in the Guilt of Rebellion; he thought it fit to let them know, 'That, since the Declaration was by undue Means obtained from his Majesty, he was resolved, by all the Means it should please God to offer unto him, and through all Hazards in the Behalf of the Nation, to insist upon, and insert the Lawfulness of the Conclusion of the Peace, by Virtue of the aforesaid Authority, and that the said Peace was still valid and

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' of Force, and binding unto his Majesty and all his Subjects: And
 ' herein he told them he was resolved, by the Help of God, to persist,
 ' until both himself, and such as should in that Behalf be intrusted and
 ' authorized by the Nation, should have free and safe Access to his
 ' Majesty; and until, upon mature and unrestrained Consideration of
 ' what might on all Sides be said, his Majesty should have declared
 ' his royal Pleasure upon those Affronts that had been put upon
 ' his Authority. Provided, that in the mean Time, and immediately,
 ' First, That all the Acts, Declarations, and Excommunications issued
 ' by the Bishops, met at *Jamestown* in *August* last, against his Maje-
 ' sty's Authority in him, and the People's giving Obedience thereunto,
 ' should be by them revoked; and such Assurance given, as should be
 ' agreed by him and the Commissioners of Trust, that they nor any of
 ' them should attempt the like for the future; and that they should
 ' contain themselves within the Bounds prescribed by the Articles of
 ' Peace, whereof they are Parties. Secondly, That it should be imme-
 ' diately declared by the Commissioners of Trust, that the said Decla-
 ' ration, Excommunication, and other Proceedings of the said Bishops,
 ' was an unwarrantable Usurpation upon his Majesty's just Authority,
 ' and in them a Violation of the Peace: And that in case the Bishops
 ' should not give the Assurance before expressed, or having given it,
 ' should not observe the same, that they would endeavour to bring
 ' the Offenders to condign Punishment, pursuant unto, and as is
 ' prescribed by the Laws of the Kingdom, as Disturbers of the
 ' Peace of the Kingdom, and Obstructors of the Means of pre-
 ' serving the same. Thirdly, That the like Declaration should be
 ' made by all that derive Authority from his Majesty, Civil or
 ' Martial, and by the respective Mayors, Aldermen, Common-
 ' Councils, Burgeffes, and other Magistrates in all the Corporati-
 ' ons of the Kingdom. Fourthly, That the Lord Lieutenant should
 ' be permitted to make his free and safe Residence in any Place he
 ' should chose, within the Limits not possessed by the Parliament.
 ' Fifthly, That he should be immediately suffered to garrison such
 ' Places, and in such Manner, according to the Articles of Peace, as
 ' he should find necessary for the Defence of the Kingdom. In the
 ' last Place he wished them, that some present Course might be taken
 ' for his Support, in some Proportion answerable to his Place, yet with
 ' Regard to the Kingdom; which last, he said, he should not have
 ' proposed, but that he was deprived of all his own Fortune, whereupon
 ' he had wholly subsisted ever since his coming into the Kingdom.

The Commissioners of Trust received this Letter with all Demon-
 strations of Respect and Satisfaction, and the very next Day returned him
 an Answer, in which, after they had lamented the issuing out of that
 Proclamation in *Scotland*, they said, 'It greatly comforted them to
 ' understand, that his Excellency was resolved through all Hazards in
 ' behalf of the Nation to insist upon, and assert the Peace, and persist
 ' in so doing, until he, or such as should be intrusted and authorized
 ' by the Nation, should have free and safe Access unto his Majesty:
 ' And as to those Provisos which were expressed as necessary Con-
 ' ditions for the continuing amongst them his Majesty's Authority,
 ' which, notwithstanding the Declaration, they said, they did still re-
 ' verence and embrace beside their general Profession, to act what lay

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' within their Power in the Ways of his Majesty's Service, for his Ex-
 ' cellency's Satisfaction, they returned these ensuing Answers. As to the
 ' First, concerning the Revocation of those Acts, Declarations, and
 ' Excommunications issued by the Bishops, and Assurance demanded,
 ' that nothing in that kind should be attempted for the future. They
 ' said, that his Excellency, to whom they had often expressed their Resent-
 ' ment of their Proceedings, might be confident, they would labour as far
 ' as in them lay to see his Excellency satisfied in that particular; and to that
 ' End they would all, or some of them, with his Allowance, and as he
 ' should think fit, repair to *Gakway* to treat with the Prelates on that
 ' Subject. Unto the Second, they answered, That albeit they knew by
 ' those Censures of the Bishops his Majesty's Authority was invaded, and
 ' an unwarranted Government set up, contrary to the Laws of the King-
 ' dom, and that they were assured, no Subject could be justly warrant-
 ' ed by that Excommunication, to deny Obedience to his Majesty's Au-
 ' thority in his Excellency; yet being of Opinion, that a publick De-
 ' claration of that Kind in that Conjunction of Affairs, ought properly,
 ' and would with more Countenance and Authority move from an As-
 ' sembly than from them; and that by such a publick Declaration than
 ' from themselves, they should wholly obstruct the Way to prevail with
 ' the Prelates to withdraw those Acts, which was desired by the for-
 ' mer Proposition, and likewise endanger the Union that was necessary
 ' at present in opposing the common Enemy, and prejudice the Hopes of
 ' a more perfect Union for the future, wherein the Preservation of the
 ' Nation would principally consist. They did therefore humbly beseech
 ' his Excellency to call an Assembly of the Nation, from whom such a
 ' Declaration as might be effectual in that Behalf, and might settle those
 ' Distractions could only proceed: Yet if in the mean Time, and before
 ' the Meeting of that Assembly, those Censures then suspended should
 ' be revived, they would endeavour to suppress their Influence upon
 ' the People by such a Declaration as should become loyal Subjects, and
 ' Men entrusted to see all due Obedience unto his Majesty's Govern-
 ' ment over the whole Kingdom. To the Third, they answered, That
 ' they would at all Times, and in such manner as his Excellency should
 ' think fit to prescribe, invite all his Majesty's Roman Catholick Subjects
 ' to such a Declaration, which yet, until they should understand the Cler-
 ' gy's Sense upon the first Proviso, they said, they did humbly as fit
 ' for a Time to forbear. To the Fourth, they answered, That what-
 ' soever his Excellency should find to be within their Power, and
 ' would direct to be done concerning the Place of Residence for his
 ' Person, they would readily obey his Lordship's Command therein.
 ' To the Fifth, they answered, That upon Conference with his Ex-
 ' cellency of the Places fit to be garrisoned, and the Number of Men fit
 ' to be put in them, they would, according to the Articles of Peace,
 ' use their utmost Endeavours to have such Garrisons, so agreed upon ad-
 ' mitted. And to the Last, they said, They had at all Times been ready
 ' and willing, that his Excellency's Charge should be supported out of
 ' the Revenue of the Kingdom; and that they were now ready to con-
 ' cur in assigning any of the Dues already accrued, or such as should grow
 ' due hereafter, or to impose any new Allotment upon the Subject to-
 ' wards his Maintenance.

When

When the Lord Lieutenant perceived, that the Temper and Desire of the Commissioners of Trust was so different from that of the Congregation, and that in truth they were afflicted and scandalized at the Exorbitancy of the other ; and that they thought they should be able to reduce them from the destructive Councils they were engaged in : He would not, upon any Experience or Judgment of his own, restrain them from attempting what was not impossible to compass, and which many would have concluded would be compassed if attempted, and which, what other Effect soever it had, would make evident, that there was not a Concurrence in the Nation in those Acts which were likely to destroy the Kingdom : And therefore he willingly consented, that the Commissioners should go to *Galway*, where the Committee of the Congregation resided, whereof the Bishop of *Ferns* was one to whom they shewed the Letter they received from the Lord Lieutenant, and desired them to consider the State of the Kingdom, and to know from them what they conceived remained that might best tend to the Preservation of the Nation, without keeping the King's Authority amongst them ; for that many of the most considerable would instantly make their Conditions with the Enemy, if the King's Authority were taken away ; and that there was no Hope of keeping or leaving that Authority, but by revoking the Excommunication and Declaration : For the Lord Lieutenant would not stay to keep it, nor would he leave it, nor the Marquiss of *Clanrickard* undergo it, but on these Terms : And hereupon they used all those Reasons and Arguments which cannot but occur to all Men who are not blinded with Passion and Prejudice, to induce them to such a Retraction, as could only advance the Happiness, or indeed the Subsistence of the Nation.

The Commissioners of Trust go to the Committee of the Congregation at *Galway*, but could not reduce them to reason.

But the Bishops were inexorable, and instead of abating any of that Fury they had formerly expressed, that added new Contumelies and Reproaches to all the Authority of the King, they said, They observed by the Lord Lieutenant's Letter, that he had informed his Majesty of the Disobediences and Affronts that had been put upon his Authority, and consequently, that he had suggested Matter unto his Majesty, for making that Declaration against the Peace : That they had perused the Declaration which had been published in *Scotland*, disavowing the Peace : And that they were of Opinion, for ought appeared to them, ' That the King had withdrawn his Commission and Authority from the ' Lord Lieutenant : ' That in the said Declaration, ' The *Irish* Nation, ' as bloody Rebels, were cast from the Protection of the King's Laws ' and regal Favours.' And therefore it might be presumed, that he would not have his Authority kept over such a Nation to govern them ; whereas they had been of Opinion, and all their Endeavours had been employed to keep the King's Authority over them : But when his Majesty throws away the Nation as Rebels from Protection, withdrawing his own Authority, they could not understand the Mystery of preserving the same with them, or over them, nor how it could be done : That they believed the best Remedy, the King's Authority being taken away by that Declaration, of meeting the Inconveniency, of the People's closing with the Parliament, is the returning to the Confederacy, as they said was intended by the Nation, in case of the Breach of Peace on his Majesty's Part ; that, they said, would keep an Union amongst them, if Men would not be precipitately guilty

The Bishops grew high, alledging the Lord Lieutenant had suggested the Grounds for his Majesty's late Declaration. Motions to return to their former Confederacy.

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guilty of the Breach of their Oath of Association, which Oath, by two solemn Orders of two several Assemblies, was to continue binding, if any Breach of the Articles of Peace should happen on his Majesty's Part: That the King's Authority, and the Lord Lieutenant's Commission being recalled by that Declaration, they were of Opinion, that the Lord Lieutenant had no Authority to delegate his Authority to any other. And if they must expose their Lives and Fortunes to the Hazard of fighting, to the making good of that Peace, seeing the Danger was alike to defend that, or get a better Peace, why should they bind themselves within the Limits of those Articles so disowned? And so with several Tautologies, 'urged the Declaration in *Scotland*, as a Ground and Excuse for all their Proceedings,' when what they had done, as we have before took notice of, was before the issuing forth of that Declaration. In fine, they concluded, they could not consent with Safety of Conscience to the revoking their Declaration and Excommunication demanded by the Lord Lieutenant, nor to give Assurance to him, or the Commissioners of Trust, for not attempting the like for the future. And to manifest their inveterate Malice against him, being in *Galway*, the Captain of the Guard of the Town, commonly called, *The Captain of the Guard of the young Men*, did make search for him in the said Town as after a criminal Person, or a Fugitive, thereby endeavouring to bring Contempt and Scorn upon him, and his Majesty's Authority placed in him.

The Committee's Reasons why they pursued their Declaration against the Lord Lieutenant, &c. and his Reply.

And now you must know, they would not make this Declaration in Case of Conscience of so vast an Extent and Importance, without, forthwith, setting down their Reasons under their Hands, which, for the Doctrine sake, I would not conceal from the World, that it may better judge of those spiritual Guides, who made themselves guilty of that mass of Mischief and Ruin that flowed from thence.

Their first Reason was, Because the King's Authority was not in the Lord Lieutenant, nor was then, they said, Power in them to confer a new Authority on him, which would be destructive to the Nation if it continued in him, and preservative in another; and that, they said, was their Sense when they declared against the King's Authority in his Person; so that though they had Presumption enough to take the King's Authority out of his Lieutenant's Hands by their Declaration and Excommunication, and to inhibit all Men to submit unto it, they had now Modesty to confess, they had not Power to confer any new Authority on, their Faculty of destroying being more prevalent than that of preserving.

Their second Reason was, They feared they should lose the few Churches remaining under his Government, as they had lost under him all the Churches in the Cities of *Waterford*, *Kilkenny*, *Wexford*, *Ros*, *Clonmel*, *Cashel*, *Featherd*, *Kilmallock*, and the rest; in which, they said, they agreed with the *Maccabees*, *Maximus vero & primus pro sanctitate timor erat Templi*: By whose ill Government those Cities were lost, appears by what hath been said before, and how well the few that were then left were kept, after they had forced the Marquiss to depart the Kingdom, is well known to the World.

The third Reason they thought fit, was, Because the Lord Lieutenant had declared at *Cork*, that he would maintain, during his Life, the Protestant Religion, according to the Example of the best reformed Churches; which

which might be the same with the Covenant for ought they knew. They said, they could not expect from him the Defence of the Catholick Religion, which was a strange Objection against a Protestant Lieutenant of a Protestant King, under whose Government they pretended to be desirous to live: And whatsoever had been declared by the Lord Lieutenant at *Cork* in that Particular, before the Conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, and published and printed the 6th of *October*, 1648, and well known to the Bishops, who after the same, and notwithstanding that Declaration, with all Demonstrations of Chearfulness gave their Consents to that Peace, which they now think fit to break, because of that Declaration.

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The fourth Reason was cast in the same Mould, The Scandal over the World, to make choice of one of a different Religion, especially in *Rome*, where his Holiness expected, that a Catholick Governor should be placed over them, according to his Agreement or Articles, as it was reported, with the Queen of *England*, which the Marquis knew to be an Aspersion, and they said, They did fear the Scourges of the War, and the Plague that had fallen so heavy upon them, were some Evidence of God's Anger for putting God's Cause and the Churches under such an Hand; whereas that Trust might have been managed in a Catholick's Hand, under the King's Authority. Which Reason indeed had most Ingenuity in it; and whensoever they digested their Malice and their Prejudice in those personal Reproaches and Calumnies, which they knew to be most untrue, if they had frankly declared and accepted against him for being a Protestant, they had more complied with the Dictates and Integrities of their Hearts. And yet it might appear a very unskilful and imprudent Suggestion, to make the Humour of the Court of *Rome*, the Rule of Obedience to their Sovereign, and to discourse of choosing a Person of what Religion they thought fit to be his Vicegerent; as if they, not he, were to be consulted in it, which would administer much Cause of Jealousy unto a Protestant King, and to his Protestant Subjects, if it were not well known to them, that some of the Catholick Nobility and Gentry of the Nation were Enemies, at least seemingly, to those Resolutions, that unhappy Part of the Catholick Bishops did broach and propagate, which alone have reduced that Nation to the Calamities it then and since underwent.

The fifth Reason, That they should find no Favour nor Countenance, but Reproach and Disgrace from any Catholick Prince, Church, or Laity, while the Marquis governed; when in Truth, since that Time, and that their Proceedings have been taken Notice of, the Catholick Princes have looked upon them as incapable of any Succour or Countenance, and have accordingly left them to the Rage of their Persecutors. Their other Reasons were more vulgar, and too often before recited: Exceptions to his Person, in respect of the ill Success of his Conduct, and the Prejudice the People had to him in regard of the same: And the two considerable Corporations remaining, which were *Limerick* and *Galway*, were at so great Distance with the Lord Lieutenant, that they were resolved to appear, as in their Intentions and Actions they conceived they were, faithful to the Crown, and obedient to the King's Authority, if placed in another Person. To which Suggestions, nothing need to be added to what hath been said in this Discourse, of the Demeanor of those particular Places; nor can the Observation be avoided, 'That it was the natural Practice of this

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‘ Congregation to use all their Industry and Artifice to infuse Jealousy and Sedition into the People, and Distrust and Obstinacy into the Corporations ; and then to urge that Jealousy, Prejudice, and Indisposition of the People and Corporations, to countenance any Thing they thought fit to do or oppose.’ They concluded, that the Event of War being uncertain, if the Nation should be reduced to a Condition of agreeing with the Enemy, the Lord Lieutenant would not be a fit Man to agree for the Exercise of their Religion, for their Churches, Altars, or any Thing concerning the same. And therefore they said, That the best way that occurred to them in this pressing Exigency, for the Union of the Nation, and keeping them from agreeing with the Enemy, was, That the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, in whom, according to the Sense of the Congregation at *Jamestown*, they desired the King’s Authority should be left, that he might govern the Nation, with the Consent of all Parties, and the King’s Authority be taken away from the Lord Lieutenant until an Assembly : And to that End, that a free and lawful Assembly might be made, to sit to judge upon the Peoples Preservation, and to decree and order what should be best and safest for the Defence of the Nation. Touching the King’s Authority to be kept over them, and the Peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the Association, or any Thing else they should find best and most expedient, and unto that they would willingly submit ; for they said, they never intended to hinder an Assembly, or to give Laws to the People ; all that they endeavoured was, to defend the Altars, and Souls entrusted to them : And as they were of Opinion, that the Soldiers would follow the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, and the People obey him, so they would contribute their best Endeavours to that Effect. They further gave Assurance, that if any free and lawful Assembly, upon due Consideration of their own State and Condition, should find it the best Way for their own Safety and Preservation, to make an Agreement with the Enemy, as they intended never, by the Grace of God, to grant away from them by an affirmative Consent to the Churches and Altars, if forced from them, they were blameless, so would they not hinder the People from compounding with the Enemy for the Safety of their Lives and Estates, when no Way of Offence was appearing, though, upon such an Agreement, they saw, that they alone should probably be losers of Lives, States, Churches, Altars, Immunities, and Liberties : But in such Contracts with the Enemy, if any should happen, which they wished God would avert, they should pray and conjure the *Romish* Clergy of *England*, that that of the *Maccabees* might be recorded of them to future Ages, *Erat pro uxoribus & filiis pro fratribus & cognatis minor sollicitudo, maximus vero & primus pro sanctitate erat timor Templi.* And this was the Answer delivered to the Commissioners of Trust, upon the 5th Day of November 1650, at *Gakway*, by the Bishops of *Killala, Ferns, Kilmacduogh, Clonsfert, Kilfinara*, and *Dromore*, after several and long Conferences with the Commissioners of Trust, who were authorised by the Nation, unto the Proposals presented by the Commissioners to the Committee of the Congregation the 29th of October, 1650.

Here we cannot avoid observing, by the express Words of the Conclusion, upon their Reasons in their Conference with the Commissioners, that though they seemed to desire, that the Marquis of *Clanrickard* whose Zeal to the *Romish* Religion, and Interest in the Nation, was so notorious and confessed, that they durst not publicly repine at his known

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known Affection and Integrity to the King, might govern the Nation with the Consent of all Parties, and that the King's Authority in the Lord Lieutenant might be left in him; yet they declared, they meant it should only be until an Assembly, which they well knew, by the express Terms of the Articles of Peace, could be only lawfully conven'd by the Lord Lieutenant, and then that Assembly should judge of the People's Preservation, and to decree and order what should be the best and safest for the Defence of the Nation; touching the King's Authority to be kept over them, the Peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the Association, or any Thing else they should find best and most expedient: So that they intended no other Honour to the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, than that by his Countenance and Reputation they might persuade the Lord Lieutenant to leave the King's Authority behind him, and that he should call an Assembly, which they would otherwise do themselves, which they were sure should be constituted, for the most Part, of such Men, as would follow their Dictates, by which himself should be divested of that Power, and the King deposed from any further Dominion over them, when they persuade any foreign Prince to take them into his Protection; which practice they quickly set on foot. And for the further Manifestation of their Affection and Loyalty to the King, which they cannot endure should be called yet in question, it is observable, that these Men, who had so often contradicted and controled the express Acts of every Assembly, that had been convened since the Beginning of these Troubles, and now commanded the People, under pain of Damnation, not to yield any Obedience to the King's Authority in his Lieutenant, and declared, that they could not, with the Safety of their Consciences, consent to the Propositions which he had lately made, for the uniting the Nation in Defence of the Peace, so advantageous to their Liberty and Religion, which the Commissioners, intrusted by and for the Nation, thought so reasonable: These Men, I say, made no scruple of professing and declaring, that if an Assembly, upon due Consideration of their State and Condition, should find it the best way for their Safety and Preservation, to make an Agreement with the Enemy, they would not hinder the People from compounding with them, for the Safety of their Lives and States: Which being seriously considered, we cannot sufficiently wonder at the strange stupid Resignation of their Understandings, who believed, or rather at the wonderful Contempt of those Understandings, which would be persuaded to believe, that this Congregation had loyal Purposes toward the King, or that they never intended to hinder the Assembly, or give Law to the People, when they cancelled all fundamental Laws, broke through all Acts of their own Assembly, and forbade the People to pay any Obedience to the King's Vicegerent, who had only the lawful Power of Government over them.

The more extravagant and unreasonable these Proceedings were of the Congregation and Clergy, the more confident many honest and wise Men were, that the Assembly of the Nation would regulate and control that unlimited Power, and utterly disavow all that they had done; and therefore they who were exceedingly offended and enraged against the Congregation, were solicitous and importunate with the Lord Lieutenant to call an Assembly: And though he had too much Experience of the Nature and Temper of the People, and of the transcendent Power the Clergy should still have over any Assembly, or at least over the People, when

The Confederates violent for an Assembly, that their Affairs might be ordered by them.

After all, the Confederates agree, that if compounding with the Enemy should be best for the People, that should be consented to.

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The Assembly at
Logbreogh, be-
fore mentioned,
meets: the Re-
sult thereupon.

when the Assembly had done what it could, to hope for any good Effect from it: And though he saw, he should thereby the more expose his own Honour, and, which he considered more, the Dignity of his Master, to new Insolencies; yet since he resolved to leave the Kingdom himself, and was only unresolved, whether he should leave the King's Authority behind him, liable to the same Indignities and Affronts, in the Person of the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, which it had been subject to in his own, and could have no kind of Assurance that it should not, but by the Professions and Protestations of an Assembly, he did resolve to call one, and issued out his Letters for their meeting upon the 15th of *November* 1650, at *Logbreogh*, where they met accordingly. And the Bishops, for removing, as they said, of any Jealousies that any might apprehend of their Proceedings, declared and protested, 'That by their Excommunication and Declaration at *Jamestown*, they had no other Aim, than the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, and the People; and that they did not purpose to make any visible Usurpation on his Majesty's Authority, nor on the Liberty of the People, confessing, that it did not belong to their Jurisdiction so to do.' With which Protestation, so contrary to what they had done, and which in Truth they had so often made, even at the Time they did all Things contrary to it, the Assembly was satisfied, and did not so much as make another Protestation, that the Bishops had done what they ought not to do, nor exact a Promise from them, that they would not do the like in Time to come. So that the Lord Lieutenant was resolved to look no more for Satisfaction from them, nor expose the King's Authority any further by leaving any Deputy behind him, but prepared for his Departure.

When the Assembly understood his Resolution, and saw plainly that he was even ready to depart, his Goods and many of his Servants being on Ship-board, they sent four Members, the Lord *Dillon*, *Clanrickard*, &c. of their House to him at *Kilcogan*, with an Instrument in writing, bearing Date from *Logbreogh*, the 7th of *December*, in which they repeated, concerning the Excommunication and Declaration, what the Bishops had protested in that Assembly; and of his Excellency's Letter, dated the 16th of *November* last, recommending to them, as the chief End for which that Assembly was called, the removing of all Divisions, as the best Way to their Preservation. 'They the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Gentry met in that Assembly, conceived, That there was not a better Foundation or Ground for their Union, than the holding to and obeying his Majesty's Authority, to which they owed and ought to pay all dutiful Obedience: And they did thereby declare and protest, that their Allegiance unto his Majesty's Authority was such, and so inherent in them, that they would not be withdrawn from the same, nor was there any Power in the Lords spiritual and temporal, Gentry or People, Clergy or Laity of the Kingdom, that could alter, change, or take away his Majesty's Authority, they holding that to be the chief Flower of the Crown, and the Support of the People's Liberty, which they did thereby protest, declare and avow, and that they did esteem the same, and Obedience thereunto, essentially, inviolably, and justly due from them, and the chiefest Means under God, to uphold their Union and Preservation: And they said, they did unanimously beseech his Excellency

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lency, in his great Affection to the Advancement of his Majesty's Service, and his hearty Desires of the Nation's Preservation, to which, they said, he had Relations of the highest Concernment in Blood, Alliance, and Interest, to leave that Authority with them, in some Person faithful to his Majesty, and acceptable to the Nation: To which Person, when he should be made known to them, they would not only afford all due Obedience, but would also offer and propose the best Ways and Means, that God would please to direct them to, for the Preservation of his Majesty's Rights, and the People's Interests and Liberties, and for the begetting a ready Obedience in all Places and Persons, unto his Majesty's Authority.

This Advice, though it carried with it a particular Respect from the Assembly unto the Lord Lieutenant, and an Acknowledgement, of the faithful and hearty Affections he had always had, for his Majesty's Interest and Service in that Kingdom, contrary to the scandalous Declaration, gave not the Marquis the least Confidence, that his Majesty's Authority could find more Respect in the Person of another, than it had met with in him: Therefore he writ to them by the same Messengers, 'That he had sent the Authority to the Lord Marquis of *Clanrickard*, to govern that his Majesty's Kingdom and People, provided, that their Declaration might be so far explained, as to give the Marquis of *Clanrickard* full Satisfaction, that the Expressions they made, touching the Obedience they owed and resolved to pay unto his Majesty's Authority,' was meant, the Authority placed in his Lordship, or any other Governor, deriving or holding his Authority from his Majesty: 'And that they esteem it not in the Power of any Person, Congregation, or Assembly whatsoever, to discharge or set the People free from obeying his Lordship, or any other such Governor, during the Continuance of the said Authority in him; without which, he said, he could not, in Duty to his Majesty, leave his Authority, subject to be tossed to and fro, at the uncertain Fancies of any Man or Men, and without any Probability of saving the Nation, which could be no otherwise effected, than by an absolute chearful Obedience of the People, unto the Authority placed over them.' And so having directed the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, who submitted to that Charge out of pure Obedience, and only that he might not decline the Service, which they would say would have preserved the Nation, not to assume the Charge, except the Assembly gave him full Satisfaction in the Particulars required by him, the Lord Lieutenant, followed by the Lord *Inchequin*, Colonel *Vaughan*, Colonel *Wogan*, Colonel *Warren* and some twenty more Persons of Honour, about the middle of *December* embarked himself at *Galway*, in a small Frigate called the *Elizabeth*, of twenty eight Tons, and four Guns, for *France*, after he had refused to receive a Pass from *Ireton*, who offered it, chusing rather the Seas and Winds, in that rough and blustering Season of the Year, than to receive an Obligation from him, having upon the most abstracted Considerations of Honour and Conscience, faithfully adhered to his Majesty and the Crown of *England*, without any regard had to his own Estate and Fortune, as in the Act of Settlement, fol. 99. is at large expressed. And after being tossed at Sea for the Space of some Weeks and his other Ships, in which his Servants and Goods, and many other Passengers were lost, he arrived in *January*, at *St. Malo* in *Brittany*; from

Though the Lord Lieutenant had been so used, as not to be confident of the Confederates Obedience to his Majesty's Authority, he yet at their Request, deputed the Marquis of *Clanrickard* Deputy, at the same Time charging their Crimes home.

The Lord Lieutenant departs the Kingdom, Lord *Inchequin*, &c.

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whence he went to *Paris*, and soon after into *Flanders*; thence he was employed in a Service answerable to his Fidelity, touching the Duke of *Gloucester*, then in the Talons of the Jesuits, whom with singular Prudence and Success he recovered: Afterwards he was embarked in many Concerns of the Crown, to the Hazard of his Person; whilst the Lord *Incbequin*, who had run the Gantlet on all Sides, retired into *Holland*, a Person certainly of much Valour and good Conduct, shewing both in an exemplary Manner, whilst he engaged for either Party: Nor can his Change of Sides, to which some say he was too mutable, be so properly imputed to any Defect of Judgment, as the unhappy Crisis of the Times; his own Expressions making it clear, 'That had all Things been the same they were pretended to be, he would have continued as he was; but Impostures being discovered, he thought it ill to persist in their Fellowship.' Afterwards indeed he changed his Religion, and thereby gave a Suspicion, that though he fought against his Countrymen, he had a Reverence for their Idea. Certain it is, he affected much to be President of *Munster*, nor could any Thing have hindred him of it, since his Majesty's happy Return, wherein his Servants had the Fruits of their Fidelity, but his Change of Religion, which equally prejudiced the Lord *Dillon*, in the Presidency of *Connaught*, truly observable in them both.

We have before spoken of four Commissioners sent from the Parliament, who as soon as they arrived in *Ireland*, it is necessary to tell you, presently applied themselves to the Work afore-mentioned; they set out some Proclamations, and travelled into the several Provinces of the Kingdom, using the best Means they could to raise Money by Sequestrations, and other ways; but by reason of the Multitudes of Rebels which infested all the Garrisons, and came up so continually about them, little was to be done in that Way.

The Condition
the Confederates
were in when
the Marquis of
Clanrickard ac-
cepts of the Go-
vernment.

The Lord Lieutenant was no sooner under sail, than the Assembly applied themselves to the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, who was then at his House at *Logbreogh*, and besought him to assume the Government, as Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, according to the Power left with him by the Lord Lieutenant: But the Marquis absolutely refused to do it, 'except they satisfied the Proviso that was left in the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to them, and that he saw such an Union amongst them, as might free the King's Authority from the Affronts it had been exposed unto.' Hereupon the Assembly unanimously professed all Obedience to his Majesty's Authority, as it was vested in him, and petitioned him to assume it, *without which they said the Nation would be exposed to utter ruin.* And the Bishop of *Ferns*, hitherto averse to the royal Authority, more particularly importuned him, in the Name of the Clergy, not to decline 'a Charge, which could only preserve the King's Power in that Kingdom, and the Nation from Destruction, promising so entire a Submission and co-operation from the whole Clergy, that his Authority should not be disputed.' In further Assurance of which, the General Assembly issue forth this Declaration.

By the General Assembly of the Kingdom of Ireland.

ALthough this Assembly hath endeavoured by their Declaration, of the 7th of this Month, to give full Testimony of their Obedience to his Majesty's Authority, yet for further Satisfaction, and for removal

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moval of all Jealousies, we do further declare, That the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Gentry, or People, Clergy, or Laity of this Kingdom, shall not attempt, labour, endeavour, or do any Act or Acts, to set free or discharge the People, from yielding due and perfect Obedience to his Majesty's Authority, invested in the Lord Marquis of *Clanrickard*, or any other Governor or Governors of this Kingdom.

And in Case of any such Labour, Act, or Endeavour, by which any Mischief might ensue, by seducing the People, we declare, That no Person or Persons shall or ought to be led thereby, but by their Disobedience, on any such Grounds, are liable and subject to the heavy Censures and Penalties of the Laws of the Land in force, and practised in the Reign of *Henry VII.* and other Catholick Times.

Nevertheless it is further declared, That it is not meant or intended by any Thing herein contained, that this Nation will not insist upon the Performances of the Articles of Peace, and by all just Ways and Means provide against the Breach and Violation of the same.

And inasmuch as his Majesty is at present, as we are informed, in the Hands of a Presbyterian Party of the *Scots*, who declared themselves Enemies to this Nation, and vowed the Extirpation of our Religion, we declare, That it is not hereby intended to oblige our selves to deceive, obey, or observe any Governors that shall come, and duly nominated or procured from his Majesty, by reason of, or during his being in an un-free Condition, that may raise a Disturbance in the present Government, established by his Majesty's Authority, or the Violation of the Articles of Peace.

Loghbreogh, 23d of
Decem. 1650.

Copia vera John Comyn,
Dep. Cler.

There was then in the Possession of the Roman Catholicks, the entire Province of *Connaught*, in which they had the strong Castle of *Athlone*, the strong and important Town and Harbour of *Galway*, *Sligo*, and many other lesser Forts and Places of Strength. They had also a good Part of the Province of *Munster*, and in it the City of *Limerick*, which by the strong Situation of it, and the Advantages it might have from Sea, could alone, with the Help of *Galway*, have maintained War against all the Parliament's Forces in *Ireland*. They had many Parties of Horse and Foot in *Leinster*, *Munster* and *Ulster*, under *Clanrickard*, *Castlehaven*, *Dillon*, *Muskery*, the Earl of *Westmeath*, *Hugh O'Neal*, *Dungan*, *Moor*, *Preston* and others, which being drawn together, would have constituted a greater Army than the Enemies were Masters of. And the Marquis of *Clanrickard* had Argument enough of Hope, if he could have been confident of the Union of the Nation; and that he might reasonably have promised himself, if he could have been confident of the Affection and Integrity of the Clergy, which at length they promised with that Solemnity, that if he had not confided therein, the Fault would have been imputed to him, for they could do no more, on their Part, to create a Belief in him. He was therefore content to take the Charge upon him, and obliged them presently to consider of the Way to keep all the Forces together, when he should have drawn them together, and to secure the two Towns of *Galway* and *Limerick* with strong Garrisons, which

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The Confederates, notwithstanding the good Condition they were in, and their Promises to the Deputy, think of treating with Ireton. *Vide Carve Annal. Hib. p. 339.*

Others offer to return to their Confederacy, without respect to the King. Some yet seemed affectionate to the King.

which was the first Work concluded on all Hands necessary to be performed.

Very few Days had passed, after the Lord Deputy had upon such their Importunity and Professions, taken the Government upon him, when it was proposed in the Assembly, before their Condition was impaired by any other Progress, or new Success of the Enemy, 'That they might send to the Enemy, to treat with them, upon surrendering of all that was left into their Hands;' an Inclination the Nuncio was long before inclined to, persuading the supreme Council, when there was but so much as a Speech of Truce, to join rather with the Parliamentary Scots, than the Royalists, and prayed for the Success thereof, in hopes, that thence much good might accrue to the Catholick Religion. And when the same was opposed with Indignation, by the major Part of the Assembly, the Bishop of *Ferns* himself, who had so lately importuned the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, to assume the Charge of Lord Deputy, and made such ample Promises in the Name of the Clergy, seemed to concur with those who were against treating with the Enemy, but instead of it very earnestly pressed, 'That they might, in order to their better Defence, return to their ancient Confederacy, and so proceed in their Preservation, without any Respect to the King's Authority.' And this Motion found such Concurrence in the Assembly, from the Bishops, Clergy, and many others, that many of the Officers of the Army, and some of the principallest of the Nobility and Gentry, found it necessary to express more than ordinary Passion in their Contradiction: They told them, 'They now manifested, that it was not their Prejudice to the Marquis of *Ormond*, nor their Zeal to Religion, that had transported them, but their Dislike of the King's Authority, and their Resolution to withdraw themselves from it: That they themselves would constantly submit to it, and defend it with their utmost Hazard, as long as they should be able; and when they should be reduced to Extremity, that treating with the Enemy could no longer be deferred, they would, in that Treaty, make no Provision for them, but be contented that they should be excluded from any Benefit thereof, who were so forward to exclude the King's Authority.'

Upon those bold, though necessary Menaces, to which they had not been accustomed, the Clergy and their Party seemed to acquiesce, and promised all Concurrence; inasmuch as from this very Time, all the Factions and Jealousies which had been before amongst them, seemed, outwardly, quieted, though the *Irish*, in all Quarters of which the Enemy were possessed, not only submitted and compounded, but very many of them entered into their Service, and marched with them in their Armies; and the Lord Deputy grew as much into their Disfavour, as the Lord Lieutenant had been; and his being a Friend to the Marquis of *Ormond*, destroyed all that Confidence, which his being a Papist had merited from them.

The Lord Deputy hereupon, and in Consideration of many resorting to the Parliament's Quarters, issued forth this Proclamation.

By the Lord Deputy, General of Ireland.

CLANRICKARD,

Whereas divers of the Tradesmen, and other Inhabitants, have formerly lived in the Quarters, in Obedience to his Majesty, within this Kingdom, have of late withdrawn themselves from their respective Habitations

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Habitations there, and betaken themselves into the Garrisons and Quarters, under the Power of the common Enemy, for their particular and private Advantage, thereby to avoid contributing to his Majesty's Army, to the great Disadvantage thereof, and the Support of the adverse Party, which probably might be destroyed, had it not received this Relief.

For Reformation whereof, we do hereby publish and declare, That whosoever of the said Inhabitants or Tradesmen, shall not within fourteen Days after Publication hereof, withdraw themselves and their Goods, from the Garrisons and Quarters of the Enemy, wherein they now remain, to the Quarters in Obedience to his Majesty: And whosoever, after the Time aforesaid, shall presume to live within a Mile to any of the said Garrisons, shall be liable to the Confiscation of their Goods and Chattels, and shall be prosecuted against, as adhering in all Respects to the Enemy, and Traitors to his Majesty.

And whereas many idle and desolate Persons, commonly called by the Name of *Tories*, and others, under Pretence of going about to his Majesty's Service, and frequently exact Meat, Drink, and Money, from the Subjects, committing many Outrages, and using their Will for Law, to the Ruin and Devastation of the Kingdom.

For Prevention whereof, we do hereby publish and declare, That any Person or Persons, of that Condition or Nature, who within fourteen Days after Publication hereof, shall not enlist themselves in his Majesty's Army, shall be unhorsed and disarmed, wheresoever taken or found, and in their Persons proceeded against as Traitors. And we require and command the Commanders in Chief of his Majesty's Army, to take order, that this our Proclamation receive due Execution.

And to the end that no Man may plead Ignorance thereof, we require all Mayors, Sheriffs, Sovereigns, Portreves, and Bailiffs, in whose Hands these shall come, on Receipt thereof, within the respective Liberties, in the most publick Places, to cause it to be proclaimed. Given under our Hand and Seal at Arms, the 2d Day of *January*, 1650.

God save the King.

But to return to the Parliament's Forces, who, whilst the Marquis of *Ormond* was thus variously treated by the Confederates, took in the Castle of *Carlow*, as the 27th of *July*, *Catherlough*, and the 20th of *August*, *Waterford*, commanded by General *Thomas Preston*, and the strong Fort of *Dungannon*, under *Giles Smith*, the 14th of *August*, as in the North, *Charlemont*, that nothing indeed they attempted, but resigned to their Power.

Touching the Articles of the Rendition, of which some Questions have risen, especially about *Waterford*, inasmuch as *Ireton* in Vindication thereof, published there this Manifest by way of Warning to such as he intended to free the City of, which I am the willinger to insert, for that the Behaviour of the Inhabitants, the Nature of the Place, and the Genius of the *Irish*, devoted to Superstition, are hereby more clear and significant.

WHEREAS upon the Rendition of the City of *Waterford* to the State of *England*, Articles of Agreement between Commissioners on my Part, and others of theirs, for and on the Behalf of the Soldiers

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diers and Citizens of *Waterford*, it was agreed and concluded, amongst other Things, ' that all the Inhabitants of the said City should have Liberty to carry away their Goods to what Place they please within this Dominion, or beyond the Seas, within the Space of three Months, and should have them protected for their Use in the mean Time, paying equal Contribution with the rest of their Neighbours : And that such of them as should desire, and be thought fit to stay, should enjoy their Goods there or dispose of them otherwise during their Stay, paying the like Contribution ; and when they should desire, or have Warning to depart, should have three Months Time from the Warning given on their Part for the Removal of what they have remaining, with safe Conducts answerable in the several Cases aforementioned respectively, as in the seventh Article of the said Agreement is exprest : ' I have now thought fit to give them warning to depart according to the Intent of the said Article, whereof all the Inhabiters that then were and yet are within the said City, and have not had such Warning personally otherwise, are hereby to take notice of it, from the tenth Day of *February* Instant at their Perils, and though no other Reason need be given for the doing of a Thing so consonant to, and agreeing with, both the Letter, and declared Intention of the Article, yet, for more full and clear Satisfaction to all that desire it, I think it not amiss to publish and declare the Reasons inducing me to it, as followeth.

First, I held my self bound, in Discharge of that Trust I have from them I serve, to put all Places of Strength now within our Power, into such a Posture and Condition, before our taking the Field, as that I may, through the Blessing of God, give a good Account of them to those that have intrusted me. And this I thought I could not do without timely giving of such Warning to the People of this City ; who, by their Principles and Practices, at least for the most Part, do appear, so far disaffected to us, and the Cause and Interest we serve in, and so unlikely to be faithful and trusty to us, if we should trust them to stay there, especially considering that there is yet no Castle, or Cittadel, whereby that City can be secured from being in the Power of the People that inhabit it, without leaving great numbers of Soldiers to overpower them. I need not say much to demonstrate their Unfitness to be, in such a Case, confided in by us, their Actions speaking so loud and large as they do, to that Purpose, telling us, they are our Enemies ; witness their Practices all the Time of this War, but more especially in their Carriage of late : As to the first, all know, and they cannot be ignorant, that the City of *Waterford* hath been one of the chief Places in this Dominion which hath maintained and upheld the Trade of Piracy upon the *English*, both by receiving the Goods so taken by others from the *English*, and thereby much encouraging those Thieves and Robbers in their wicked Practices, and also by setting forth and maintaining Ships or Frigats of their own for the same piratical Trade. To their Carriage of late, especially since our endeavouring the Reducement of the Place, their continued Obstinacy even almost to utmost Extremity, and their refusing all Overtures made to them for returning them to their due Obedience, and Delivery up of that Place upon good Terms for themselves, even when it was in their own Power to have done it, * having no Garrison at all in it to overpower them, till they received one from the Enemy, and fetched it in with their own Boats from the other Side of the River in View of our Army then treating

* Lord General *Farral*, *vid. fol.* 230, put in by the Marquis of *Ormond*.

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ing fairly with them, are sufficient Arguments of their Unfitness to be trusted by us in so much Power of betraying such a Place, to the Party they so much adhere unto, in their Judgments and Affections. And to this Purpose I shall desire them but to remember what was offered by the Lord Lieutenant, and refused by them when we came * first against the City; and what Trouble, Hazard, and Expence they have put us to, then and since; as also what was offered by us a second Time in the Treaty at *Dunkit*, and by the Letters proceeding, that occasioned it. And how it was received by them, as some of them yet present in the City, acting then as Commissioners in the Name of the rest, well know. And how at † last they necessitated us to march down with our whole Army and Artillery against them before they would deliver, and we have no Reason to think, they had delivered then, but the Extremity of Sickness, and want of Provisions, together with their own Fears of Danger, induced them to it seeing us come prepared in every Respect, through God's Blessing, to have forced them, if they had not yielded: And whether Persons that do their utmost to the last in holding out a Place against us, upon such an Account as they did, be fit to be let stay in that Place with us, where they may have such Opportunities of betraying it, when the Army may be engaged at a remote Distance, I leave to all rational Men to judge, considering we are free by the Articles to turn them out upon due Warning.

A further ground leading me to conclude them unfit to be trusted by us in such a Case, and in the Power of such a Place, is, the Consideration of those Principles in their Religion, owned and pursued by the People of this Nation more evidently than in many others, and so by them in that City, tending in endless Violence, Injustice, Falshood and Treachery towards us, wherever they find Opportunity, as that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, which in their Sense are all Persons not of their Religion, but that, at least, where the keeping of it is to the prejudice, and the breaking of it may be of advantage to the Catholick Cause, it may be broken, and any Thing, in a Manner, is lawful to be done for the Advantage of that Cause, at least, if it be with the Allowance or Dispensation of their ghostly Fathers; and how dangerous and unsafe it is to keep Persons of such differing and destructive Principles to the Cause and Interest we serve, in such Places of Strength, and so much in the Power of the Inhabitants, I wish them only to make it their own Case, and then judge: And though such Principles be denied or disowned in the Expressions of some, yet sure I am, nothing hath been more clear in the Practices of the Generality of the People of that Religion in this Nation, as appears in the several Times of their Rebellion against the lawful Authority which God had set over them, to whom * they have several Times sworn to be true and faithful, and as often broke their Faith and Obligations as engaged, and especially in this Rebellion, by the Murders and Massacres of so many innocent *English* Protestants, in the Beginning of it, living in Peace and Trust quietly by them: And that this is still their Practice, suitable to such Principles, I desire those that question it, but to look upon the late Actions of many of those that, upon their fair Professions to us, and our trust in them for faithfulness or, at least, for innocent and peaceable Demeanors towards us, have received protection from us, who, notwithstanding, do, most of them, make it

* In December 1649, in Confidence of the Weakness of his Forces, and the Wetness of the Season.

† August 20, 1652.

* The Chief of every Sept who formerly at the Beginning of each King since the Conquest, swore Allegiance.

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* Tories, Wood-
kerns, or any that
oppose the Par-
liament.

it ther daily Business to do us all the Mischief they can, wherever they see an Opportunity, and for that Purpose do harbour, entertain and encourage those many Tories, in every Corner, that, otherwise durst not come into our Quarters, nor could subsist in them undiscovered, or do that Mischief as they do, and escape yet from all our Forces and Garrisons, in every Corner ready to pursue them, but that, as they are assured and find, *the protected People are Friends to them*, * and in their Hearts, Enemies and false to us, notwithstanding all their Professions to the Contrary; nay many of the protected People themselves, upon every slight occasion or ground of Hope of doing Mischief to us, do frequently run from their Habitations, join with the Enemy in Arms, and deliver up their Castles to them; and though, for the Shame and ill Consequences of such Principles to themselves, if owned and professed by them, many do disclaim any such Opinions, yea perhaps, from the Sense of those evil Consequences, may, in their present and private Judgments, condemn them; yet whilst they hold entire Communion with that Catholick Church, as they account it, which maintains, or holds forth the same, and implicitly resolve their private Judgments into the Belief or Determination of that Church, or, however, do own and adhere to a Power, both foreign and adverse to us, in their Pope and Clergy, which, they acknowledge, can bind and lose their Consciences without Limitation; it must needs follow, that upon the Determinations or Allowance of that Church, or the Injunctions or Absolutions of that Power, they must, when it comes to trial, unless they will renounce that Communication and Dependence, account themselves not only absolvable thereby, from all Obligations of human Right or Duty towards us, to the Contrary; but also obliged, by an higher Bond and Duty to answer and pursue any Injunctions of that CHURCH, or Power, in any Ways of Violence and Treachery towards us, which for the Upholding or Advancement thereof, shall be required, or warranted thereby, and they shall see any Opportunity for. Now though these and many more such Considerations and Experiences may suffice, both to justify us in, and awaken us to, the providing for Security to our selves and our Cause, against such a Generation, by all Ways, to which, in common Justice, we are free, as by this warning out these Inhabitants in this Case, and not to trust them in so visible a Power and Opportunity to betray or hurt us, as their continuance in that City beyond the Period of this warning they would have, yet, in Humanity and our common Christian Charity we cannot but pity Men, so miserably blind-folded and captivated in Delusions, as the Generality of them appear, and heartily wish and pray, that neither they nor any other might any longer be so, and we do not desire their Hurt or Prejudice, further than Justice and Necessity, for our own and the publick Safety, do require; and therefore, even in this warning given, we have not only consulted the Justice and Necessity leading to it, but also the Conveniency of Time, as to them, for doing of it, that it might be at such a Season, as might be most convenient or least prejudicial to them also, which I judge the Time of the Period of this Warning to be, in regard that, being in the Beginning of May, it is the most fitting Season for Persons in such Conditions, to provide for themselves, either by hiring or building themselves

Places

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Places of Habitation in some Parts near adjoining, to be allotted them for that Purpose, or to march, if they so desire it, by Land, or take a Voyage by Sea, to those Places unto which they shall desire to go. And that all may see, who do not wilfully shut their Eyes, that our End is, not to ruin them and enrich our selves, but only, to act in order to publick Safety and Security, I do resolve, ' where I can find a sufficient Character or mark of Distinction concerning any Person or Persons, that have not had a Hand in the first Year's Rebellion, and Massacres, or have discovered themselves to be Friends to the Interest and People of *England*, or have not been known to have been eminently active in the Prosecution of the War or holding out of that City against us, to difference them, *by favour and respect shewn*, from others, and, in all other Cases, wherein Mercy and Favour may be shewed, without prejudice to publick Justice and Safety, I do intend it, and particularly in that of Orphans and aged and decrepid People and Widows, whose Condition is the most to be pitied, in regard many of them may not be able to help themselves, but if they should be turned out with the others immediately, might suffer much by it,' I shall therefore take the best Care and Course I can, for them, to prevent any of those Inconveniencies that may otherwise fall upon Persons in their Conditions, and to do for them, as near as I can, suitable to what their Necessities may require, and the Condition and State of Affairs under my Charge can admit; as, either by continuing them, or so many of them in Town, as shall be thought fit, or, for those of that Condition that do go out, by allotting for them some Places, near hand, such as may, by Industry and Care of any Friends in their Behalves, be, in most Respects, equal to what Benefits they have in Town, or at least contribute competently towards their Livelihood and Subsistence at present, until either the State of our Affairs or Frame of their Spirits be known to be altered as may admit their Return, or a further Provision for them. Given at *Waterford*, March, 1650.

H. IRETON.

Ireton this Winter continued at *Kilkenny*, because the Plague, which the Summer before had so exceedingly raged at *Dublin*, as 'tis reported, there died thereof, 17000 Persons, was not yet ceased, whence he caused several Parties to be sent abroad, which did notable Service in divers Parts of the Country; as in taking in *Balimoy*, in the *King's County*, and in chasing back into *Thomond*, the Earl of *Castlehaven*, as also in fighting the Lord *Muskery*, to his Fastnesses in *Kerry*, who, whilst the Army was prosecuting the Earl of *Castlehaven*, had burnt the Town and Parts near *Mackrump*, whilst the Rebels surprized two Troops of Horse, and a Company of Foot, belonging to Colonel *Zanckey*, about the midst of *February*.

Ireton's Service
from *Kilkenny*.

About the 21st of *February*, Colonel *Huson*, with one thousand six hundred Foot and seven hundred Horse, marched to the County of *Westmeath*, to reduce some Garrisons, and to prevent the Rebels raising of Forces there. When he came to *Tecroghan*, he heard Colonel *Preston* and Sir *John Dungan* had besieged a Castle of theirs, in the *King's County*, to whose Relief he marched as far as *Terrill's Pass*, where he heard that Colonel *Reynolds* had dispersed them; thence turning towards *Mullingar*,

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*Finagh taken by
Colonel Huson.
Sir Theophilus
Jones's excellent
Service.*

he took in *Kilbridge*, wherein he found two hundred Barrels of Corn, and the next Day entered *Mullingar*; whereupon the Enemy quitted *Tuetstown*, *Ledwickstown*, and *Desert*, where he heard that Colonel *Reynolds* had taken in *Donore*, in which was found five hundred Barrels of Corn; and having garrisoned *Ballimore*, thence marched to *Ballimallock*, a Pass upon the *Aine*, and took it, and Sir *Thomas Nugent's* Castle in one Day; thence drawing towards *Finagh*, he encamped against *Tough's* Castle, which, after the third Shot, was delivered him, where hearing that *Phelim Mac Hugh* with one thousand five hundred Foot, was marching on the other Side of the River, to the Reinforcement of *Finagh*, he sent Sir *Theophilus Jones* with four hundred Horse, and his own Regiment of Foot to encounter him, who fell upon them, killing *O Caban*, and divers considerable Officers, with about four hundred private Soldiers, and taking Prisoners Colonel *Mac Donel* his Lieutenant General, one Major, twelve Captains, twelve Lieutenants, fifteen Ensigns, the Quarter-master, and about three hundred and seventy six private Soldiers, and Non-Commission Officers, Sir *Theophilus* performing in this, as in all other Expeditions, excellent Service; whilst Colonel *Huson* stormed *Finagh*, but was repulsed with some Loss, though he had it surrendered the next Day upon Conditions, bearing Date the 14th of *March* 1650, which Surrender brought in five adjacent Castles.

1651.

*Ireton sits down
before Limerick.*

About *May* 1651, Order was taken in *England*, for sending over Recruits of Foot, and Money to pay and raise Men; but by reason of the Numbers sent into *Scotland*, there could not many or much be spared; but what could be procured, came over very Opportunely to reinforce the Army, then ready to march to the Siege of *Limerick*; *Ireton* having appointed Sir *Charles Coote* with two thousand Horse, and as many choice northerly Foot, to march into *Connaught*, by the Way of *Sligo*, which he did, seating himself before that strong Fort, as though he would have besieged it; but perceiving that the *Irish* from all Parts were drawing to its Relief, he drew off, and passing, not without Difficulty, the *Curlew* Mountains, entered *Connaught*, and had *Athlone*, by the Lord *Dillon*, *Portumna*, with some other Places of no great Strength delivered to him; whilst *Ireton*, with the main Army, passed the River *Shannon*, about *Killalow*, where the Rebels were gathered together, but made little Resistance, and presently fell down before *Limerick*, where he entrenched himself, and made a formed Siege.

*The Lord Broghil
routs the Lord
Muskerly, coming
to relieve Lime-
rick.*

During which, he and others intercepted frequent Intelligence from the Bishop and Mayor of *Limerick*, 'That unless they were effectually relieved, and that speedily, the Commonalty would force them to deliver the City upon Conditions to the Enemy:' Upon which the Lord *Broghil*, by Orders from *Ireton*, drew all the Forces of the County together, to impede the Lord *Muskerly*, then marching out of the County of *Kerry*, with a considerable Force; and though he made many Halts, seeming as if he intended another Design than the Relief of *Limerick*, yet, being narrowly watched, the Scouts brought certain Intelligence about the 22d of *June*, that his Body of Horse marched from *Dromagh*, towards *Castleiskin*, one of the fastest Places in *Ireland*, and directly in the Way to *Limerick*; upon which the Lord *Broghil* hastened towards them, and about Midnight, in a horrid Storm of Rain and Wind, fell upon their Horse-Guards, and beat them in; upon which their Camp took

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took so hot an Alarm as he drove them soon to the Place from whence they came, thereby securing the Army before *Limerick*; the Enemy in the Interim getting over the *Blackwater*, and afterwards were pursued by the Lord *Broughil*, 'till, finding a convenient Ground to draw up their Battle in, they were faced by him who kept the right Wing, Major *Wally* the Command of the Left, and Major *Cuppage* the Foot, so happily on each Part secured, that though indeed the *Irish* never more resolutely, and in better order maintained their Station, they were at last wholly routed; Bogs and Woods, usually their Safety, being not near them. The chief Prisoners that Day taken, were Lieutenant Colonel *Mac Gillacuddy*, commanding young *Muskery's* Regiment, a Man more popular than *Muskery* himself, Major *Mac-Gillariagh*, an old *Spanish* Soldier, Major *Mac-Finine*, and some Considerable Commanders of Horse.

But to return to the Marquis of *Clanrickard*; who, notwithstanding all the forementioned Discouragements, some whereof he expected not, hearing of Sir *Charles Coote's* Intentions of entering *Connaught*, issued out his Orders to all the Forces, which for Conveniency of Quarter, and the more to infest the Enemy, were scattered over the Provinces, that they should meet at the general rendezvous, at the Time and Place appointed; resolving with as much Expedition as he could to engage the Enemy; where hearing that Sir *Charles Coote*, to whom *Iretton* had left the Care of that Province, was marched towards *Athlone*, he made all possible Haste to fall in his Rear, or to wait his Motion; but after he had gone two Days March towards that Place, he received certain Intelligence, that Sir *Charles* had taken *Athlone*, and being furnished with all necessary Guides, was marched towards *Galway*, to block it up; whereupon he made what Haste he could back the same Way he came, and sent Orders to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, General of the Horse, to meet him with the Forces under his Command, at a certain Village, where the Deputy would expect him. The Enemy being then within less than a Mile, with their main Body, and only a narrow Pass between them, which the Lord Deputy doubted not to defend, until all his Forces should come up, and then resolved to fight them, which was the only Thing he desired, and thought himself to be in a very good Posture to do it: But the Earl of *Castlehaven*, before he would advance to the Lord Deputy, thought it convenient to secure a single Pass over the River *Shannon*, whereby the Enemy might possibly get over, that so the Enemy might be intirely engaged, where the Lord Deputy was without any Danger in the Rear; but by the Time the Earl had marched some Miles, he heard the Report of Muskets, and looking back he saw the two Troops of Horse he had left to secure that Pass, and the sixty Foot running, and dispersing, without being pursued; for the Enemy having Intelligence of the Earl's March, sent over two or three Boats with Musketeers from the other Side of the River, and landed without Opposition at the Castle situate on the Pass. Upon which News, notwithstanding the Earl's Commands or Intreaties, his Army in that Consternation, without the Sight of an Enemy, fled and disbanded; insomuch, that of four thousand which in the Morning the Body consisted of, the Earl brought not with him to the Place where the Lord Deputy was, above forty Horse; whereupon the Lord Deputy saw he was in no Case to engage the Enemy; that he should be quickly

The Marquis of *Clanrickard* thought to have engaged Sir *Charles Coote*, but by a Misfortune on the Earl of *Castlehaven's* Men, he and his Army were scattered.

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quickly attacked in the Rear, by that Part of the Army which had already, and speedily would pass the River; and that the same Fright possessed his Men, who had hitherto kept the Bridge, and who now began to yield Ground; and that in Truth, very many of his Soldiers had that Night run away; and thereupon he drew off, and marched away, both Horse and Foot, when they were gotten out of Danger of the Enemies Pursuit, and from this Time, the Lord Deputy could never draw any considerable and firm Body into the Field, nor make any Opposition to the Enemies Progress; the *Irish* in all Places submitting to, and compounding with them, murmuring as much now against the Lord Deputy, as they had before against the Lord Lieutenant.

The Lord *Taaff* intended to have gone to the King, but being prevented enters into a Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*.

Before the Lord Lieutenant had left the Kingdom, he had sent the Lord Viscount *Taaff*, who had been an Eye-witness of all his Proceedings, and had in vain laboured to compose and dispose the Minds of the Clergy to the Kings Service, to give the King an Account of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and how impossible it would be to preserve his Authority in that Kingdom, without some more than ordinary Supplies from abroad; which joining with the most considerable and loyal Part of the *Irish*, might have kept the Refractory in awe. His Lordship landed in *Flanders*, the King being then in *Scotland*, and quickly understood how unlikely his Journey into that Kingdom was, to advance the Business upon which he came, or indeed that he should be admitted to the Presence of the King, from whom most were removed that attended him thither; and thereupon he staid in *Flanders*, and found an Opportunity to present the Condition of the Papists of *Ireland*, in such Manner, to the Duke of *Lorrain*, who being nearly allied to the King always, professed singular Affection to his Majesty and his Interest, as in the End, he prevailed with him to send them some Relief; and as soon as it was known that the Lord Lieutenant was landed in *France*, the Duke sent a Person of principal Trust about him, the Abbot of *St. Katharines*, into *Ireland*, with a Credential, as his Ambassador to the Clergy, and Catholick Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, to treat with them, in order to their receiving Aid and Supplies from the Duke, and to the End, that his Highness might in truth understand in what Capacity they were to be relieved, and how much they could themselves contribute thereunto; it being not then known that the Marquis of *Ormond* had left the King's Authority behind him, but rather conceived, that upon those many Provocations and Affronts which had been offered to him, he had withdrawn, with his Person, the Countenance and Authority they had so much undervalued, and so little deserved. When the Abbot landed in *Ireland*, which was about the End of *February*, and within little more than two Months after the Lord Lieutenant departed thence, he heard that the Marquis of *Clanrickard* was the King's Deputy, and thereupon he gave him presently Notice of his Arrival, addressed himself to him, shewed his Commission and Credentials, and assured him, ' That the Duke ' his Master had so entire an Affection to the King of *England*, the ' Preservation of whose Interest in that Kingdom, was the chief Motive to him to offer his Assistance, that if he had known any Person ' had been intrusted there with his Majesty's Authority, he would have ' addressed himself unto him, and no other; and that he finding his ' Lordship invested with that Power, did, what he knew his Master ' expected at his Hands, apply himself unto him, with, and by whose ' Direction

The Duke of *Lorrain*'s Agent lands.

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Direction, he would alone steer himself, through that Negotiation: He told him the Duke had already disbursed six thousand Pistoles, for the supplying them with those Things he heard they stood most in need of, which were brought over by a religious Person who came with him, and that he was ready to be informed, of what they would desire from his Highness, that might enable them to resist their Enemy, and that he would consent to any Thing that was reasonable for him to undertake.' Hereupon, the Lord Deputy appointed a Committee of the Commissioners of Trust, together with some Prelates, to confer with the Ambassador, to receive any Overtures from him, and to present them with their Advice thereupon unto him. They met accordingly, and received the Propositions from the Ambassador; but they were so disagreeable to the Propositions he had made of respect to the King, and indeed so inconsistent with the King's Honour and Interest, as there was great Reason to suspect, that they proceeded rather from the Encouragement and Contrivance of the *Irish*, then from his own Temper and Disposition; and this was the more believed, when instead of returning the Propositions to the Lord Deputy, they kept the same in their own Hands, put out some of those who were appointed by him to be of the Committee, and chose others in their Places, and proceeded in the Treaty, without giving the Deputy an Account of what was demanded by the Ambassador, or what they thought fit to offer unto him. Of all which the Deputy took notice, and thereupon forbid them to proceed any further in that Way, and restrained them unto certain Articles which he sent them, which contained what he thought fit to offer to the Ambassador, and gave them Power only to treat: Notwithstanding his positive Direction, they proceeded in that Treaty with the Ambassador, and sent an Advice to the Lord Deputy to consent unto the Articles proposed by him, since they said he would not recede from what he had proposed, and that it was much better to submit to the same, then that the Treaty should be broken off, the Lord Deputy as positively declared, that what was demanded, was so derogatory to the Honour of the King his Master, and destructive to his Interest, as he would never agree to it, and resolved presently to leave the Town. And when the Ambassador sent to him to desire to see him, and take his leave of him, he absolutely refused, and sent him Word, ' That he would never pay his Civility to, or receive it from a Person who had so much swerved from the Propositions made by himself, and who had presumed to make Propositions so dishonourable to the King his Master, and he believed so contrary to the good Pleasure of the Duke of *Lorrain*; and that he would send away an Express to the Duke, to inform him of his Miscarriage, and he presumed he would do Justice unto the King upon him.

The Lord Deputy impowers a Committee to treat with *Lorrain's* Agent.

The Deputy's honourable Reply to the Agent.

When the Prelates saw that no Obstinacy in the Ambassador, nor Importunity from them, could prevail with the Lord Deputy, to shew what Influence they had upon that Treaty, they persuaded the Ambassador to consent to the same Propositions he had formerly, (no doubt by the same Advice) rejected, and thereupon to make the Sum formerly disbursed by the Duke at his coming out of *Flanders*, full 20000 *l.* and the Lord Deputy sent a Couple of Gentlemen * into *Flanders*, to treat further with the Duke of *Lorrain*, according to such Commissions and Instructions as he gave them. The Bishop of *Ferns* * about the same

* Sir Nicholas Plunket, Jeffrey Brown Esquires.

* Nicholas French,

U u u u

Time

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Part of the Bishop of Fern's insolent Letter against the Lord Deputy.

Time left *Ireland*, and came likewise to *Bruxels*; and having, without the Previty of the Lord Deputy, received some secret Trust and Delegation from the Prelates of *Ireland*, and Credit from them, to the Duke of *Lorraine*, he quickly interess'd himself in that Treaty, and took upon him the greatest Part in it, and that which he said was the Sense of the Nation: He reproached the Persons imployed and trusted by the Lord Deputy, with all the Proceedings which had been in *Ireland*, by the Consent of the Confederate Catholicks, inveighed against their opposing the Nuncio, and appealing against the Excommunication issued out by him, he told them, and all this by a Letter under his Hand, that he was clearly of Opinion, ' That the Excommunication was just and lawful, ' and that the greatest Statesmen, Soldiers, Citizens, and People disobeying, and now obstinate, are and were delivered to Satan, and therefore ' forsaken of God, and unworthy of Victory, and of his holy Blessing; ' and thereupon he said, he did with all Sincerity and Charity offer his ' own humble Opinion what was to be done by them, which was to the ' End, the Agreement they were making with his Highness the Duke of ' *Lorraine*, might become profitable to the Nation, and acceptable in the ' Eyes of God, that they would immediately with humble Hearts, make ' a Submission unto his Holiness in the Name of the Nation, and beg the ' Apostolical Benediction, that the light of Wisdom, the Spirit of Fortitude, Vertue, Grace, Success, and the Blessing of God, might return ' again to them: He told them the Necessity of doing this was the ' greater, for that the Person from whom they came with Authority, ' the Marquis of *Clanrickard* the Lord Deputy, was for several Causes ' excommunicated, *a Jure & Homine*, and that he was at *Rome* reputed ' the great Contemner of the Authority and Dignity of Churchmen, ' and a Persecutor of the Lord Nuncio, and some Bishops, and other ' Churchmen; and after many rude and bitter Reproaches against the ' Deputy, he used these Words; Do you think God will prosper a Contract grounded upon the Authority of such a Man? and shortly after, ' he said that if the Duke of *Lorraine* were rightly informed of the Business, he would never enter upon a Bargain to preserve or rather restore ' holy Religion in the Kingdom, with Agents bringing their Authority ' from a withered cursed Hand: And then concluded, for my Part, upon the Denial to hear my humble Prayers, which I hope will not happen, I will withdraw my self as a Man despairing of any Fruit to come ' from an unsound Trunk, where there is no Sap of Grace: And am resolved to communicate no more with you in that Affair, but rather ' to let the Prince know, he was building his Resolutions of doing ' good upon unhallowed Foundation, and that God therefore, unless ' himself will undertake to obtain an Absolution for the Nation, will ' not give him the Grace to lay down the *Lapis Angularis* of his ' own House again, in that Kingdom.' This Letter bore Date at *Bruxels* the 20th of *July* 1651, the Persons to whom it was directed, being then in the same Town.

What the Issue of that Treaty was, and what Regard there was had therein to the King's Honour, we have, in the next Place, Reason to mention; and the rather for that those, whom the Marquis of *Clanrickard* authorised to treat with the Duke of *Lorraine*, had most perfidiously waved his Instructions, resuming to themselves a Deputation and Authority from the People and Kingdom of *Ireland*; an Insolency so great, as the

the Lord Deputy resents it with a just Indignation. First we shall give you their Agreement, then his Letter.

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An Agreement betwixt Charles IV. Duke of Lorrain, and Theobald Lord Viscount Taaff, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Jeffrey Brown, deputed and authorised by the People and Kingdom of Ireland.

I. **T**HE most illustrious Duke is to be vested with royal Power, under the Title of Protector Royal of *Ireland*.

II. Because Religion is the prime End and Subject of the Treaty, all is to begin with an Imploring Application to the Pope, for his paternal Benediction and Help, That he will not be wanting in Things spiritual and temporal ; in Consideration whereof it is protested, that constant perpetual Obedienceness of Duty and Faithfulness, shall be paid to his Holiness, and the Apostolick See.

III. In consideration of this royal Protector's Power granted, the Duke is by War to prosecute the King's Enemies, and afford him all possible Assistance.

IV. The said Duke is to do nothing in Derogation of the King's Authority or Jurisdiction in *Ireland*, but rather to amplify it : And having restored the Kingdom and Religion to its due pristine Estate, he is to resign cheerfully the Kingdom to the King.

V. Before Resignation as aforesaid, the Duke is to be reimbursed all by him pre-impended in this Business ; and for this Reimbursement, a general and exact Obedience to the Duke, in Faith and Fidelity from the Kingdom and People, is made and to be observed, without Reservation to any other Superiority whatsoever.

VI. The Duke is not to fail on his Part, to expel out of *Ireland*, Hereticks, Enemies to the King and his Religion, and to recover and defend all Things belonging to the faithful Subjects of *Ireland*.

VII. The Duke is solely and absolutely to exercise all military Power for the present and future in *Ireland*, as to the Nomination of all Commanders, and guiding all martial Proceedings at his own Pleasure, and in his own Person, unless he in his Absence substitute some other Catholick Person.

VIII. The Duke is to introduce no Innovation in the Towns, &c. to him assigned, repugnant to the Securities, Privileges, Immunities, Proprieties, Lands, Estates, or ancient Laws of the *Irish*, reserving only to himself, Authority to apply Remedies to any Thing accruing, wherein publick Prejudice may be concerned.

IX. The Duke is not to interpose in Administration of Judicial or Civil Affairs, but leave them to be proceeded in, according to the fundamental Laws, and publick Form of the King's chief Governor, and the Assembly instituted.

X. The Manner of calling Assemblies to be as formerly, unless Complaint arise against their Government, or other extraordinary Emergencies hinder ; and then according to the ancient Laws, the cutting off the Assembly, is to be at the Pleasure of his Highness.

XI. When the Work is done in *Ireland*, by Consent of a general Assembly, the Duke promises to afford Agents to the King against rebelling Adversaries in other Kingdoms.

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XII. In case the Duke cannot go in Person into *Ireland*, it is free in his Choice and Pleasure to depute any other Man of Catholick Piety, who shall be independent on the Militia, and in Civil Matters shall be received to all manner of Councils, in the same Right as any other Counsellor or Commissioner.

XIII. All Cities, Castles, Lands, taken from the *English*, shall revert to the Owners, if Catholicks, who have constantly persevered in the Catholick Quarters under the Duke; yet the Duke's military Power shall be intire over the same, to garrison and dispose of them for publick Security, at his Pleasure.

XIV. All Pay to the Soldiers, is to pass from the Duke, as well out of the publick Revenues, as the Duke's Coffers when that fails; provided that the Duke disburfes of his proper Money for publick Uses, for the future to be repaid him, as his former Disbursements.

XV. All Goods of Enemies and Delinquents, are to be converted to the publick military Charges, and towards rewarding great Merits by the Duke, with Advice of the General Assembly.

XVI. The Duke, besides 20000 *l.* already contributed, promises all further Accommodations and Supplements for War, together with his Power and Industry, what is not above the reach of his Faculties, and beneath the Necessities of the War, towards the re-payment whereof, as well Principal as the annual Provenue and Use thereof, the whole Nation of *Ireland* is to be liable until the last Penny be paid; and for Caution in the mean Time, the Duke is to be seized and possessed in his own Hands, of *Galway*, *Limerick*, *Athenry*, the Castle and Town of *Athlone*, and *Waterford*, and the royal Fort of *Duncannon*, when recovered from the Enemy, and these are to remain to him and his Heirs until full and intire Satisfaction received, and to pay just Obedience, and be garrisoned and commanded at his Pleasure.

XVII. In laying of publick Taxes, and levying the same for the Duke's Satisfaction, the Duke do proceed by Advice of the General Assembly, and all aggrieved Parties in Case of Inequality, to seek Redress from the General Assembly.

XVIII. For liquidating and stating the Duke's Disbursements, a certain Method shall be agreed on between the Duke and the said Transactors, but for the Persons to be intrusted in that Charge, the General Assembly is to alter them at their Pleasure.

XIX. The Duke shall make no Peace nor Cessation, without the Lord Deputy or General Assembly.

XX. The Lord Deputy and General Assembly, shall make no Peace without the Consent of the Duke.

July 22, 1651.

Signed,

CHARLES of Lorrain.

The Lord Marquis of Clanrickard, Lord Deputy of Ireland, his Letter to the Duke of Lorrain, October 20th, 1651.

May it please your Highness,

I Had the Honour on the 12th of this Instant, to receive a Letter from your Highness, dated the 10th of *September*, wherein you are pleased to express your great Zeal for the Advancement of the Catholick



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lick Religion in this Kingdom, your great Affection to the King my Master, and your good Opinion of this Nation, and your Compassion of their Sufferings, and your great Readiness to afford them Aid and Assistance, even equal with your own nearest Concernments; and that your Highness received such Satisfaction from the Queen and Duke of *York*, as did much strengthen those Resolutions, so as they might sooner appear, but for the Stay made here of Monsieur *St. Catherine*, and his long northern Voyage upon his Return, and referred what concerned the Agreement, to the Relation of those Commissioners I had employed to your Highness, to treat upon that Subject of Assistance and Relief for this Kingdom. I with much Alacrity congratulate your Highness's pious Intentions, for the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, your great and Princely Care to recover his Majesty's Rights and Interests, from his rebel Subjects of *England*, and the high Obligation you put upon this Nation, by your tender Regard of them, and desire to redeem them from the great Miseries and Afflictions they have endured, and the eminent Dangers they are in; and it shall be a principal Part of my Ambition, to be an useful Instrument to serve your Highness, in so famous and glorious an Enterprize. And that I may be the more capable to contribute somewhat to so religious and just Ends: First, in Discharge of my Conscience toward God, my Duty to the King my Master, and to disabuse your Highness, and give a clear and perfect Information, so far as comes to my Knowledge, I am obliged to represent unto your Highness, that by the Title of the Agreement and Articles therein contained, made by those Commissioners I employed to your Highness, and but lately come into my Hands, ' They have violated ' the Trust reposed in them, by having cast off, and declined the Commission and Instructions they had from me, in the King my Master's ' Behalf, and all other Powers, that could by any other Means be derived from him, and pretend to make an Agreement with your Highness, in the Name of the Kingdom and People of *Ireland*, for which ' they had not, nor could have any warrantable Authority; and have ' abused your Highness, by a Counterfeit Shew of a private Instrument, ' fraudulently procured and signed, as I am informed, by some considerable and factious Persons, ill-affected to his Majesty's Authority, ' without any Knowledge or Consent of the generality of the Nation, ' or Persons of greatest Quality or Interest therein, and who under a ' seeming Zeal and Pretence of Service to your Highness, labour ' more to satisfy their private Ambitions, than the Advantage of Religion or the Nation, or the prosperous Success of your Highness's ' generous Undertakings; ' And to manifest the Clearness of mine own Proceedings, and make such deceitful Practices more apparent, I send your Highness herewith an authentick Copy of my Instructions, which accompanied their Commission, when I employed them to your Highness, as a sufficient Evidence to convince them. And having thus fully manifested their Breach of publick Trust, I am obliged in the King my Master's Name, to protest against their unwarrantable Proceedings, and to declare all the Agreements and Acts whatsoever concluded by those Commissioners, to be void, and illegal, being not derived from, or consonant to his Majesty's Authority, being in duty bound thus far to vindicate the King my Master's Honour and Authority, and to preserve his just and undoubted Rights from such deceitful and rebellious Practices;

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Practices ; as likewise with an humble and respective Care, to prevent those Prejudices that might befall your Highness, in being deluded by counterfeit Shews, in doing you greater Honour ; where it is apparent, that any undertaking laid upon such false and ill-grounded Principles, as have been smoothly digested and fixed upon that Nation, as their Desire and Request, must overthrow all those heroick and prince-like Acts, your Highness hath proposed to your self, for God's Glory and Service, the Restoration of oppressed Majesty, and the Relief of his distressed Kingdom, which would at length fall into intestine Broils and Divisions, if not forceably driven into Desperation ; I shall now with a hopeful and chearful Importunity upon a clear score, free from those Deceits, propose to your Highness, that for the Advancement of all those great Ends you aim at, and in the King my Master's Behalf, and in the Name of all the Loyal Catholick Subjects of this Nation, and for the Preservation of those important cautionary Places, that are Security for your Highness past and present Disbursements, you will be pleased to quicken and hasten those Aids and Assistances, you intended for the Relief of *Ireland* ; and I have with my whole Power, and through the greatest Hazards, striven to defend them for you, and to preserve all other Ports, that may be at all Times of Advantage and Safeguard to your Fleets, and Men of War, having yet many good Harbours left ; but also engage in the King my Master's Name, that whatsoever may prove to your Satisfaction, that is any way consistent with his Honour and Authority, and have made my humble Applications to the Queen's Majesty, and my Lord Lieutenant, the King being in *Scotland*, further to agree, confirm, and secure, whatsoever may be of Advantage to your Highness ; and if the last Galliot had but brought 10000 *l.* for this instant Time, it would have contributed more to the Recovery of this Kingdom, then far greater Sums delayed, by enabling our Forces to meet together, for the Relief of *Limerick*, which cannot but be in great Distress after so long a Siege, and which if lost, although I shall endeavour to prevent it, will cost much Treasure to be regained. And if your Highness will be pleased to go on cheerfully, freely, and seasonably with this great Work, I make no question, but God will give so great a Blessing thereto, as that my self, and all the loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, may soon and justly proclaim, and leave recorded to Posterity, that your Highness was the great and glorious Restorer of our Religion, Monarch, and Nation ; and that your Highness may not be discouraged or diverted, from this generous Enterprize, by the Malice or Invectives of any ill affected, it is a necessary Duty in me, to represent unto your Highness, that the Bishop of *Ferns*, who as I am informed, hath gained some Interest in your Favour, is a Person, that hath ever been violent against, and malicious to his Majesty's Authority and Government, and a fatal Instrument in contriving and fomenting all those Divisions and Differences that have rent asunder this Kingdom, the Introduction to our present Miseries, and weak Condition : And that your Highness may clearly know his Disposition, I send herewithal a Copy of Part of a Letter written by him, * directed to the Lord *Taaff*, Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, and *Jeffery Brown*, and humbly submitted to your Judgment, whether those Expressions be agreeable to the Temper of the Apostolical Spirit, and considering whose Person and Authority I represent, what ought to be the Reward of such a Crime. I must therefore

desire

* Which was Part of that Letter mentioned before, giving his Character of the Lord Deputy.

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desire your Highness, in the King my Master's Behalf, that he may not be countenanced or intrusted in any Affairs, that have relation to his Majesty's Interest in this Kingdom, where I have constantly endeavoured, by all possible Service, to deserve your Highness's good Opinion, and obtaining that Favour to be a most faithful Acknowledger of it, in the Capacity, and under the Title of,

Athenree, 20th
Octob. 1651.

Your Highness's most humble
and obliged Servant,

CLANRICKARD.

Thus the Lord Deputy very faithfully discharged his Duty ; and great Cause there was to protest against such Proceedings of the Confederates, they putting his Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland* into the Hands of a Foreign Prince, and in that, assuming to themselves the Name of *The Kingdom and People of Ireland*, as if there had been no other Party or People in the Kingdom, or not considerable, but themselves alone ; and as if then in *Ireland* there had been no Power or Government but theirs only, his Majesty's Authority in the Hands of his Deputy not regarded or consulted. They also, the Confederates, in that giving up the Kingdom into the Power of a Stranger, colouring their Treason with a flattering Clause, and an empty and insignificant Title to their natural Prince in Reversion, and by Resignation, when the new Protector, commanding all, should please to do it, he being first satisfied of all Disbursements, Charges, and Claims whatsoever, he himself being Auditor : A Concern of that Importance, as we seldom find, where others have been called in upon Assistance, especially on such Encouragements, that they have quitted their hold without Effusion of much Blood, or an absolute Disinheritance of the Right Owner : And therefore the Lord Deputy's Foresight of such an Evil, doth commend him faithful to his Prince, and just to his Nation. Nor can it be doubted, that the Attestation of this Peer, one that hath run the Hazard of his Country's Safety, should be further credited than what the Bishop of *Ferns*, or any obscure loose Friar, how prodigal soever in their Calumnies, should or can publish in the Bitterness of their Spirit, a Crime incident to their Faculty, being ill affected to his Majesty, worse to his Governors.

One of the principal Motives, which induced the Marquis of *Clanrickard* to submit to that Charge, and to undertake a Province which he knew would be very burthensome and grievous in several Respects, was the joint Promise, *That the City of Limerick, and the Town of Galway, would pay all imaginable Duty to him.* The Clergy obliged themselves in that Particular with all Confidence, and the Deputies of the Places promised all that could be desired : But when the Lord Deputy found it necessary to settle that Business, they would neither receive a Garrison or Governor from him ; and when he offered himself to stay in *Limerick*, when *Ireton* was drawing before it, and to run his Fortune with them, they refused it, as peremptorily as they had done to the Lord Lieutenant. It is true, both *Limerick* and *Galway* were contented to receive Soldiers ; but they must be such only as were of their own choosing, not such either in Number or Quality as the Lord Deputy would have sent to them, or as were necessary for their Security : They chose likewise their own Governor, or rather kept the Government themselves, and gave the Title to

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The Confederates cherished in a good Opinion of the Independents.

one, whom they thought least like to contradict them; and, in a Word, behaved themselves like two Commonwealths, and obeyed the Deputy no farther than they were inclined by their own Convenience; they who compounded with the Enemy in the Country, corresponded with them in the Town, and thereby gave the Enemy Intelligence of all that passed: Wonderful Diligence was used to make it be thought, that the Independents were not uncharitable unto Papists, and that they wished not any Compulsion should be used in Matter of Religion; and when the Acts of Cruelty and Blood, of putting their Priests and Prelates to an ignominious Death, of which there were new Instances every Day, were mentioned: It was answered, Those Proceedings were carried on by the Power of the Presbyterians, very much against the Nature and Principles of the other Party.

Frier Geoghegan's Carriage against the State.

This Licence of Communication, and the evil Consequences that must attend it, was enough understood by the Lord Deputy, but could no more be prevented, reformed, or punished, than he could infuse a new Heart or Spirit into the People; one Instance will serve the Turn: There was in the Town a Friar, *Anthony Geoghegan*, who had always adhered to the Nuncio, and opposed the King's Authority to the utmost of his Power, several Letters written by him into the Enemies Quarters were intercepted, and brought to the Lord Deputy, in which, though there were many Things in Cypher, there appeared much of the present State and Condition of the Town; and in one of them dated the 4th of *February* 1651, he thus writes, 'If the Service of God had been as deep in the Hearts of our Nation, as that Idol of *Dagon*, a foolish Loyalty, a better Course for its Honour and Preservation had been taken in Time.' The Lord Deputy believed the Crime to be so apparent, and of such a Nature, that, what Accomplices soever he might have, none would have the Courage to appear in his Behalf: And that he might give the Clergy an Opportunity to shew their Zeal in a Business, that concerned so much their common Safety, he referred the Examination of the Friar unto the Bishops, whereof there were three or four in Town, and to some other of the principal of the Clergy, and appointed them to require him to produce the Cypher which he had used, and to examine him to whom the Letters were intended, they being directed to counterfeit and suppositious Names. The Cypher was accordingly produced, and thereby 'many Expressions, in the Letter appeared to be full of Neglect and Reproach to the King and others, of Insolence and Contumely toward the Lord Deputy; they mentioned little Hope was left of Relief from the Duke of *Lorrain*; and that they resolved to send one to treat with the Rebels, and had found private Means of conveying one to that Purpose: The Friar promised to use all his Diligence to dispose the Catholicks to have a good Opinion of the Independents, and made some Request concerning himself.' All that he alledged for his Defence was, that the Letters written by him were to one who was employed by the Court of *Rome*; that he had no ill meaning against the King or Deputy, and that he had himself a Trust from *Rome*, and Instructions from the Secretary of the Congregation, *De propaganda Fide*, and the Bishops certified that they had seen the Instructions, and that they did not relate at all to the temporal State. And this was all the Satisfaction and Justice the Lord Deputy could procure, though he writ several

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several Letters of Expostulation to the Bishops thereupon: Whether this be a Part of the Priviledges and Immunities of the Catholick *Roman* Church, and enjoyed in any Catholick Country, and whether it can be indulged to them in any other Country where the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* is not submitted unto, we must leave to the World to judge and determine. In the Interim, if Protestant Kings and Princes are provident and severe for the Prevention of such Practices, and for the establishing their own Security, this must not be imputed to an unreasonable Jealousy of, or a Prejudice to the *Roman* Catholick Religion, but to the confident Presumption of those Men, under the Vizard of universal Obedience, who have pretended Religion for their Warrant or Excuse, for the most unlawful or unjustifiable Actions.

This was the Obedience and Submission they paid to the King's Authority and Government: Let us see now what Government they provided for themselves, and what Course they, who were still jealous of being betrayed by those who were trusted by the King, took for their own security and preservation; and what Power the Bishops and Clergy had to support their own Interest and Dignity, after they appeared to have enough to destroy or suppress that of the King. The City of *Limerick* was intirely governed by the Clergy. We have shewn you how the Herald, in proclaiming the Peace of 1646, was affronted there; as also of their contumelious Behaviour towards the Marquiss of *Ormond* in 1650. We must now take Notice of their Carriage to the Marquiss of *Clanrickard*, to whom, contrary to their Obligation and solemn Promise they continued the same Obstinacy, refusing to receive such a Governor and Garrison as he thought fit to give them, or to entertain him in the Town with the Power and Authority of Deputy, after he had assumed that Place and Title upon their own Importunity, and Promise of Obedience; however, he sent thither such Men, both Officers and Soldiers, as they desired and no other.

During the Siege of *Limerick*, now straitly begirt by *Ireton*, Sir *Walter Dungan* stormed *Ross-town* and *Castle-Jordan*; and the notable Quarter-beater *Nash* killed Colonel *Cook*, coming with a Party from *Cork*, but was slain in the Onset, though his Party was victorious; whilst at *Limerick* the Besieged made many fierce Sallies, to the Loss of the Assailants: For in one, of one thousand Men, they killed above three hundred of the Besiegers; and upon *Ireton's* Attempt against the Island before the Town, the 15th of *July* 1651, an hundred and twenty of his Men were lost, with their Leaders, Major *Walker*, Captain *Graves*, and Captain *Whiting*: *Ireton* notwithstanding, resolved not to depart without it, though the Governor, *Hugh O Neal*, who had so gallantly defended *Clonmel*, refused to hearken to any Conditions, in hopes that the Winter would force him off, or that himself might receive necessary Supplies from without: But shortly after he perceived what he was to trust to; for before *Ireton* had close besieged it a Month, and sooner than the Inhabitants were pressed with Wants, the Commonality began to discourse of treating with the Enemy, all the Considerations of what they might undergo hereafter through timorousness occurred to them, and the Improbability of their receiving any Succours proportionable to their Wants: Yet it was very hard for them to treat, it being notoriously known, that *Ireton* would except very many principal Persons amongst them, to whom no Mercy

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should be shewn; nor could they expect any Conditions for the Exercise of their Religion they had been hitherto so jealous of. The Governor had only the Title and Power to set Watch, but the Mayor kept the Keys, and had many of the principal Officers at his Devotion; so that upon the 23d of *October*, a mixed Council of Officers, and of those of the Civil Government, met in the Town-house, to consult what was best to be done in order to the Treaty with the Enemy, contrary to the Intentions of the Governor, who was resolved to hold it out to the last, and after a long Debate, it was concluded by the major Part, that they would proceed to a Treaty, and that they would not break it off upon the Exception of any Persons, for Quarter or Confiscation of their Goods: and the next Day was appointed for the chosing of the Commissioners to be sent unto the Enemy. The Result of the former Day's Debate being known in the Town, they no sooner met for the Election of the Commissioners for the Treaty, than the Bishops of *Limerick* and *Emly*, with the Clergy, came to the Town-house, and threatened them to issue out an Excommunication against them, if they proceeded in those Counsels, the Effect whereof would be, to deliver up the Prelates to be slaughtered; notwithstanding which, they proceeded to the naming the Persons who should treat for them. Whereupon the Bishops published their Excommunication, with a perpetual Interdict of the City, which was fixed on the Doors of all the Churches and Chapels in the Town. But alas! those Fulminations had been too loosely and impertinently used to retain any Virtue in Time of Need, and as Catholick as the Town was, and there was not one Protestant in it, the Excommunication wrought no Effect. That very Night Colonel *Fennel*, and the other Officers of the Combination that pressed on the Treaty, possessed themselves of *St. John's Gate*, and *Cluam's Tower*, driving the Guards from thence; and when the Governor came thither, and demanded by what Authority they were there, he having given them Orders to Guard another Quarter of the Town, they answered, *The best of the Town knew, and approved what they did*: And it was very true, the Mayor *Thomas Strick*, was of their Party, and delivered the Key of that Port to Colonel *Fennel*, though he denied it to the other Party that opposed the Treaty. The Governor called a Council of War, and sent for Colonel *Fennel* to appear before them, who refused to come; and being supplied with Powder from the Mayor, he turned the Cannon upon the Town, and declared, 'That he would not quit the Place that he was possessed of, till the City should be yielded to the Enemy.' The Commissioners were sent out to *Ireton*, who would give no other Conditions than, 'That the Garrison should lay down their Arms, the Officers retaining their Swords, and march to what Place they would, except those exempted from Mercy, who of the Clergy, Soldiers, and Citizens amounted to the Number of twenty four. The Inhabitants had three Months Time assigned them to transport their Persons, and three Months more to remove their Goods within any Place the Kingdom appointed, in which they might live.' In brief, these were their Conditions; but in respect of many Things very considerable in the Articles themselves, we shall here give them at large.

Hugh O Neal,
M. G. Patrick
Purcell, David
Roch, Sir Rich-
ard Everard,
the Bishops of
Limerick and
Emly, Frier
Wolf, Dominick
Fanning, Alder-
man Thomas
Strick, &c.

Articles

1651.

Articles agreed upon the 27th Day of October, 1651, by and between Henry Ireton, the Deputy General, on the one Part; and Barthol. Stackpoll, Recorder of the City of Limerick, Dom. White, Alderman of the same, Nicholas Haly, Esq; Lieutenant Colonel Piers Lacy, Lieutenant Colonel Donogh O Brion, and John Baggot, Esq; Commissioners appointed by, and on the Behalf of the Governor and Mayor of the said City, to treat and conclude for the Surrender thereof, on the other Part.

I. **T**HAT the City of *Limerick*, with the Castle, and all the Places of Strength in the City, be surrendered into the Hands of the said Deputy General of *Ireland*, for the Use of the Parliament and Common-wealth of *England*, upon or before the 29th of *October* Instant at Noon, together with all the Ordnance, Arms, Ammunition, and other Furniture of War therein, and all the Goods of any Kind, not allowed by the ensuing Articles, to be carried away, or kept by the Owners; and this without Waste, Spoil, or Imbezzelment; and the full Possession of *John's Gate* and *Prior's Mill*, shall be delivered unto the said Deputy General, or such Guards as he shall appoint, not exceeding one hundred Men for *John's Gate*, this Day by Sun-set; and for Performance hereof, the above-named Lieutenant Colonel *Piers Lacy*, Lieutenant Colonel *Donogh O Brion*, Alderman *Dom. White*, and *Nicholas Haly*, Esquires, shall remain as Hostages with the said Deputy General, until the Surrender of the said City.

II. That in Consideration hereof, all Persons now in the City, except such as are hereafter excepted, shall have Quarter for their Lives, Liberty of their Persons, their Clothes, Money, and other Goods; so as to be free from Pillage, Plunder, or other hostile Violence in their Persons or Goods, during their Continuance under the said Deputy's safe Conduct or Protection, by Virtue of the ensuing Articles respectively. But whereas through the Practices of some Persons, more eminent and active than the rest, both amongst the Clergy, military Officers, and Citizens, and other Sorts of Men, which, in the large Conditions formerly tendered for surrender, have been rejected, the subsequent Occasions or Opportunities for timely making of Conditions, neglected and avoided, the Dispositions and Desires of many Persons within, to that Purpose, opposed, resisted, and restrained, and the Generality of the People partly deluded and deceived, to the keeping of them in vain Expectations of Relief, from one Time to another, and partly overawed, or inforced by their Power to concur and contribute thus long to the obstinate holding out of the Place; therefore the Persons hereafter named, which Major General *Hugo O Neal* the Governor, Major General *Purcel*, Sir *Jeffery Gallaway*, Lieutenant Colonel *Lacy*, Captain *George Wolfe*, Captain Lieutenant *Sexton*, the Bishop of *Emly*, *John Quillen* a Dominican Frier, Captain *Laurence Welsh* a Priest, *Francis Wolfe* a Franciscan Frier, *Philip O Dwine* a Priest, Alderman *Dom. Fanning*, Alderman *Thomas Stretch*, Alderman *Jordan Roach*, *Edmond Roach* Burgess, Sir *Richard Everard*, Doctor *Higgen*, *Maurice Baggot* of *Baggot's-Town*, and *Jeffery Barron*, being, as aforesaid, the Principal, appearing in such Practices in this Siege, and the holding out so long, as also *Evan the Welsh* Soldier, who ran into *Limerick*, and all other Persons that have been employed, and come into the City

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as Spies since the fourth Day of *June* last, shall be excepted and excluded from any Benefit of this Article, or any Article ensuing; and such of them as can be found within the Garrison, shall be rendered up at Mercy upon the Surrender of the City: And any such Person or Persons, as shall be found to hide or conceal any of the said excepted Persons, or be privy to their Concealment or Attempt of Escape, and not discover or do their best Endeavour to prevent the same, shall thereby be understood to have forfeited the Benefit of these Articles to themselves; but otherwise, none shall lose that Benefit for other Men's Default, in their Concealment or Escape, or for the not rendering them up as aforesaid.

III. That all Officers, Soldiers, and all other Persons now in the City, not excepted in the last precedent Article, shall also have Liberty to march away with their Clothes, Bag and Baggage, Money, and all other their Goods of what kind soever, except Arms, Ammunition, and other Utensils of War, carrying nothing but their own, to what Place or Places they shall chose respectively within the Dominion of *Ireland*, not being a Garrison for the Parliament, all the Field Officers of Horse and Foot, and Captains of Horse, with their Horses, Pistols and Swords, and other the Commissioned Officers with their Swords only, and shall have three Months Time after the Surrender, to remove any Goods of their own, that they shall not think fit soever to carry with them: And such of them as shall chuse to go to any Garrison or Parties of the Enemy, shall have Convoy or safe Conduct for that Purpose, for such Time as shall be requisite for their March, at the rate of ten Miles a Day, and shall have Carriages and Provisions allowed from the Country at the usual Rates.

IV. That such of the Citizens and Inhabitants interested in the City, as are not excepted in the second Article, and shall not presently march, as aforesaid, but desire to continue longer in the City, shall upon Application for that Purpose to the said Deputy General, or the chief Officer commanding in *Limerick* after the Surrender, have Licence given them to stay, either for such further Time as the said Deputy General, or the said chief Officer present, shall find convenient; or until further Warning given them to depart: And in Case of such Licence given till further Warning, shall have four Months Time allowed from and after such Warning, for the Removal of themselves and their Families, and six Months for the Removal of their Goods; and during such further Time limited, or in Case of Reference to further warning during their Continuance there to the time of Warning given; and for the said four Months, and six Months after respectively, shall be protected in their Persons, Families, and Goods, from all Injury and Violence; and at any Time as they shall desire, which in the said Space or Spaces respectively, shall have Liberty and safe Conduct for the Removal of themselves, their Families, and Goods, to any Place or Places within this Dominion, not being garrisoned for the Parliament as aforesaid; and if they shall not be admitted to reside elsewhere in Protection within this Dominion, they shall have Liberty for themselves, their Wives, Children, and Goods, to pass beyond the Seas: Provided, that they pay their due Proportion of what Taxes, and other Contribution, shall be charged upon the City, from the Day of the Surrender, to the Day of the Removal, in due Proportion with other Places in *Ireland*, and behave themselves as becomes:
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And such of the said Citizens and Inhabitants, as having not Licence to stay until further Warning, shall, within a Month after the Surrender, be ordered to depart, shall have the same Benefit of the third Article, as those that march away immediately upon the Surrender.

V. That all such Persons now in the City, as shall desire to live peaceably, and submit to the Parliament of *England*, except the Persons excepted in the second Article foregoing, and except all Clergymen, Priests, and Friars of any Order, shall, upon their Application to that Purpose, have Protection to live quietly, at any such Place or Places within this Dominion, as they shall desire, and the said Deputy-General find convenient to admit: But such Protection shall not be understood to extend either to the assuring of them, either in the Enjoyment of their Lands or other Hereditaments, or to the granting of other Indemnity, or Freedom from Question, or Prosecution to Justice in a judicial Way, for any Crimes they may be guilty of, except to such as shall be found fit to have that Mercy and Favour expressly granted to them, or to others, for a certain Time to be limited for that Purpose; but to such as shall have Protection for a limited Time, either Citizens or others, it is intended they shall be freed from any Suit or Censure in the Civil Judicature, for Things done in relation to the War, during the Time limited.

Memorandum, as to the fourth Article foregoing, it is intended, that the Citizens not excepted against within a Month, may tarry, without particular Application, and have four Months after warning given, to remove themselves and Families, and six Months to carry away their Goods.

Memorandum, also, That all Soldiers or other Persons, not excepted in the second Article, who through Sicknes are disabled to remove themselves at present, shall have Liberty to march away when they shall recover, and have equal Benefit with others in their Conditions respectively. And that from twelve of the Clock this Day, there shall be Cessation of all Acts of Hostility on either Part. But the Persons besieged not to come without the Walls, except into the Island, and the Way leading to it; nor the Besiegers to come within the Walls or Island, saving into St. *John's* Gate, until the Time limited for surrender, without Licence from the other Party respectively.

And lastly, it is agreed, That no Person shall be understood to forfeit the Benefit of any the Articles, for another Man's Breach thereof, unless he be found to be consenting thereto, or privy to it, without discovering or endeavouring to prevent it. Provided this extend not to indemnify the Hostages in case of fail or of surrender.

In Testimony whereof, the Parties first above-mentioned, have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals to, the Day and Year first above mentioned.

Bar. Stackpoll.

Pierce Lacy.

Don. O'Brien.

Nich. Haly.

Dom. White.

John Baggot.

It cannot be believed, that these unequal and severe Conditions would have been accepted from any Army, not strong enough to have imposed upon a People unwilling to submit to them, and in a Season of the Year that alone would have secured a Place of less provided for Resistance; but

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that Colonel *Fennel*, the same Night these hard Demands were sent into the Town, received in *St. John's Gate Tower* two hundred Men from *Ireton*, and the other were removed into another Fort, called *Price's Mill*, where after they had continued two Days, and the People of the Town not yet agreeing what they would do, a Drum was sent through the City, commanding all manner of Soldiers in pay within the Town, to repair to our *Lady's Church*, and there to lay down their Arms; which was presently obeyed; and the Soldiers being bid forthwith to leave the Town, *Ireton*, the 29th of *October*, marched in, and receiving the Keys, was without any Contradiction quietly possessed thereof, causing as many of the excepted Persons as could be found to be committed to Prison, and made Sir *Hardress Waller* Governor of the City.

In this manner was *Limerick* defended by the Catholick *Irish*; and this Obedience did the Prelates and Clergy, in their need, receive from those, over whom they had Power enough to seduce from the Duty they owed to the King, and from submitting to his Authority; and now was the Harvest that they gathered the Fruit of all their Labours: The Instances of Severity and Blood which *Ireton* gave upon his being possessed of this Place, were very remarkable: *Edmund O Duyr*, the Bishop of *Limerick*, had the Dexterity and good Fortune, that either by marching out amongst the common Soldiers, or by concealing himself with some faithful Friend in the Town, which is not so probable, to escape their Hands, and afterwards died at *Brussels*, pursued with the Malice of the Nuncio-nist Zealots; whilst *Ireton* manifested what his Portion would have been, by the Treatment they gave to *Terlagh O Brien*, the Bishop of *Emly*, whom they took, and without any Formality or Justice, and with all Reproaches imaginable, caused him to be publicly hanged. This unhappy Prelate had, from the Beginning, opposed with great Passion the King's Authority, and most obstinately adhered to the Nuncio, and to that Party still, which was most averse from returning to their Allegiance, and was thus miserably and ignominiously put to Death, even in that City, whence he had been a principal Instrument to shut out his Majesty's Authority.

It may be remembred in the former Part of this Discourse, that when the King at Arms proclaimed the Peace at *Limerick* in 1646, one *Dominick Fanning*, a Citizen of the Town, raised a Mutiny, which Rabble affronted the Herald, and wounded the Mayor, and was himself, by the Nuncio, for that good Service, made Mayor in the former's Place: This Man continuing the same Bitterness of Spirit against the King's Authority, always opposed the receiving of a Garrison from the Lord Lieutenant. This *Dominick Fanning* being one of those twenty four, which *Ireton* had excepted, found a Way amongst the common Soldiers, to get out of the Town, notwithstanding all the Diligence that was used to discover him: When he was free, and in Safety, he returned to the Town to fetch some Money that he had privately hid, and to make some Provision for his Subsistence, which he had not Time to do before: But going to his own House, his Wife refused to receive him, or to assist him in any Thing; whereupon he departed, and after he had walked up and down the Streets some Time, the Weather being extreme cold, he went to the Main-guard, where was a good Fire, and being discovered to be a Stranger, and asked who he was, voluntarily confessed that he

was

was *Dominick Fanning*, for whom such strict Search had been made; he was thereupon apprehended, and the next Morning carried before the Governor, and immediately hanged. The same Fate had *Frier Wolfe*, and Alderman *Thomas Strich*, who, when the Lord Lieutenant would have entered that Town in 1650, for its Preservation, raised a Tumult, and shut the Gates against him. And this very Colonel *Fennel*, who by possessing himself of the Port, and turning the Cannon upon the Town, betrayed it to the Enemy, though he had for the present the Benefit of the Articles, was within few Months after taken by them, and, without any Consideration of his last Merit, hanged as the rest had been. In a Word, all those who had been the first causers and raisers of the Rebellion, or who with most Malice and Obstinacy opposed their Return to the King's Obedience, and had the Misfortune to fall into the Enemy's Hands, as the Bishop of *Ross*, whose Fate we have before told you, *Jeffery Baron*, who kept *Waterford* from receiving the Lord Lieutenant, taken afterwards at *Limerick* and there hanged, and many others, were made Examples of the like Nature.

About the same Time that *Limerick* was surrendered, Sir *Charles Coote* defeated a Party of the *Fitz-Patricks* and *O Dwyer's* Forces, who had regained *Meleke Island*, after the taking of it by Colonel *Axtel*, undergoing a resolute Defence thereof to the Baffling of his Foot, which were worsted two or three Times together; but the Gallantry of his Horse recovered the Honour, making three hundred resolute *Irish* accept of Quarter for their Lives, some three hundred being slain and drowned.

This Business of *Limerick* being over, *Ireton* within a few Days, without drawing his Army nearer than the Castle of *Clare*, which he and Sir *Charles Coote* jointly took in, sent a Summons to the City of *Galway*, offering therein *Limerick's* first Conditions, wishing them withal to put him to no more Trouble, lest they fared as *Limerick* did through their Stubbornness; adding such other Threats, as he thought most like to make Impressions upon them; and a great Impression they did make. But *Ireton* dying at *Limerick* the 26th of *November*, having contracted a Fever through his continual Watching and Services through the whole Siege of *Limerick*, they had a little respite; and being united under the Command of General *Preston*, the Town of *Galway* addressed themselves to the Lord Deputy, and desired his Assistance, promising all Obedience to his Majesty's Authority in him: Nor was he so much discouraged by their former Carriage, and their having accepted the Articles made with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and their declaring him to be their Protector, without ever communicating it to the Lord Deputy, as to decline having furthur to do with them. But upon their first Address to him, he sent his Secretary to them with some Directions, and shortly after went himself thither, having summoned such of the Nobility, Prelates, and principal Gentry, as could with Safety repair thither, to consult what might yet be done for their Defence, they having still Men enough dispersed in several Parties to resist the Enemy, if they were drawn together, and united amongst themselves; and the Town of *Galway* was so good a Port, that any Supplies or Succours might come from abroad to them.

Upon *Ireton's* Death, the Commissioners, formerly mentioned to reside at *Dublin*, made Lieutenant General *Ludlow* Commander in Chief, till the Parliament in *England* should take further Order about that Concern. In the Interim, Sir *Charles Coote* with his Party straightned *Galway*,

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way, blocking up their Harbours, and approaching with his Fortifications nearer by Land, which wrought so far upon the Assembly there, that in *February* they importuned the Lord Deputy, to give them leave to send to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, who by this Time was come to aid Sir *Charles Coote* in the Siege, for a safe Conduct for their Commissioners, to treat of Conditions for the Settlement of the Nation; upon which they would submit to the Government of the Parliament, professing to the Lord Deputy, that they would in the mean Time make such Preparation for their Defence, that if the Parliament would not give them good and ample Conditions, they would sell themselves at such a dear Rate, that should make their Conquest of little Use to their Enemy. Upon which, the Lord Deputy, the Marquis *Clanrickard*, the 14th of *February* 1651, writes to the Commander in Chief of the Parliament's Forces, and in Conclusion had no grateful Reply: Which when the *Irish* found, that they could not have so much as a safe Conduct sent for their Commissioners, nor could be admitted so much as to treat for the Nation, but only that particular Places and Persons might be admitted to compound for themselves, as others had done, their Spirits failed them; and after a very little Deliberation, and before they put the Enemy to the Trouble of storming them, without so much as consulting the Lord Deputy, or asking his Leave, though he was within less than half a Day's Journey of the Town, they entered into a Treaty, and in a short Time after, *viz.* the 12th of *May*, surrendered the Town to Sir *Charles Coote*, for the Use of the Parliament of *England*, upon such Conditions, as would not be yielded to by the Commissioners, or the Parliament: Though afterwards this Difficulty was composed, and many considerable Garrisons in *Connaught* followed the Example, whilst many were amazed, to see, upon what easy Terms, they parted with their last important Town, a Place of great Strength, and had they been resolute, invincible, having still, in loose Parties over the Kingdom, more Men in Arms to have defended it, than the *English* could have brought against the Town. Upon which and other Circumstances, the *Irish* in *Leinster* and *Munster*, being reduced to straights, meditate a Compliance, some under the Earl of *Westmeath*, others under *Muskery*, but opposed by the *Ulster* Confederacy.

Ireton's Funeral being over, which were performed with great Solemnity, on the 6th of *February* following, in *Henry VII's* Chappel, since buried under *Tyburn*, the Parliament consulted, whom they should make Deputy, as they called it, in *Ireton's* Room: And Major General *Lambert*, a Commissioner in *Scotland*, was by *Cromwel*, the Parliament's Lord Lieutenant, nominated thereunto: Whereupon, he presently appeared, but seemed unwilling to accept of the Charge; a Difficulty soon removed, making in a little Time all Things ready for his Departure, inasmuch as Waggon with his private Provisions, a Recruit of Soldiers, and Money, were in Readiness to be sent away. But *Cromwel's* Commission determining in the End of *April*, it came into Debate in the House, whether it should be renewed again; but he offering to lay it down, it was accepted; so there being no Lord Lieutenant, they voted, there should be no Lord Deputy, and that Major General *Lambert* should be only Commander in Chief of the Forces there: And about the 4th of *July*, 1652, Colonel *Charles Fleetwood*, who had lately married *Ireton's* Relict, Lieutenant General of the Horse, was made Commander in Chief of

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of the Forces in *Ireland*; he hastened his Dispatch, and used great Diligence to get over to his Charge.

In the mean Time, several Things were under Debate in the House, for settling of *Ireland*: That great Act for Confiscation of all the Rebels Lands, was passed the 12th of *August*; and another appointed to be brought in, for settling the Adventurers Estates for *Ireland*, which passed the 26th of *September* 1653, and was confirmed 1656. But these requiring much Time, the Commander in Chief went away about the Midst of *August* and left them to receive a Dispatch in his Absence. He had a very prosperous Passage, and arrived within few Days after his Departure: He settled his Residence at *Kilkenny*, by Reason *Dublin* and the Parts adjacent were at that Time much infected with the Plague. He found the War of *Ireland* drawing on to a Conclusion, the Rebels being Masters of few considerable Forts and Castles, throughout the whole Country, *Roscommon-Castle* and *Jamestown* having yielded the 3d of *April* to Colonel *Reynolds*, as the strong Hold of *Ross* in *Kerry* did, the 27th of *June*, to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and the strong Fort of *Inchlough*, the 1st of *August*, to Colonel *Zanckey*: And their Forces were so weak, as they were not able to keep the Field, and so dispersed, as they had already in Parties come in, as did the Earl of *Westmeath*, the Lord *Muskery*, Colonel *Connor*, *O Roe*, Sir *William Dungan*, Sir *Francis Talbot*, and many others, to the Number of eight hundred, upon the *Kilkenny* Articles, which were, in a manner, 'to submit unto Discretion, and subject themselves to a Trial, for the Murthers committed in the Beginning of the Rebellion; all found guilty thereof were excepted from Pardon, their Estates confiscated, and the others who had only assisted in the War, were to forfeit two Parts of their Estates, and be banished: And accordingly great Numbers of them were transported into *Spain*, the latter End of this Summer.

Yet the Marquis of *Clanrickard* did not leave the Kingdom in many Months after the Surrender of *Galway*, but endeavoured by all Means possible to draw the scattered Forces together, that he might prosecute the War afresh, according to his Majesty's Letters, in the Years 1650, and 1651, 'encouraging him to his Continuance in Arms, as advantageous, by Way of Diversion, to his then intended Progress of promoting his Design in *Scotland*, and coming into *England*.' And to that End, the 16th of *May*, the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, with the *Connaught* Forces, marched to *Ballishannon*, which he took by Storm, and presently after *Dungal-Castle*, where the *Ulster* Forces under Sir *Phelim O Neal*, the *O Reilys*, and *MacMahon's* joined with him; but upon Intelligence that Sir *Charles Coote*, and Colonel *Venables* were marched against him, he retired to *Armagh*, intending for *Raphoe*: Whilst Sir *Charles Coote*, in his Pursuit of him, retook *Ballishannon* and *Dungal-Castle*, gaining also *Sligo*, *Mallymote*, and many other Garrisons; so as the Marquis was forced to shelter himself in the Isle of *Carrick*.

And having received his Majesty's Command, to take Care of his own Security, that he fell not into the Enemy's Hands, he, having no Port to friend, where he might chose a Vessel, and being so betrayed by the *Irish*, as not securely to stay twenty-four Hours in a Place, was compelled to have a Pass from the Parliament's Forces, not excepting any other Conditions for himself, than that he might for some Time remain secure in their Quarters, without taking the Oath usually imposed by them, and

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have Liberty to transport himself, and three thousand *Irish* more, into any Prince's Country and Service, then in Amity with *England*; which was granted; and in *March* 1652, he was transported into *England*, in a Vessel belonging to the Parliament, after he had borne the Title of the King's Deputy in *Ireland*, little more than two Years, not with greater Submission from the Catholick *Irish*, than had before been paid to the Lord Lieutenant; and so retired to *London*, where not long after he died, and was thence carried to *Summerhill*, a pleasant Seat of his own, which *Bradshaw* had in Custodiam, near *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, and was buried in the Parish Church. He was a Person much respected for his Integrity, and, though of a contrary Opinion to those then in Usurpation, looked on as a Favourer of the *English*, and one that no ways indulged the Cruelties and Pretensions of the *Irish*.

This was the Fate of that unhappy Nation, both under Protestant and Roman Catholick Governors, neither having had the Credit to be Masters of the *Irish* Temper, fomented by the Insolencies of the Priests, and whatever might instigate them against the *English* Government.

Soon after the Marquis of *Clanrickard's* Departure, the lesser Concerns of that Nation were, with little Trouble and Charge, brought in Obedience to the Parliament, who declared, the 26th of *September* 1653, 'That the Rebels were subdued, and the Rebellion appeased and ended;' and thereupon proceeded to the Distribution of their Lands, in Pursuance of the Act for Subscriptions, 17 *Carol.* 1. Some Time before which, a High Court of Justice was settled in *Ireland*, a Name we have Reason not to mention, without Horror and Astonishment, considering who was summoned to such a Tribunal, which certainly would never have been, how vain, how ambitious, how prodigious soever some Mens Success was, a Strumpet often leading one to Attempts above their first Thoughts, had not the Rebels of *Ireland*, for carrying on their pernicious Practices, avouched the sacred Authority for their Pretence and Colour; that though these, with *Pilate*, washed their Hands from the Blood of this righteous One, yet they have, as the Shame, so the Guilt of that Royal Blood on themselves, who originally gave the Occasion of such a Discourse, which afterwards was made one of the pretended Causes, for the most barbarous and inhumane Act ever perpetrated: *Inter tragicæ Fortunæ Exempla omnibus retro seculis memorandus.* Upon which, eloquent *Du Moulin*, one of the clearest Lights of the *French* Church, honouring me with a Letter on that Subject, thus passionately discovers his Resentment; *La Morte de vostre bon Roy d'une facon si indigne, & si horrible par les Mains des Independans, M'outré le Coeur de Douleur: C'est une action sans Exemple, & un opprobre ineffacable a nostre Religion; vostre Nation tant Genereuse a elle perdu tout Courage? Les Escossoes se taisent ils la dessus? Mais quoy! Il faut Mettre le doigt sur la bouche, & adorer les Conseils de Dieu, qui sont Inscrutables.*

It is observable, let some foam as they please, that there were none, who so much as pretended to have a Reverence for the Church of *England*, that ever had the least Hand in this foul and ugly Business. And Instance of that is in what the Lord Chancellor *Hide* acquainted the Parliament with, in expresse Words from his Majesty, when he was employed in an Embassy to *Spain*; That the horrid Murder of his Royal Father, was not the Act of the Parliament, or People of *England*, but of a very wretched and little Company of Miscreants in the Kingdom, fol. 41.

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Upon which, Monsieur *Moses Amiraldus*, the excellent *French* Divine, hearing of the Protestant Religion aspersed as seditious and treasonable, writ a Piece in *French*, in Vindication of the Protestant Religion, and dedicated it to our King, *Charles II.* in the Time of his Exile, when *Militiere* and others, would have inforced the barbarous Martyrdom of his Royal Father, as a just Motive to his apostatizing, and not trusting his Safety to the Protestant Religion; whereas all these blustering Storms, as the Bishop of *Derry* observes in his excellent Tract against *Militiere*, radicated him deeper in his Religion; that what these intended for his Evil, proved his Good. And certainly whatsoever conspired to complete so execrable a Design, as the *Murthber of the King*, nothing contributed more than the *Irish*, deluding his Sacred Majesty so long with their Promises of a competent Army, whereby he relying on them, too confidently assured of their Ability and Power to perform it, deferred those Agreements, which else he might have seasonably composed at home.

And could there ever be an equaller Distribution of God's Vengeance, than that they by a parallel Court, should suffer the Loss of their Estates, Lives and Fortunes? Which, though unusual, was the only Expedient; sufficiently set forth in the ensuing Speech of the Lord *Lowther's*, a Person of that Gravity and Worth, as whatsoever may be said by others, can never reach the State of the Question, more fully, with less Animosity, and greater Truth, than he hath done at the Trial of Sir *Phelim O Neal*, in *February* 1652. The first Court of this Nature, whereof Justice *Donnelan* an *Irish* Native was President, and Commissary General *Reynolds*, and Justice *Cook* Assistants, was at *Kilkenny* the 4th of *October*, where the Supreme Council of the Rebels sate in 1642.

The Lord Lowther's Speech, at the Opening of the High Court of Justice, at the Trial of Sir Phelim O Neal.

YOU have well understood, how that by this Commission which hath now been read, the Right Honourable the Commissioners of the Parliament, of the Common-wealth of *England*, for the Affairs of *Ireland*, by Virtue of the Power and Trust committed to them, have here erected, constituted, and appointed, a High Court of Justice.

And have constituted and appointed Persons therein nominated, or any twelve or more of them, to be Commissioners and Judges of the said Court.

And have authorized them to make Inquisition for Blood, and that in three main Points.

1. To hear and determine all Murthers and Massacres, of any Protestant *English*, or other Person or Persons whatsoever, within this Nation, done or committed by any Person or Persons whatsoever, both Principal and Accessaries, who since the 1st Day of *October* 1641, have killed, slain, or otherwise destroyed any Person or Persons in *Ireland*, which at the Time of their being so killed, slain or destroyed, were not publickly entertained and maintained in Arms, as Officers or private Soldiers, for and on the behalf of the *English* against the *Irish*.

2. To hear and determine the Charges, Crimes and Causes, of all and every Person and Persons, both Principal and Accessaries, who since the said 1st Day of *October* 1641, have killed or destroyed any Person or Persons,

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Persons, entertained or maintained as Officers or private Soldiers, for and on the Behalf of the *English* against the *Irish*, the said Person so killing or destroying, not being then publicly entertained and maintained in Arms, as Officers or private Soldiers, under the Command and Pay of the *Irish* against the *English*.

3. To hear and determine the Charges, Crimes, and Causes, of all such Persons, that have killed or slain, or otherwise destroyed any Person or Persons, after quarter given, contrary to the Rules of War : And to bring to Trial, Judgment, and condign Punishment, the Principals and Accessories to those Crimes, that is to say, the Actors, Contrivers, Counselors, Advisers, Promoters, Abettors, Aiders and Assisters, of any the said Murthers, Massacres, or killing after Quarter given, contrary to the Rules of War.

This Commission doth likewise furnish the Commissioners, with all necessary Powers requisite for this great Service, and necessarily conducing to these Ends.

By this Commission we may well observe, for the Comfort of all the good and faithful People of this Land, the Justice and Wisdom of the High Court of Parliament, of the Commonwealth of *England*, and of their Right Honourable Commissioners here for the Affairs of *Ireland*.

1. Their Justice, in bringing these Crimes to Trial.
2. Their Wisdom, in ordering this honourable, just and equal form of Trial.

1. Their Justice and Zeal of Justice appears in this, That in all their Treaties and Articles concerning *Ireland*, they would never admit of any the least Hope of Impunity, for these barbarous and cruel Murthers and Massacres, and breach of Quarter, nor of any Thing that might give Impediment, unto the faithful and impartial Inquisition after all that innocent Blood, which the merciless Murtherers have wickedly shed in this Land.

2. Their Justice and Zeal of Justice appears, in that they have omitted nothing too dear to them.

But have with admirable Charge, Resolution and Constancy, overcome all Hazards and Perils, and have with a vast Expence of *English* Blood and Treasure, prosecuted this War, which was but an Execution of Justice, to this Conclusion, and affected this fair and impartial Inquisition for innocent Blood, to put away innocent Blood from the Land ; for our righteous God, the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, hath revealed it in his Holy Scripture, that he will not have such wickedness to pass without condign Punishment.

For there are three Things which the Lord hates, *viz. Oculos sublimes, Linguam mendacem, Manus effundentes innoxium sanguinem*, Prov. 6. 17.

Their Wisdom appears in this :

1. In that, as good Husbandmen, they prepare the Replantation of the Land, by rooting out the noisom Weeds, that always would overgrow and destroy the good Corn, as we have found by sad Experience.

And certainly both in Religion and Prudence, it is undoubtedly necessary to clear the Land by Justice of this innocent Blood, the innocent Blood of Christians, most wickedly and cruelly shed upon the Land, against the Laws of God and Man, of Nature, and of Nations, the Laws of the Land, and the Rights and Rules of War, and the Bonds of Humanity and human Society.

2. In

2. In ordering this Form of Trial by an High Court of Justice, for the impartial Inquisition, Trial, and condign Punishment, of these Murthers, Massacres, and breach of Quarter : For it is manifest to any Man of sound Judgment and right Knowledge in the Law, That that ancient and excellent Trial at the Common Law by Juries, Freeholders of the proper Counties and Hundreds, or Baronies, where the Facts were done, was neither convenient nor possible for the Decision of these Causes, as the present Constitution of the Common-wealth now is.

Where now can these Numbers of indifferent Jurors be had, *Liberi & legales Homines*, free from all Exceptions and Challenges, out of which the Juries may be equally impannelled, for the Trial of the Prisoners, that are or shall be charged with these Crimes ?

How can all the effectual Forms, absolutely requisite to that Trial, be observed in all these Cases, if we do but consider the legal Challenges, both for the Common-wealth and for the Prisoners, to the Array, to the principal Pannel, to the Pales, the peremptory Challenges, the Challenges for Causes, inducing favour or Affection, Hatred or Enmity, or for Crime, and how in that Course could rightly be the Trial of the Articles of War : So that that Course of Trial, not being now apt for the Decision of these Causes :

The Commissioners of Parliament have, in Wisdom and Prudence, erected and constituted this fair, honourable, equal, and indifferent Course of Trial, by erecting an High Court of Justice, for the hearing and determining of these Causes :

Wherein are Soldiers for the Articles, Rules, and Laws of War ; Judges for the Knowledge of the national Laws ; others that have Cognizance of the Civil Laws, and other Men of great Experience, Reason, and Judgment ; and all of them Men of Honour and Integrity, to be the Triers and Judges in these Cases.

Having thus far opened the Commission, and manifested this Form and Course of Trial to be honourable, just, and equal, I conceive it requisite a little to consider the Laws against Murther, which are to be as Land-marks and Guides, to direct and lead us in the right Way of Judgment in this great Work and Service.

Let us take a brief View of the Laws of God, held forth unto us in the Holy Scriptures ; and of the other Laws against Murther. And herein consider,

First, The Law against Murther in the Beginning, in the Infancy of the World, before the Flood, a general Deluge over the World.

Second, The Law against Murther immediately after the Flood.

Third, The moral Law of God.

Fourth, The judicial and political Law of the Jews.

Fifth, The Law under the Gospel.

Sixth, The Law of *England*.

Seventh, The Law of *Ireland*.

Eighth, *Jus Belli*, the Law of War.

This same horrid Sin of Murther, this Devil, crept into the World ; it began in the Beginning, what can expulse this Devil ?

First, We find in the Holy Scriptures, that the Devil was the first Murtherer and Lyar, and that he is the Father of Murtherers and Lyars. The unbelieving Jews bragged, they *had Abraham to their Father*, and yet they sought to kill Christ ; whereupon our Saviour tells them, *that*

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they are of their Father the Devil, and the Lusts of their Father they will do : He was a Murtherer from the Beginning, and abode not in the Truth, because there is no Truth in him : When he speaketh a Lye, he speaketh of his own. So that from hence the Lyars and Murtherers take their Beginning, and from hence these inseperable Twins make and derive their Pedigree and Descent from the Devil ; viz. He was a Lyar and a Murtherer from the Beginning ; and he is the Father of Lyars and Murtherers.

1 Joh. 3. 12.

The first and eldest of these in the Stock and Progeny, was Cain : *Non sicut Cain, qui ex maligno erat & occidit fratrem suum, & propter quid occidit eum, quoniam opera ejus maligna erunt fratris, autem ejus justa.*

And therefore, John saith, *Not as Cain, who was of that wicked one, and slew his Brother ; and wherefore slew he him, because his own Works were evil, and his Brother's righteous.*

Jude ver. 11.

Wo unto them, saith he, for they have gone in the Way of Cain. This Way of Cain is chalked out unto us in the Beginning of the Holy Bible, Gen. 4. 8. that he talked with his Brother Abel ; and it came to pass when they were in the Field, that Cain rose up against Abel his Brother, and slew him. As soon as this innocent Blood was shed upon the Earth, the cry thereof ascended up to Heaven. And the Lord said to Cain, *What hast thou done ? The Voice of thy Brother's Blood crieth to me from the Ground,* Gen. 4. 10, 11. And now thou art accursed from the Earth, which hath opened her Mouth to receive thy Brother's Blood from thy Hand. When thou tillest the Ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her Strength ; a Fugitive and a Vagabond shalt thou be in the Earth.

The Learned Divines observe upon the Text, that whereas our Translation is, *The Voice of thy Brother's Blood crieth unto me ;* the Original is, *The Voice of thy Brother's bloods,* in the plural Number ; for in killing Abel, he did not only kill him, but also all that Posterity, the whole Line that should have descended from Abel ; and therefore, *thy Brother's bloods crieth unto me from the Ground.* It is not the single Blood, as one of the murdered that crieth for Vengeance, but even the Blood of all that Posterity, as should have descended from him, crieth to Heaven for Vengeance against the Murtherer.

We find this innocent Blood of Abel, shed in the Beginning of the World still in Remembrance, uttering her Voice in the highest Strain, and crying against Murtherers even to the World's End.

Matth. 23.

Our Saviour denouncing several Woes against the Scribes and Pharisees tells them, that *they should kill the Prophets that should be sent unto them, that on them may come all the righteous Blood shed upon the Earth, even from the Blood of the righteous Abel, unto the Blood of Zacharias, Son of Barachias, whom they slew between the Temple and the Altar.*

Heb. 11. 4.

By faith Abel offered unto God a more acceptable Sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his Gift, and by it he being dead yet speaketh.

Heb. 12. 24.

And we are come to Jesus the Mediator of the New Testament, and to the Blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better Things than that of Abel.

The Blood of the righteous Abel is still in Remembrance, and yet speaking. And in the latter End of the Bible, Revel. 6. 9, 10. we find the Souls of them that were slain for the Testimony of Jesus under the Altar, crying

crying with a loud Voice, *How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not revenge our Blood on them that dwell on Earth.* So that the Blood of righteous *Abel*, and all the innocent Blood shed on the Earth, yet speaketh, and still crieth for Vengeance and Justice against the Murtherers. And, to conclude the Case of Murther before the Flood, we find, that one of the main Causes which provoked God's Wrath, and brought that great Destruction of the whole World by *Noah's Flood*, was, *because the Earth was filled with Violence*, Gen. 6. 11, 18. And will not that which destroyeth the whole World, over-whelm these Nations, if they be not purged by Justice?

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Second, *The Law against Murther after the Flood.*

Now because the Old World perished through Violence, God, in his new Re-establishment of the World, provided against Violence, and for the preventing of Murther ordered this to be one of his First Fundamental Laws.

Surely the Blood of your Lives will I require; at the Hands of every Beast will I require it, and at the Hands of Man, and at the Hands of every Man's Brother will I require the Life of Man. Ver. 6. *Whoso sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed; for in the Image of God made he Man.* Gen. 9. 5.

Third, The moral Law of God delivered upon Mount *Sinai*, and written by God himself in Tables of Stone, and by his Spirit engraven in every Man's Heart, *Thou shalt do no Murther*, Exod. 20. 13.

Fourth, *The Judicial Law.*

Next to the moral Law of God, I come to the judicial and political Law of the Jews.

He that killeth any Man shall surely be put to Death.

There are several Cases of Murther put, and upon every of them the Law is delivered, *That the Murtherer shall surely be put to Death.*

Moreover, you shall take no Satisfaction for the Life of a Murtherer which is guilty of Death, but he shall surely be put to Death.

Ye shall not pollute your Land wherein you are, for Blood defileth the Land, and the Land cannot be cleansed of Blood that is shed therein, but by the Blood of him that sheddeth it.

Thine Eye shall not pity, but Life shall go for Life.

Upon these Laws, I will only put a Case or two, which I conceive may be useful to us upon these Points, in the Discharge of this Service.

The Case of *Agag* King of the *Amelekites*, whose Life *Saul* spared, being brought before *Samuel* the great Judge in *Israel*.

And Samuel said unto him, As thy Sword hath made Women childless, so shall thy Mother be childless among Women. And Samuel bewed Agag in Pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.

The next Case is that of *David*, *David* writes to *Joab*, by *Uriah*, to set *Uriah* in the Fore-front of the hottest of the Battle, and to retire from him that he may be smitten and die: *Joab* did so, and so *Uriah* was slain.

The Lord, by *Nathan* the Prophet, tells *David*, *That he hath killed Uriah with the Sword of the Children of Ammon, and therefore the Sword shall never depart from his House.*

Exod. 21. 12.
& 24.
Levit. 17.
Mumb. 35.
Numb. 35. 31.

Ver. 33.

Deut. 19. 21.

1 Sam. 15. 32.

Chap. 15. 3.

1 Sam. 11. 15.

2 Sam. 12. 9.
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1 Kings 2. 5.

2 Sam. 20. & 10.

The Case of *Joab* is remarkable.

Joab was a Kinsman to *David*, and he was Captain of his Hoast, he did many great Services, and grew old in his Service; yet for all this, *David* charges *Solomon*, that he should not let his hoary Head go down to the Grave in Peace; because he had shed the Blood of War in Peace, in killing of *Abner* and *Amasa*. And though *Joab* flies to the Tabernacle, and took hold of the Horns of the Altar, yet *Solomon* commands him there to be slain, to take away the innocent Blood which *Joab* had shed, in killing *Abner* the Son of *Ner*, Captain of the Hoast of Israel, and *Amasa* the Son of *Jether*, Captain of the Hoast of Judah.

I will only add *Abab's* Case.

Abab covets *Naboth's* Vineyard, his Wife *Jezebel* undertakes the Business; *Abab* leaves the Matter to her Management, she writes Letters in *Abab's* Name, seals them with his Seal, and so carries the Business, that *Naboth* is stoned to Death, and *Abab* takes Possession of the Vineyard.

The Lord sends *Elijah* the Prophet unto *Abab*, saying, *Thus saith the Lord, Hast thou killed, and also taken Possession, &c. In the Place where Dogs licked the Blood of Naboth, shall Dogs lick thy Blood, even thine. And of Jezebel also saith the Lord, The Dogs shall eat Jezebel by the Walls of Jezreel.*

I have remembred these Cases and Presidents, because they may be useful to us in this Service.

That of *Agag* and *Joab*, to admonish us not to spare Murtherers.

That of *Abab* and *David*, to instruct us, that the Authors, the Contrivers, the Counsellors, and the Abettors, are guilty of the Murther as well as the Actors, be their Plots and Devices never so subtilly and secretly carried.

Fifth, I come next to the Law under the Gospel.

Those Laws against Murther are confirmed by our Saviour in the Gospel, *Matth. 26. 52. Revel. 13. 10. He that killed with the Sword, must be killed with the Sword.*

Matth. 5. 18.

Verily I say unto you, Till Heaven and Earth pass away, one jot or tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law till all be fulfilled. And in Verse 21, approves the Law against Murther, and also reproves the narrow and literal Gloss and Exposition of the Pharisees upon it, and gives us a larger and more spiritual Sense of it, *viz. that whosoever is angry with his Brother without Cause, is in Danger of Judgment.*

Sixth, The Law of England.

Murther, by the Law of *England*, is a Felony of Death, without Benefit of the Clergy or Sanctuary, and by the Law it is esteemed so high and grievous a Crime, that it is prohibited by many Acts of Parliament to grant any pardon for wilful Murther. This Law of *England* answers to that of *Deuteronomy*, *Thine Eye shall not pity, but Life shall go for Life.*

Seventh,

Seventh, *The Laws of Ireland.*

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By the Laws of *Ireland* wilful Murther is High Treason, which is of a temporal Offence, esteemed in Law to be the highest Crime, and hath been censured with the severest Judgment and Punishment; viz. for a Man to be drawn upon a Hurdle to the Place of Execution, and there to be hanged by the Neck, to be cut down alive, his Entrails and privy Members to be cut forth of his Body, and burnt within his Sight, his Head to be cut off, and his Body to be divided into four Quarters or Parts, &c.

For a Man to be drawn upon a Hurdle to the Place of Execution, and there his Bowels to be burned.

It is considerable, why, and upon what Grounds or Reasons, Murther was made a more horrid and execrable Crime in *Ireland* than in *England*, and punished with a greater Severity, viz. both with Torture and with Death, the Statute *Decimo Hen. 7.* in *Ireland*, which enacts it be so, gave the Reason of the Difference.

Praying the Commons, saith the Law, ‘ Forasmuch as there have been ‘ unusual Murthers, of malice propense, used and had in this Land of ‘ *Ireland*, &c. contrary to the Law of Almighty God, without any fear ‘ of due Punishment in that Behalf: Therefore the Statute doth enact ‘ Wilful Murther to be High Treason.’ That Sin was grown universal in *Ireland*, and therefore the Punishment must be extraordinary; the Universality of the Crime causeth the increasing of the Punishment, or the Severity thereof; *Ut metus ad omnes pœna ad paucos perveniet.* But it will admit another *Quære*, How it came to pass, that Malice and Murther was universal in *Ireland* more than in *England*? I conceive these two Reasons may be given for it as new.

1. We have been these many Years weltering in Blood, by the frequent Rebellions in *Ireland*, that have silenced the Laws.

2. Their was a main Defect in their *Irish* Laws and Customs, viz. their *Brehowne* Law, which the *Irish* continued amongst themselves, and the degenerate *English* embraced it, notwithstanding the Introduction of the just and honourable Laws of *England*. Now by their *Irish* Custom or *Brehowne* Law, Murther was not punished with Death, but only by Fines, or a pecuniary Mulct, which they called an *Errick*. Therefore when Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, being Deputy, told *Mac-Guire*, That he was to send a Sheriff into *Fermanagh*, being lately before made a County, the Sheriff, said *Mac-Guire*, shall be welcome, but let me know his *Errick*, the Price of his Head afore-hand, that if my People cut it off, I may put the *Errick* upon the County.

Now for the Reformation of these grievous Abuses in the Land, in the 10th Year of King *Henry VII.* in the Government of Sir *Edward Poinings* Knight, then Deputy of *Ireland*, there were three good and profitable Statutes made, which were called *Poinings’s* Acts, viz. the Statute of 10 *H. 7. cap. 8.* for the reviving, confirming, and putting in Execution of the Statute of *Kilkenny*, held before *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*; by which Statute at *Kilkenny*, the *Brehowne* Law was abolished; and decreed to be no Law, but a lewd Custom.

The Statute of 10 *H. 7. cap. oct.* by which it was enacted, That if any Person took any Money, or other Amends, for the Death of his Kinsman or Friend, then the Law would permit, meaning the Law of *England*, the same shall be Felony by this Law, the *Errick* was taken away.

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The Statute of 10 *H. 7. cap. vicesimo primo*, by which Murther is made High Treason in the Actor, Provoker, and Procurer of it. So that by these three Statutes, their *Brehowne* Law and lewd Custom was abolished, their *Errick* taken away, and Murther declared to be High Treason. And thus you see how it came to pass, that Murther is a greater Offence, and more severely punished in *Ireland* than in *England*; and by these good Laws, that horrid and execrable Crime and Monster of Blood and Murther was chained up, or at least fettered and restrained in *Ireland*, until its breaking loose upon us in this last and most barbarous and cruel Rebellion, with that inhumane Violence, and unsatiable Thirst of innocent Blood, with the savage Butcheries of Men, Women, and Children, without respect either of Age, or Sex, or Quality, as no History or Age can parallel.

It appears by a Cloud of Witnesses, the execrable Cruelties of the Murtherers were not satisfied with the Variety of Tortures and cruel Deaths of the Living, by Striping, Starving, Burning, Strangling, Burying alive, and by many exquisite Torments put to Death the Living; so that a present Dispatch by Death was a great Mercy: So cruel are the Mercies of the wicked.

But their hellish Rage and Fury stayed not here, but also extended it self even unto the Babes unborn, ripping them out of their Mothers Womb, and destroying even those innocent Babes to satiate their savage Cruelty. Nor staid here, but extended also to the Ransacking of the Graves of the Dead, dragging the dead Bodies of the Protestants out of their Graves, because they might not rest in their hallowed Ground.

Nor did yet their execrable Malice stay here, but became boundless, not only to the Devastation and Destruction of the Houses, Castles, and whole Substance of the Protestants, and whatsoever tending to Civility, but also even to the utter Extirpation of the *English* Nation, and Protestant Religion out of this Land of *Ireland*; all which the Murtherers, for of them I speak, acted with that brutish Outrage, as though Infidels, or rather the wild Beasts of the Wilderness, Wolves, and Bears, and Tigers, nay, Fiends and Furies, had been brought into the Land.

If any think this Language too harsh, let them consider, how the Holy Ghost ranks and couples the Murtherers with Dogs, *Rev. xxii. 15. For without the holy City, the heavenly Jerusalem, are Dogs, and Sorcerers, and Whoremongers, and Murderers, and whosoever loveth and maketh a Lie.*

No, no, Swans Language to express either the woful Miseries which the Protestants have suffered, or the abominable Cruelties the Murtherers have committed, are here tolerable.

I have not Words to declare, how the Murtherers in this horrid Rebellion have violated all Laws of God and Man, all Faith, all Bonds of Charity and human Society, and how perfidiously they have broken all the Rules, and Rights, and Laws of War.

Eighth, The Laws of War.

In republica maxime sunt observanda Jura belli.

By the Law and Rules, and Rights of War, Quarter warrantably given, ought inviolably to be observed; it is a fundamental Law of War, That Faith is to be kept with an Enemy, *Fides cum hoste servanda*; this hath been observed among the Heathens, Infidels have kept this Faith, the
Turks

Turks observed it ; but, by the Pope's Dispensation, the Christians once broke their Articles with the *Turks*, whereupon the Lord gave a Signal Victory to the *Turks* against the Christians ; the Story is well known : The Practice of the Murtherers in this Rebellion hath been according to the old popish Tenent, *Nulla fides cum Hæreticis*.

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And so, contrary to the Laws of War, many Protestants were murdered after quarter given, of which Crime, both are said to be guilty. But, that which exceeds all that can be spoken, makes their Sin exceeding sinful, and their Wickedness most abominable, is, that they began this Butchery and Cruelty even then, when the Protestants were in perfect Amity with them, and joined to them not only in peaceable Neighbourhood, but even in those Bonds that they pretend to hold most inviolable, *viz.* Gossiprick, Fosterage, and such like Ties of Friendship and Alliance.

When they enjoyed so licentious a Freedom of their *Romish* Superstition, and free Use of their Mass, they had their Titular Archbishops for every Province, their Titular Bishop, with his Dean and Chapter, for every Diocese, and their Secular Priest for every Parish in the Land, besides a monstrous Multitude of their Votaries and Regular Clergy: They had their Abbots, Priors, Monks, Nuns, Jesuits, Frieries, Monasteries, Nunneries, religious Houses, and Convents, in the principal Towns and Cities of the Land, even in this City of *Dublin*, the Residence of the State ; so that Father *Harris*, a Secular Priest of their own, published in Print, That it was as hard to find what number of Friars were in *Dublin*, as to count how many Frogs there were in the second Plague of *Egypt*.

They did not only exercise all their superstitious Rites and Ceremonies, but also the Papal Jurisdiction, as by Law they had Vicars-General, and kept their Provincial Courts and Consistories, and excommunicated the People, delivering them to Satan : When they enjoyed the Benefit of the same Laws with us ; nay, the End and Force of the Law was in some Cases abated as to them, which was not dispensed withal as to the Protestants : The Popish Lawyers were permitted to practise, and the Papists admitted to sue forth their Liberties and *Ousterlemains*, and to bear and execute the Office of Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, &c. without taking the Oaths of Allegiance or Supremacy, which was not permitted to the Protestants. And these Popish Lawyers, Priests, Jesuits, and Friars, have been the principal Incendiaries and Firebrands of all those horrible Flames which have thus consumed the Land, and were the chief Ringleaders of this horrid Rebellion, that the publick Burthens and Charges of the Commonwealth were borne more by the Protestants than by them, Consideration being had to their Numbers, and quality of Possessors of Inheritance.

And that of the Subsidy granted in *Decimo Car.* whereof they raised so great a Clamour both in *England* and *Ireland*, the Protestants paid above one third Part of the whole, besides the Clergy, though neither the Quantity or Quality of Lands of Inheritance, then holden of them in the Land, did amount to more than a fifth Part ; and besides all this, the Protestants had contributed to the Charge of their Committees, towards the obtaining of Grace in Bounties, in sending Commissioners for them ; and even then when the *British* and Protestants had improved the Lands of the *Irish* Papists, and enriched their Estates, and brought into the Land, Husbandry, Trades, Manufactory, Traffick, Merchandize, &c. by which Means, increase of Wealth grew in the Land to that

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Abundance, that the *Irish* grew not only rich but honourable; also they were made Earls, Viscounts, Lords, Baronets, Knights, &c. And when they enjoyed all this, and much more, if Time did permit to declare it, then, even then, without any Provocation, suddenly to rise up to this Heighth of Cruelty, to murder some Hundreds of Thousands of these Protestants, that lived peaceably and friendly with them, and that before they could take Arms in their Hands for their Defence; these Things, I say, makes the Sins of Murther, Violence, and Cruelty, unmeasurably sinful and detestable.

But I fear I have been too long and too troublesome, both to you and my self, I will conclude. It is well known how the loud Cry of innocent Blood of many Thousands of Christians ascending up to Heaven, and the devout and fervent Prayers of many of God's dear Saints and Servants, have solicited the Throne of Justice, that this happy and blessed Day might come, wherein Justice might impartially be executed against those Murtherers, whose Cruelties have made this Land a Field of Blood.

And now since the high and righteous Providence of God, by those many and signal Victories given to the Arms and Forces of *Ireland*, hath sent down from Heaven this Day of Justice unto us in this Land; we ought to return him all praise and thankfulness for this unspeakable Mercy. And since the Trust of this great Work, by the same Providence, is committed unto us, let us stir up his Grace with us, and Faithfulness of our Minds and Souls, to the faithful Discharge and Execution of this great Trust. *Sedes Judicanda est quasi Thronus Dei*, saith old *Braeton*, that learned Chief Justice, in *Henry the Third's* Time. I well remember, and have often thought upon the Council of *Jethro* to *Moses*, *Exod. 18. 2.* *Thou shalt provide thee out of all thy People able Men, such as fear God, Men of Truth, hating Covetousness; and set them to judge the People.* Whereupon *Moses* having constituted Judges over the People, gave them this Charge, *viz. Hear the Causes between your Brethren, and judge righteously between every Man and his Brother, and the Stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect Persons in Judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great. Ye shall not be afraid of the Face of Man, for the Judgment is God's.* *Deut. 16. 17.*

Give me leave likewise to mind you of *Jehosaphat's* Charge to the Judges, *2 Chron. 19. 6, 7, 9, 11.* *Take heed what you do, for you judge not for Man but for the Lord, who is with you in Judgment. Wherefore now let the Fear of the Lord be upon you, take heed and do it, for there is no Iniquity with the Lord our God, nor Respect of Persons, nor taking of Gifts. This shall ye do in the Fear of the Lord, faithfully, with a perfect Heart, and shall judge the Cause that shall come before you, between Blood and Blood, &c. Deal courageously, and the Lord shall be with you.*

There is also an excellent Rule for Judicature, put in the Case of the *Gibeonites* Abuse of the *Levite's* Wife, *Judg. 19. 30.* the Crime was horrid, the Case extraordinary; *There was never such a Deed done, or seen before in Israel*; the Tribes were moved at it, and upon the Assembly, the Rule is given, *viz. Consider of it, take Advice, and speak your Minds.* This certainly is an excellent Rule of Judicature, *viz. first,*

1. Consider of it, consider well the Case, and consider all the Circumstances of it; beware that no guilty Person escape, nor innocent Person be condemned: *For he that justifieth the Wicked, and condemneth the Just, even they both are an Abomination to the Lord.* *Prov. 17. 15.*

2. Take Advice and consult with others ; *Lean not to thine own Understanding*, saith the wise *Solomon*, Prov. 4. 5. *In the Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety*. Be not rash, nor sudden, or hasty to give Judgment. *Qui festinat ad judicium properat ad pœnitentiam*, Prov. 11. 14.

And therefore right grave and ponderous are the Entries of the Judgments in the common Law, *scil. Quibus lectis & auditis & per justiciarios his plenius intellectis & matura deliberatione me præhabita, &c. adjudicatur, &c.*

When we have patiently heard, and fully understood the Parties, and Proofs, the Witness, and whole Case, and have searched into all the Parts and Circumstances of it, and when we have advisedly considered, debated, and consulted of it, and taken mature Deliberation thereupon ; then according to the Charge of *Jehosaphat*, *Let us deal couragiously, give Sentence, and fear not the Face of Man, for God is with us.*

It is no less Impiety to absolve the Guilty, than to condemn the Innocent.

Thus Sir *Gerrard Lowther*, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, one principally employed in the weightiest Affairs at *Oxford* and *Westminster*, by the Marquis of *Ormond*, with his Majesty's Approbation ; that it cannot be said, we have here presented you with the Froth of a Fanatick, or one less interessed in the State, then one to whom the greatest Concerns thereof had been frequently communicated : Yet because his Speech, being spoke at the opening of the High Court of Justice, may be thought Apocryphal, and so not to be admitted for Doctrine, yet may be read for Instruction of Manners, we shall soon present you with some Thing Orthodox.

Many at *Kilkenny*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Dublin*, and other Places, underwent the Censure of the High Court of Justice, though the Number of those that suffered exceeded not two hundred, for that the Sword, Plague, Famine, and Banishment, had swept away vast Numbers ; amongst whom one *Tool*, a notable Incendiary of *Wicklow*, was one, against whom *Edmund Reily* the *Irish* Priest, and Vicar-General, afterwards Archbishop of *Ardmagh*, appearing in 1653, as a Witness, was there accused for the chief Author of surprizing and burning, in Cessation Time, the black Castle of *Wicklow*, and consequently too of murdering of all those were in it, upon which he was seized and committed ; yet, for his Service in betraying the Royal Camp at *Rathmines*, suffered no further Punishment.

In distributing of Lands, a Course was thought of, how the *English* might enjoy them freely, without Disturbance of the *Irish*, for the future, ever ready to fall upon them ; and therefore many of the Natives were transplanted into *Connaught*, and, according to the Extenuation of their Crimes, had more or less Land allotted them, which they enjoyed freely, and, in several Respects, was a great Conveniency to them, and not less Security to the *English* ; they, being now in a Body, might be better watched then several, where they would have been sure, on every Opportunity, to have disturbed the Peace.

One of the last Commanders amongst the *Irish*, which bore up against the Parliament, was *Moitogh O Brian*, who, being at last forced into his Fastnesses, obtain'd in *March* 1653, the usual Articles of Transportation ; by the Favour of which, not less then twenty-seven thousand Men, had that Year been sent away ; so as through the Numbers that had

1652.

1653.

1653.

been killed, died of the Plague, Famine, and had been transported, the Scarcity of People was very considerable; to supply which, *Fleetwood* writ that several Colonies might be sent over, offering very good Conditions to such Families that would transport themselves; whereupon great Numbers of all Sorts of Sex flocked into *Ireland*, which *Fleetwood* much indulging, *Cromwel* thought requisite, for the greater strengthening of his own Party, to make his Son *Harry* Lord Deputy, which he did in 1655, and soon after Lord Lieutenant, a Person who openly shewed himself against the Anabaptists, then raging, and countenanced the University, then in a low Ebb, bestowing upon it Bishop *Usher's* Library, composed of the choicest and best picked Books extant, carrying himself, so as some of the Rigour of his Father was thereby taken off, and that disordered Nation brought into the Condition of a flourishing State, yet afterwards, when he might have had many to have seconded him, he tamely yielded, in 1659, the Government to *Steel*, the Parliament's Lord Chancellor, and *Miles Corbet*, their chief Baron of the Exchequer; his Brother *Richard* having surrendered the Protectorship in *England*, very meanly, with a Submission, as he termed it, to Providence; so that Family expired.

1654.

1655.

1658.

1659.

And the Affairs of *England* growing every Day full of Change, *Ireland*, understanding what Sir *George Booth* had nobly attempted in *England*, grew thence early in its dutiful Address to his Majesty; and Sir *Theophilus Jones*, furthered by his Reverend Brother, Colonel *Warren, Bridges, Thompson, Lisle, Warder* and *Temple*, seized *Dublin* Castle; Sir *Charles Coote*, about the same Time, preferring an Impeachment of Treason against *Ludlow, Tomlinson, Corbet*, and *John Jones*, and weighing the Consequences of the present Distempers, he, together with the Council of the Officers of the Army, present at *Dublin*, the 16th of *February*, 1659, made a memorable Declaration concerning the Readmission of the secluded Members; about the same Time, sending Captain *Cusse*, to attend Colonel *Monk* into *England*, a General Convention being the 27th of *February*, before summoned by the Vigilance and excellent Contrivance and Industry of Doctor *Dudley Loftus*, in which Sir *James Barry*, afterwards Lord Baron of *Santry*, was Chairman: Several Affairs, of greatest Consequence, came there to be considered. First, the Arrears of the Soldiers, they were to be fastened to the Design, by their Interest, and by the Discharge of what was due to them, then what was most popular, and looked least to the Mark they aimed at, came under Consideration. No mention yet of the King, he was not to be named, though there were but few that saw him not at a Distance improving each Gale to further his Return, in as much as they continued till *May* 1660, then readily accepting of the King's Declaration from *Breda*, of the 14th of *April* 1660, laying hold, by their Declaration, of the 14th of *May*, of his Condescensions, as the fittest Expedient to cement the divided Interests in his three Kingdoms, which his Majesty, in his printed Declaration for the Settlement of *Ireland*, takes especial Notice of, in these Words, 'That our good Subjects, the Protestants, not Usurpers, as the Irish in their Case entitle them, in our Kingdom of *Ireland*, have borne a very good Part in the Blessing of our Restitution, and that they were early in their dutiful Addresses unto Us, and made the same Professions of a Resolution, to return

1660.

had that Xmas been kept away; so as through the Numbers that had been

to their Duty and Obedience to Us, during the Time of our being beyond the Seas, which they have since so eminently made good, and put in practice.' And here I cannot pass over, that when the *Irish* Brigade came to assist *Lambert*, against Sir *George Booth*, now Lord *Delameere*, and were in the North with him at that Time, advancing to know what General *Monk* intended; they under *Redman*, and *Bret*, first drew back, though some of their Officers, in their canting mood, thought to have wheedled General *Monk* into a Compliance. The Convention gave his Majesty 20000 *l.* the Duke of *York* 4000 *l.* and the Duke of *Glocester* 2000 *l.* and in *May* adjourned to the first of *November*, a standing Committee remaining in the Interim. And the 18th of *December*, 1660. his Majesty by his Letter, approved of this Convention, which met again the 22d of *January*, and Sir *William Dumvill* was appointed Chairman; it continued till *May* 1661. Before they determined, they had by a Committee, very sensible and gallantly defended, at Court, the *English* Interest, against the *Irish*; who, by reason of the Peace, which had been made with them in 1646 and 48, thought they had very much to plead for his Majesty's Favour, when upon the whole, it was proved, that if any of them were afterwards Loyal, the Generality disobeyed whatever had been indulged them; and the Contract was not to be understood to be made with a Party, but the Community; of which more in its due Place.

1660.

His Majesty was no sooner settled in *England*, but, upon both Houses of Parliament's Apprehension of the late Rebellion, and the *Irish* flocking at his Return into *England*, he within few Days published his Sense of that horrible Conspiracy, in the ensuing Proclamation.

By the King, A Proclamation against the Rebels in Ireland.

C. R.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects of *England* and *Ireland*, Greeting. We taking notice by the Information of the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament. That after the vast Expence of Blood and Treasure for the suppressing of the late horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, begun in *October*, 1641. There are yet many of the Natives of that Our Kingdom, deeply guilty of that Rebellion, who have of late broke out into new Acts of Force and Violence, some murdering, robbing, and despoiling several of Our *English* Protestant Subjects there planted, and others of them by force entering upon, and disquieting the Possessions of several Adventurers and Soldiers there, to the great and manifest Disturbance and Hinderance of Our *English* Plantation. And being very sensible of the innocent Blood of so many Thousands of Our *English* Protestant Subjects, formerly slain by the Hands of those barbarous Rebels, and of new Mischiefs of the same Kind, likely to fall out, as the sad Issue and Consequence of so unhappy Beginnings. Do therefore, by the Advice of the said Lords and Commons, now assembled, as well to testify Our utter abhorring of the said late Rebellion, as to prevent the like for the future; and for the present Establishment of the Peace of that Our Kingdom, hold it Our Duty to God, and the whole Protestant Interest, to command, publish, and

The dismal EFFECTS of

and declare, and do by this Our Proclamation, accordingly, command, publish, and declare, That all *Irish* Rebels, other than such as by Articles have Liberty to reside in these Our Dominions, and have not since forfeited the Benefit thereof, now remaining in, or which hereafter shall resort to *England* or *Ireland*, be forthwith apprehended, and proceeded against as Rebels and Traitors, according to Law. And that the Adventurers and Soldiers, and other Our Subjects in *Ireland*, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, who on the first Day of *January* last past were in the Possession of any of the Mannors, Castles, Houses, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, of any of the said *Irish* Rebels, shall not be disturbed in such their Possessions, until We, by the Advice of the Lords and Commons, now assembled as aforesaid, or such Parliament as We shall call in *England* or *Ireland*, shall take further Order, or that they be legally evicted, by due Course of Law: And all Our Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, and other Officers, both Civil and Military, both in *England* and *Ireland*, are hereby required to be aiding and assisting in the Execution of this Our Proclamation, as often as Occasion shall require.

Given at Our Court at *Whitehall*, the first Day of *June*, 1660, in the twelfth Year of Our Reign.

The Heirs of
Sir Lucas Dillon, Knight.
Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet.
The Heirs of
Sir Valentine Blake, Baronet.
Sir Richard Blake, Knight.
Doctor Gerrald Fennel.
Geffrey Brown.
John Brown of the Neal.
John Wallis.
Thomas Terril.
Edmund Dillon.
John Talbot of Mallabide.
Francis Cogblan of Kicolgan, in the King's County.
Robert Nugent of Carlanstown.
Sir John Bourke of Derry MacLaughney.
Thomas Arthur Esq; Doctor in Physick.
Gerrald Flemming of Castle Flemming.
Luke Bath of Ackarn.
Bartolomeu Stackpole, Esq;

Afterwards, as soon as such Matters for so great a Business could be brought about, his Majesty, the 8th of *May*, summoned a Parliament at *Dublin*, in which passed the great Act of Settlement, after that his Majesty had published, the 30th of *November* 1660, ' His gracious Declaration for the Settlement of his Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Satisfaction of the several Interests of Adventurers and Soldiers, and other Subjects there; ' wherein as to the *Irish*; First, such are considered, as came in upon the Cessation; Secondly, those who honestly and faithfully performed what they promised in the Peace; and Thirdly, such as being beyond Seas, cheerfully received and obeyed his Majesty's Commands abroad; all which are comprehended in several Articles, proceeding from these Heads; and the Soldiers and Adventurers, by themselves. These also who had the Fortune, whether through Loyalty or Suspicion, that they were not able to bear up against the *English* Interest, to withstand the Nuncio, have in the Act of Settlement their Fortunes and themselves secured memorable to Posterity; who being fewer then those that bowed not their Knees to *Baal* in *Israel*, we cannot but mention, it being a Reward for their eminent Sufferings, for regulating of whose Interests a Court of Claims was afterwards instituted, wherein if the exact Method and Institution ordered by his Majesty's Commission, grounded on the Act of Settlement, were not regularly pursued, it's agreed on by all, *That the Commissioners were no losers by their Employment.* And that the House of Commons, who knew best their own Sense of so important an Act, might have no excentric Proceedings thereupon, they presented to his Grace an Instrument * with Rules and Directions for the Commissioners Proceedings. ' That discovering a Cloud, through the Interposition of some malevolent Planet, it might remain, whether pursued or no, as a Record of their Endeavours, that the hard Fate and Ruin of an *English* Interest in *Ireland* might not bear Date under the best of Kings, under so vigilant a Lord Lieutenant, under

* By their Speaker, February 13 1662.

under the first, and if not prevented, like to be the last Protestant Parliament there, which Instrument hath since magnified that House, justly sensible of intervening Evils.

And because the Voice of a Parliament, next to the Delivery of the Law from Mount *Sinai*, ought to impress the greatest Reverence on the Heart and Affections of the People, I shall here present you with the Preamble to the Bill of Settlement in *Ireland* 1662, which in brief commits that to Posterity, no Paint can ever palliate.

An Act, 14 Carol. 2.

WHEREAS an * unnatural Infurrection did break forth against your Majesty's Royal Father, of ever blessed Memory, his Crown and Dignity in this your Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, upon the

* *At the passing of which Act, his Grace the Duke of Ormond enlarged so well and elegantly on the Subject, as his Speech cannot be omitted without a Blemish to the History.*

The Speech of his Grace James Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

There is no Duty incident to the Place I have the Honour to serve the King in, to which I come with less Willingness, or Conscience, than to this of speaking to such an Assembly : And by that time I have done, you will acknowledge I have reason to be unsatisfied with the Necessity imposed by Custom upon all that sit in this Place, to make Speeches ; a Custom perhaps reasonably introduced by those that did, or at least thought they did it well ; but somewhat hardly continued upon those that were sure they did it ill. And yet though I am in the Number of the last, I will rather obey the Necessity, than hazard the Imputation of Sullenness or Singularity. Besides, I do not know, but that to be silent at this Time, and in this Place, may be a greater Fault than any I hope I shall commit in speaking ; for we are taught by infallible Authority, and enjoined by indispensable Precept, and it seems to be agreeable to the Dictates of Nature and Reason, as well as of Religion and Piety, that for all the Blessings we receive from the Divine Majesty, we should make as proportionable Returns as lie within our Power : And therefore Publick and National Blessings, do require Publick and Solemn Celebrations. This was it that induced the Transmission of that Act for an Anniversary Thanksgiving for his Majesty's most happy Restauration ; and this is it, which if it be duly, that is, sincerely performed, is most like to perpetuate to us, and to our Posterity, all the Happineffes consequent to that Blessing.

What these Happineffes are, or at least may be, if we our selves obstruct not the Course of them, would be best discerned, and set off, by a Retrospect into the State of Things for above twenty Years past ; and by opposing to that dismal Object of our Remembrance the Chearfulness and Serenity of the Prospect forwards.

If the Miseries and Desolations of those Years could be enumerated in the Time I mean to allow this Discourse ; or if they could be described to the Life, by so ill an Orator as I am, they would be fewer, and more supportable, than I doubt the sad Experience of too many have found them to be.

I shall therefore only put you in mind of some more remarkable and fundamental Deliverances and Restitutions, wrought by most wonderful Providence, as a thankful Acknowledgement fit, as I conceive, to be the Subject of the first Discourse from this Place, where I have the Honour, how unworthily, and how unressemblingly soever, to represent the Majesty of my great Master.

This very Seat of Royalty is delivered from some neglected Corner, or contemptible Use, or from a Profanation worse than either, from the Usurpation of mean and low Aspirers, who having no Shadow of Right to it, had no other Way to ascend it, than by treading down and destroying whatever was ordained by God or Man, to fence and guard it ; their extravagant Ambition transporting them, and darkening their Understanding to that degree, as not to consider how short their Possession of that Throne must be, to the disarming and Violation of which, they themselves had but newly shewn the way.

We see this Throne now restored to its proper Place, and natural Use, surrounded and supported by Peers and Prelates, by Officers, Magistrates, and Judges, the Out-works, as well as Ornaments of Majesty.

We see it restored to the Approach, and I doubt not to the Delight of the meanest of the Commons, whom you Gentlemen do, nor ought not disdain to represent ; for they are

the 23^d of *October*, in the Year of our Lord God 1641, and manifest it self, by the Murthers and Destruction of many Thousands of your said Majesty's good and loyal Subjects, which afterwards universally spreading and

the Foundation upon which Monarchy is built, the Strength wherewith it is guarded, and the Wealth whereby it is sustained, enriched and beautified.

It is restored to the undoubted lawful Possessor, the Offspring of a long continued Race of Princes ; in whom all the contested Titles of former Ages are met, without the Presence of a Competitor, and in whom all the Vertues of the Princes of those Ages are united, without the Severity, to say no worse, of some of the Great and Warlike ; and without the as harmful Weaknesses of others of more devout and peaceable Dispositions : A Prince that hath given frequent Proof, that though he loves and seeks Peace for his Subjects Sakes, he fears not War for his own.

This Sword, the Instrument of conferring military Honour, and the Emblem of inflicting Punishment, is delivered from the ridiculous Stage-like Pageantry of later Times, and from a more execrable and tragical Abuse, from cutting off the most innocent, and defending the most guilty.

We see it now by the visible immediate Hand of God restored, and put into that Hand that only had his Commission to bear and use it ; and let it be our Prayer, that he bear it long, and that he may bear it long, that he bear it not in vain, but to the Terror and Extermination of Evil-doers, and to the Support and Protection of those that do well.

The King himself, whose Throne and Sword these are, is accountable to God, and we to God for him, for many and great Deliverances : He is delivered from the Murtherers of his Father, and the Usurpers of his Inheritance ; from their restless Endeavours to destroy his Person, and to blast his Fame ; from their open Violence, and secret Contrivements against both ; from Exile, and all the afflicting Consequences of that miserable State of a King ; from comfortless Wandrings from Protections ; from cold Receptions ; from narrow Supports ; and from such Applications for them, as were more insupportable, than the want of them could be to him that was born, and delights to give, rather than receive them. He is delivered from a continual tormenting Anxiety for the Danger of his Friends, and the Oppression and Slavery of his Country ; from the Importunity of impertinent Arguments, drawn from his Misfortunes, to draw him from his Religion ; and from a Necessity of hearing, and bearing with the Reproaches and Revilings cast upon our then desolate Church, only because she was desolate, and made so by her own unnatural Children.

From this dejected, despised, and in all human Appearance, desperate Condition, he is raised and restored to the Throne of his Fathers, to his native Country, become more dear and valuable to him, by his Experience of others ; to the free and uncontrolled Exercise of the Religion he was bred in, to a Capacity of making royal Retribution for any Kindness he hath received abroad or from home : And which is the greatest earthly Felicity, so good a King as he could wish, he is not only restored to, but by the Love of his People, without the chargeable, and many times dangerous Assistance of Strangers, who are not over tender, nor much distinguishing betwixt the Party they come to assist, and that they come to subdue, when they are made Umpires in such Quarrels ; for they rarely employ their auxiliary Treasure and Blood, purely out of Generosity and Justice ; which may in Romance be found the ultimate End of such Assistance, but seldom in the Truth of History.

Here it may be observed, that if the Revolt and Deviation of our Nations from their King, and from Monarchy it self, was the most unreasonable and prodigious that any Age hath known, their voluntary uncompelled Return to both, is as much without Example : nor indeed could that Return have been so miraculous, if the Revolt had not been so prodigious. And it may be also be worth the observing, that as the first most bloody Eruption from Peace to Rebellion, took birth in this Kingdom, so from hence came the first Overtures to Peace and Submission.

By and with the King's Deliverance and Restitution, our Church is delivered from Contempt, Sacrilege, and Desolation, and restored to a due Veneration, a competent improving Support, and to fair Beginnings of Decency and Order.

Our Laws are delivered from corrupt, incompetent Interpreters, from monstrous, unnatural Expositions and Applications, and Justice is restored to the Distribution of upright, learned, lawfully sworn and authorised Judges.

The noblest Acts of Loyalty shall now no more receive the Judgment due to the foulest Treason, due to the unrigetous Judges that pronounced it without Authority in the Persons, or Justice in the Sentence. High Courts of Justice shall no more usurp that Name, nor our Benches be crouded or oppressed with the throng and wicked Weight of those that ought rather to have stood manacled at the Bar. A happy Change to those for whose Destruction

and diffusing it self over the whole Kingdom, settled into, and became a formed and almost national Rebellion of the *Irish* Papists, against your Royal Father of blessed Memory, his Crown and Dignity, to the Destruction

those extravagant Tribunals were erected, and a secure Change to all; for it hath been often an observed Method in God's never-failing Justice, to catch Cruelty and Oppression in those very Snares they had prepared for others.

All Men are delivered from the Intanglements of two-edged Oaths; from the Conflicts raised by them in Men's Breasts, betwixt Conscience and Conveniency, betwixt the Prostitution of Conscience, and the Ruin of their Fortunes; than which a harder, a more tyrannical Choice cannot be obtruded upon Christians: For here the Election was not, 'Swear thus against your Conscience, or you shall have no Part in the Civil Government, 'no Office in the Army, no Benefice in the Church; but, Swear thus, or you shall 'have no House to put your Head in, no Bread to sustain your selves, your Wives 'and Children.'

To conclude these Observations; Who is not delivered from some Oppression, and restored to some Advantage? Even those that shall lose the Wages of Iniquity, their ill-got Possessions, shall be delivered from the Oppression of a bad, and if they have any, shall be restored to a good Conscience; if they have none, they were not in the King's, and I hope will not be in your Care.

Those that shall be kept out of their ancient Estates, the Inheritance of their Fathers, through the Defect of their Qualifications, and by the all-disposing Providence of God, who was not pleased to make them active Instruments in this happy Change, are delivered from tyrannous Confinements, causeless Imprisonments, and a continual Fear of their Lives: The good Land lies afore them, their Industry is at Liberty, and they are restored to the Freedom of Subjects, and Protection of the Laws: If an *Irish* Papist be oppressed, they shall relieve him; if the Blood of the meanest of them be shed, it shall be strictly enquired after: Let this State be compared with that they were in before the King's Restitution, and it will be found the greatest Loser has got something by it.

As it is our Duty thus thankfully to commemorate these great Things done for us; for it is our Duty to endeavour in our several Stations, to improve and secure them to our selves and our Posterity: And sure the most natural way to that End, is to call to mind, and avoid those Errors that brought us into those Miseries from which we are redeemed.

Many are the Causes too boldly assigned, for the Calamities these Nations so long laboured under; but in such Inquisitions the Verdict is seldom impartially brought in, the Jury are too often the Criminals: But I think I may safely say, that one, and that a fundamental Cause, was, that the late King was maliciously represented to the People; I am sure the Freedom, Peace, Plenty, and Happiness they were told they should enjoy without him, proved miserable and fatal Delusions.

Let us mistrust those that shall use the same Arts, lest they involve us in the same Misery; and let us judge of the King's Intentions to his People, by his publick Acts of Grace and Bounty; by his mild and easy Government; by his Desire and Endeavours to make his Subjects happy at home, and renowned abroad; and by the Reluctancy of his Nature to just Severity, when the Wickedness or Frenzy of the worst Offenders extort it from him.

That something will be amiss in the Administration of the most perfect Government in this World, must be expected; but whoever shall think that these things are to be rectified by Force upon the Government, and that effected, proposes to acquiesce, and return to Obedience, cannot know himself so well, as to be sure that Opportunity and Success may not suggest more inordinate Appetites to him: And there are those alive that know, how far further than their first Intention, the Reformers of our Times were led on, till the unwarrantable Force they had raised, grew too strong for their Management, flew in their Faces, and in Conclusion, acted those Villanies, that I dare say their Souls abhorred; but neither their Policy or Power could restrain.

We have had sad Experience, and let us be the wiser for it, in how short a Time, in how few Days, the Industry of many Years, nay, of an Age, may be destroyed and laid waste, when Rage and Rapine are let loose. If once Sedition grow too strong for the Law, and Rebellion for the Magistrate, so that the Law is silenced, or the Language of it corrupted, or inverted, and the Magistrate removed as burthensome and unnecessary, let us remember what Variety of Misery and Mischief is brought upon the People; how unsupportable their Sufferings are, and how intollerable their Fears of suffering they know not what more, by whom, or how long. Let the People remember how many, and how chargeable their Masters; nay how many and chargeable the Changes of their Masters were, when once they foolishly affected the Misery, indeed the Impossibility of having none. When

struction of the *English* and Protestants inhabiting in *Ireland* ; the which *Irish* Papiſts being represented in a General Aſſembly choſen by themſelves, and acting by a Council, called by them, *The Supreme Council of the*

When Miſrepresentations had taken Place and Root in the Minds of the People, their Heart grew narrow and barren towards the King ; thoſe that ſoon after robbed them both, perſuading them to keep their Purſes full for them to empty.

This cloſe Oratory is ſeldom unſucceſſful ; but what the People got by following this thrifty Council, ſome have taken the Pains to compute, and it is found, that the Impoſitions laid and levied upon the People, to ſupport Uſurpation and Tyranny, in a few bad Years came to more, than the moſt chargeable Princes had raiſed in ſome Ages to conquer Enemies and Infidels abroad, whiſt this was employed to make Enemies of Friends, and little better than Infidels of Chriſtians at home.

I confeſs this Animadverſion is not ſo ſeaſonable now, or proper to be applied to you, who in your Liberalities have outgone all Example, and prevented even the King's Wiſhes ; nor are thoſe Liberalities the leſs, but the more valued by him, that he intends to apply them intirely to the Security and Improvement of a true Proteſtant, and a right *English* Intereſt in this Kingdom.

There is nothing that declares, indeed that conſtitutes perfect Union, and a happy Harmony, ſo much as mutual Truſts and Confidence, and the Interchange of Gifts and Benefits ; it is ſo in private Friendſhip, and it is much more ſo, in that good Intelligence which muſt make a King and his People happy.

The King has truſted you as far as ever King truſted Subjects ; and he has given you more than ever any King or Lord of *Ireland* had to give.

You have truſted the King with all you had, and all you had to pretend to ; and you have given him more than he thought of to deſire : Let it not therefore be apprehended, that this Commerce muſt ceaſe by the Prodigality on both Sides, as if there were no more to be given or received : No, my Lords and Gentlemen, Protection from foreign Invaſion and Rebellion at home, the due and uncorrupt Adminiſtration of Government, and of the Laws, and under them the Advancement and Encouragement of Piety and Learning, Trade, and all ſorts of Induſtry and Improvements, are Benefits that may to the End of Time, deſcend from the Throne to you and yours : And a due Subjection to that Government, and Obedience to thoſe Laws, and Application to that Piety and Learning, to that Trade and Induſtry, and to thoſe Improvements, may be as laſting Retributions from the People to the Throne.

I ſhould here end this unuſual Exerciſe, but that I am commanded by the King to let you know, that as he is abundantly ſatiſfied with thoſe Demonſtrations of Duty, Loyalty, and Affection you have given him, during the whole Time of your fitting, ſo he looks with great Pleaſure and Delight upon thoſe Acts of Grace and Bounty that have paſſed from him to you ; and he commands me to be ſure not to forget to aſſure you, upon all proper Occaſions, that all his Promiſes ſhall be inviolably obſerved ; and that he will conſent to whatever elſe may make this Kingdom flouriſhing and happy, whether it ſhall be the enacting of new and profitable, or the Repeal of old unuſeful, or burthenſome Laws.

To ſay any Thing of, or from my ſelf in this Place, may be Preſumption ; but to ſay nothing to you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to whom I owe ſo much, muſt be Ingratitude. You have before and ſince my Arrival, been pleaſed to make many and obliging Exprefſions of your Approbation of the King's Choice of me for this Government : I have great Reaſon to fear, both the King and you conſulted your Indulgence to me, more than your Judgment of me.

Yet without much Preſumption or Vanity, I think I may ſay, thus far the King and you may be excuſable, that he choſe, and you approved a Perſon, whoſe Fortune and Family muſt proſper or decay, muſt ruin or ſubſiſt by and with this Kingdom. This has not perhaps always been the Caſe, and it is poſſible mean Abilities thus ſtimulated, may be more profitable and induſtrious than greater, actuated by leſs, or by contrary Incentives. There are upon me all imaginable Obligations to apply all that is in me, to the Safety and Proſperity of this Kingdom : Thoſe of Duty, Fidelity and Thankfulneſs to the beſt, and moſt bountiful Maſter in the World ; thoſe of Retribution and Gratitude to you, for extraordinary and liberal Maniſeſtations of Kindneſs and Affection, and thoſe Self-preſervation and Happineſs : Hence it may be concluded reaſonably and naturally, that my Endeavours will be hearty and faithful ; and my Failings, which ſhall be as few as I can, unvoluntarily, and therefore the more pardonable.

You will preſently, when I am retired, be at liberty to adjourn your ſelves to the Time you deſired.

the Confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland, did first assume, usurp, and exercise the Power of Life and Death, make Peace and War, levy and coin Money, and many other Acts of Sovereign Authority; treating with foreign Princes and Potentates, for their Government and Protection, and afterwards acted under a Foreign Authority, by all the said Ways, disowning and rejecting your Royal Fathers, and your Majesty's undoubted Right to this Kingdom, even while they treacherously used his, and your Majesty's Names; in the outward Forms of their Proceedings; withal impiously seemed by Words and Shews to swear unto that, which by the whole Series of their Deeds, they denied; and moreover, presuming to pretend his late Majesty's sacred Authority, even for their worst Actions; all which they did, amongst other their evil Designs, to frighten his good Protestant Subjects from their Loyalty, to blast his Majesty's Honour, and widen the Breach between his said Majesty, and his seduced Subjects in *England*; The which Ends, by their said wicked Stratagems, they did too successfully and mischievously effect.

Before this Preamble to the Act of Settlement passed, the *Irish*, by their Agents in *England*, had an unusual Favour of inspecting that Bill, and objecting what they thought fit; which they did in the Presence of the Commissioners sent out of *Ireland*, by the Convention, and Lords Justices and Council, even before his Majesty, his Council, and the Committee of Lords, for the Affairs of *Ireland*, to that End especially appointed. The Debate continuing, touching this grand Instrument, from the 8th of *July* 1661, till *March* following, in which the *Irish* most insisted against the Preamble, for that it seemed to involve the whole Nation, in the first designing and raising of the late Rebellion in *Ireland*, and in the barbarous Circumstance thereof; whereas they would pretend, it was only the Act of a few Persons of broken Fortunes, followed with the rude Multitude, &c. Praying that nothing might be contained in that Preamble, in Derogation to his Majesty's Articles of Peace, or the Blemish of his Majesty's loyal Catholick Subjects, delivering in at the same Time, their Reasons against previous Reprisals, the Variances between the Declaration and Act of Settlement, and their Defence for their Articles of Peace; insisting much upon their Loyalty, after the Lord Lieutenant's Departure, the Catholicks unanimously, in their Assembly, joynjng, if you dare credit their Reports, with the Lord Deputy, to oppose the Usurpers, as the best Means to divert the Parliament, from preventing the King's Designs in *England* and *Scotland*; for which his Majesty, as they say, returned them Thanks, they rejecting then many advantageous Offers from *Ireton*, though they were in a low Condition; and so continued faithful till the Lord Deputy was driven to the Mountains, and they at Liberty to compound for themselves, many of which went beyond Sea to serve his Majesty; all which they insist on, as a great Test of their Loyalty; whereas, it can never be made evident, as is alledged, that Proposals were made to that Assembly by the Usurpers, and refused by them, for the Enjoyment of their Rights, Priviledges and Inheritances, alike with others under their Government; for indeed such Proposals were never made nor offered to them in their most flourishing Condition; but it is confessed, such Terms were tendered and refused by them, as were agreeable to a conquering Army to give, as that of the Usurpers then was, and to a broken scattered Party

to expect, as the other was ; being then reduced to Bogs and Woods, as their best Holts ; and yet the Terms so offered and rejected by the Assembly together, were soon after embraced by all of them, divided into Parts, on which they submitted and laid down Arms, having by their Conditions, Liberty to transport themselves into foreign Parts, or to stay in the Kingdom ; and therefore, it doth no more consist with their Honour, then with Truth to say, they were forced by Banishment, to an Opportunity of serving his Majesty beyond Seas, from whence they date their Merits from him ; which was more then his late Majesty of blessed Memory could obtain from them, although obliged thereunto by Allegiance and Articles, when his Distress and their Power were sublimated to the highest Pitch, and his Prerogative lay at the Stake, as he did often complain of : The Commissioners from the Lords Justices and Council, besides this, produced the Instructions of the Supreme Council, to their Agents for *Rome, France, Spain*, offering the Crown to either of them that would accept of it, together with the Excommunication of the Marquis, now Duke of *Ormond*, and the Order of Publication thereof ; whereupon, Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, who subscribed the said Instructions, and principally insisted on the forementioned Particulars, was sent for by the Committee of Lords, who had the Examination of that Affair, and acknowledging his Hand-writing, Report thereof was made to his Majesty and Council, by whom it was ordered about the 14th of *March* 1661. ‘ That no more Petitions or Addresses should be received ‘ by the *Irish*, to the Obstruction of the Settlement of that Kingdom : ‘ and that Sir *Nicholas Plunket* should thence-forward no more presume ‘ to come into his Majesty’s Presence, nor to Court ;’ Likewise there was produced an Oath priviously taken by several of the Popish Nobility, Clergy, and others of the Gentry of *Ireland*, before the Articles of Peace, made in 1648, which they so much insist upon, wherein they swear and engage, ‘ That if those Articles of Peace were not in every Particular ‘ for their Advantage performed, they would not be concluded by any ‘ Thing therein ;’ which appeared to be so damnable a Piece of Treachery, as it was highly resented in Council, and the rather, for that his Grace stood up, and justified that to his Knowledge it was a Truth.

And lest the Memory of so great a Deliverance should slip out of our Thoughts, I shall in the next Place present you with the Anniversary Act, for its Observance, that this may be to us, not less then the Passover to the *Israelites*, for a Memorial and a Feast to the Lord, throughout our Generations, by an Ordinance for ever.

An Act for Keeping and Celebrating the three and twentieth Day of October, as an Anniversary Thanksgiving in this Kingdom.

WHEREAS many malignant and rebellious Papists and Jesuits, Friars, Seminary Priests, and other superstitious Orders of the Popish pretended Clergy, most disloyally, treacherously, and wickedly, conspired to surprize His Majesty’s Castle of *Dublin*, His Majesty’s principal Fort of this Kingdom of *Ireland*, the City of *Dublin*, and all other Cities and Fortifications of this Realm, and that all the Protestants and *English* throughout the whole Kingdom, that would not joyn with them, should be cut off, and finally by a general Rebellion, to deprive our late Sovereign Lord of ever blessed Memory, King *Charles* the First, of
this

this his ancient and rightful Crown and Sovereignty of this Kingdom, and to possess themselves thereof; all which was by the said Conspirators, plotted and intended to be acted on the three and twentieth Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred forty and one; a Conspiracy so generally inhuman, barbarous, and cruel, as the like was never before heard of in any Age or Kingdom; and if it had taken Effect, in that Fulness which was intended by the Conspirators, it had occasioned the utter Ruin of this whole Kingdom, and the Government thereof. And however it pleased Almighty God, in his unsearchable Wisdom and Justice, as a just Punishment, and deserved Correction to his People for their Sins, and the Sins of this Kingdom, to permit then and afterwards, the effecting of a great Part of that Destruction, complotted by those wicked Conspirators, whereby many thousand *British* and Protestants have been massacred, many thousands of others of them have been afflicted and tormented, with the most exquisite Torments that Malice could suggest, and all Mens Estates, as well those whom they barbarously murdered, as all other good Subjects, were wasted, ruined, and destroyed; yet as his Divine Majesty hath in all Ages, shewn his Power and Mercy, in the miraculous and gracious Deliverance of his Church, and in the Protection of religious Kings and States, so even in the Midst of his Justice, he was graciously pleased to extend Mercy to his Majesty, and to this his Kingdom, and good Subjects therein, not only in mercifully discovering to the then Lords Justices, by one *Owen O Connelly*, a meer *Irish* Man, but trained up in the Protestant Religion, who out of a Sense of his Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty, and for the Preservation of his good People, and as an Effect of that Religion he was trained up in, revealed that hideous and bloody Treason, not many Hours before the appointed Time for the Execution thereof, but also in preserving the said Castle and City of *Dublin*, and some other Cities, Towns, and Castles, in the Kingdom, from the bloody Hands of the barbarous Conspirators, as also, in thereby rendering Deliverance of the Lives of the said Lords Justices and Council, and of all the *British* and Protestants in *Dublin*, and in the said other Cities, Towns, and Castles preserved, and of sundry other *British* and Protestants, fallen into the Hands of those rebellious Conspirators, and likewise in sending us Succours out of *England* hither, by the Piety, Care, and Wisdom, of our late Sovereign Lord King *Charles* the First, whereby with God's Blessing, the good Subjects of this Kingdom, have hitherto continued safe under his mighty Protection, notwithstanding the unexampled Rage and implacable Malice of those merciless Rebels. Wherefore, as we do most humbly and justly acknowledge God's Justice, in our deserved Punishments in those Calamities, which from the Councils and Actions of those Conspirators, and their Adherents, have fallen upon us in this Kingdom in general, so we do in like manner acknowledge, that even in exercising of that his Justice, he remembered Mercy also, and magnified his Mercies to us, in those great Blessings, which we humbly confess to have proceeded, meerly from his infinite Goodness and Mercy, and therefore to his most Holy Name, we do ascribe all Honour, Glory and Praise. And to the End this unfeigned Thankfulness may never be forgotten, but may be had in a perpetual Remembrance, that all Ages to come may yield Praises to his Divine Majesty for the same, and have in Memory that joyful Day of Deliverance,

rance, Be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, with the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same, that the three and twentieth Day of *October* shall be kept and celebrated, as an Anniversary Holy Day in this Kingdom for ever, and that all Persons do at that Day forbear all bodily Labour, and the Exercise of their Trades, and that all and singular Ministers in every Cathedral and Parish Church, or other usual place for Common-prayer, within this Realm of *Ireland*, shall always upon the three and twentieth Day of *October*, say Morning-Prayer, and give Thanks to Almighty God, for that most happy and miraculous Deliverance and Preservation, far above the Expectations of those wretched Conspirators: And that all and every Person and Persons inhabiting within this Realm of *Ireland*, shall yearly upon the three and twentieth Day of *October*, diligently and faithfully resort to the Parish Church or Chappel accustomed, or to some usual Church or Chappel, where the said Morning-Prayer, Preaching, or other Service of God shall be used, and then and there abide orderly and soberly, during the Time of the said Prayers, Preaching, or other Service of God, there to be used and ministred. And because all and every Person may be put in Mind of his Duty, and be then the better prepared to the said Holy Service, Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that every Minister shall give warning to his Parishioners, publicly in the Church at Morning Prayer, the Lord's Day next before every such three and twentieth Day of *October*, for the due Observation of the said Day, and that after Morning Prayer, or Preaching, upon every such three and twentieth Day of *October*, they read publicly, distinctly, and plainly, this present Act.

And, besides our private Thankfulness, that we may know what the Church is enjoined by his Majesty's Command, given at *Whitehall*, the 15th of *August*, in the 18th Year of his Reign, 1666. I must refer you to the Office of the Church.

Here one might well have thought this bloody Scene should have been fully closed, the Event of so horrid a Conspiracy, having by God and Man been severely chastized: But as if Heaven were still to be dared, and Majesty affronted, no sooner was this State settled in so wonderful a Manner, as it drew the whole World to look on it as a Miracle; but the grand Incendiaries of the late Rebellion, Archbishops, Bishops, and others of that Union, openly owning their Profession, appeared in publick, in as much as the Parliament of *England* was enforced to take notice of their Insolency, as an Encouragement to Popery, beseeching his Majesty, that *Plunket*, the titular Archbishop of *Ardmagh*, and *Talbot*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, should be apprehended, to answer what might be objected against them: And as an Evidence of their Parties Activeness and Insinuation, the Lord of *Offory*, Lord Deputy, and the Council, by a Proclamation, dated at the Council Chamber in *Dublin*, the 11th of *July* 1664, shew, ' Whereas Information hath been given unto us by
' divers Gentlemen, and others of the Popish Religion, that several pre-
' tended Chapters have been, and are to be soon called in several Parts
' of this Kingdom, and Meetings appointed by Persons disaffected to his
' Majesty's Government, and to the publick Peace and Quiet, who take
' Opportunities from those Assemblies, to diffuse and spread abroad, a-
' mongst the People of that Religion, seditious Doctrines, to the great
' Dissatisfaction

‘ Dissatisfaction of all those, who are peaceably and loyally inclined, &c.’ They therefore to the avoiding the Contagion, that by such Delusions might be ingendered, and those Dangers, which by the Continuance and Seducement of the said Persons, and other turbulent Spirits, are endeavoured, ‘ cautioned and forewarned, That none should presume to assist, ‘ abet, or countenance them, and that those, who were engaged therein, ‘ should, upon their Duty of Allegiance to his Majesty, forbear any further Proceedings, &c.’ All which were afterwards blanch’d over, as indeed they had the fortune to be strangely palliated, together with what the Bishop of *Ferns* had discovered to the Earl of *Sandwich*, (passing through *Galacia* to *Madrid*) of *Edmond Reily*, Archbishop of *Ardmagh*’s Purpose, to raise the *Irish* again into Rebellion ; though some to delude the Age, made a Loyal Formulary or Remonstrance of their Obedience, whilst being admitted at *Dublin*, into a National Synod of their own 1666, an Indulgence not yet fathomed, they there split themselves into Parties, and, the 15th Day of their meeting, broke up, without the least Satisfaction to the End they were connived at ; so as from their Principles it’s natural to conclude, ‘ That whatever a Prince must expect from such Men, it must be in Subordination to the Pope’s Approbation : A Reflection on the like made King *Henry VIII.* say, that he found the Clergy of this Realm were but his half Subjects, or scarce so much, every Bishop or Abbot, at the entering upon his Dignity, taking an Oath to the Pope, derogatory to that of their Fidelity to the King ; which Contradiction, he desired his Parliament to take away, and it occasioned, writes my Lord *Herbert*, fol. 335, the final renouncing of the Pope’s Authority, about two Years after. The Clergys Oath is given at large, in *Walsh*’s Epistle to his Loyal Formulary, fol. 19, which draws me into a further Consideration of the late War.

A War in which were interess’d, on several Principles, some of the greatest Princes and States of *Europe*, the Pope, Emperor, *France*, *Spain*, *Lorrain*, and others, who, professedly, or under-hand, contributed Money, Arms, Council, or Countenance.

A War many Years in contriving, and, what makes it the more stupendious, so secretly and unexpectedly carried on, Villany hates the Light, that considering how far the Conspiracy was spread, and who were engaged in it, it is scarce credible, that no Apprehension of its Event should in the least be discovered, more than what *Ever Mac Mahon* imparted 1641. The Apprehension of which soon passed over, as did also some other petty Suspicions, rais’d I know not from what improbable and confused Rumours, amusing, rather than convincing the Judgment of such, as were most concerned in the Notice of them ; so as till the 22d of *October* 1641, late at Night, on the very Point of the Plot being acted, nothing seem’d certain or infallible, that if God had not been very merciful, all had been surprized, before any one had been suspected.

A War not confined to some Province, or Parts of Provinces in *Ireland*, as *Tyrones*, *Desmonds*, and the Rest had been ; but as if the Design were the joint Act of the whole Kingdom, all seem’d to have one Head, few excepted, whose Honour is the greater.

A War not arising from small Beginnings, as some of the former, which from private Interest, at last espoused greater ; but this in its first Appearance, drove all before it, like some Infections, speedily diffusing its Venome through the whole Body.

A War, for which the most diligent Enquiry, could not have found within the Nation, a Head, in Popularity or Parts, for such an Undertaking: The Occasion doubtless of Security in most, and whereby the State Politicks of that Time were deluded, they having their Eyes open only, on what might have been from abroad suspected, not, much less feared, at home, the loud Alarms of a *Maffinello*, a Person of none or of broken Fortunes, of little Power, or of less Brain, but any Thing, even what is under Foot, and next at Hand, may easily be taken up, and made by Divine Justice, a sufficient Scourge for a provoking People, such was that Sir *Phelim O Neal* esteemed, till then generally a very Buffoon in Converse, but after owned and honoured as a Principal in that Undertaking; yet being therein rather the Hand than the Head, proving, however, the Firebrand of his Country, that being the *English* of *Phelim an Totan*, or smoaking *Phelimy*, a Name, on this Occasion, given him in way of Honour by his *Irish* Rhimers, and wherein he himself after gloried.

Finally, a War dismal to the *English* and Protestants of *Ireland*, in its Beginning; so dismal, as no Example through the World ever equalled it, in the Circumstances that accompanied the Butcheries, Massacres, Cruelties, yea, the Mercy of the Rebels in that War; though in the End, fatal to the *Irish* themselves, above any Thing that ever befel that Nation, so as the Greatness of their Sufferings, may well testify the remarkableness of their Crimes, suitable to the innocent Blood they had barbarously shed, and the Devastations they had made of a most flourishing and well settled Kingdom.

A

COLLECTION

O F

MURTHERS

In Several Counties of

IRELAND,

Committed since the 23d of *October*,

1641.

Abstracted out of certain Examinations taken by
Virtue of Commissions under the Great Seal
of *Ireland*;

Which said Particulars are singled, amongst infinite others
of that kind, pointing to the Circumstances, and the
Names of the Persons, or some of them, murdering or
murthered :

The fuller Evidence of which may be found, according to the Quota-
tions, in the Archives of *Dublin*, now in Possession of the Clerk of
the Council.

Printed in the Year MDCCXLIII.

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

Reader,

* Cited in our
Hist. fol. 70, 71.

I*N the preceding History we cursorily mentioned the execrable Barbarisms the Irish committed in their Infurrection, briefly reflected on in The * Remonstrance of the Clergy to the House of Commons in England, 1642, out of which, other Examinations, and authentick Proofs in the Archives at Dublin, we have collected the ensuing Murthers, reducing them to Counties, readier for every one's View: Not mentioning the Rebels Mercy, plundering, stripping, or exposing the English to Cruelties worse than Death: All being short of that Number which, had we Time, would soon compleat a Volume, especially could we have recovered Archdeacon Bisse his Examinations taken in Munster, with greater Artifice than Justice smothered, who, as an eminent and worthy Person on the same Account the 12th of October, 1678, was most inhumanly murdered by the Irish, as he by the late Conspirators, expressing that to be the Cause, viz. The Examinations that were then taken: Yet what we have here collected, with Dr. Robert * Maxwell's Examination, whose Integrity and Candour None ever yet dared question, I am confident exceeds the Martyrology of former Ages, and as a solid Divine ingeniously, as well as truly observed on the Fast-day, Wednesday the 13th of November, 1678, is a Wonder, even to Amazement, That more Acts of Cruelty have been found out by the Romish Clergy, propagating their Religion, than the Heathen Persecutors ever reached to.*

* Since, viz.
24th of March,
1643, Bishop of
Kilmore.

A
COLLECTION
OF
MURTHERS

In Several Counties of
IRELAND,
Committed since the 23d of *October*,
1641, &c.

The County of *Antrim*.

THE Rebels confessed to this Deponent
that they killed in one Morning nine
hundred and fifty-four, in this County :
And that besides them, they supposed they had
killed one thousand one hundred, or one thousand
two hundred more in that County.

Dr. Maxwell's Examination, *C. Armagh*, p. 11, 12.

The County of *Armagh*.

Protestants in Multitudes forced over the Bridge
of *Portnedown*, whereby at several Times there
were drowned in the River of *Banne*, above one
Thousand.

Gertrude Carlisle, *C. Tyrone*, p. 1.
Christian Stanbaw, *C. Armagh*, &
Owen Frankland, p. 2.
Marg. Bromley, *C. Armagh*, p. 1.
Rich. Newberry, *C. Armagh*, p. 2.
Elinor Fullerton, *C. Armagh*, p. 2.
Dr. Maxwell, *C. Armagh*, p. 11, 12.
Henry Read, *C. Monaghan*, p. 1.
Elizabeth Price, *C. Armagh*, p. 1.
Jone Constable, *C. Armagh*, p. 3.
Thomas Green, *C. Armagh*, p. 1.
William Clerk, *C. Armagh*, p. 1.
Edw. Saltenshall, *C. Armagh*, p. 3.
Geo. Littlefield, *C. Armagh*, p. 3.

A Collection of Murthers in

Great Numbers of Protestants drowned at *Corbridge* and *Kynard* in the County of *Armagh*. { Dr. Maxwell, C. *Armagh*, p. 12.
Alex. Creighton, C. *Monaghan*, p. 1.
Will. Holland, C. *Monaghan*, p. 3.

Mr. *Fullerton*, Clerk, Mr. *Aubrey*, Mr. *Gladwich* murdered in the Way towards *Portnewdown*. { William Clerk, C. *Armagh*, p. 1.
John Montgomery, C. *Monaghan*.

Many others murdered ; five murdered soon after the Beginning of the Rebellion ; fifty murdered at *Blackwater-Church* ; twenty drowned near the Water of *Callon*, and several others murdered. { Marg. Ellis,
Christ. Stanbaw,
Owen Frankland,
Anne Smith,
Margaret Clerk,
Elinor Fullerton, C. *Armagh*, p. 2.

Mr. *William Blundell* drawn by the Neck in a Rope up and down *Blackwater* at *Charlemont*, to confess Money ; and three Weeks after, he, with his Wife and seven Children, drowned. Four and forty at several Times murdered : A Wife compelled to hang her own Husband ; with several other notorious Murthers. { Edw. Saltenshall,
Geo. Littlefield, C. *Armagh*, p. 9.

Mr. *Robinson* the Minister, his Wife, and three Children, and seven more murdered. { Marg. Bromley, C. *Armagh*.

Two and twenty Protestants put into a thatch'd House in the Parish of *Kilmore*, and there burned alive. { Anne Smith,
Marg. Clerk,
Marg. Phillis,
Christ. Stanbaw,
Elin. Fullerton,
Elinor Matchet,
Jone Constable, C. *Armagh*, p. 1, 2.
Capt. Jo. Perkins, C. *Tyrone*, p. 3.

The Lord *Caulfield* murdered.

Dr. *Hodges*, with forty-three more, murdered within a quarter of a Mile of *Charlemont*. { Eliz. Price, C. *Armagh*, p. 1, 2.

The Wife of *Arnold Taylor* great with Child, had her Belly ripped up, then drowned. { Eliz. Price, C. *Armagh*, p. 8, 9.

Thomas Mason, buried alive.

Seventeen Men, Women, and Children, cast into a Bog-pit in the Parish of *Dumcree* ; many more murdered. { Thomas Green, C. *Armagh*, p. 1.

Fifteen hundred murdered in three Parishes ; twenty-seven more murdered ; Mr. *Cambel* drowned. { James Shaw, C. *Armagh*, p. 1.

Three hundred Protestants stripped naked, and put into the Church of *Loghgal*, whereof about one hundred murdered within the Church ; amongst whom *John Gregg* was quartered alive, his Quarters thrown into the Face of *Richard Gregg* his Father. The said *Richard* was after there murdered, having received seventeen or eighteen Wounds, after cut into Quarters in this Deponent's (his Wife's) Presence. Such as were not murdered were turned out a begging among the *Irish* naked, and into the Cold, most of which were killed by *Irish* Cripples, their Trulls and Children. { Alice Gregge, C. *Armagh*, p. 1.

One hundred and eighty drowned, at twice, at the Bridge of *Callon*.

One hundred (some say two hundred) more in a Lough near *Ballinackilmorrog*. { Capt. Anthony Strafford, C. *Armagh*, p. 2.

Mr.

Mr. *Gabriel Constable*, and his Mother eighty Years old, murdered. } *Jone Constable*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1.

Five hundred murdered at *Armagh*, besides forty-eight Families murdered in the Parish of *Killaman*. } *Capt. John Perkins*, C. *Tyrone*, p. 6.
} *Antb. Strafford*, C. *Armagh*, p. 2.

Three had their Brains knocked out with a Hatchet within the Church of *Benburb*; eight Women drowned in a River under the same Church; *Christopher Glover* murdered. } *John Parry*, C. *Armagh*, p. 2.

Lieutenant *James Maxwell*, by Order from Sir *Phelim O Neal*, was dragged out of his Bed, raving in the height of a burning Fever, driven two Miles and murdered; his Wife, great with Child, stripped stark naked and drowned in the *Blackwater*, the Child half born. } *Dr. Maxwell*, C. *Armagh*, p. 9.
} *John Parry*, C. *Armagh*, p. 3.

Mr. *Starkey*, about one hundred Years old, and his two Daughters stripped naked, the Daughters forced to support and lead their Father, he being not able to go of himself, and having gone three quarters of a Mile, were all three drowned in a Turf-pit. } *Dr. Maxwell*, C. *Armagh*, p. 9.
} *Capt. John Perkins*, C. *Tyrone*, p. 6, 7.

Divers *Englishmen* in the Parish of *Levilegish*, murdered. } *John Cregge*, C. *Armagh*.

Mrs. *Howard*, Mrs. *Franklan*, both great with Child, and six of their Children murdered. } *Katherine, Harcourt*, C. *Armagh*.

The County of *Caterlough*.

Richard Lake hanged at *Leighlin-bridge*, sixteen more hanged near that Place, two murdered near *Catherlough*, two Women hanged up by the Hair of their Heads all Night, the next Day being found still alive, they were murdered. } *James Shaw*, C. *Caterlough*, p. 1.

At or near *Leighlin-bridge* three Men with their Wives and Children murdered, one Woman and her Daughter murdered, a Woman newly delivered of two Children, the one of them had his Brains beaten out against the Stones, and after thrown into the River *Barrow*, the other destroyed; about forty *English* murdered thereabouts. Almost all the *English* about *Gowran* and *Wells* hanged and murdered. } *Dame Anne Butler*, C. *Caterlough*, p. 1.
} *Joseph Wheeler*, Esq; C. *Kilkenny*.
} *Sir John Temple*, f. 129.

The County of *Cavan*.

Many Protestants forced over the Bridge of *Belturbet* in the County of *Cavan*, and there drowned. }

William North, C. *Cavan*, p. 2.
John Whitson, C. *Cavan*.
Arth. Culm Esq; C. *Cavan*, p. 6.
Rob. Bennet, } C. *Cavan*, p. 1.
Rich. Smith, }
Jone Killin, }
Symon Westham, C. *Cavan*, p. 3.
Marm. Batemanson, C. *Cavan*, p. 1.
John Steppenson, C. *Cavan*, p. 3.
Jane Cutbertson, C. *Cavan*, p. 1.
Elizabeth Poke, }
Mr. Rich. Parsons, C. *Cavan*, p. 6.

A Collection of Murthers in

Adam Bayly and several others murdered at *Kilkolly*, in the County of *Cavan*. { *Jane Cuthbertson*, C. Cavan, p. 1, 2.
Alex. Anderson, C. Cavan, p. 5.
Jennet Kerns, C. Cavan, p. 1.
Symon Grame, p. 1.

William Rocket drowned near *Belhorbet*. { *Sarah Ranfon*, C. Fermanagh.

Several *Scotch* Families destroyed, two of the *Hovies* and *Abraham Jones* murdered, with several other Murthers committed at *Butlers-bridge*. { *Rich. Parsons*, C. Cavan, p. 5, 6.

A distracted Gentleman run through with a Pike, he laughing the while. { *Symon Wesnam*, C. Cavan, p. 3.

The County of *Clare*.

Christopher Hebditch and sixteen more *English* Protestants murdered at or near the Castle of *Inchecrony*. { *Bastrice Hebditch*, C. Clare, p. 1, 2.

The County of *Cork*.

Thomas Lencome and his Wife hanged at their own Door; *John Seller* a Miller, cut in Pieces hard by *Rofs*; *John Carpenter* and his Wife hanged in Mr. *Morgan's* Wood, and their three Children starved in the Place; *Mary Tukesbury* hanged near thereunto; Mr. *Tamuse* a Chirurgeon-Barber killed in the Streets of *Rofs* by one *Christopher Cloud*. { *Peter Perce* of *Rofs-carborough*, C. Cork.

The County of *Donnegall*.

William Mackenny and his Mother-in-law, and his Wife great with Child, murdered; his said Wife having her Belly ripped up, and the Child cut out of the Womb. { *Ralph Dutton*, C. Donnegal, p. 2.
Anne Dutton,

Robert Akins Clerk, and thirteen more murdered at *Castledoe*. { *Mulrony Carol*, C. Donneg. p. 1.

Sixty Persons that came in Boats from *Killala* murdered by the *Mac Swines* and *O Boyles*. { *Andrew Adair*, Esq; C. Mayo, p. 5.

The County of *Down*.

Eighty forced to go on the Ice on *Logh-earn* till they brake the Ice, and were drowned. { *Peter Hill* Esq; C. Down, p. 13, 14.

Mr. *Tudge*, the Minister of *Newry*, Lieutenant *Trevor* and his Wife, and twenty-four more, some count fifty, murdered and cut in Pieces at the Pass of *Ballonery*. { *Peter Hill* Esq; C. Down, p. 13.
Eliz. Pierce, C. Down, p. 1.
Capt. Hen. Smith, C. Down, p. 7.
Arth. Macgennis, C. Down, p. 1.

Divers murdered at *Castle-Island* and *Down*. { *Will. Gore*, C. Down, p. 1.

A *Scotchman*, an *Englishman*, and a *Welchman* imprisoned in the Stocks at *Newcastle*, where they lay without Breeches upon raw Hides, that their Joints rotted, insomuch that when two of them were afterwards hanged, one of their Feet fell off by the Ankle. { *Eliz. Pierce*, C. Down, p. 2.

A *Scotchman* being driven out of the *Newry*, was knocked on the Head by the Rebels ; yet recovering himself, came naked again into the Town, whereupon the Rebels carried him and his Wife out of Town, cut him all to Pieces, and with a Skein ripp'd up his Wife's Belly, so as a Child dropped out of her Womb.

Owen Frankland, of the City of Dublin. Sir John Temple, Hist. p. 96.

A Dier's Wife of *Ros-Trevor* was killed at the *Newry*, and her Belly ripp'd up by the Rebels, she being great with Child of two Children, who threw her and her Children into a Ditch, and that he, this Deponent, drove away Swine from eating one of her Children.

Philip Taylor, C. Armagh, Sir John Temple, Hist. p. 97.

The Rebels confessed that Colonel *Bryan O Neal* killed about 1000 in this County, besides 300 killed at *Killelagh*.

Dr. Maxwell's Examination.

At *Servagh-bridge* 100 drown'd, more 80, more 60, more 50, more 60, 27 Men murdered.

Capt. Hen. Smith, C. Down, p. 7.

The County of *Dublin*.

About the 28th of *December*, 1641, the Wife of *Joseph Smithson* Minister, was carried from *Deans-grange* near *Dublin* to *Stillorgan*, from thence to *Powerscourt*, and there she and her Servant hanged.

Joseph Smithson, C. Dublin, p. 1.

Henry Maudeasley hanged at *Moore-town*.

George Casbell, C. Dublin, p. 1.

Mr. *Pardoe* a Minister, and *William Rimmer*, a Packet Post, murdered at *Balrothery*, Mr. *Pardoe* being afterwards cast on a Dung-hill, and his Head eaten with Swine.

Tho. Clitberoe, Clerk, C. Dublin, p. 1.

Derrick Hubert of *Holm-Patrick*, Esq; murdered the 2d of *December*, 1641.

Margaret Hubert, C. Dublin, p. 1.

Nicholas Kendiff, murdered near *Dublin* since the Cessation.

John Johnson, C. Dublin, p. 1.

Robert Fagan murdered at *Clunduff*.

Marg. Fagan, C. Dublin.

The County of *Fermanagh*.

Arthur Champion and 16 more murdered at *Snanock-Castle*; at another time 24; at another time two more murdered.

William Ban, p. 2.
Patrick O Bryan, C. Fermanagh, p. 2.
Rob. Aldrick, C. Monaghan.

One *Fermency* killed, and 14 hanged.

Eliz. Dezuibury, C. Fermanagh.
Eliz. Fletcher, C. Fermanagh, p. 1.
Marg. Fermency, C. Fermanagh.

Seven hanged at one time, and divers others put to Death.

Marg. Barlow, C. Fermanagh.

Eighty, some write 150 Men, Women, and Children, burned and killed in the Castle of *Lisgool* in the County of *Fermanagh*.

Matthew Brown, C. Monaghan.
Alice Champion, C. Fermanagh, p. 3.
Jo. Symphon, Gent. C. Fermanagh.

Ninety *Protestants* murdered at *Moneagh-Castle*, 80 at *Tullagh-Castle*; near *Cordiller*, three hanged; one more hanged.

Tho. Wenslow, C. Fermanagh, p. 1, 2.

- Mr. *Middleton*, and 100 more murdered by
Rowry Mac-Guire at *Castlekeagh*. } Sir *John Dunbar's* Relation.
- Fourteen *Protestants* hanged. } *Rob. Flack*, *C. Fermanagh*, p. 2, 3.
- Forty *Protestants* in the Parish of *New-town*,
murdered. } *John Parry*, *C. Fermanagh*.
- Eighteen, some write seventeen, half hanged
in the Church of *Clownish*, and so buried. } Mrs. *Aldrich*. Sir *John Temple*,
Hift. p. 95.
- Thirty murdered in the Parish of *Clankelly*. } *Hugh Stokes*, *C. Fermanagh*.
- Twelve more murdered in *New-town*. } *Robert French*, *C. Fermanagh*.
- William Ogden* murdered. } *Anne Ogden* his Wife, *C. Fermanagh*.
- Parson Flack*, and 40 more, after Promise of
safe Conveyance to *Balgshannon*, drowned by
Rowry Mac-Guire and his Confederates. } Sir *John Dunbar's* Relation.
- One hundred fifty and two, another says 100,
murdered at *Tully*, after quarter given or pro-
mised them. } *Rob. Aldrich*, *C. Monaghan*, p. 1.
Rich. Bourk, *C. Fermanagh*, p. 1.
- Fifteen hanged at *Lowtherstown*; two mur-
dered at *Kynally*. } *Rich. Bourk*, *C. Fermanagh*, p. 1.
- A Child of *Thomas Stratton's* of *New-town*,
boiled to Death in a Cauldron. } *Marg. Parkin*, *Eliz. Bursell*, Sir
John Temple's Hift. p. 101.

The County of *Galway*.

- Mr. *Adam Novell* and six more, hanged and
murdered by the Lord of *Clanmorris*. } *Will. Shuttleworth*, *C. Galway*.
- Hugh Langridge*, murdered near *Logbreogh*,
having received near sixteen Wounds, and his
Son having nine Wounds and left for dead, yet
recovered. } *Ralph Lambert*, *C. Galway*, p. 1, 21.
- Mr. *Corbet* an ancient Minister, had his Head
cut off by two young Cow-herds near *Logh-
reogh*. } *Idem*, p. 2.
- The Son of an Englishman murdered; a
Child so beaten as he died within three Days. } *Idem*, p. 2, 3.
- Sixty five *Protestants*, some say eighty, some
ninety, many of them Ministers, were mur-
dered at the Bridge of *Shreel* alias *Shruel*, *Lu-
dovicus Jones* being amongst the rest hurried
there to that intent, but escaped and died at
Dublin 1646, aged 104. } *Eliz. Buchanan*, *C. Mayo*, p. 1.
Hen. Bringhurst, *C. Mayo*, p. 2, &c.
John Goldsmith, Clerk, p. 6.
Hen. Langford, } *C. Roscommon*, p. 3.
Robert Brown, }
James Brown, }
Thomas Johnson, *C. Mayo*, p. 3.
Andrew Adaire, Esq; *C. Mayo*, p. 5.
Thomas Hawet, *C. Mayo*, p. 3.

The County of *Kerry*.

- Mrs. *Whittell*, her Husband, and eight more
murdered on Sir *Valentine Brown's* Lands;
John and *Simon Heard* killed near *Castle-ha-
ven*; *Goodman Cranbee*, his Wife and Children
murdered; seven drowned by *O Doinfaint's*
Rebels. } *John Heard* and *Fortune* his Wife,
of *Kilarny* in the County of *Kerry*.

Anthony

Anthony Field's Wife, and seven more de-
stroyed by *Sir Valentine Brown's* Tenants.

Anthony Field, C. Kerry.

Mrs. Burrill, killed in her House, by her own
Servant; *Laurence Parry*, his two Sisters, and
Mr. *Edward Laffell*, starved to Death; *Mrs.*
Huffie, her Son and Daughter, and many more
killed, going from *Macrone* to *Corke*, with a
Convoy which the Lord *Muskerry* did allow her,
within a Mile of *Corke*.

Eliz. Wellington, C. Kerry

The County of *Kildare*.

Ralph Heyward, having turned to Mass, was
murthered, his Wife and Children hanged, the
one at her Neck, the other at her Girdle; a
Dog and a Cat hanged with them.

Will. Hewitson, Clerk, C. Kildare

Robert Woods shot to Death.

Will. Collis, C. Kildare, p. 1.

John Morley, his Wife and Children, and one
John Plivie, after they were turned to Mass,
murthered.

Robert Brown, C. Kildare, p. 1.

The County of *Kilkenny*.

About the 20th of *December, 1641*, the
Protestants were stripped naked at *Kilkenny*, and
whereas some of those stripped People with
Ropes of Straw, covered some Part of their Na-
kedness, the Rebels set the Straw on Fire, there-
by burning and grievously scorching them. Six
Soldiers and two Boys having quarter given them,
were nevertheless hanged at *Kilkenny*.

John Maior of the City of Kilkenny,
p. 1, 3.

A young Girl stripped about *Easter, 1642*, in
the City of *Kilkenny*, by a Butcher, her Belly
ripped up, that her Entrails fell out; where the
Mayor, upon Complaint of the Mother, bad
away with her and dispatch her, whereupon the
Mother received seventeen or eighteen Wounds,
and her other Child was also extremely wound-
ed, and all forced out of the City by Men, Wo-
men, and Boys, throwing Stones and Dirt at
them, so as the two Children died in a Ditch.

Will. Parkinson, C. Kilkenny, p. 4.
James Benn, City Kilkenny, p. 1, 4.
John Maire, City Kilkenny, p. 2, 3.
Anne Madefly, C. Kilkenny,
Sir John Temple, Hist. p. 96.

At *Kilkenny* seven *Englishmen* hanged, and
one *Irishman*, because he was taken in their
Company.

Anne Madefly, C. Kilkenny, p. 2.

Twelve murthered at the *Graige*, one of
them, being a Woman great with Child, had
her Belly ripped up, the Child falling out alive,
and a Child of a Year and a Half old hanged.
Another of them named *Robert Pyne*, being
twice hanged up, was cast into his Grave,
where he fate up, saying, *Christ receive my Soul*,
and so was buried quick.

Joseph Wheeler, Esq; Commit. Kil-
kenny, p. 5.

A Collection of Murthers in

An old Man hanged, and afterwards dragged up and down till his Bowels fell out

Idem, p. 5.

Christopher Morley and two English Boys at *Castle-Comer* hanged. Another had his Head clove, and before he was dead, hung on his Father's Tenter-hooks.

Will. Parkinson, *C. Kilkenny*, p. 3.
Jo. Watkinson, Clerk, *Com. Kilkenny*, p. 2.

About sixty Men, Women, and Children more murdered at the *Graige*; many of them buried alive.

Jo. Maire, *City Kilkenny*, p. 3, 4.

At *Balincolough*, within four Miles of *Ros*, April 1642. *John Stone* of the *Graige*, his Son, his two Sons-in-Law, and his two Daughters were hanged; one of his Daughters being great with Child, had her Belly ripped up, her Child taken forth, and such barbarous beastly Actions used to her, as are not fit to be mentioned.

Owen Frankland of the *City of Dublin*.

In *Kilkenny*, *Richard Philips* and five other Soldiers under Captain *Farrall*, a Captain on his Majesty's Party, were, by the Command of the Lord *Mountgarret*, at the End of an House hanged to Death about *Easter*, 1642.

The King's County.

Mrs. *Jane Addis* of *Kilcourse*, after her going to Mass, murdered in her House in *Fox Country Com. Regis*, having a Child not a Quarter old; the Murderers putting the dead Woman's Breast into the Child's Mouth, bad it suck English Bastard, and so left it.

Margery King, *King's County*, p. 1.
James Dowdall, *K. C.* p. 3.
John Wild, *C. Westmeath*, p. 1.
Thomas Fleetwood, *C. Westmeath*, p. 5, 6.

Arthur Scot murdered at *Lislooney*, having twenty Wounds given him: Another Englishman hanged at the same Place.

Thomas Scot, *C. Regis*, p. 2.

Two Men murdered at *Philipstown*.

James Dowdall, *K. C.* p. 3.

Seven murdered at the *Birr*.

Rich. Wilkinson, *K. C.* p. 2.

Thomas Horam hanged at *Philipstown*.

Hugh Robert, *K. C.* p. 1.

Henry Bigland and eleven more hanged and murdered about *Knocknemeis*.

Rob. Bigland, *K. C.*

A Woman aged eighty Years stripped naked in Frost and Snow by two Daughters of *Rowry Cogblan* of *Fercall-wood*, before whose Door she died.

Henry Ayliff, *K. C.* p. 1.

John Lurcan murdered and chopped in Pieces.

Idem, p. 6.

Four English murdered at *Terence Cogblan's* House, *Kilcolgan*, about *December* 1641.

Tho. Le' Strange, *K. C.* p. 5.

Two and twenty Widows, and several stripped naked, who covering themselves in a House with Straw, the Rebels fired the Straw, and threw it amongst them to burn them; and they had been burned had they not been rescued by others, who turned them out naked in Frost and Snow, so as many died, yea the Children died in their Mother's Arms.

Magdalen Redmain, K. C. p. 1.
Isabel Porter, alias Bryan, K. C.
p. 1, 2.

The County of *Leitrim*.

Mr. *William Liffon* and Mr. *Thomas Fullerton*, Clerks, kept two Days without Meat or Drink, and then murdered near *Mannor Hamilton*, 24 of *January 1641*.

Andrew Adaire, C. Mayo, p. 6.

An English Child taken by the Heels, had its Brains dashed out against a Block of Timber.

Andrew Adaire, C. Mayo, p. 6.

The County of *Limerick*.

A Minister, his Wife, and four Children murdered by *Hugh Kennedy*, and his Followers near *Limerick*.

Anne Sherring, C. Tipperary.

The County of *Londonderry*.

Six hundred English murdered at *Gervagh* by Sir *Phelim O Neil*.

Dr. Maxwell.

The County of *Longford*.

Many cruelly murdered at *Longford* after quarter promised.

Rich. Martin, C. Longford, p. 1.
Eliz. Trafford, C. Longford, p. 2.
Isabel Allen, C. Longford, p. 1.

William Steel and four others hanged at a Windmill near to *Racleen* till they were half dead, and then cut in Pieces by the Rebels.

John Stibbs, C. Longford, p. 1.
Susanna Steel, C. Longford, p. 2.

The Wife of *Henry Mead* hang'd; the said *Henry* himself being placed in a Ring amongst the Rebels, each stabbing of him as he was forced to flie from Side to Side, and so continued till his Shoulder and Breast were cut in two with a Bill-hook.

Susanna Steel, C. Longford, p. 2.

George Foster, his Wife and Child, and the Wife of *John Bixell* murdered at *Ballinecorr*; one other drowned; some Children there buried alive.

Eadem, p. 3.

A Collection of Murthers in

The County of *Lowth.*

Eighteen of the Lord *Moore's* Servants murdered at *Mellifont* by Col. *Cole Mac Bryan*, *Mac Mahon* and his Followers, who would not suffer them to be buried. } *John Montgomery, C. Monaghan.*

The County of *Mayo.*

About seven and twenty Protestants, besides Children drowned in the Bay or Harbour near *Killala*, by the Instigation of the Friars. } *Hen. Bringhurst, C. Mayo, p. 8.*

Thirty or forty English, formerly turned Papists, drowned in the Sea near *Killala*. } *John Goldsmith, Clerk, p. 8.*

A young Boy Mr. *Montgomery's* Son, killed by one that had been his School-master; the Boy the while crying, *Good Master do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will.* A Man wounded and buried alive. A Minister murdered after he had gone to Mass: another hanged near *Ballyhen*. } *Idem, p. 9.*

At the *Moyne* alias *Mogne*, fifty-nine Protestants stripped naked, and after barbarously murdered; some encrease the Number much. } *Tbo. Hewet, C. Mayo, p. 6.
Hen. Langford, C. Roscommon, p. 3.*

William Gibb and his Wife, both very old, murdered at the *Moyne*. } *John Shrewley, Clerk, C. Sligo.*

One hundred and twenty Men, Women, and Children stripped naked, and after murdered at *Bellick* alias *Belleeke*. } *Andr. Adaire, Esq; C. Mayo, p. 4, 5.*

George Buchanan mortally wounded, was near the *Strade* buried alive, by *Edmond O Maghery* and his Followers. } *Thom. Hewet, C. Mayo, p. 6.*

August 1643, the Wife of *John Gardiner* of the Barony of *Carrogh*, having Leave, and a Convoy of two Irishmen, to visit her Children at *Bellick*, was by the said Convoy cruelly murdered. } *Idem, p. 7.*

At the *Moyne* the Rebels forced one *Simon Lepers* Wife to kill her Husband, and then caused her Son to kill her, and then hanged the Son. } *John Rutledge, Sir John Temple's Hist. p. 100.*

The County of *Meath.*

Near *Ndavan* the Son of *James Wignall* murdered about *November 1641*. } *James Wignall, C. Meath, p. 1, 2.*

Mrs. *Heglin* and her Daughter, with two Children, murdered at *Wilkins-town* by two Men hired thereto for two Barrels of Wheat; and *Robert Robin* murdered near Sir *William Hill's* House. } *William Medcalf, C. Meath.
James Pennicook, C. Meath, p. 2, 3.*

Mr. *John Ware* murdered at *Moylagh*.
Four more hang'd at the *Navan*.
An English Woman, a Papist, murdered at
Gerald Fitz-Gerald's House at *Clonard*.

} *William Potter*, p. 1, 2, 3.
} *Dennis Kelly*, C. Meath, p. 1.
} *James Dowdall*, K. C. p. 3.

The Murder of *Thomas Pressick* and others
at *Trim*.

} See for that part of a Letter from
Mr. *Richard Tannison* of *Trim*, Mi-
nister, April 13, 1674, to an ho-
nourable and right reverend Person.
In the first Year of the late horrid
Rebellion, &c. as in annexed Paper.

The County of *Monaghan*.

Many Protestants hanged at *Carrick-mac-crofs*.

} *Robert Brantkwait*.
} *Robert Boyle*, Clerk, p. 1.
} *Jane Hughes*, } p. 2.
} *Eliz. Williams*, }
All of the County of *Monaghan*.

Sixteen Protestants at once hanged at *Clou-
niff*; several others there also hanged; and
sixteen Women and Children drowned in a
Turf-pit.

} *Rob. Aldrich*, p. 3. } C. Mo-
} *James Gowen*, p. 2. } naghan.
} *Hencragh Beamond*, p. 1. }
} *Francis Winn*, C. Fermanagh, p. 1.

The Deponent's Father and Son murdered.

} *Eliz. Nortbop*, C. Monaghan, p. 1.
} *Geo. Cottingham*, } C. Monaghan,
} *Hen. Steel*. } p. 1.

Richard Blancy, Esq; hanged.

Some murdered in *Monaghan*.

} *Bridget Leigh*, C. Monaghan, p. 1.

Seven murdered in the *Fews*, Ensign *Lloyd*
and others murdered, and one buried quick.

} *Jo. Montgomery*, C. Monaghan, p. 11.

John Hughes and twenty-four murdered.

} *Jane Hughes*, C. Monaghan, p. 1.

Eighteen murdered.

} *John Martin*, C. Monaghan, p. 1.

Seventeen Men, Women, and Children
drowned at *Ballyrofs*.

} *Eliz. Clerk*, C. Monaghan, p. 1.

Many murdered, and four drowned.

} *Geo. Cottingham*, C. Monaghan.

Cornet Clinton and his Grandchild drown'd;
many others murdered.

} *Will. Holland*, C. Monaghan, p. 2.

The Queen's County.

Five murdered, whereof one was an English
Woman, turned to Mass, great with Child, who
was shot.

} *John Carpenter*, Queen's County, p. 2.

John Nicholson and his Wife murdered by
Florence Fitz-Patrick and his Servants on the
Sabbath-day, the first Deponent hardly escaping
Death for burying them. *Elizabeth Baskerville*
says that Mrs. *Fitz-Patrick* blamed the Mur-
derers because they brought not Mrs. *Nichol-
son's* Fat or Grease, wherewith she might have
made Candles.

} *Walter Disbcome*, Q. C. p. 1.
} *Emanuel Beale*, Q. C. p. 1.
} *Thomas Berry*, } Q. C. p. 1.
} *John Berry*, }
} *Eliz. Baskerville*, Q. C. p. 2.

Thomas Keyes, a Justice of Peace of the
Queen's County, Esq; aged sixty-six, and *Thomas*
Dubbleday hanged near *Burroughs Castle*, and
Dubbleday shot as he was hanging, both being
first stripped naked, gored and pricked in several
Parts of their Bodies.

} *Thom. Holt*, Q. C. p. 1, 2, 3.
} *Elinor Reges*, Q. C. p. 1.
} *Samuel Ring*, Q. C. p. 2.

A Collection of Murthers in

Amy Mamphin's Husband murdered, and she compelled to stand in his Blood, and she being stripped naked, was drawn by the Hair through Thorns, and after sent away. } *Amy Mamphin, Q. C. p. 1.*

An English Girl half hanged, and so buried. } *Joseph Wheeler, Esq; C. Kilk. p. 21*
Six English hanged by *Florence Fitz-Patrick* } *Lieut. Hen. Gilbert, Q. C. p. 1.*
after Quarter given 1641.

Near *Kilfeckell*, an Englishman and his Wife and four or five Children hanged by Command of Sir *Morgan Kavanagh*, and Mr. *Robert Harpole*, all afterwards cast into one Hole, the youngest Child, not fully dead, putting up the Hand, and crying *Mammy, Mammy*, yet buried alive. } *William Parkinson, Esq; C. Kilkenny, p. 4.*

Mary Harding put in the Stocks and whipped to death, and her Husband starved to death by *Florence Fitz-Patrick* and his Followers, after they had given him all their Goods in his Promise to relieve them and theirs. } *Jean Bidel of Montrath.*

The County of Roscommon.

Sixteen English hang'd at *Ballilegue* by *Oliver boy Fitz-Gerald* of *Bellilegue*. } *Edw. Pierse, C. Roscommon, p. 1.*

Nine murdered at *Ballinacrad*, whereof four were Children, and one Woman great with Child, through whose Belly the Rebels thrust their Pikes as she was hanging, because, as they said, the Child should not live. } *Eliz. Holywell, C. Roscommon, p. 1.*

John Price, and several others murdered in *Athlone*. } *John Doddwell, C. Roscommon, p. 2.*

William Stewart had Collops cut off him being alive, Fire Coals put into his Mouth, his Belly ripped up, and his Entrails wrapped about his Neck and Wrists. } *Andr. Adaire, Esq; C. Mayo, p. 6.*

The County of Sligo.

Mr. *Thomas Stewart* Merchant, and seven and thirty Protestants put into the Goal of *Sligo*, all except two or three murdered there the same Night, by divers breaking in upon them at Midnight; for Proof whereof see the Examinations of } *Edw. Braxton, C. Sligo, p. 1.*
Amy Hawksworth, C. Roscommon.
Ralph Lambert, C. Galway, p. 3.
Hen. Langford, } *C. Rose, p. 1, 2, 3.*
Rob. Brown,
James Brown,
Will. Welsh, C. Sligo, p. 3.
John Harrison, Esq; C. Sligo, p. 1.
John Goldsmith, Clerk, C. Mayo, p. 8.
Jane Stewart, C. Sligo, p. 1. as
her Examination before Sir George
Shurley.

Four murdered that Day in the Streets of *Sligo*.

Elizabeth Beard was killed in the River by a Friar's Man.

A Frier with some Soldiers undertaking to conduct Mr. *Thomas Walker* a Minister, his Man, and two Gentlemen from *Roskerk* to *Abbeyboyle*, the Frier riding away, they fell into an Ambush laid for them, where Mr. *Walker*, being on his Knees at Prayer, they cleft his Skull to his Mouth, killed his Man, and stripped the Woman, one of which was afterwards murdered at *Ballymoate*.

John Shrawly, Clerk, C. Sligo, p. 1.

Five and forty Men, Women, and Children murdered and destroyed near *Ballysekerry*.

Idem, p. 2.

Mr. *William Ollifant* Clerk, stripped half naked at *Temple-house*, and after dragged with a Rope about his Neck at a Horse heels up and down, because he would not turn Papist; another Minister at the same time murdered, 1641.

*Andrew Adaire, C. Mayo, p. 4.
Jane Brown, p. 7.
John Harrison, Esq, p. 1.*

At *Ardneglas* and *Skreen*, about thirty Protestants, Men, Women, and Children murdered.

Han. Langford, C. Refe. p. 3.

Ten Men, Women, and Children buried alive near *Temple*, or *Temple-house*.

Andr. Adaire, Esq; C. Mayo, p. 4.

In *Sligo* the Rebels forced one *Lewis* the younger to kill his Father, and they hanged the Son.

John Rutledge, Sir John Temple's Hist. p. 100.

The County of *Tipperary*.

January 1641, fifteen Men, Women, and Children, Protestants, murdered in *Cashell*, and near *Cashell* three or four Children murdered by a Convoy.

Edw. Banks, Clerk, p. 1, 2.

Four and twenty English, after they had revolted to the Mass, murdered at the Silvermines.

*Anne Sherring, C. Tipperary, p. 1.
Rich. Bourk, C. Fermanagh, p. 3.
John Powell, C. Tipperary, p. 1.
William Tims, C. Tipperary.*

James Hooker, Gent. and Mr. *John Stuckley*, and six more murdered on Sir *Richard Everet's* Land; Mr. *Richard Walker*, and ten more hanged at *Rathell*. *George Crawford* and above fifty more murdered. *Joyce* a Maid of Mr. *Walkers* buried alive; Mr. *Carr*, Mr. *Carter*, and some eighteen more hanged and murdered near *Cashell*; Mr. *Dashwood*, to whom the Rebels gave Quarter and Convoy to *Michael's-town*, by one *Prender-gast-Prender* murdered on his own Land.

Anne Long, Widow, C. Tipperary Examination.

The County of *Tyrone*.

Robert Bickerdick and his Wife drowned in the *Black Water*; *Thomas Carlisle* put to Death; *James Carlisle* and his Wife also murdered; and so were about ninety-seven more.

Gertrude Carlisle, C. Tyrone, p. 2, 3.

A Collection of Murthers in

The Murther of Mr. *John Mather* and Mr. *Blyth*, both Clerks, in or near *Dungannon*, though Mr. *Blyth* had Sir *Phelim O Neal*'s Protection; and sixty Families of the Town of *Dungannon* murthered.

John Perkins, Esq; C. Tyrone, p. 1.
Anthony Stratford, C. Armagh, p. 1.

Near three hundred murthered in the Way to *Coleraine* by Direction from Sir *Phelim O Neal* and *Firlagh* his Brother.

Idem Perkins, p. 6.

In and about *Dungannon* three hundred and sixteen murthered; between *Charlemont* and *Dungannon* above four hundred murthered; drown'd at and in the River of *Benburb* and *Blackwater* 206.

Idem Stratford, p. 2.

Thirteen murthered one Morning by *Patrick Mac Crew* of *Dungannon*; two young Rebels did murther in the County of *Tyrone* one hundred and forty Women and Children; the Wife of *Bryan Kelly* of *Loghgall* murthered five and forty with her own Hands.

Idem Stratford, p. 1.

At a Milpool in the Parish of *Killamon* were drowned in one Day three hundred.

Idem p. 2.

Eighteen Scotch Infants hanged on Clothiers Tenterhooks; and one young fat Scotchman murthered, and Candles made of his Grease; another Scotchman's Belly ripped up, and the End of his small Guts tied to a Tree, then he drawn about till his Guts were pulled out, that they might try, said they, whether a Dog's or a Scotchman's Guts were longest.

Idem p. 3.

The County of *Westmeath*.

In *Kilbeggan* a Boy and two Women hanged, one of them having a sucking Child, desired it might be buried with her, knowing it would suffer afterwards, but it was cast out and starved to death.

John Naghtin, C. Westmeath, p. 2.

William Sibthorp Parish-Clerk of *Mullingar* hanged; *Edmund Dalton*, and Mr. *Moorehead*'s Son murthered.

Thomas Fleetwood, Clerk, C. Westmeath, p. 6, 7, 8.

The County of *Wicklow*.

Edward Snape, and two others hanged Nov. 1641, in *Knockrath-Park*.

Thom. Holloway, C. Wicklow.

John the Son of *William Leeson*, stripped and hanged at *Ballygarny*, Nov. 1641.

Will. Leeson, C. Wicklow, 3 p. 2.
Elias. Leeson, C. Wicklow, 3 p. 2.

A young Child of a Year and Quarter old, the Deponents taken from her Back, thrown and trodden upon that it died, the Mother and three other Children stripped naked, so as the said Children died; this was done upon the Lands of *Bordkillamore* about the 11th of November 1641. } *Anno Hill, C. Catherlagh, p. 2,*

The Scene of which Murthers was ever so deeply imprest on the English, that, though they were sufficiently inclined to be generous where they found the Irish resolute and gallant, yet they never took any considerable City, Fort, or Castle by Agreement, but it was constantly inserted, amongst the Articles, that the Benefit of whatever they allowed should not extend to any that had been guilty of murdering the English, or adhering to them since the 23d of October, 1641. Nor to any Officer or Soldier that had taken away the Lives of any of the English, or others after Quarter given, or to such as sat in the first General Assembly or Council, or acted upon any Commissions or Powers derived from either; and that all, who commanded in the first Year of the Rebellion, should be liable to a Trial at Law for any Action committed since the 23d of October 1641. But how far these Provisoes were observed, when his Majesty's gracious Declaration the 30th of November 1660, for the Settlement of each Interests, came in Force, is better understood by the Records of the Age, than to be descanted on now.

An ALPHABET of the COUNTIES wherein such Murthers, as are here mentioned, were committed.

Counties.	fol.	Counties	fol.
<i>A</i> Ntrim	393	<i>Leitrim</i>	401
<i>Armagh</i>	ibid.	<i>Limerick</i>	ibid.
<i>Catherlagh</i>	395	<i>Londonderry</i>	ibid.
<i>Cavan</i>	ibid.	<i>Longford</i>	ibid.
<i>Clare</i>	396	<i>Lowth</i>	402
<i>Cork</i>	ibid.	<i>Mayo</i>	ibid.
<i>Donegal</i>	ibid.	<i>Meath</i>	ibid.
<i>Down</i>	ibid.	<i>Monaghan</i>	403
<i>Dublin</i>	397	<i>Queen's County</i>	ibid.
<i>Fermanagh</i>	ibid.	<i>Roscommon</i>	404
<i>Galway</i>	398	<i>Sligo</i>	ibid.
<i>Kerry</i>	ibid.	<i>Tipperary</i>	405
<i>Kildare</i>	399	<i>Tyrone</i>	ibid.
<i>Kilkenny</i>	ibid.	<i>Westmeath</i>	406
<i>King's County</i>	400	<i>Wicklow</i>	ibid.

Dr. ROBERT MAXWELL, since Bishop of Kilmore, his Examination, worthy deliberate and serious Reflections, but not here to be filed to as quoted in the Abstract, That only to be sought for in the Archives of Dublin.

DOCTOR Robert Maxwell, Rector of Tynon in the County of Armagh, sworn and examined: and first touching the Nature of the Rebellion, deposeeth and saith, that, to begin higher than the 22d of October 1641, at the coming in of the Scots to Newcastle, he observed Sir Phelim O Neal, Tirlagh oge O Neal his Brother, Robert Hovenden, Esq; deceased, and generally all his Popish Neighbours overjoyed; and at their peaceable disbanding as much cast down and dejected, calling the *English* base degenerate Cowards, and the Scots dishonourable Braggadochies, who came into *England* not to fight, but to scrape up Wealth, merchandizing their Honours for Sums of Money. But he, this Deponent, did not much heed those distempered Speeches, as every where rise in those Days, and as proceeding from bankrupt and discontented Gentlemen; and the rather because many in *Ireland* at that time, measuring the Scots Laws by their own, accompted the Scots Subjection not much better than Rebellion, although since by the Event their Judgments are now rectified; yet he asked what they meant to be thus sad at good News, but joyful at Evil? They said, if the two Kingdoms had gone by the Ears, they hoped the Earl of *Strafford*, whose Government had been most avaritious and tyrannical, would, in regard of his Forwardness, have perished in the Combustion. But this he, the Deponent, thought not worth the informing, because what they said most Men thought from the disbanding of the Scots, until the breaking out of the present Rebellion. He observed also frequent and extraordinary Meetings of Priests and Friers almost every where under colour of Visitations, and at the first summons of Friers, to the Number of two or three thousand in a Company, they would usually meet together for a Twelvemonth before the Rebellion, who, with others of the same Stamp, borrowed what Sums of Money they possibly could from the *British*, and often without any apparent Necessity; neither did it afterwards appear what they did with the Money so borrowed, for they would not pay any Man a Penny. And the Deponent further saith, That in April 1641, there went a Report amongst the *Irish*, the Deponents next Neighbours, that the Earl of *Tyrone* was seen with

The Conspirators
joyed at the com-
ing in of the
Scots, dejected at
their going out
from Newcastle.

The *Irish* before
their grand Erup-
tion, borrowed
what they could
of the *English*.

Sir *Phelim O Neal* in the Wood of *Ballynametash*, but upon Examination they denied it ; yet since the Rebellion they told the Deponent, that a great Man out of *Spain* was at that time with him, but they would not name him ; and about three Years before that, one *Priest Mac Case*, came from *Rome* with the Pope's Bull for the Parish of *Tynnon*, and, being kept out by Sir *Phelim*, talked freely of a Rebellion plotted and intended by him and others : Upon which the Priest went to *Dublin* to inform the Lord Deputy * thereof, by whom, being examined, he either said nothing to the Purpose, or was not believed, or was taken off by Sir *Phelim*. And further saith, that Sir *Phelim O Neal*, a little before the Rebellion, brought two Hogheads of Gunpowder from *Dublin*, under colour of Wine, by *Patrick O Dogherty*, Vintner of *Kynard* ; he bought a great Part thereof by ten or twelve Pounds in the Name of most of the Gentry in the Country. This he bragged of to the Deponent afterwards ; and that he likewise told this Deponent, when the Lord *Magwire*, and other Rebels, were taken in *Dublin*, his Man †, *James Warren*, and Frier *Paul O Neal*, were apprehended amongst them, having sent them thither a little before to assist and attend the Issue of the Business, but said, that upon Examination at Council-Table, they were both dismissed contrary to his Expectation. He said also, that some Lord or other spoke for them *. This Deponent further saith, that he heard Sir *Phelim O Neal*, upon his first return from *Strabane*, say, that this Plot was in his Head five or six Years before he could bring it to any Maturity : But said that after it was concluded by the Parliament, (meaning the Popish Party) he was one of the last Men to whom it was communicated. He said likewise, that to bring about his own Ends, he had formerly demeaned himself as a Fool in all great Men's Company, but that he hoped, by that time, the greatest of them saw, that Sir *Phelim O Neal* was no such Fool as they took him for : And further saith, that he, this Deponent, heard Sir *Phelim's* Brother *Tirlogh oge O Neal* say, that this Business, (meaning the Rebellion) was communicated by the Irish Committee, (meaning the Popish Irish) unto the Papists in England, who promised their Assistance ; and that by their Advice, some Things formerly resolved upon were altered ; saying it was a good Omen, and undoubted Sign of Divine Approbation, that the Parliament here should send over a Committee, the major part whereof were Papists. He also affirmed, that when the Protestants of the Lower House in Ireland withdrew themselves apart unto *Chichester-Hall*, the Papists at the same Time, (never dreaming the Deponent should live to tell it again) debated, concluded, and signed a combinatory Writing of this Rebellion under their Hands in the Tollbooth or Tolsell ; which, he said, that Session drew on, and hastened sooner than it was intended : And when the Deponent answered, that the Papists in all former Parliaments, which either of them had seen, usually, and without Exception, consulted apart as often as they pleased : He replied in great Choler, but so did never the Protestants before. And this Deponent further saith, that in December the 19th, 1641, he the Deponent heard Sir *Phelim* in his own House, and in the hearing of Mr. *Joseph Traverse*, and others, say, that if the Lords and Gentlemen (meaning Popish) of the other Provinces, then not in Arms, would not rise, but leave him in

* Christopher Wendesford, Esq.

Powder (otherwise then by such little Quantities not to be parted with) so ordered by the State.

† See the History, f. 26.

* A Favour not the first of that kind.

The English Papists charged with the knowledge of the Irish Rebellion.

The Gentry (besides those of Ulster) accused.

It is a known Truth, that though he took not the Castle, yet all his Horfes in the Stable were both ready furnished and in good equipage, which by several was observed and wondered at.

* As is evident in the History, f. 81.

Reasons why the Rebels assumed Arms.

the lurch for all, he would produce his Warrant signed with their Hands, and written in their own Blood, that should bring them to the Gallows; and that they sate every Day at Council - Board, and whispered the Lords Justices in the Ear, who were as deep in that Business as himself. And saith also, that on the Third Day after this Rebellion began, Torilagh oge O Neal's Wife, a most bloody Woman, and natural Daughter to the late Earl of Antrim, told this Deponent, that all Ireland was in the same Case with Ulster; for said she, my Brother the Earl of Antrim, hath taken the Castle and City of Dublin, having lately moved thither for the same Purpose, and not to please the Dutchess, as was given out, and my Brother Alexander Mac Donnell, according to the general Appointment, hath taken the Town and Castle of Carrickfergus. He, the Deponent, then asked what they meant to do with those whom they had disarmed and pillaged? She said, as long as their Preservation should be deemed consistent with the publick Safety, they should enjoy their Lives; when otherwise, better their Enemy perish than themselves: Which was but a very cold Comfort to a Freshman Prisoner, as myself was. And also said, that Sir Phelim O Neal told this Deponent in December last, that his Stock in Money amounted to 80000 Sterling, wherewith he said he was able to maintain an Army for one Year, though all shifts else failed. And that Captain Alexander Hovenden told him, that as soon as his Brother Sir Phelim was created Earl of Tyrone, and great O Neal, he wrote Letters, and sent them by Friars to the Pope, and Kings of Spain and France, but would not discover the Contents. And further saith, that about the first of March last, the said Alexander told the Deponent, that the Friars of * Drogheda, by Father Thomas, Brother to the Lord of Slane, had the second time invited Sir Phelim thither, and offered to betray the Town unto him, by making, or discovering, the Deponent knoweth not whether, a Breach in the Wall, through which he might march six Men abreast. The Deponent saw this Friar the same time in Armagh, whom Sir Phelim took by the Hand, and brought to the Deponent, saying, this is the Friar that said Mass at Finglass upon Sunday Morning, and in the Afternoon did beat Sir Charles Coote at Swords. I hope, said the Friar, to say Mass in Christ Church Dublin within eight Weeks. And further deposed that he, this Deponent, asked many, both of their Commanders and Friars, what chiefly moved them to take up Arms: They said, why may not we as well, and better fight for Religion, which is the Substance, than the Scots did for Ceremonies, which are but Shadows? And that my Lord of Strafford's Government was intolerable. The Deponent answered, that that Government, how insupportable soever, was indifferent, and lay no heavier upon them, than on him, and the rest of the British Protestants. They replied, that the Deponent, and the rest of the British, were no considerable part of the Kingdom; and that over and above all this, they were certainly informed, that the Parliament of England had a Plot to bring them all to Church, or to cut off all the Papists in the King's Dominions, in England by the English Protestants, or as they call them, Puritans, in Ireland, by the Scots. And further deposed, that he asked, as seeming very careful of their Safety, what hope of Aid they had? And from whom?

as also what discreet and able Men they had to imploy as Agents, to their Friends beyond the Sea? They said, if they held out this next Winter, they were sure and certain in the Spring to receive Aid from the Pope, *France*, and *Spain*; and that the Clergy of *Spain* had already contributed five thousand Arms and Powder for a whole Year then in Readiness. They said, *their best and only Agents were their Priests and Friers, but especially the forenamed Paul O Neal*, upon whose coming, with Advice from *Spain*, they presently opened the War; and that since the War began, in the very dead of Winter, he both went with Letters, and returned with Instructions from *Spain* in one Month, professing the good Cause had suffered much Prejudice, *if he had been hanged in Dublin*. And this Deponent further saith, that he demanded why sometimes they pretended a Commission from the King, at other times from the Queen, since all Wisemen knew that the King would not grant a Commission against himself, and the Queen could not. They being Commanders and Friers, said, *that it was lawful for them to pretend what they could in Advancement of their Cause*: That many of the Garrison Soldiers, now their Prisoners, whom they determined to imploy 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, Rumours 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 enough already, they would command their Priests publicly, at Mass, to discharge the People from speaking of her as a Cause, or Abetter of the present Troubles. And the Deponent also asked Sir Phelim O Neal, what his Demands were, without which his Lordship and the rest would not lay down Arms? At first he told this Deponent, *That they required only Liberty of Conscience*. But afterwards as his Power, so his Demands were multiplied. *They must have no Lord Deputy, great Officers of State, Privy Counsellors, Judges, or Justices of Peace, but of the Irish Nation; no standing Army in the Kingdom; all Tythes payable by Papists to be paid to popish Priests; Church Lands to be restored to their Bishops; all Plantations, since primo Jacobi, to be disannulled, none made hereafter; no Payments of Debts due to the British, or Restitution of any thing taken in the Wars; all Fortifications and Strengths to be in the Hands of the Irish, with Power to erect and build more, if they thought fit; all Strangers, meaning British, to be restrained from coming over; all Acts of Parliament against Popery and Papists, together with Poyning's Act to be repealed, and the Irish Parliament to be made independent*. But saith, that others told him, this Deponent, that although all these Demands were granted, yet Sir Phelim for his own Part was not resolved to lay down Arms, unless his Majesty would confirm unto him the Earldom of Tyrone, with all the antient Patrimony and Privileges belonging to the O Neals *. And further saith, that in March 1641. Alexander Hovenden, by Sir Phelim's Direction, sent from the Camp before Drogheda a † Prophecy said to be found in the Abbey of Kells, importing that Tyrone, or Sir Phelim, after the Conquest and Settlement of Ireland, should fight five set Battels in England; in the last whereof he should be killed upon Dunsmore-beath, but not before he

Paul O Neal, a prime Instrument in the Rebellion.

How the King and Queen came to be charg'd with the Rebellion.

Reasons why the Queen not to be nam'd.

Sir Phelim O Neal's Motives to the Rebellion.

* Commissions, however so large without the title of O Neal, not satisfactory.

† The Vanity Sir Phelim was heightned with.

he had driven King *Charles*, with his whole Posterity, out of *England*, who should be afterwards *profugi in terra aliena in æternum*. The Paper itself, with the Deponent's whole Library, to the Value of seven or eight hundred Pounds, was lately burnt by the Scots under the Conduct of the Lord Viscount *Montgomery*: since that Prophecy the Deponent saith, he hath often seen Captain *Tirlagh Mac Brian O Neal*, a great Man in the County of *Armagh*, with many others, no mean Commanders, drinking Healths upon the Knee to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, Lord General of the Catholick Army in *Ulster*, Earl of *Tyrone*, and King of *Ireland*. But the Deponent professeth, *in verba Christiani*, he did never pledge that Health; although sometimes he fled it with hazard of his Life, if he had been observed. And this Deponent further saith, that *Art oge O Neal* his eldest Son, whose Name if it be not *Art*, he hath forgotten, now, and of a long time a Captain, and one of the stoutest Rebels in the County of *Armagh*, was, as he told the Deponent, in *Dublin* at School, and dieted at an Alderman's House, whose Name he also doth not remember, in the beginning of the Rebellion, and that being found in *Dublin*, the Alderman aforesaid became bound at Council-board in one thousand Pounds for his forth-coming; but afterwards seeing how Business sorted, he came unto this young Man, and said, *Boy, get you gone, and shift for yourself*: Alas, saith he, Sir, you are bound for me in one thousand Pounds. No matter Boy, said he, *I must lose that and many thousands more*: whereupon he saith he fled upon Foot and escaped to the Army about *Drogheda* that same Night. And further saith, that in May 1642, Captain *Walter White* told *Edward Bleeke* an Englishman, and the Deponent, in *Hovenden's* Garden, that amongst others, *Roger Moore*, or *Moore* and *Bryan O Neal* were designed to take, and man the postern Door of the Castle of *Dublin*; and that he was in *Dublin*, and himself of the Plot, that told them this of his own Knowledge. It may be enquired if there were any more *Brian O Neals* in Town at that time, than one; the Deponent durst not ask what *Bryan* he meant. And further saith, that *Tirlogh oge O Neal* told him in *Armagh*, three or four Days before the Irish Army went to *Strabane*, that the Lady of *Strabane* had by Letters invited Sir *Phelim* thither, assuring that the Town should be betrayed unto him, or yielded, he knoweth not whether: And Sir *Phelim* himself, at his return from taking *Strabane*, told him the same over again; yet he said, when he came to the Castle to avoid Suspicion, they shot ten or twelve Shots over him. He told the Deponent likewise, that nothing withstood his present Marriage with the said Lady, but the want of a Dispensation impetiable from their Lord Primate for a Vow which she made not to marry for three Years to come. He said also, that at his Entrance into the Castle, the Lady's Priest, a Scotch Jesuit, exacted, and ministred an Oath unto him, that he, and those his noble Cavaliers, came thither for the Propagation of the Catholick Faith, and not in any way to violate the Lady, since it is reported very credibly that they are married. Captain *Alexander Hovenden* told the Deponent, that when Sir *Phelim* brought her to *Kynard* from her own Castle of *Strabane*, she did pray him to burn and raze it, lest thereafter it might be useful to the Scots, and was of opinion Sir *Phelim* did very ill in neglecting so good Advice. The Deponent,

The Perfidiousness of the City Aldermen to the State.

Sir Phelim O Neal's Carriage at Strabane.

and

and the rest of the *British*, expected much favour by her Means, but immediately after her coming to these Parts, the Sword was let fly, whether at her Intreaty or not, the Deponent cannot affirm. More the Deponent hath heard, but because it is not Treason, and she is a Lady nobly descended, he will not publish it. And further the Deponent saith, that in *March* last a Footman of the Earl of *Antrim*'s was denied lodging, as was reported by Mrs. *Hovenden*, Sir *Phelim*'s mother, which gave much occasion of Discourse in the Country, and that he heard Dr. *Daly* say, that Sir *Phelim* would never have undertaken the Province of *Ulster*, if he had not been persuaded that the said Earl would have taken up Arms as soon as himself; and he himself hath heard others say, that his approbation of the Business was as much as theirs; but that when it came to Action, he durst not shew his Face in the Field for fear of discomposing his Clothes: And that *Owen Mac Clymon*, at his parting from the Earl in *March* last, as himself reported to divers in the Country, told him that the common Cause suffered by his Non-concurrence: But he replied, the Business was already spoiled, especially in *Ulster*, by Bloodshed and Robbery; and that he would not declare himself, either one way or other, until after May-day following. And the Deponent hath heard many of the Rebels call Sir *Phelim* a Confident of the Earl's, for letting him go when he was taken Prisoner by the Captain of *Charlemont*, saying, that he deserved to lose his Head for some Words he spoke, going through *Armagh*, about the last of *April*, or first of *May* last, viz. That he saw nothing amongst them but Desolation and execrable Cruelty; for which God's Wrath, and the King's just revenge hung over their Heads, and would very speedily overtake them. As he rode through the Parish of *Derenoose*, he would very gladly, although the Deponent is a Stranger unto him, have seen him the said Deponent, but could not procure the Friers Guides to send a Messenger for him; they were afraid, as some of them told him afterwards, that he would have rescued the Deponent, but he the Deponent thinketh, they more feared, least he might have laboured to divert his Lordship from joining with them, which was then presently expected: So that a Man can see no part of this Tragedy wherein there is not a Devil or a Frier, or both. And the Deponent further saith, that he was certainly informed by the Chief of the *O Donnellies* and *O Lappans*, and many others, whereof some were very near unto Sir *Phelim*, and it is generally reported in those Parts, where the Deponent lived, that Mrs. *May*, Widow to Mr. *Edward May*, late of *Dublin*, a meer *Irish* Woman, whom the General long kept for his Fancy, and thereafter married out of Conscience, is and was ever, since the Rebellion began, Sir *Phelim*'s chief and unsuspected Intelligencer; that he addressed all his Packets sent to *Dublin* unto her, and by her Means, and for the most part by *Owen Mac Clymon* afore said, and other of her Servants received Answers; perhaps the Truth may be found out by sudden Search for Letters, or unexpected Examination of her and her Servants apart. And also saith, that he hath heard many of the Rebels say amongst themselves, that they feared nothing so much, as the corrupting and spoiling of their Harvest: And that if *G. M. Monroe* had put three thousand Men in the Towns of *Armagh*, *Dungannon*, and *Monaghan*,

The Earl of *Antrim* expected to have joined with Sir *Phelim O Neal*.

The Reasons why *Antrim* complied not,

Mrs. *May* of *Dublin*, Sir *Phelim*'s Intelligencer.

Monroe's Neglect.

before they were burnt, he had made himself absolute Master of all the Corn in the three Counties, without which they could not possibly subsist this Winter. And saith moreover, that Sir Phelim O Neal, his deputed Lieutenants and Governors, in all their Commissions, Passes, and Warrants, leave out these Words, *in his Majesty's Name*, yet if any be tendered by the *British* in the Old Stile, they seldom except against them *de nomine*, and as seldom sign them. And the Deponent also saith, that the last, *who were devoured, were Apostates through fear, and Revolvers to Popery, who, though but a very handful, yet such was their insatiable Thirst of Blood, they could not spare them.* And further saith, that it was credibly told him, that the Rebels, lest they should hereafter be charged with more Murthers than they had committed, commanded their Priests to bring in a true Account of them; and that *the Persons so slaughtered, whether in Ulster, or the whole Kingdom, the Deponent durst not enquire, in March last, amounted unto one hundred fifty four thousand.* Sir Phelim O Neal asked the Deponent very scornfully once in *Armagh*, and in the hearing of many, why the *Scots* in so many Weeks came not to relieve or revenge the Death of their Countrymen? The Deponent durst not reply in this so dangerous a Question; but one that stood by said, *that they did wisely to stay until his Lordship made them more Elbow-room.* This Riddle was soon after interpreted upon the March of the *Scottish* Army from the *Newry* back to *Carrickfergus*, by the bloody Massacre of above five thousand of the *British* in three Days. About two hundred Persons, within seven Weeks after, that were relieved by the Lord *Conway's* Army, sent for the same Purpose, so that the Deponent doth confidently say, that now of all the *Royal Plantation* in *Ulster*, there doth not remain alive two hundred more amongst the Rebels. And further saith, that a Nephew of *Art. O Neal's*, Brother to *Henry O Neal*, Lord of the *Fewes*, told him, this Deponent, that his Uncle the said *Art.* had but one *Scotchman* upon his Land, and that about two Days foregoing, gave Directions to have him murdered, thereby to give to Sir Phelim a Proof of his Zeal in the common Cause, from which there was a Suspicion he meant to revolt. And further saith, that there went a common Report amongst the *Irish* in *Armagh*, that the Bishop of *Derry* had undertaken to betray the Town of *Derry* unto Sir Phelim O Neal, which he remembring, or being put in mind thereof at *Strabane*, as he told the Deponent upon his Return, he resolved from thence to have written unto him a Letter, promising to be with him such a Night, and desiring Admittance at the Gate appointed. This Letter, said he, I intended to send by a Prisoner, with whom, upon search finding this Letter, the *Scots*, without more Examination, would have cut the Bishop into Collops, but he said somewhat put this Project out of his Head. He may in time do as much for others, as then he intended to do for the Bishop, wherefore the Deponent thought this Passage not worthy the inserting. And the Deponent further saith, that *Tirlogh oge O Neal*, then Governor of *Armagh*, caused an *English* Ditcher to be killed upon a Proof made, that he should say he was a better Preacher than *James Usher* Primate of *Armagh*: This he did, as he said, to suppress *Brownisme* in his Government. And further saith, that amongst
the

The last that
suffered were
those who had
compied.

154000
slaughtered by
the Priests esti-
mate.

The Scots de-
stroyed.

Sir Phelim's de-
sign to have cut
off Dr. Bramball,
Bishop of Derry.

the Rebels he hath seen some laugh and wonder at the *English* for keeping their Words or Protestations given to the *Irish*; and some said in Mockery, that this was a secret Confession of the Protestants, that the Papists were not Hereticks: and for some Instance of extreme Cruelty used by the *Irish* in *Ulster*, the Deponent saith, that by special Command from Sir *Phelim O Neal*, they dragged the Deponent's Brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell*, out of his Bed in the Rage and Height of a burning Fever, and lest any of his Acquaintance or Friends should bury him, they carried him two Miles from any Church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he knew neither what he did or said: and thus Sir *Phelim* paid him two hundred and sixty Pounds which he owed him. And that his Wife *Grizell Maxwell*, being in Child-birth, the Child half born, and half unborn, they stript stark naked, and drove her about an Arrow flight to the *Blackwater*, and drowned her. The like they did to another *Englishwoman* in the same Parish in the beginning of the Rebellion, which was little inferior, if not more unnatural and barbarous, then the roasting of Mr. *Watson* alive, after they had cut a Collop out of either Buttock. That a *Scotchwoman* was found in the *Glyn-wood* lying dead, her Belly ripped up, and a living Child crawling in her Womb, cut out of the Cawl. That Mr. *Starky*, Schoolmaster at *Armagh*, a Gentleman of good Parentage and Parts, being upwards of one hundred Years of Age, they stripped naked, caused two of his Daughters, Virgins, being likewise naked, to support him under each Arm, not being able to go of himself, and in that Posture carried them all three a Quarter of a Mile to a Turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the Lust of their Eyes and the Cruelty of their Hearts with the self same Objects at the same time. At the Siege of *Augher*, they would not kill any *English* Beast, and then eat it, but they cut Collops out of them being alive, letting them there waste till they had no more Flesh upon their Backs; so that sometimes a Beast would live two or three Days together in that Torment. The like they did at *Armagh*, when they murdered *Hugh Echline*, Esq; they hanged all his *Irish* Servants, which had any ways proved faithful or useful unto him during this Rebellion. And as touching exemplary Constancy in Religion, the Deponent saith, that *Henry Cowell*, Esq; a gallant and well-bred Gentleman, was murdered, because he would not consent to marry a beastly Trull, *Mary Neal*, a near Kinswoman of Sir *Phelim's*: He was proffered his Life without the Blowse if he would have gone to Mass, but he chose rather to die then do either. There was made the like proffer of Life for going to Mass unto *Robert Echline*, Son to the above-named *Hugh Echline*, a Child of eleven or twelve Years of Age, but he also refused it, saying, *He saw nothing in their Religion for which he would change his own*. And the Deponent further saith, that his, and the rest of the *British* chief and best Friends amongst the Rebels were, Mrs. *Katherine Hovenden*, Widow, Mother to Sir *Phelim O Neal*: she preserved four and twenty *English* and *Scots* in her own House, and fed them for seven and thirty Weeks out of her own Store; and when her Children took her away upon the Approach of an Army, she left both them, and this Deponent, to their Liberty, and gave them free Leave to escape: many more she would have saved, but that while she lay sick ten Weeks of an Ague, none of them were suffered to come near

The Deponent's Brother murdered, and his Wife drowned.

Watson roasted alive.

Others barbarously murdered.

Cruelties to Beasts.

Echline and his Son constant in the Faith.

Sir *Phelim's* Mother charitable.

Captain Alex.
Hovenden's
good Service.

The Protestants
trusting to Con-
voys, were
betrayed.

Some sensible of
the Protestants
Condition.

Dead Women
abused.

near her, she swooned twice, as was said, when she heard that six and fifty were taken out of the Deponent's House, and murdered in one Day. *She used often to say, she had never offended the English, except in being Mother to Sir Phelim and Captain Alexander Hovenden, Son to Mrs. Hovenden, and half Brother to Sir Phelim; he conducted five and thirty English out of Armagh to Drogheda, whereof some were of good Quality, when it was thought he had secret Directions to have murdered them: twenty more he sent safe to the Newry, and would trust no other Convoy then himself. It is to be observed, that all others perished under Colour of Convoys, except only those whom he undertook. At the Deponent's Request he saved Armagh twice from burning, and would have saved it the third time, but that he lay sick of a Fever. When he beheld the Ruins thereof, but especially of the Church, 'tis said he wept bitterly, saying, Who will ever trust the Irish again, who have neither kept their Promises to God, nor Protestations to Men? When he, viz. Captain Alexander Hovenden, saw Sir Phelim's Warrant for the last general Massacre, after the taking of the Newry, he solemnly swore he would never draw his Sword again in Sir Phelim's Quarrel or Cause, cursing, in his Passion, the British, if ever they spared Irishman, Woman, or Child. He was desirous to submit himself to the King's Mercy upon the Lord Montgomery his Protection, offering to root out that bloody Sept of the Huges, with his own Followers and Arms, out of Ireland: But the Motion was rejected; perhaps worse will be admitted. He never had his Hand in Blood out of Battle. That this Deponent knoweth he is not yet, which may plead some Favour, full two and twenty Years of age, and doth not pretend to one Foot of Inheritance. Dr. Dally preached so vehemently against murdering, that in the End he was forced to fly himself for a safeguard of his Life. Patrick Kelly, and Gilduffe Mac Tynny, would suffer nothing robbed from the British, to come within their Doors. And this Deponent further saith, that very many of the British Protestants, the Rebels buried alive, and took a great Pleasure to hear them speak unto them, as they digged down old Ditches upon them. Except those, whom they thus buried, they, the Rebels, buried none of the Protestants, neither would permit any, who survived, to perform the Duty for them. And further saith, that the Rebels would send their Children abroad in great Troops, and especially near unto Kynard, armed with long Wattles and Whips, who would therewith beat Men's Bodies about their privy Members, until they beat, or rather thrashed them off; then would return in great Joy to their Parents, who received them for such Service, as it were in Triumph. And further saith, if any Women were found dead, lying with their faces downward, they would turn them upon their Backs, and in great flocks go unto them, censuring all Parts of their Bodies, but especially such as are not to be named, which afterwards they abused so many ways so filthily, as chaste Ears would not endure the very naming thereof. And further saith, that many of the Protestants the Rebels would not kill outright, but being half dead, would leave them, intreating for no greater Favour at their Hands, two or three Days after, but to kill them outright, which sometimes was granted, sometimes denied. A young Youth having his Backbone broken, was found in a field,*

having

having like a Beast eaten all the Grasse round about him. The Deponent could not learn that they killed him, but that they removed him to a Place of better Pasture: so that in these most bloody and execrable Wretches, that of the Holy Ghost is clearly verified, *the very Mercy of the Wicked is Cruelty.* And further saith, that the Rebels themselves told him, this Deponent, that they murdered nine hundred fifty and four, in one Morning in the County of *Antrim*; and that besides them, they supposed they had killed above eleven or twelve hundred more in that County. They told him likewise that Colonel *Bryan O Neal* killed about one thousand in the County of *Down*, besides three hundred killed near *Killeleagh*, and many hundreds both before and after in both those Counties. At Sir *Phelim's* return from *Lisnegarvy* some of his Soldiers forced about four and twenty *British* into a House, where they burned them alive, whose terrible Out-cries they delighted very much to imitate and express unto others; and saith, that he heard Sir *Phelim* likewise report, that he killed six hundred *English* at *Garvagb* in the County of *Derry*, and that he had neither left Man, Woman, nor Child alive in the Barony of *Muntulony* in the County of *Tyrone*, and that betwixt *Armagh* and the *Newry*, in the several Lands and Plantations of Sir *Arthur Atcheson*, *John Hamilton*, Esq; the Lord *Caulfield*, and the Lord *Mountnorris*. And saith also, that there were above two thousand of the *British* murdered in their own Houses, for the most part, and that he was informed hereof by a *Scotchman*, who was in these Parts with Sir *Phelim*, and saw their Houses filled with their dead Bodies. In the *Glenwood*, towards *Drummore*, there were slaughtered, as the Rebels told the Deponent, upwards of twelve hundred, who were all killed in their Flight to the County of *Down*. The Number of People drowned at the Bridge of *Portadown* are diversly reported, according as Men stayed among the Rebels. The Deponent, who stayed as long as any, and had better Intelligence than most of the *English* amongst them, had better reason to know the Truth, and saith there were by their own Report one hundred and ninety drowned with Mr. *Fullerton*. At another time they threw one hundred and forty over the said Bridge; at another time six or seven and thirty; and so continued drowning every Day, more or fewer, for seven or eight Weeks, so that the fewest, which can be supposed there to have perished, must needs be above one thousand, besides as many more drowned betwixt that Bridge and the great Lough of *Mountjoy*, besides those who perished by the Sword, Fire, and Famine in *Clanbraxill*, and the *English* Plantation adjacent, which in regard there escaped not three hundred out of all those Quarters, must needs amount to many thousands. Near unto the Deponents own House, six and thirty Persons were thrown from the *Currbridge* at one time; at another time eighteen or nineteen; at another time six and fifty Men, Women, and Children, all of them being taken out of the Deponent's own House; and at several other Times several other Numbers besides these, who were drowned in the *Blackwater* at *Kynard*: In which Town and Parish of *Tynon*, whereof the Deponent was Rector, there were drowned, slaughtered, and died of Famine, and for want of Clothes, about six hundred. And saith, he might add to these many thousands more, but the Diary, which he the Deponent wrote

One not able to stir forced to eat grass.

Some burned alive.

Drowned at Portadown Bridge.

Drowned in other Places.

Apparitions of
those flung over
Portadown.

Those of the Pale
cruel.

* How this was
resented, see the
History, f. 93.

Cruelties in
which their
children were
encouraged.

amongst the Rebels, being burned with his House, Books, and all his Papers, he referreth himself to the Number in gross, which the Rebels themselves have upon Enquiry found out and acknowledged, which notwithstanding will come short of all that have been murdered in *Ireland*, there being above one hundred fifty and four thousand now wanting of the *British* within the very Precinct of *Ulster*. And the Deponent further saith, that it was common Table-talk amongst the Rebels, that the Ghosts of Mr. *William Fullerton*, *Timothy Jephes*, and the most of those who were thrown over *Portadown* Bridge, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the River, sometimes singing of Psalms, sometimes brandishing of naked Swords, and sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful manner. The Deponent did not believe the same at first, and yet is doubtful whether to believe it or not; but saith, that divers of the Rebels assured him, that they themselves did dwell near to the said River, and being daily frightened with those Apparitions, but especially with their horrible screeching, were in Conclusion forced to remove further into the Country. Their own Priests and Friers could not deny the Truth thereof, but as oft as it was by the Deponent objected unto them, they said, *that it was but a cunning flight of the Devil to hinder this great Work of propagating the Catholick Faith, and killing of Heretics; or that it was wrought by Witchcraft.* The Deponent himself lived within thirteen Miles of the Bridge, and never heard any Man so much as doubt of the truth thereof; howsoever the Deponent obligeth no Man's Faith, in regard he saw it not with his own Eyes, otherwise he had as much Certainty as morally could be required of such a Matter. And the Deponent further saith, *that the degenerated Pale-English were most cruel amongst the British Protestants, being beaten from their own Lands, and were never satisfied with their Blood, until they had in a manner seen the last drop thereof, affrighting Sir Phelim O Neal every Day with their Numbers, persuading him that while they, meaning the Protestants, lived, there would neither be Room for them, nor Safety for him.* It was easy to spur on the cowardly bloody Rebel; yet no sooner were the Protestants cut off, but contrary to their Expectation, the meer *Irish* took present Possessions of their Lands and Houses, whereat they, of the Pale, very much grumbled, and said Sir *Phelim* had not kept Promise with them*; howsoever they were forced to swallow those and many other Injuries. And further saith, that he knew one Boy near unto himself, not exceeding fourteen Years of Age, who killed at *Kynard* in one Night fifteen able strong Men with his Skeep, they being disarmed, and most of their Feet in the Stocks. Another not above twelve Years of Age killed two Women and one Man at the Siege of *Augher*. A Woman, Tenant to the Deponent, killed seven Men and Women of her *English* Fellow-Tenants in one Morning: And it was very usual in all Parts for their Children to murder the Protestants Children; and sometimes with Lath Swords, heavy and well sharpened, they would venture upon Men and Women of riper Years; Cruelties not to be believed, if there were not so many Eye-witnesses of them. And the Deponent further saith, that the first three Days and Nights of this present Rebellion, viz. *October, 23, 24, and 25,* it was generally observed, *that no Cock crew, or any Dog was heard*

to bark, no not when the Rebels came in great Multitudes unto the Protestants Houses by Night to rob and murther them : And about three or four Nights before the fix and fifty Persons were taken out of the Deponent's House and drowned, and amongst those the Deponent's Brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell*, in the dark of the Moon, about one of the Clock at Night, *a Light was observed in manner of a long Pillar to shine for a long way through the Air, and refracted upon the North Gabel of the House.* It gave so great a light about an Hour together, that divers of the Watch read both Letters and Books of a very small Character thereby, *the former* the Deponent knoweth to be most true both by his own Experience, and the general Observation of as many as the Deponent met with within the County of *Armagh.* The latter was seen by all those of the Deponent's Family, and besides by many of his *Irish* Guard. For some of them at that Time were drunk, and could see nothing, who interpreted the same to be an immediate Expression, and Token of Divine Providence and Watchfulness over the *Protestants*, affirming that many times the Rebels had purposed to destroy the Deponent, and his Family, but were always hindered and interrupted, but which way themselves could not tell ; but the Deponent, as is well known, made a far contrary Interpretation thereof, which shortly after fell out to be the truer of the two, for, presaging thereby that bloody Massacre which ensued, the Deponent, with the rest of his Family, gave themselves to Fasting and Prayer, expecting each Hour that univerfal cutting off, which fell out very shortly after.

ROBERT MAXWELL.

Deposed the 22d of August,
1642.

JOHN WATSON.

WILLIAM ALDRICH.

Post-

Post-Information the 7th of July, 1643.

AN D further this Deponent saith, that the Rebels having exposed the murdered Bodies of the *British* so long unto the publick View and Censure, that they began to stink and infect the Air, which commonly being a Thing very strange, would not sometimes happen until four or five Weeks after the Murthers committed, they usually permitted some of their Bodies to be removed, and cast into Ditches, but so, as they must ever be laid with their Faces downward; the Reason whereof this Deponent not understanding, asked the Rebels themselves what was meant thereby, who readily answered that they so placed them to the intent they might have a Prospect and sight of Hell only, and therefore, when they killed any of us, they used always these Words, *Anima Dewll*, which is, thy Soul to the Devil. And this Deponent further saith, that notwithstanding all the Moderation formerly pretended by the forenamed *Alexander Hovenden*, and the many real Favours done by him unto many of the *British*, and in particular to this Deponent, that yet he heard him both say and swear, *that he wished them all damned, both Body and Soul, who were against them in this Cause.* Further, this Deponent saith, that it was usual Sport with one *Mac Mahon*, Captain of the Castle and Town of *Monaghan*, as he said Mr. *Mahon* confessed before Mr. *Hugh Echline* and many others, to take a wooden Prick or Broach, and thrust it up into the Fundament of an *English* or *Scotchman*, and then after drive him about the Room with a Joynt-stool, until through extreme Pain he either fainted or gave content to the Spectators by some notable skips and frisks, which rare Invention he offered to put in Practice at the same time, and in the same Place where he boasted thereof, but that the said Mr. *Echline* prevailed with him to omit it, as sufficiently, without any further Demonstration, believing the Excellency of the Sport. And it is further of undeniable Truth, that the said *Mac Mahon*, and other Rebels in the Castle of *Monaghan*, after a great Feast there held, took an *English* or *Welshman*, and bound him naked upon the Table, at which they drank after Dinner, and at every Health gave him a Gash or Wound, but not mortal, until his whole Body became, as it were, one continued Wound, and thereafter flung him out upon the Dunghil, where he died, partly of his said Wounds, and partly of Famine, none daring to relieve him.

ROBERT MAXWELL.

Jurat. ut supra.

WILLIAM ALDRICH.

JOHN WATSON.

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APPENDIX.

LETTERS to and from General *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, *Preston*, &c. relating to the Sieges and Battles, mentioned in the foregoing History, and taken from the Original Manuscripts of Mr. *Cliffe*, Secretary to General *Ireton*.

OLIVER CROMWEL being voted Lord Lieutenant and General of the Parliament-Forces in *Ireland*, landed at *Dublin* the 14th of *August*, 1649, and on the 30th of the same Month marched out with thirteen thousand Men to besiege *Drogheda*, alias *Tredagh*: On the 9th of *September* he began his Battery, and after a hot Dispute took the Town by Storm, and put the Garrison to the Sword.

The first of *October* the General came before *Wexford*, and having made a large Breach on the South Side of the Castle, the Governor, --- *Stafford*, surrendered, but the Town stood out, which after two or three Days was also taken by Storm, and two thousand Persons slain therein.

After the taking of *Wexford*, the General marched to *Ros*, and having sent a Letter summoning the Governor of the Town, he received the following Answer.

SIR,

I Am content to yield up this Garrison to you, if you please to send your safe Conduct for such Persons as I shall employ to perfect the Conditions; in the Interval to cease from all Acts of Hostility, and that all Parties keep their own Ground till such Time as the Articles receive a full End; and so I remain,

Ros, *Octob.* 19th, 1649.

Sir, your Servant,

Lucas Taaffe.

To this the General returned this Answer.

To the Commander in Chief of the Forces in Ros.

SIR,

YOU have my Hand and Honour engaged to perform what I offered in my first and last Letters, which I shall inviolably observe. I expect you'll send immediately four Persons of such Quality, as may be Hostages for your Performance, for whom you have this safe Conduct

* a

enclosed,

A P P E N D I X.

enclosed, in which you may mention their Names ; without this, I shall not cease Acts of Hostility : If any Thing happen by your Delay, to your Prejudice, it will not be my fault. Those you send may see the Conditions perfected ; whilst I forbear Acts of Hostility, I expect you'll forbear all Actings within. I am

your Servant,

October 19th, 1649.

O. Cromwell.

Immediately after this, for there was no Time to delay, came out their Commissioners, who concluded on these following Articles.

Articles concluded and agreed upon by and between the Right Honourable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, of the one Part, and the Governor of Ros, of the other Part, this 19th of October, 1649.

I. It is concluded and agreed, That the Governor of Ros, with all under his Command, may march unto Kilkenny, or Laughlin-bridge, with their Arms, Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, Bullet in Mouth, Bandaliers full of Powder, and Match lighted at both Ends, provided they march thither in three Days, and that no Acts of Hostility be committed during the said Time.

II. That all such Townsmen as desire to depart, shall have three Months Time for so doing, and shall settle in their own Dwellings, free from Violence, and enjoy their Estates and Goods, as others under the Obedience of the Parliament of England ; or if they think fit to repair to some Sea-port, a Guard shall be sent with them to secure them in their Journey, in order to Transportation.

III. It is concluded and agreed, That the Inhabitants shall be permitted in the Town, and enjoy their Goods and Estates free from the Injury and Violence of the Soldiers.

IV. In Consideration whereof, the Governor of Ros is to surrender into my Hands the Town of Ros, Artillery and Arms, Ammunition and other Utenfils of War that are therein, by three of the Clock this present Day, (except such as were brought in by said Governor, or such as came in since he had the Command thereof) and by two of the Clock to permit the Lord Lieutenant to put three hundred Men into the Block-house and Gate-house near the Breach, and the White Tower near the same.

V. For the Performance of the Articles, on the said Governor's Part, he is to deliver four such Hostages as I shall approve of.

I approve and confirm
these Articles.

Lucas Taaffe.

Daniel Crawford.
Maurice Aym's.
Thomas Geynan.
Matth. Deemer.

Upon these Articles the Town was immediately surrendered, and most of the Soldiers were, that Afternoon, boated over into the County of Kilkenny ; and such as that Evening could not get ready to march away, were, on General Taaffe's Intreaty, admitted to draw into the great Church that Night, and the next Day were boated over. The Evening after the Town was taken, a Captain of the Enemy's Party, after he had been boated himself, and Company, over the Water, desired the Liberty to

to come back again into the Town, having Business of Concernment to impart to the General; which being admitted to do, he was brought presently to the General's Lodgings; and tho' it was late the General admitted him to come to him, and upon Discourse with him, he informed that one *Davenport*, (a Person lately come from the *Irish* Army into the *English* Service) had a Design to take away his Life; and upon his acquainting him with it, desired him (the Informer) to concur in it, and told him he had contrived it after a safe Manner.

For Since his leaving the *Irish* Army, and coming into the *English* Party, which he had done about a Month before, he had observed *Cromwel's* constant Practice, both at *Wexford* and *Ros*, was to walk privately about the Walls and Works of the Towns and Forts, and take a View of them, and he believed he would do the same at *Duncannon*, which Garrison he next intended to besiege, and that he would take that Opportunity to kill him; and when the Fate was done, (as he called it) he would immediately run to the Fort, and the Word should be, as he ran thither, *A King, a King*: And this he intreated this Captain, that was the Informer, who he believed would soon see the Marquis of *Ormond* at their Head-Quarters, to communicate to him, and acquaint him with this great Undertaking, that by this Means, the Governor of the Fort might have Knowledge of the Design, expect the Execution of it, and be ready to receive him into the Fort when he should come to it.

And to confirm the General's Belief of the Truth of this Information, he produced a Letter that the said *Davenport* wrote with his own Hand, and gave him to present to the Marquis of *Ormond*, in which he wrote, he had a great Design in Hand, which he had imparted to the Bearer Captain *Brown*, and desired his Lordship's Credit to what he informed him, which he doubted not but to effect, and speedily to give him a good Account of the General. Upon this Information, he sent immediately for *Davenport*, and being brought before him, at first denied the Charge, but upon seeing the Letter of his own Hand-writing, confessed the Crime; but said he was put upon it, and the Contrivance was by the Informer Captain *Brown*. *Davenport* was tried and condemned by a Council of War, but the General would not suffer him to be put to Death.

About a Week after *Ros* was reduced, a Party of about two thousand under the Command of Lieutenant General *Jones*, were ordered to face the Fort of *Duncannon*, and the General went himself three or four Days after to take a View of that Place, and upon Persuasions of some, acquainted with *Roche*, the then *Irish* Governor, who apprehended the Governor might deliver up the Fort, being disgusted, and expecting a new Governor to take the Command from him, the General sent him a short Summons, but one Colonel *Wogan*, who took the chief Command upon him, caused this following Answer to be returned.

For General Cromwel.

S I R,

I And those under my Command are sensible of your cruel and tyrannical Quarter: And this is therefore to let you understand that this

this Place is kept for King and Country, and the Preservation of the People.

Your Servant,

Thomas Roche.

Duncannon, October 25th 1649.

The General found that additional Forces were put into the Fort, and that the Place might thereby admit of some Difficulty in gaining it, and being unwilling, at that Season of the Year, to continue longer before it, he resolved to draw off his Army and to return to *Ros*, which he ordered Lieutenant General *Jones* to do within three or four Days after, but left two or three Troops of Horse, and some Foot, in *Fintern* and other small Castles within a few Miles of the Fort, that kept the Soldiers so in their Garrison, that they durst not stir out a Quarter of a Mile that whole Winter.

About this Time came the then Lord Baron *Broghil* to *Ros*, to the General, Sir *William Fenton*, and some others. The Lord *Broghil* signified his Desire of doing Service for the *English* Cause, and thereupon the General thought his Lordship a very fit Person to be sent to *Cork*, which Town, about that Time, had sent to the General, signifying their Desire and Intention of declaring for the *English*; and they did not doubt but, with the Assistance of the *English* then amongst them, they would soon find an Opportunity for doing of it, which happened accordingly.

The Lord *Broghil* then received Commissions for the raising a Regiment of Horse, consisting of twelve Troops, out of those *English* in and about *Cork*, and such as he might draw unto him from the Enemy. In order hereunto the Lord *Broghil* took Shipping at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Waterford* for *Cork*: There went with him, at the same Time, Colonel *Phaire*, and took his Regiment with him. And before they arrived at *Cork* the City and *English* Officers, or most of them, had declared for the *English* Army, and had secured all such of the Town and Officers as they suspected would be against them, and gave the Lord *Broghil* and Colonel *Phaire*, who had formerly been an Officer in those Parts, a very kind and noble Reception.

Youghal immediately made the like Declaration, and the Lord *Broghil*'s Influence was so great in those Parts, that he soon got a considerable Body both of Horse and Foot, and secured most of the Towns and Places thereabouts, for a Winter-Quarter to the *English* Army.

The Head-Quarters continued at *Ros* above a Month after the taking of it; very many of the Soldiers being sick of the Country-disease and other Distempers: The General had Notice there of the Plague being at *Galway*, but did not hear it was nearer to us, as he afterwards did, being told it was at *Kilkenny*. The Army, during their Stay in *Ros*, were very busy in making a Bridge to get over the River, which they did by the Help of three small Vessels and two Cables, supported by Hogheads and Barrels. When this Bridge was finished, the Army marched over it without any Opposition from the Enemy, which was expected: The Enemy then being very strong in the County of *Kilkenny*, near *Thomas-Town*, and had lately made a Conjunction with *Owen Roe's Ulster Army*, which never before would join with the rest of the Confederate Catholicks.

In

In the marching from the County of *Longford*, or where he lay in his Fastnesses, (as our Intelligence was) *Owen Roe* dyed, but his Army kept on their March under the Command of Lieutenant General *Farrel*, until about this Time, that they joined with the other *Irish* Army, and lay with their whole Body about *Thomas-Town*, consisting, as we were informed, of above fifteen thousand Men. The *English* Army at their March over *Ross* Bridge, were not above seven thousand, and very many sickly and weak; the General himself, when the Army left *Ross*, was likewise sick, and forced to stay behind them; the Army in his Absence being commanded by Major General *Ireton*: And notwithstanding the General's Sickness, and Weakness of our Men, so soon as the Army got over the Bridge, we marched towards the Enemy, who gave out that they would engage us. Before our Army arrived near *Thomas-Town*, Part of the Enemy came over the Bridge of said Town, and attacked us, but were so well received that they did not think it their Business to stay any longer, and were pursued to the very Bridge of the Town, and forced to retreat with much Disorder.

During the Stay of our Army in *Ross*, the General sent for such weak and sick Men as had at his last being in *Dublin*, been left there, and were recovered (being willing to make his Forces as considerable as he could, hearing of this northern Conjunction, and hereby the Enemy being so powerful) ordered them to march with such Officers as were in *Dublin* to *Wexford*, which was accordingly done. And the Enemy having Notice of it, designed to have them fallen on in their March; and in order thereunto there was a choice Part of the *Irish* Army drawn out, and sent under the Command of one of their chief Officers to accomplish this great Affair, and to take their Advantage, and to fall on this weak Party, which was not above eight hundred, and scarce half of them healthy Men, and the Enemy above one thousand five hundred of their best Men, which they endeavoured and designed to be done about *Arcklow*, where that Part of the *English* Army intended on their March that Night to quarter. They came to that Place about Sun-set, and they had scarce been in their Quarters an Hour when they had Intelligence that a great Part of the Enemy was near them, and that they intended to fall upon them before Day, which caused the *English* Party to alter their Resolution of staying where they had taken up their Quarters, and resolving on a speedy March, which they did without beat of Drum, or Knowledge, as is believed, of the Enemy, leaving great Fires in their Quarters, as if they had remained there, and by that Means they had gotten three or four Miles beyond the Place they intended to fall upon them, before the Enemy overtook them; and when they did overtake them, it pleased God, that it was in a Place where they had great Advantage; for it was between a great Bank, or Cliffe, and the Sea, on a Strand which was but narrow, and by that Means the *English* brought as many to fight as the *Irish*, though theirs were double the Number, and gave them a very hot Reception, and not as if they had been sick Men; the Danger they were in, having made them more than ordinary to struggle with it, Lieutenant Colonel *Nelson* commanded the Foot, and Major *Owens* the Horse; the Enemy gave three or four Charges upon them, but with that ill Success, and several considerable Officers of their Party being killed, that they began to be weary of it, and marched away, leaving many slain behind them.

The *English* had little or no Loss, and got afterwards safe to *Wexford*, from thence to *Ross*, and marched towards *Thomas-Town*, believing that the Enemy being so much augmented by *Owen Roe's* Forces, would have engaged the *English* Army, being much inferior in Number, and harraßed with Summer Actions and Winter Sieges and Marches. But about a Mile before the *English* Army got to *Thomas-Town*, they saw the *Irish* Army in full March towards *Kilkenny*, and all their Cabbins and Huts on Fire, the *English* not being able to follow them, the River *Nore* being very high, and the Bridge of *Thomas-Town* broken down by the *Irish*, took their March towards *Carrick*, and reduced *Knocktopher* and several other Castles and Places of small Strength in their Way.

The same Night they sent away a Party of Horse and Dragoons to try if they could gain *Carrick*, hoping to pass the River *Sure*, at that Place, and draw before *Waterford*, which Garrison, as they were informed, was inclined to submit, having refused additional Forces to be put into it, which were offered them. Colonel *Reynolds*, who was sent, as aforesaid, towards *Carrick*, so ordered his Affairs that sending a small Party before him to the Gates of *Carrick*, who talking *Irish* aloud, the Guards and Centinels on the Walls heard them, and being challenged by said Centinels, they told them in their own Language that they were come from the *Irish* Army with Letters to the Governot, and so were admitted into the Gates, the *Irish*, not thinking any of the *English* were then out of *Ross*; on which they surprized the Guards, possessed themselves of the Gate, and gave Way for the whole Party to enter, which they did with little or no Loss.

Most of the *Irish* Soldiers ran into the great House at *Carrick*, and defended it till the next Day, and then surrendered it. The Army under General *Ireton* came up to *Carrick*, and soon afterwards General *Cromwell* arrived there, being recovered of his Sickness which had detained him at *Ross*. The *English* Army stayed two or three Days in and about *Carrick*, the Head-Quarters of the *Irish* being at *Kilkenny*, and a good Part of their Army at *Clonmel*.

At *Carrick* the *English* passed the River *Sure*, and so marched towards *Waterford*; they sent a Party that gained the Fort of *Passage* without any Loss; the Garrison being surprized with the sudden Appearance of an *English* Party before them, immediately surrendered the Fort, whereby the Army, gained a Passage into the County of *Wexford*, by *Ballyhack*, which was before possessed by the *English*, and a Garrison placed in the Castle there. The Head Quarters of the *English* Army was at *Kilbarry* near *Waterford*, from whence the General sent this following Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of *Waterford*.

To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford.

Gentlemen,

I Have received Information that you hitherto refused a Garrison of the Enemy to be imposed upon you, as also that some Factions in your Town are very active still, (notwithstanding your Refusals) to persuade you to the contrary; being come into these Parts not to destroy People and Places, but to save them, that Men may live comfortably and happily

Pily by their Trades, if the Faults be not in themselves, and purposing also, by God's Assistance, to reduce this City of *Waterford* to its due Obedience, as he shall dispose the Matter by Force, or by agreeing with you, upon Terms wherein your own Good and Happiness, and of your Wives, Children, and Families may consist, notwithstanding some busy-headed Persons may persuade you to the contrary; knowing, that if after all this, you shall receive a Garrison, it will probably put you into an Incapacity to make any such Accord for your selves, which was the Cause of the Ruin of the People and Town of *Wexford*: And now I thought fit to lay these Things before you, leaving you to use your own Judgment therein. And if any shall have so much Power upon you, as to persuade you that these are the Councils of an Enemy, I doubt it will hardly prove in the End that they give you better. You did once live flourishingly under the Power, and in Commerce with *England*; it shall be your own Fault if you do not so again. I send these Intimations seasonably unto you, weigh them well, it so behoveth you. I rest your loving Friend.

O. C.

To this Letter there was this following Answer returned.

For Lord General Cromwell, Commander of the Parliament Forces in Ireland.

My Lord,

YOUR Letter of the 21st, directed to me and my Aldermen, we have by your Trumpet received. Your Lordship's Advice, as we do all others, we weigh with the Condition of our Safety, and shall so far make use thereof as it contributes to the same. For your Intentions of reducing this City by Force or Agreement, as we will by all possible Means endeavour our natural Defence against the first, so will we not be averse to the latter, if we shall find it not dishonourable nor destructive; and for that Purpose we desire your Lordship will grant us a Cessation for fifteen Days from all Acts of Hostility, and send us safe Conducts, with Blanks for the Men we shall employ to treat with your Lordship, and in the Interim bring your Army no nearer this City than now it is.

We have learned not to flight Advice, if we find it wholesome, even from an Enemy, nor to deny him such Thanks as it merits; and if your Lordship should deny us the Time we look for, we doubt not, with the Men we have already in Town, tho' we should receive no more, to make good this Place till the Power of the Kingdom relieve us. To signify which to your Lordship, the Council and Commons of this City have laid their Commands on me. My Lord,

Your very loving Friend,

*Waterford, November 24th,
1649.*

*John Lyvett, Mayor of
Waterford.*

The General's Second Letter to the City.

*For the Mayor, Aldermen, or other Governor or Governors of the City of
Waterford.*

Gentlemen,

I Expected to have heard from you before this by my Trumpet, but he not coming to me, I thought fit to send this that I may have an Account given me, how you have disposed of him; and to save further Trouble,

A P P E N D I X.

Trouble, I thought fit hereby to summon you to surrender this City and Fort into my Hands, for the Use of the State of *England*. I expect to receive your Answer to these Things, and rest your Servant.

O. Cromwell.

From my Camp before *Waterford*,
November 24th, 1649.

For the Lord General Cromwell.

My Lord,

YOUR Letter of the 24th I have received, even now, in which you desire an Account of the Trumpeter sent with a former Letter to us, and summons us to deliver your Lordship this City and Fort. Your Lordship's former Letter by your Trumpeter we have answered Yesterday Morning, and do doubt, by his not coming to you, he might have suffered some Mischance by going the County of *Kilkenny* Way. We therefore now send you a Copy of that Answer, to which we desire your Lordship's Resolution, before we make farther Answer to the rest of your Letter. We therefore desire you will dispatch the safe Conduct, and forbear Acts of Hostility during the Treaty, and you shall be very soon attended by Commissioners from,

My Lord, Your Lordship's Servant,

John Lyvett, Mayor of Waterford.

Then the General sent this following Letter.

To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford.

S I R S,

MY first Trumpet not being yet come to me, makes me suspect, as you say, that he hath suffered some Mischance going by the Way of the County of *Kilkenny*. If I had received your Letter sooner, I should nevertheless, by the Help of God, have marched up to this Place, as I have done; and for your Desire of a Treaty, I am more willing to that Way, for the Prevention of Blood and Ruin, then to the other of Force: Though, if necessitated thereunto, you and we are under the overruling Providence of God, who will dispose both of you and us, as he pleaseth. As to a Cessation for fifteen Days, I shall not agree thereunto, because a far shorter Time may bring this Business to a Conclusion; but for four or five Days I am content, that there be a Cessation from all Acts of Hostility betwixt your City and this Army, provided you give Assurance that, in the mean Time no Soldiers now out of the City shall be received into it, during the Cessation, nor for twenty four Hours after. I expect to hear your present Answer, because if this be agreed, I shall forbear any nearer Approach during the said Cessation.

Your Servant,

November 24th, 1649.

O. Cromwell.

P. S. I have by this Bearer returned a safe Convoy as you desired, for what Commissioners you think fit to send out to me.

When

When the Trumpet went into the City with this last Letter, and safe Conduct, he met a great Change and Alteration in the City ; and was given to understand, that several of the principal Officers of the *Irish* Army were come about that Time into the City, having heard, as it's supposed, of some Intention of a Treaty with the *English* Army, they endeavoured to persuade the Mayor to receive some Men they brought with them into the City to strengthen the Garrison, which Men lay on the other Side of *Waterford* River ; but the City would by no Means, at that Time, hearken to this Advice, and the Endeavours of the *Irish* Officers were all in vain, but this hindered all further Treaty with the *English* Army. And now all Appearance of a Treaty being vanished, the *Irish* Clergy about this Time (many whereof were in this City) began to take upon themselves the whole Management of the Affairs of the Kingdom, scarce owning or giving Obedience to any Thing that was done by the principal Officers of the *Irish* Army who had made Peace with the Marquiss of *Ormond* ; nay, they would not obey the Marquiss's own Commands, who had marched down on *Kilkenny* Side of the River with a great Party of Horse and Foot, to the Relief of *Waterford*. The same Day that the Marquiss of *Ormond* and other *Irish* Officers went into *Waterford*, there was a great Assault made upon the Town of *Carrick*, by the Lord *Inchequin* who commanded in Chief the *Ulster* and *Munster* Foot : They managed the Attack with a great deal of Fierceness, storming it four or five Times with Ladders and other Engines they brought with them, and tho' these Men were famous for Courage and Experience, yet they were as often beaten back as they attempted the Walls, with a miraculous Opposition ; our Men being mostly sick who were left in the Town with Commissary-General *Reynolds*, who commanded in Chief, and had most of his Regiment of Horse. It was believed by the General when he left *Carrick*, that there would be some Attempt made by the Enemy upon *Carrick*, their Army being about *Clonmel*, which is not above eight Miles distant, which was the Reason of his leaving some Horse there, and it was a very great Providence that preserved them, for by all Relations that was given of the Attempt, it was carried on with the greatest Vigour and Resolution, the Enemy often crying out to the Besieged, that they would soon give them *Iredagh* Quarters.

All the *English* Officers there present, declared that the *Ulster* Foot did their Part very well, and many of them fell, coming up five or six Times to the Town-wall. Notice was sent of this Design upon *Carrick*, to the General before *Waterford*, so soon as the *Irish* Army was discovered drawing towards the Town ; on which, the General sent Lieutenant-General *Jones* with a Party of Horse and Dragoons, and as much Foot as he could mount : He marched all Night, and came with all possible Speed, but the Enemy were so beaten off, and had found it such hot Work (leaving above five hundred dead behind them, tho' the Town is very inconsiderable and of no Strength) that they drew off and would attempt it no more, and marched most of them back again to *Clonmel*, before this Relief came from the *English* Camp before *Waterford*.

After the General had continued a while on *Kilbarry* Side of *Waterford*, he marched the Army to the other Side thereof, for their Convenience of having such Things as they wanted to be brought by Water from *Ross* : They quartered by the Road that goeth from *Waterford* to *Passage*, where they continued about a Fortnight, and finding the stormy

Weather to increase, and the Men very sickly, the General thought it best to fortify some Places, not far from the Town, wherein to leave Garrisons to straiten and annoy the City that Winter, which he did at a Place called *Duagh*, where he made a very regular Fortification. Here he placed Colonel *John Warren*, with a good Part of Colonel *Totbill's* Regiment of Foot. Major *Ottway's* and Captain *Winn's* Troops of Horse lay in Castles thereabouts, with Directions to fortify some other Houses about *Waterford*. As soon as the Fortifications of *Duagh* were near finished, the Army resolved to draw off from *Waterford*; the Weather proving extraordinary bad, and the Soldiers not able to lie longer in the Field, the General conceived no Hopes at that Season of attempting the Town by Force; moreover, the Town had a Day or two before received in a Garrison of fresh Forces, which they had until then refused; but would admit none of the *English* the Marquis of *Ormond* brought, nor any of the Confederate Catholics of *Leinster* Army; and would receive none for their Governor but Major-General *Farrel*, and their Reinforcement was the *Ulster* Foot under his Command.

Hereupon the General began to draw off and march his Army towards *Youghal*, which he hoped, with *Cork* and other Towns in *Munster*, were by that Time in such Hands as would be glad to receive them, having had some Notice before that *Cork* and *Youghal* were resolved to declare for them against the Lord of *Inchequin* and his Adherents: And that Day the Army marched to *Kilmac-Thomas*, about twelve Miles from *Waterford*, where the Rear of the Army came not up to the Head-Quarters that Night until it was very late, it being a terrible Rain all that Night, which was commanded by Lieutenant-General *Jones*, which Night he fell sick of that Distemper, of which, about a Week after he died at *Dungarvan*. The next Day they kept on their March towards *Dungarvan*, and in their March they met with a Party of Horse sent to them from the Lord *Broghil*, to acquaint the General that his Lordship was with a considerable Body of Horse and Foot on their March towards him, to join with him, which was no small Satisfaction to the General and *English* Army; they likewise acquainting them that *Cork*, *Youghal*, *Bandon*, and *Kinsale*, had declared for the General, and for a Conjunction with that Army; and were ready and willing to receive and to venture their Lives and Fortunes with them, and the Town of *Dungarvan* likewise, which was the Day before delivered into the Lord of *Broghil's* Hands by Lieutenant-Colonel *Kingsmel*, who kept it by the Lord of *Inchequin's* Commands, and was not satisfied until then for the Delivery of it.

The Army continued a Day or two at, and about *Dungarvan*, and then marched to *Lismore* and *Tallagh*, from thence to *Youghal*, and dispersed into all Places of Reception on that Side the *Black-water*; for beyond that Water they did not think it safe to expose their Men in Quarters. The Army remained here till the latter end of *January*, their Head-Quarters being for the most Part at *Youghal*. After they had been settled here about a Fortnight, there came Notice to the General, from the Officers who commanded the Fort that was left to blockade *Waterford*, that Major General *Farrel*, Governor of *Waterford*, with his *Ulster* Foot, that the Town had received in for their Defence (or rather the Clergy, who would suffer no other Forces to come in there but them) was preparing to join with Colonel *Wogan*, who

was

was to bring a Party of Soldiers from the Fort of *Duncannon*, and meet them at *Passage*, and with this united Force to attack the Fort there.

As soon as the General had this Notice, he ordered a Party of Horse and Dragoons to be ready, and some Foot to be mounted, which Party speedily marched under the Command of General *Sankey*; but the Day before he could get to *Passage*, Major General *Farrel*, and Colonel *Wogan*, had marched their Forces thither, and beset the Fort, and made three or four very hot Attacks, having their scaling Ladders, and all other Things ready with them. The *Irish* were beaten off by the Garrison, as often as they attempted it; the Place being commanded by one Captain *Haines*, accounted a very stout Soldier, who had with him in the Fort a hundred very good Firelocks, which baffled the Enemy so much, that they knew not what Course to take.

But Colonel *Wogan* resolved to continue the Attempt, and persuaded Major General *Farrel* to do so likewise. They sent to the Fort for two Guns in order to make a Battery, and the Guns being brought accordingly next Morning, and just planted, ready to Fire, the Alarm came amongst them, that a Party of the *English* Army were on *Passage-hill*, which they little expected. And no sooner had they Notice of it, than Colonel *Sankey* fell in with them, and totally routed them. Colonel *Wogan* was made Prisoner, and their two Guns taken; and had it not been for the Boats they had ready at *Passage-Quay*, Major General *Farrel* had been taken, and few or none of his Men had escaped. Thus Captain *Haines* was relieved, and encouraged to the Admiration of all that heard of it, that so successful a Defeat should be gained by such inconsiderable Means, against two such great Officers, with little Loss; there being very few of the *English* slain in this Conflict, and these two *Irish* Officers being of such great Renown and Esteem in their Army: The Unsuccessfulness of this Attempt, made our Garrisons about *Waterford* quiet all the rest of this Winter; for never after this did the *Irish* march out of *Waterford*, and *Farrel* himself began to be less in their Esteem than before. After this Defeat, Colonel *Sankey* returned to *Youghal* with his Prisoner Colonel *Wogan*, and the rest of them.

Colonel *Wogan* having been formerly an Officer in the Parliament Service, in *England*, and having deserted to the Enemy, with most of his Soldiers, he was brought to a Council of War, and condemned by them to die, but did not suffer; for being left Prisoner at *Cork*, afterwards made his Escape. The taking and trying of *Wogan*, at a Council of War, much displeased the *Irish* Officers, and Major General *Farrel* sent a Letter to the General, about his Exchange, and there being at that Time one Captain *Causfield* Prisoner at *Clonmel*, a Stranger to the General, but being a Prisoner on an *English* Account, the Army concerned themselves for him, and at a Council of War these following Votes were past.

At a Council of War held at the City of Cork the 4th Day of January, Anno Domini 1649, whereat the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Lord President of Munster, Sir Hardress Waller, and divers other chief Officers of the Army were present, it was resolved as following, viz.

THAT a Letter be sent by Lieutenant General *Farrel's* Trumpet to let him know that for all and every private Foot Soldier of our Party, Prisoner with him, which he shall release, he shall have

so many of his private Soldiers Prisoners with us, released for them; and for every Trooper of ours, which he shall release, he shall have two private Foot Soldiers released for him. That the Lord Lieutenant is ready to release Officers of like Quality for such Officers of ours as are in their Power; and that he will deliver a Major of Foot for a Captain of Horse, and two Captains of Foot for a Captain of Horse, and so proportionably. Or, that he will deliver Major General *Butler*, the Earl of *Ormond's* Brother, for those Officers of ours, now in their Custody. But having lately received an Advertisement, that some of the principal Officers of the *Irish* Army did send menacing Orders to the Governor of *Clonmel*, to be communicated to the Lord *Broghil*, that if we did put to Death Colonel *Wogan*, that they were resolved to put Captain *Causfield* to Death.

I thought fit to offer unto you the equal Exchanges before-mentioned, leaving it unto you to make your Election, which when you perform, there shall be just and honest Performances on my Part; and withall to let you know, that if any shall think fit to put such Conditions upon me, that I may not execute a Person so obnoxious, as *Wogan*, who did not only betray his Trust in *England*, but counterfeited the General's Hand, (thereby to carry his Men, whom he had seduced, into a foreign Nation, to invade *England*,) under whom he had taken Pay, and from whose Service he was not discharged, and with the said Nation did invade *England*, and hath since contrary to said Trust taken up Arms here, that, as I am willing to the Exchanges aforesaid, so if that Equality be denied me, I would that all concerned should understand, that I am resolved to deal by Colonel *Wogan*, as I shall see Cause, and be satisfied in my Conscience and Judgment to do; and if any thing thereupon be done to Captain *Causfield*, I think fit to let you know that I shall, as God will enable me, put all those, that are with me at Mercy for Life, into the same Condition.

Your Servant,

O. Cromwell.

After the Head Quarters had been some Time at *Youghal*, the General removed to *Cork*, and took a View of *Kingsale* and *Bandon*, and so returned again to *Cork*; and after a while went back again to *Youghal*, where he wrote a Declaration in Answer to the Roman Catholicks Declaration, that they wrote at their Assembly at *Clonmacnoise*, which, because it was printed and exposed to publick View, I shall only recite the two last Pages of it, which contain what the *Irish* were to trust to, and to remove their Aspersions cast on our Army.

‘ Your Words are, massacre, destroy, and banish good People : Pray
 ‘ give us an Instance of one Man since my coming into *Ireland*, not
 ‘ in Arms, massacred, destroyed or banished ; concerning the two first
 ‘ of which, Justice hath not been done, or endeavoured to be done ;
 ‘ but for the other of Banishment, I must now speak unto the People
 ‘ whom you would delude, and whom this most concerneth, that
 ‘ they may know in this also, what to expect at my Hands. The
 ‘ Question is of the Destruction of Life, or of that which is but little
 ‘ inferior to it, to wit, Banishment.

‘ I shall not willingly take or suffer to be taken away the Life of any Man not in Arms ; but by the Trial to which the People of this Nation are subject by Law for Offences against the same.

‘ And for Banishment, it hath not hitherto been inflicted upon any, but such who being in Arms, might justly have been put to Death, as those mentioned in your Declaration, to be sent to the *Tobacco Island* ; and therefore I do declare, that if the People be ready to run to Arms by the Instigation of their Clergy, or otherwise ; such as God by his Providence shall give into my Hands, may expect that or worse Treatment from me.

‘ As to ruin of their Fortunes, you instance in the Act of Subscriptions, whereby you say the Estates of the Inhabitants of this Nation are sold, so as there remaineth now no more but to put the Purchasers into Possession ; and for this Cause, you say the Forces were drawn out of *England*.

‘ And that you might carry this Point better with the People, and induce them to concur with you, you tell them that the moderate Usage exercised towards them, is to no other End, but for our private Advantage, and for the better Support of our Army ; intending at the Close of the Conquest, as you term it, to root out the *Irish*, and plant the Land with Colonies from *England*.

‘ This consists of divers Parts, and will require distinct Answers.

‘ And first, as to the Act of Subscription, it is true there is such an Act, and it was a just one : For when by your execrable Massacre and Rebellion, you had not only raised a bloody War to justify the same, and thereby occasioned the exhausting the Treasure of *England*, in the Prosecution of so just a War against you ; was it not a wise and just Act in the State to raise Money, by escheating the Lands of those who had a Hand in the Rebellion ? Was it not fit to make their Estates to defray the Charge, who had caused the Trouble ? The best therefore that lies in this Argument is this, (and that only reaches them who have been in Arms ; for further it goes not) you have forfeited your Estates ; and it is likely they will be escheated and seized, to make satisfaction ; and therefore you had better fight it out than repent, or give over, and see what Mercy you may find from the State of *England* : And since holy Church is engaged in it, you will, by one Means or another, hook in the Commons, and make them sensible that they are as much concerned as you, though they never were in Arms or came quickly off ; and for this Reason, doubtless, are these two coupled together, by which your honest Dealing is manifest enough.

‘ But why was the *English* Army brought over for this Purpose, as you alledge ? Do you think that the State of *England* will be at five or six Millions Charge, meerly to procure Purchasers to be invested in that for which they did disburse little above Quarter of a Million, (although there be a Justice in that also which ought, and I trust will be seasonably performed to them) no, I can give you a better Reason for the Armies coming than this : *England* has had the Experience of the Blessing of God in prosecuting just and righteous Causes, whatever the Cost and Hazards be ; and, if ever Men were engaged in a righteous Cause in the World, this will be scarce a second to it. We came to ask an Account of the innocent Blood that has

‘ been shed, and to endeavour to bring them to an Account (by the Blessing and Presence of the Almighty, in whom alone is our Hope and Strength) who, by appearing in Arms, seek to justify the same.

‘ We come to break the Power of a Company of lawless Rebels, who having cast off the Authority of *England*, live as Enemies to human Society, whose Principles (the World hath Experience of) are to destroy and subjugate all Men, not complying with them. We come, by Assistance of God, to hold forth and maintain the Lustre and Glory of *English* Liberty, in a Nation where we have an undoubted Right to do it; wherein the People of *Ireland*, if they listen not to such Seducers as you are, may participate in all Benefits of Life, Liberty and Fortune, equally with *English* Men, if they keep out of Arms. And therefore having said this to you, I have a Word to them, that in this Point concerns them in their Estates and Fortunes, and they may hereby know what they have to trust to.

‘ Such as have been formerly, and are now in Arms, may, (submitting themselves) have their Cases presented to the State of *England*, where no doubt the State will be ready to take into Consideration the Nature and Quality of their Actings, and deal mercifully with them, for those that are now in Arms, and shall come in and submit, and give Engagements for their future Quiet and honest Behaviour to the State of *England*, I doubt not but they will find like merciful Consideration, excepting only the leading Persons and principal Contrivers of this Rebellion, whom I am confident they will reserve to make Examples of Justice, whatsoever Hazard they incur thereby. As for such private Soldiers that lay down their Arms, and shall live peaceably and honestly at their several Homes, they shall be permitted so to do, and for the first two sorts, I shall humbly and effectually represent their Cases to the Parliament, as far as becomes the Duty and Place I bear.

‘ But for all those who, notwithstanding all this, continue in Arms, they must expect what the Providence of God (in that which is falsely called the Chance of War) will cast upon them.

‘ Such of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of *Ireland*, as have not been Actors in this Rebellion, they shall and may expect the Protection of their Goods and Lives that the Law gives them; and in their Husbandry, Manufactures, and other Tradings whatsoever the same be, they behaving themselves as behoves honest and peaceable Men, testifying their good Affections upon all Occasions to the Service of the State of *England*; equal Justice shall be done them with the *English*, they shall bear proportionably with them in Taxes; and if the Soldiery should be insolent upon them, on Complaint and Proof, it should be punished with the utmost Severity, and they protected equally with the *English*.

‘ And having said this, and purposing honestly to perform it, if this People shall run headily on after the Council of their Prelates and Clergy, and other Leaders, I hope to be free from the Misery, Desolation, Blood and Ruin that shall befall them, and shall rejoice to exercise the utmost Severity against them.’

At this Time the General being at *Youghal*, about the middle of *January*, he received Notice out of *England* that he was speedily to repair for *England*, and this Vote passed in the House of Commons the 8th of *January*, 1649, and had Notice of its being passed by a Letter from a Friend

Friend of the same Date, that the Vote passed; but the Order of the House of Commons came not to his Hands until the *March* following: Upon the Notice of that Vote, the General thought himself the more concerned to hasten his Affairs in *Ireland*, in which he had then made so fair a Progress; and therefore began to think of preparing his Army, though at a very unseasonable Time of the Year, for the Field, which he was the more necessitated unto, because all the Provisions were spent within the *Black-water*, within which Water his Army were all quartered, so that his Horse could not continue any longer within those Parts, and therefore he resolved the latter End of *January*, (though few of the Officers of the Army were inclineable to it, by reason of the great Difficulties and Hazards they apprehended in it) to draw his Army into the Field, which he did at a Time an Army was scarce ever known to take the Field, and with much Difficulty, the River then being very high, he got his Army over the *Black-water*, at *Farmoy*, and so marched towards *Michaelstown* and *Knockanotty*, a Seat of Sir *Edward Fitzbarris's*, a leading Man amongst the *Irish*, but then desirous of coming into Protection.

Soon after the General got over the *Black-water*, he dispatched a Party of Horse and Dragoons under the Command of Major *Purdon*, towards *Limerick*, to discover the Enemy and their Strength in those Parts of the Country, who marched towards *Limerick*, and happened into the Quarters of some of the *English* Officers that were in Conjunction and in Pay with the *Irish* Army, and took Colonel *Clayton*, Colonel *Poyer*, and *Laughorn* Prisoners, who were all three brought before a Council of War, and having borne Arms with the *English* and received the Pay of the Parliament, and revolted from them, and joined with the *Irish*, they were all three condemned to die by the Council of War, and two of them were shot to Death; only Colonel *Clayton* saved, who seemed to be very sensible of his Fault in joining with the *Irish*, and penitent for his Offences, which saved his Life.

The General in this March, drew his Army before the Town of *Fethard*, in *Tipperary*, after his good Success at *Cashel*, and understanding it was a walled Town, and that there was in it a considerable Garrison, after he had settled the Affairs of *Cashel*, would admit of no Delay until he had appeared before it, and ordered his Army immediately to march towards it, which proved a very terrible Day of Rain, and it was very late in the Evening, as by the Governor's Answer you will perceive, before it was summoned; but because the Army appeared before it (tho' late) he summoned it, and required them immediately to surrender, to which the Governor returned this Answer.

For Oliver Cromwell, General of the Parliament Forces now in Ireland.

May it please your Lordship,

I Have received your Letter about nine of the Clock this Night, which Hour I conceive to be unseasonable for me to treat with you; yet if your Lordship pleases to send sufficient Hostages in for such as I will employ to parly with you, I will be ready to intrust some in that Business. As for the Hostage mentioned in your Lordship's Letter, I hold him not sufficient; having no more at present, I remain,

Your Honour's Friend and Servant,

From the Garrison of *Fethard*, 2d of February, 1649,
half an Hour after Nine of the Clock at Night.

Pierce Bulter.
This

This Governor made his Delays till towards twelve of the Clock at Night, the General and Army being all the while without the Walls, in as great a Rain as could be, and was forced to draw out a Part of the Army, resolving immediately to attempt it by Storm ; upon the lighted Matches been drawn, and the Walls ready to be stormed with their Ladders, they beat a Parly, and surrendered on these following Articles, which the stormy Weather, and Difficulties and Hazards the Army was in that Night, made the better Terms for them.

Articles of Agreement made and concluded the 3d Day of February, 1649, between the most honourable Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, and Lieutenant Colonel Pierce Butler, Governor of the Town of Fethard, concerning the Surrender of the said Town, as followeth, viz.

Imprimis, That all Officers shall march freely with their Horses and Arms, and all other Goods, Bag and Baggage, Colours flying, Matches lighted, Ball in Mouth, into any Place within his Majesty's Quarters or Garrisons, except such as are now besieged, and be safely conveyed thither, free from Violence from any of the Parliament Party.

Secondly, That all the Country Families and Inhabitants, as also any of the Officers, may freely live and enjoy their Goods, either in Town or abroad ; and if they or any of them be disposed to betake themselves to their former Habitations in the Country, that they may have Respite of Time for that, and Admittance to enjoy their Holdings, paying Contribution, as others in the Country do ; and to carry with them safely such Goods as they have within this Garrison.

Thirdly, That all the Clergymen and Chaplains both of the Soldiers, Town and Country, now in this Garrison, may freely march Bag and Baggage without any Annoyance, or Prejudice in Body or Goods.

Fourthly, That all and every the Inhabitants of the Town, their Wives, Children and Servants, with all their Goods and Chattels, both within the Town, and abroad in the Country, shall be protected from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, and shall quietly accede to, and peaceably enjoy their Estates, both real and personal, in as free and as good a Condition, as any *English* or *Irish* shall hold his or their Estates in this Kingdom, they and every of them, paying such Contribution as the rest of the Inhabitants of the County of *Tipperary* pay, proportionably and no more.

In Consideration whereof, the said Governor doth hereby engage himself, that he will deliver up the said Town, with all Things therein, (except such Things as are before agreed upon, to be taken with them) by Eight this Morning.

Pierce Butler.

The Army met with very good Quarters in this County of *Tipperary*, which was a County that had had but little Disturbance before our coming into it, being always in the Enemy's Possession, and now at their coming very full of Corn, Cattle, and all Manner of Provisions, and they possessed themselves of the Places of Strength in the County, in less than a Month's Time, except *Clonmel*, which is a Town of Strength, and had received a considerable Number of Men, and *Hugh O Neal*, an old *Spanish* Soldier, for their Governor, resolved to make what Resistance they could ; and therefore the General did not think at that Time

to

to attempt any Thing by Force, but deferred it till towards Summer, and drew his Army before a very considerable Castle, called *Cahir-Castle*, not very far from *Clonmel*, a Place then possessed by one Captain *Matthews*, who was but a little before married to the Lady *Cahir*, and had in it a considerable Number of Men to defend it; the General drew his Men before it, and for the better Terror in the Business, brought some Cannon with him likewise, there being a great Report of the Strength of the Place, and a Story told the General, that the Earl of *Essex* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, lay Seven or Eight Weeks before it, and could not take it. He was notwithstanding then resolved to attempt the taking of it, and in order thereunto sent them this thundering Summons.

S I R,

HAVING brought the Army and my Cannon near this Place, according to my usual Manner in summoning Places, I thought fit to offer you Terms honourable for Soldiers, that you may march away with your Baggage, Arms and Colours free from Injuries or Violence; but if I be, notwithstanding, necessitated to bend my Cannon upon you, you must expect what is usual in such Cases. To avoid Blood, this is offered to you, by

Your Servant,

For the Governor at *Cahir-Castle*,
24th of February 1649.

O. Cromwell.

Notwithstanding the Strength of Place, and the Unreasonableness of the Time of the Year, this Summons struck such a Terror in the Garrison, that the same Day the Governor, Captain *Matthews*, immediately came to the General and agreed for the Surrender on the following Articles.

Articles made and concluded between his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of the one Part, and Captain George Matthews Governor of Cahir-Castle of the other Part, concerning the Surrender of the same, viz.

I. THAT the Governor and all Officers, Soldiers, Clergy-men and Servants may march out with Horses, Arms, Bag and Baggage.

II. The *English* Soldiers willing to serve his Excellency may be entertained. Those that will not, either *English* or *Irish*, to have Liberty to live quietly in the Country, laying down their Arms, or Passes to go elsewhere.

III. That the Governor may enjoy his Estate which he hath as his Wife's Jointure, or Lordship of the Heir of *Cahir*.

IV. That he may have his Goods and Chattels, and Liberty for a Week to carry them away, and have the Possession of the Castle of *Reg-bill* for his Habitation, and his Corn yet remaining there; his Excellency keeping two Files of Musketers there.

V. That the Goods he hath in the Castle, belonging to others, may be delivered to the several Owners.

That in Consideration hereof, the Governor is to deliver up the said Castle to his Excellency, upon signing these Articles.

February the 24th, 1649.

George Matthews.

The

The General continued a short Time at *Cahir*, and then returned to *Fethard*, quartering his Army all about in the Country, where they met with very good Quarters, being a Country little disturbed in all the War, and thereby was very full of Corn and all Manner of Provisions, and gave very great Refreshment to that winter-marching Army at *Fethard*, and some Time in *Cashel*.

The General continued till about a Week in *March*, and having before appointed Colonel *Hewson*, who had been that Winter Governor of *Dublin*, to draw what Force he could into the Field, and to march towards *Kilkenny*, to join what Forces he could make up, and meet him at *Laughlin*.

He drew his Army into the Field, and marched them into the County of *Kilkenny* in Order to his Conjunction with Colonel *Hewson*, and took *Callen* within six Miles of *Kilkenny*, which having several Castles in it, and encouraged by their Nearness to *Kilkenny*, made notable Resistance, and several were killed in the Castles; he took likewise *Burn-Church*, where the Head-Quarters were for a while, though within three Miles of *Kilkenny*, and several other Castles, wherein Garrisons were about *Kilkenny*, and then possessed himself of the Town of *Goran*, in the Road betwixt *Kilkenny* and *Laughlin*; but the Garrison was governed by one Colonel *Hammond*, an *English* Gentleman, who carried himself very high, and gave great Offence to the Army, in his Dependancy on the *Irish* Garrison, that was within with him, who, after encouraging him to resist, betrayed, and basely delivered him up into our Hands, and the Castle likewise, provided they might escape with their own Lives, on which he was called to a Council of War, and shot to Death.

Colonel *Hewson*, according to his Orders, marched from *Dublin* with about two thousand Men, and took several small Garrisons by the Way, but *Caterlough-Castle*, being then considerably fortified, he marched by, without attempting any Thing on it, and came to *Laughlin*, which was garrisoned, and would not let them pass the Bridge, but after a few Shot of two or three Field Pieces, the Place surrendered. At this Place Colonel *Hewson* heard of the Army's being at *Goran*, whither he marched, and his Party joined with the general Army, and thereby making a considerable Force, having some Guns come to him from *Ross*, which he was forced to send for on *Goran's* Castle's Resistance, the General resolved to draw before *Kilkenny*, a principal Garrison of the Enemy's, and had been the Place of their Supreme Councils, and General Assemblies settling (as they called them) their seeming Facies of Authority; and where, for the most Part, the Pope's Nuncio resided, a great Manager of Affairs amongst the *Irish* in *Ireland*, but upon the *English* Army's first drawing into those Parts, all those great Cabals were removed to *Waterford*, and other Parts of the Kingdom and the City, left under the Command of one Sir *Walter Butler*, and the Mayor and Aldermen; for Sir *Walter* was said to be rather Governor of the Castle than the City. To them all the General sent this following Summons, viz.

To the Governor, Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *Kilkenny*.

Gentlemen,
MY coming hither is to endeavour, if God so pleaseth, the Reduction of the City of *Kilkenny* to their Obedience to the State of England

England, from which by an unheard of Massacre of the innocent *English*, you have endeavoured to rend your selves, and as God hath began to judge you with his sore Plague, so will he follow you until he hath destroyed you, if you repent not. Your Cause hath been already judged in *England* upon them who did abet your Evils, what may the Principal then expect? By this free Dealing, you see I intice you to a Compliance; you may have Terms, may save your Lives, Liberties and Estates, according to what will be fitting for me to grant and you receive. If you chose for the worst, blame your selves. In Confidence of the gracious Blessings and Presence of God, with his own Cause, which this is by many Testimonies, I shall hope for a good Issue upon my Endeavours, expecting a Return from you, I rest,

Your Servant,

March 23d, 1649.

O Cromwell.

The Governor to this Letter returned solely this Answer.

For General Cromwell.

SIR,

YOUR Letter I have received, and in Answer thereof, I am commanded to maintain this City for his Majesty, which, by the Power of God, I am resolved to do: So I rest,

Sir, Your Servant,

Walter Butler.

Kilkenny, March the 23d, 1649.

Upon the Generals receiving this Answer he proceeded to make a Battery, which was done on the Gable-End of the great Stable belonging to the Castle. In one Morning's Battery with six or seven Guns, they made a very fair Breach, and it was attempted to be stormed in the Afternoon, which was very resolutely performed; but the Enemy having raised a Work across the Stable, the Soldiers could not run over it, which forced them to retreat to the Breach, where they stood and maintained their Ground, which they within perceiving, and that the *English* were resolved to make good the Breach, and fearing (as their Commissioners afterwards confessed to the *English*) the Consequences, and the Remembrance of *Tredagh*, being a Terror to them, they beat a Parley, and agreed for the Surrender of the City on the following Terms, viz.

Articles of Agreement between the Commissioners appointed by his Excellency the Lord Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, for and on behalf of his Excellency, of the one Part, and those appointed Commissioners by the respective Governor of the City and Castle of Kilkenny of the other Part, March the 27th, 1650.

I**T**HAT the respective Governor of the City of *Kilkenny*, shall deliver up to his Excellency the Lord Cromwell Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, for the Use of the State of *England*, the said City and Castle, with all Arms, Ammunition and Provisions of publick Stores therein,

therein, without Embezzlement, except what is hereafter excepted, at or before nine of the Clock to morrow Morning.

II. That all the Inhabitants of the said City of *Kilkenny*, and all others therein, shall be defended in their Persons, Goods and Estates, from the Violence of the Soldiers, and that such as shall desire to remove thence elsewhere, shall have Liberty so to do with their Goods, within three Months after the Date of these Articles.

III. That the said Governor, with all the Officers and Soldiers under his Command in the said City and Castle, and all others who shall be so pleased, shall march away at or before Nine of the Clock to-morrow Morning with Bag and Baggage, the Officers and their Attendants, with their Arms and Horses, not exceeding one hundred and fifty Horses; and their Foot-soldiers to march out of the Town two Miles distant with their Arms, and with their Drums beating, Colours flying, Matches lighted, and then and there to deliver up the said Arms to such as shall be appointed for receiving them, except one hundred Muskets, and one hundred Pikes allowed them for their Defence against the Tories.

IV. That the said Officers and Soldiers shall have from his Excellency a safe Conduct six Miles from the City of *Kilkenny*, and from thence a Pass to be in Force for six Days, they marching at least ten Miles each Day, and doing no Prejudice to Quarters.

V. That the City of *Kilkenny* shall pay two thousand Pounds as a Gratuity to his Excellency's Army, whereof one thousand Pounds to be paid on the 30th of this Month, and the other on the first Day of *May*, to such as shall be by his Excellency appointed. That Major *Comerford* and Mr. *Edward Rooth*, shall remain Hostages under the Power of his Excellency, for the Performance of said Articles on the Part of the said City and Garrison of *Kilkenny*.

And lastly, For the Performance of all and singular said Articles, both Parties have hereunto interchangeably put their Hands the Day and Year above written.

James Cowly, *John Comerford,*
Edward Rooth, *David Turnball.*

On the above-mentioned Articles, the City and Castle of *Kilkenny* were both delivered into the Hands of the *English*. The Plague was then very hot in the Town; so that the Head-Quarters continued still at *Burn-Church*, and the General and Army (none being left in the City but what was necessary under the Command of Captain *Axtel* Governor of it) stayed very little in the City, but after he had settled the Affairs of the Garrison, marched his Army back again, about the End of *March* 1650, to his former Quarters at *Fethard*, where he refreshed his Army a while after their Winter beleaguering, and taking *Gorran* and *Kilkenny*. About the Middle of *April* he drew his Army before *Clonmel*, a Garrison the *Irish* then much depended on, having manned it very well, and having placed an old surly *Spanish* Soldier to be Governor of it, one *Hugh O Neal*. After the Army had been before it about three Weeks from the middle of *April* (a Time Armies do not usually attempt Places of Strength, as that Place so manned and governed, in Appearance was) they made their Approaches, wherein there was Difficulty and daily Hazard, and after raised their Battery,

tery, where the Guns performed their Business very well, and had made a fair Breach in the Wall about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, disabling all the Flankers that did any way annoy the Breach, so that the Soldiers stood safe on it, but the drawing the Men to the Breach was somewhat offensive, which caused some Loss; but notwithstanding that Hazard the Men went on courageously and gained the Breach: The Lot fell on one Colonel *Culin* to lead them on, and very stoutly he behaved himself in it, having several Captains of Horse (the Foot not being so well satisfied that the Horse, especially in Storms, did not run equal Hazards with them) to go on now with them in the Storm, which they did with equal Courage; but the Breach being made on the Wall at the End of a great Street, and the Enemy having cast a Work across the Street and filled the Houses, which had large Windows, so full of Men, that the Soldiers that stormed and got over the Breach, betwixt it and their Work, could not be able (the Enemy playing out of the Windows thick upon them) to stay there long to force their Way over their Works into the Town, but were forced to retreat again to the Breach, where they met with some Difficulty to get up upon the Wall again, most being pulled up by the Hand before they could get back on the Top of the Breach, by which there was some Loss; and Colonel *Culin*, and several Officers were killed, and such as escaped were quitting and leaving the Breach, which occasioned the Major General to go to them to the Breach, and desired them to stand their Ground on the Breach, where they stood safe enough from the Enemy's Shot, on which Encouragement they did stand and make good the Breach; and that Night was given Directions to bring some of the Guns from the Battery and to Place them on the Breach, to Force the next Day a Passage through the Houses into the Town; and after that Direction was given, the General went to his Tent in the Camp, and about twelve o' Clock at Night some of the Officers came from the Breach, that the Soldiers kept and maintained, and sent Word from some of the Guards to the General and acquainted him that some of the Persons had called to them, that if a safe Conduct might be given to some of the Town, they would come out and treat for a Surrender immediately on Notice a safe Conduct was sent them; but two of the Town, before the safe Conduct could come to them, had taken the Word and Promise of the Officers of the Out-Guard that were nearest to them, for their Safety, and so came along with them to the General at the Camp, who thereupon treated and made Articles with them before he understood or suspected that the great Soldier *Hugh O Neal*, and all his Officers and Soldiers were run away out of the Town over the Bridge on the *Sure* that is on the further Side of the Town, and were all run towards *Waterford*. Yet the General told the Persons that treated with him and had agreed on Conditions, or at least had promised them to him, for the Articles were not signed before he understood and taxed them with *O Neal's* being run away, which being put to them, they could not deny, yet he signed their Articles and gave them the Conditions they had agreed on, and immediately sent a Party of Horse to follow them, but the *Irish* were got so far that they could not overtake them; for it was supposed they began to run away as soon as it was dark, and the Party of Horse drew off, that, all the Day the Storm was, stood by that Bridge over the *Sure*, on the County of *Waterford* Side, and long before these

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Persons that treated came out of the Town to treat. And the next Morning the Army marched into the Town of *Clonmel*, where a Garrison was settled, and Colonel *Sankey* made Governor of the Town and County.

About the Middle of *March* (before this Siege) came over to the General that Order of the Parliament, which was before-mentioned, that passed the Parliament of *England* the 8th of *January*, which was for the General speedily to repair for *England* to attend the Parliament there, but he being then engaged in the great Concerns of the War, and his Army being then in the Field, and particularly on the Siege of *Kilkenny*, when that Order came; and likewise being desirous, before he left the Army, to reduce, by God's Assistance, and to make them Masters of that Town of *Clonmel*, which the *Irish* so much depended on by the Strength and Number of their Men and Governor's Experience, that he judged it for their Service to stay with his Army until those great Affairs were effected, which occasioned several Letters and Messengers from *England* for his making no Delay, but speedily to come away. And therefore so soon as ever *Clonmel* was taken, and the Affairs of that Town and County of *Tipperary* settled, he resolved to prepare for his Voyage to *England*. To this Town of *Clonmel*, soon after the taking of it, came to the General, the Lord *Moor*, Lord of *Ards*, and Colonel *Trevors*, from the *Irish* Quarters, to render themselves to him, being Persons of great Note and Eminency in the Kingdom, and the first of Quality of the Protestant Party that came from the *Irish* Army unto them, their Desire was, and it was by him granted, that they should be secured in their safe living within his Quarters, until they could mediate with the Parliament for a Pacification and right Understanding betwixt them, and have their Liberty to live, in the mean Time, on their Estates without Disturbance by any of his Party, and all the Favour he could in Safety do them; and then took his Leave of the Army, and prepared himself to go for *Youghal* to take Shipping for *England*, where he was very welcome to the Parliament, who were preparing a great Work for him to undertake, being resolved to send an Army under his Command for *Scotland*, which accordingly that Summer they did.

The whole Affairs of *Ireland* was left to the Management of Major General *Ireton*, by the General, who was all the Time of his being there, a great Assistant to him in his Affairs, both Military and Civil. Some Time before the General's leaving the Kingdom, the Parliament of *England* sent over a Commission for the Major General, to be Lord President of *Munster*, which he thankfully accepted from them, but acted little in it, and upon the General's leaving the Kingdom he made the Major General, who was before Lord President of *Munster*, his Deputy General of *Ireland*, who governed all the Affairs, both Civil and Military, in the General's Absence.

As soon as the General had taken Shipping from *Youghal* for *England*, which was about the latter End of *May* 1650, the Deputy General removed himself from thence to *Clonmel*, and from thence to *Kilkenny*, whither he marched all his Army, intended for that Summer's Service and Engagements of the Field, and with them marched to *Laughlin*, no visible Enemy at all appearing in their Way, but great Numbers of them were in the Bogs and Mountains, and other Fastnesses in the Kingdom,
by

by the Account the *English* Army had of the several Bodies which lay in those Fastnesses, and inaccessible Places of *Leinster* and *Munster*, they were supposed to be above forty thousand Men, and the *English* Army never marched in the Field together, from the Time they were at *Drogheda*, above ten or eleven thousand Men, and to *Drogheda*, when they marched thither, they were not above thirteen or fourteen thousand Men, and yet none ever appeared to oppose them. The Deputy General and his Army then drawn together with him into the Field, lay betwixt *Laughlin* and *Carlow* near six Weeks, from the Beginning of *June* 1650, to the Middle of *July*, every Day sending out Parties to seek out the Enemy who had often considerable Bodies of Men on each Side of the *English* Army. *Hugh Mac Phelim* their former Lieutenant General for *Leinster*, and Commissary General *Dungan*, one of their great Officers, and fairest Enemy, whose Command was *Horse*, and had considerable Bodies of them, these lay in *Glanmalur*, and the Mountains of *Wicklow*, *Carlow* and *Wexford*.

The Earl of *Castlehaven*, who continued still in good Esteem amongst the *Irish*, tho' an *English* Peer, kept with a considerable Force in some Part of the *King* and *Queen's-County*, who had a separate Command in the *Irish* Army, and commanded that Party of the *Irish* that about this Time made that insignificant Relief to *Teeroughan*, a considerable Garrison; for the Earl drew three or four thousand Men on a Bog near to the Garrison of *Teeroughan*, then besieged by Commissary General *Reynolds* and Colonel *Hewson*, and when on the Bog they came near the Garrison, about one thousand striped in their Shirts, with some Oat-meal and other slight Provisions on their Backs, made a Run into the Garrison, but were so hotly pursued by the Besiegers, that they were forced to leave many of themselves slain, and most of their Provisions behind them, so that they rather prejudiced the Garrison than advantaged it; for soon after this Bravado, they made Articles and surrendered it.

The Dislike the *Irish* took, especially the Clergy, against the Marquis of *Ormond* (and indeed against all those that were any way instrumental in bringing about that Peace concluded with the Marquis of *Ormond*) began to shew itself now more apparently; and the Clergy began now to take the whole Power of military and civil Affairs into their own Hands; and the Bishop of *Dromore* was made General of their *Leinster* Army, in the Room of General *Preston*, whom they made only, instead of his former Commission, Governor of *Waterford*; and the Bishop of *Clogher* was appointed by them likewise General of the *Ulster* Army, and Major General *Farrel* was made Lieutenant General to the Bishop of *Clougher's* *Ulster* Army, and marched thither with him, who had not been much in *Ulster* for some Time before, they being mostly in the *King* and *Queen's-County*, keeping themselves upon the defensive, would not submit to the Articles of Peace that the rest of the *Irish* made with the Marquis of *Ormond*, nor would they make any until the Time *Ross* was taken, and then they joined the *Ulster* Forces with them, as is already mentioned.

The most considerable Forces that opposed Colonel *Vennables* in his March from *Drogheda* to *Ulster*, were the *Scotch* and *English* there, who were under the Command of Major General *Munroe* a *Scotchman*, by whose Influence a Submission to the Peace of the Marquis of *Ormond's* was made by most of the *Ulster* *Scotch*, and many of the *English*

English in those Parts, and were the only Enemy that opposed the *English*, and had in their Possession all the considerable Holds in the North, under his Command, except *Londonderry*, which was the only Place of Strength kept out of Major General *Munroe's* Hands by Sir *Charles Coote*, for the Parliament: And upon Colonel *Venables* marching from *Drogheda* into the North, and the many Successes he had there, by taking *Dundalk*, *Carlingford*, *Newry*, and several other Places thereabouts, without much Difficulty, which were most of them garrisoned, and upon Colonel *Venables's* marching up to *Carrickfergus*, Sir *Charles Coote* marched with what Forces he could draw together out of *Derry*, and marched towards *Carrickfergus*, where they met and joined their Forces, and besieged it, being the most considerable Garrison in the North, but at last surrendered on these following Articles.

Articles agreed upon between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Coote, Knight and Baronet, Lord President of Connaught, and Colonel Robert Venables on the one Part, and Colonel Thomas Dallyel the Governor of the Town and Castle of Carrickfergus on the other Part, for the Surrender of said Town and Castle, November 2d, 1649.

I. **T**HAT the said Colonel *Dallyel* shall and will surrender into the Hands of said Colonel *Venable*, or any other chief Commander of the Parliament Forces, the Town and Castle of *Carrickfergus*, and that the Artillery, except such as shall be spent before the Surrender of the same, shall be delivered up as aforesaid, and the Surrender is to be made six Weeks after the signing of these Articles, being the 13th Day of *December* next ensuing by twelve of the Clock.

II. It shall be lawful for the said Governor with the rest of the Officers and Soldiers to march out of the Town with flying Colours, Drums beating, and all other Marks of Honour whatsoever, and that no Soldier of what Nation soever, tho' he had been formerly in the Enemy's Service, shall be questioned by any Cause or Pretext whatsoever.

III. That the Governor, with all Officers and Soldiers under his Command, without Exception, shall have free Liberty to march out with their Wives, Children and Servants, Horses, Arms, Bag and Baggage, or any other their Goods whatsoever, into any Place or Garrison now kept for their Party, and that there be a safe and free Conduct for this Effect.

IV. That all Officers and Soldiers resolving to go out of this Kingdom, shall have free Passage and Shipping for their Transportation.

V. That all Officers and Soldiers resolving to live in the Country shall peaceably enjoy their own, without being troubled with any Cost, or any other extraordinary Burthen for one whole Year, and that afterwards they shall enjoy them as the other Inhabitants of the Country do.

VI. That no Officers or Soldiers shall be arrested in his Person or Goods for any Thing taken by them in the Garrison, since the last taking of the Town before, and that all Claims by Way of Debt to any of the Inhabitants of the Town shall be void for one whole Year.

VII. That the Prisoners taken at *Colerain* shall suffer no Damage in their Persons but be capable of being ransomed or exchanged according to the usual Custom.

VIII.

VIII. That a Cessation may be, and that no Hostility be committed by either Party until the Performance of these Articles; and if any Quarrels do happen betwixt private Persons, it is not to be interpreted a Breach of these Articles, but is to be judged and punished by an equal Number of Officers on both Sides.

IX. That after the signing of these Articles it shall be lawful for the Governor to send Lieutenant Colonel *Monroe* to Sir *George Monroe*, Major General to the Army under the Command of the Marquis of *Ormond*, to go and come, and not to be interrupted by any of the Parliament's Party, but is to have a Pass, if desired, throughout the Quarters.

X. That what Provision of Victual, now in the Castle, that was taken from any of the Inhabitants, shall be delivered to the true Owners.

XI. That the Frigate in the Harbour shall be delivered to the true Owners.

XII. That the Officers and Soldiers shall be permitted to carry with them twenty Days Provision for their March,

XIII. The straightest and nearest Way to *Cloghwoghter*, or any Party or Army the Governor shall think fit, and that Horses be provided for carrying said Provisions, and the Officers and Soldiers Baggage.

XIV. That they of the Garrison shall neither fortify, demolish, or destroy in and about the same, or take any Forces, Horse or Foot, or any Victuals, Arms, Ammunition, or warlike Provisions, or any Ways do or join in any Acts of Hostility, unless they be assaulted in the Garrison before the Day appointed for the Delivery of them up; and in the mean Time there is no Act of Hostility to be done to the said Garrison, or any belonging to them, by the Forces of the Parliament by Sea or Land.

XV. That the Day before the Surrender of the Garrison, the Country shall be ordered to pay unto all Officers six Weeks Pay, according as they usually received, and the Soldiers a Month's as they received, and that in the mean Time none of the said Garrison shall intermeddle with, or molest any Person residing within the same.

XVI. That before the Surrender of the Garrison, a Field-Officer shall be given on each Side.

XVII. And that the Hostages given on the Behalf of the Besiegers, shall be sent to *Charlemount* or *Eniskillen*, and there to remain until our safe Arrival at *Cloghwoghter*, or at any other Place, according to these Articles, at which Time he is to return safe back with the Convoy of Horse, whereupon both Hostages are to be delivered back.

Lastly, all these Articles are to be truly and really observed by both Parties, provided always, that if in the mean Time such an Army or Party shall march into these Quarters to the Relief of said Garrison, as shall overpower the said Party besieging, and thereby become Masters of the Field in these Quarters of the Country, then these Articles shall be void, and the Garrison in its former Condition. In Confirmation and Ratification of all which, to be truly and really performed on both Parts, we have hereunto interchangeably set our Hands and Seals this 2d Day of November, 1649.

Signed and sealed, *Dalyell*.

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Upon

Upon the above-mentioned Articles at the Time agreed on by them, the *English* Army had the Town delivered to them, and Colonel *Venables* continued Governor of it, dispersing his Soldiers to their Winter-Quarters, and Sir *Charles Coote* marched back again to *Derry*, and there took up their Winter-Quarters. This Winter there were little or no *Irish* Army in *Ulster*, they being quartered many of them in *Waterford* with their Lieutenant General *Farrel*, and in several Parts of *Leinster* and *Munster*, and most of that *Irish* *Ulster* Army remained thereabouts until the next Spring, when they chose the *Irish* Bishop of *Clougher* to be their General, and *Farrel* to be their Lieutenant General, and then marched into *Ulster* with him, and came into that Country in the Spring, before whose coming Major General *Munroe* was the only Enemy appeared in *Ulster* against the *English*; but after *Carickfergus* was taken, he acted very little all that Winter, but remained quiet in his Garrison; and the *Scots* began daily to fall from him, and to close with the *English*.

The Deputy, with that Part of the *English* Army that marched with him and encamped by *Laughlin*, where they stayed for a while, meeting with good Quarters and good Grass for their Horses, and in that Posture they continued, removing every Week or Fortnight a Mile or two for fresh Quarters without any remarkable Accident; and as they drew near to *Catherlough-Castle*, which was then well fortified, and had a strong Garrison in it, commanded by one Major *Bellew*, from whom the Deputy had often Letters about Exchange of Prisoners, and several other Concerns, but no Notice taken of his Castle, nor Summons sent him by us, but lying by him without using any Acts of Hostility against him. But upon the General's Success in *Scotland* against the *Scotch* Army, and thereby (the Deputy believing) that the Parliament would have no Occasion for any of the Forces here in *Ireland*, which he was not so well assured of, until he understood the Success in *Scotland*, but when he had received an Account from thence of it, he then began to fall close on his Business here in *Ireland*, and sent a Summons to his Neighbour the Governor of *Carlow-Castle*, and made a Bridge over the *Barrow*, near to it, and drew some Part of the Army over the Water to that Side of the Castle, and then sent them this following Summons.

To the Governor of *Carlow-Castle*.

SIR,

WE have been your gentle Neighbours hitherto, doing little more than looking upon you. But the Time being come now that we are like to deal in earnest with your Garrison, as effectually and speedily as God shall enable us. That I may not be wanting in my Part to save any of the Blood which may be spilled therein, I am willing, upon a timely Surrender, to give Terms to so fair an Enemy, (especially if I find you inclinable to a more peaceable Condition for the Future). I thought good therefore to send you this Summons, requiring you to surrender the Castle of *Carlow*, with the Furniture of War therein, into my Hands, for the Use of the Parliament and Common-wealth of *England*, to which I expect your present Answer.

July the 2d, 1650,

Your humble Servant,

H. Ireton.

To

To which Letter the Governor returned this Answer.

For the Lord Deputy and Commander of the Parliament Forces.

My Lord,

THIS being your first Summons, I am not at this Instant prepared to give any Answer to it. I desire three Days Time to acquaint the Lord Bishop of *Dromore* with your Lordship's Demands, and in the mean Time, that no Acts of Hostility be committed by your Lordship's Army, the like being observed by the Garrison; by that Time your Lordship shall receive the Resolution of,

Your Lordship's Servant, *M. Bellew.*

Carlow-Castle, 3d of July, 1650.

The Deputy upon this Letter gave his Consent to the Governor for sending to the Bishop of *Dromore*; and after that for his sending likewise to General *Preston* to *Waterford*, believing (as it proved) not his Intention to hold out long, and marched with a good Part of his Army to beleaguer *Waterford*, leaving Sir *Hardress Waller* Major General of the Foot, with a sufficient Force behind him, to make good the Leaguer of *Carlow*; and a short Time after the Deputy marched that Part of the Army for *Waterford*, Sir *Hardress Waller* drew two Guns and battered a Tower belonging to the Castle, which annoyed them very much, and battered the Tower and took it, upon which they surrendered and proceeded to these following Articles.

The Articles of Agreement made and concluded by Henry Jones, Lord of Clougher, Major Anthony Morgan and Lieutenant Colonel Philip Fernsly, for and on the Behalf of the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy of Ireland of the one Part, and Major John Dungan, Captain George Darly and Captain John Wodiffon, on the Part and Behalf of Captain Bellew, Governor of Carlow-Castle on the other Part, dated the 24th of July, 1650.

Imprimis, **T**HAT the Castle of *Carlow*, with the Artillery, Provision, Arms, and Ammunition, and all other Furniture of War, (except hereafter excepted) shall be delivered to Sir *Hardress Waller*, or to whom he shall appoint, within twenty-four Hours after the signing hereof, without imbezzlement, and for the due Performance hereof, Major *John Dungan* and Captain *George Darcy* shall remain as Hostages.

II. That all Officers and Soldiers within the Garrison shall march with their Horses, and marching Arms, &c. and have a safe Convoy to *Lea-Castle*, and a Pass for ten Days to march to *Athlone*, and Carriages allowed them for their Goods to said Castle, and that the said Carriages be delivered at *Lea-Castle* to said Convoy.

III. That all the Musquets within said Town shall be allowed to march with each of them one Pound of Powder, Bullet, and Match proportionable.

IV. That the Inhabitants of the said Town shall have Liberty to live in said Town, and enjoy their Corn, paying such Contribution as others in their Condition.

V.

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V. That all manner of Persons now in the Castle of *Carlow* shall have one Month's Time allowed them for the Removal of their Goods, and Passes to carry them to what Places they shall desire.

VI. That *George - - -*, Servant to Colonel *Preston*, shall have Liberty to stay in the Quarters about *Carlow* for two Months, to transact his said Masters Affairs, and have a Pass to carry to *Waterford* such Goods, Debts or Money as belongs to his said Master.

VII. That all manner of Persons now in the Castle of *Carlow* shall have Quarters for their Lives and Goods.

VIII. That no Person shall be arrested, or stay the Goods, or molest the Persons of any now in the said Castle upon any Pretence whatsoever.

IX. For the full Performance of all and every the above Articles, and the Article under-written, the Parties above-mentioned have hereunto set their Hands and Seals at the Hour of Seven in the Morning, *July 25th, 1650.*

X. That the said Carriages and Convoy shall be provided within forty eight Hours after delivering up the Castle to such as shall be appointed by Sir *Hardress Waller*.

Signed *Geo. Darcy*, *John Dungan*.
John Woddisson.

During the Time of this Siege at *Carlow*, the Deputy received an Account from Sir *Charles Coote* of his own and Colonel *Venables*' Proceedings in the North, which was given him by Letter from Sir *Charles*, and likewise an Account of that great and remarkable Victory it pleased God to give them over their Enemies, which though the Letter be very long, and may seem too tedious for so summary an Account as this is, yet finding nothing but remarkable Passages in it, I have recited the whole Letter.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Right Hon.

ON the 14th of *April* I marched forth with the Strength I could make in this Country, and intended to have attempted *Eniskillen*, but Sir *George Munroe*, and those in that Garrison, *Terence Mac-Gragh* and *Maurice Hamilton* sent one to treat with me for the Surrender of those Places, which for 500*l.* and other trivial Things, were given up to me, and having secured them for the State, I advanced to ***** near *Charlemount*, with a Resolution to besiege the same, when Colonel *Venables* met me with the Forces of that Part of the Country. But that very Night Advertisement was brought unto me that *Toom*, a Hold of ours in the Water, was surprised by the Rebels, through the Neglect of the Officers who commanded there, which left such a Gap open for the Enemy to fall into our Quarters, that I was forced to return. Colonel *Venables* with his Party of Foot, and some Horse, went back again to redress that Place, which, within fourteen Days after, he effected: In the mean Time being betwixt him and the Enemy, with the Horse and Foot with me, and then the Weather having been extremely bad, I drew homeward to refresh our Men and victual our selves, our Provisions being all spent.

It having pleased Almighty God to bless your Armies in *Munster* and *Leinster* with such wonderful Success as that no Enemy could stand before

fore them, the *Irish* Rebels had no other Refuge for their Preservation but to endeavour the gaining of some Footings in the Province of *Ulster*; and to encourage them in this Enterprife, no doubt they had very strong Arguments, both in respect of their own, and the Fastnesses of this Country, to lengthen out a War, by reason of the Forces of this Province were dispersed into several Parts of the Country, far distant from one another, for the Defence and Preservation of it; in Performance of which Enterprife, the Rebels, being about four thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse under the Command of the *Irish* Bishop of *Clogher*, fell down into our Quarters about the End of last Month, and immediately took by Storm, on the Frontiers of this County, a Place called *Dongeven*, where was only placed twenty Warders, with Lieutenant Colonel *Mark Bedisford*, whose Estate lay there; all they found in Arms they put to the Sword, except the Lieutenant Colonel himself, whom they wounded and sent Prisoner to *Charlemont*; from thence they marched to *Ballycastle*, which without any Opposition was speedily surrendered by the Treachery of some therein. In the mean while all the Forces in this Part of *Ulster*, commonly called the *Laggan*, except Colonel *Hunks's* Regiment of Foot, which were all placed in *Londonderry* and *Eniskillen* for Defence of those two Garrisons, being of great Importance, together with two hundred Horse of Colonel *Richard Coote's* Regiment, were quartered likewise at *Eniskillen* for Defence of that Part of the Country, amounted to about six hundred Horse, and eight hundred Foot, which I had drawn together near *Lifford* for Defence of that Part of the Country.

This Success of the Rebels, as it exceedingly puffed them up, so it as much terrified the Country-people, notwithstanding they were assured by many Declarations scattered up and down the Country, under all the chief Officers Hands, that they had no Intention to prejudice any *Scotch* Man that would submit to the King's Authority and come under Contribution to them.

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IX. For the full Performance of all and every the above Articles, and the Article under-written, the Parties above-mentioned have hereunto set their Hands and Seals at the Hour of Seven in the Morning, *July 25th, 1650.*

X. That the said Carriages and Convoy shall be provided within forty eight Hours after delivering up the Castle to such as shall be appointed by Sir *Hardress Waller*.

Signed *Geo. Darcy*, *John Dungan*.
John Woddisson.

During the Time of this Siege at *Carlow*, the Deputy received an Account from Sir *Charles Coote* of his own and Colonel *Venables'* Proceedings in the North, which was given him by Letter from Sir *Charles*, and likewise an Account of that great and remarkable Victory it pleased God to give them over their Enemies, which though the Letter be very long, and may seem too tedious for so summary an Account as this is, yet finding nothing but remarkable Passages in it, I have recited the whole Letter.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy of Ireland.

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ON the 14th of *April* I marched forth with the Strength I could make in this Country, and intended to have attempted *Eniskillen*, but Sir *George Munroe*, and those in that Garrison, *Terence Mac-Gragh* and *Maurice Hamilton* sent one to treat with me for the Surrender of those Places, which for 500*l.* and other trivial Things, were given up to me, and having secured them for the State, I advanced to ***** near *Charlemount*, with a Resolution to besiege the same, when Colonel *Venables* met me with the Forces of that Part of the Country. But that very Night Advertisement was brought unto me that *Toom*, a Hold of ours in the Water, was surprised by the Rebels, through the Neglect of the Officers who commanded there, which left such a Gap open for the Enemy to fall into our Quarters, that I was forced to return. Colonel *Venables* with his Party of Foot, and some Horse, went back again to redress that Place, which, within fourteen Days after, he effected: In the mean Time being betwixt him and the Enemy, with the Horse and Foot with me, and then the Weather having been extremely bad, I drew homeward to refresh our Men and victual our selves, our Provisions being all spent.

It having pleased Almighty God to bless your Armies in *Munster* and *Leinster* with such wonderful Success as that no Enemy could stand before

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make their Retreat the same Way which formerly they attempted, and so drew off, leaving us the Ground, and retired to another Pass about a Mile behind them. I beg your Lordship's Pardon in being so tedious in this Particular, but believe it God's wonderful Providence and Mercy towards us was as remarkable in this Day's Delivery, as ever it was since I served the Parliament; for had it not pleased God to blind the Enemy, as that they had neither Courage nor Prudence to attempt that, which according to human Reason they might have done, we had been in great Hazard of being totally cut off.

After this I sent out Orders to the Country-people to remove both themselves and their Stocks into *Enniscbone*, an Island adjoining to *London-derry*, our Soldiers in the mean Time securing the Passes betwixt them and their Enemy, till such Time as the Forces out of *Clanneboys* could come up to us, which I was in daily Expectation of. On *Tuesday* the 18th Instant, Colonel *Fenwick*, with about one thousand Foot, came up to our Assistance, but without any manner of Provisions either for themselves or for those here; however it pleased Almighty God to give such Zeal and Courage to our Soldiers, that on the 21st Instant we marched up towards the Enemy, who lay near *Letterkenny*, where, upon Sight of our Party, they then being encamped on this Side of a Mountain, inaccessible to either Horse or Foot, they drew forth into a Part of Ground, which though extreme bad, yet it pleased God to put it into our Hearts to advance towards them, where we presently engaged them, and by the Blessing of God, after an Hour's hot Dispute with great Resolution on both Sides, we wholly routed them, many of them were killed on the Place, and the Execution was followed ten or eleven Miles several Ways that Night; what Numbers were slain I cannot positively yet say, the Country-people as well as the Soldiers eagerly pursuing and killing them for two Days after; but with Modesty I may assure your Lordship, there cannot be less than two thousand slain, together with their Major-General, five Colonels, and one Bishop, with almost all their Officers, their Lieutenant-General *O Farrel* likewise, as we are informed, both by their own Officers, which were taken Prisoners, and the *Irish* in the Country, though his Body be not yet discovered. They lost likewise all their Arms, Colours and Baggage, with most of their Horse, so that there is much Ground and Hope that they can never be able to rally any considerable Number again in this Country; and which makes the Mercy of God the more eminent, we lost in this Service only Captain *Sloper*, of Colonel *Venables'* Regiment, about eleven or twelve private Soldiers, Colonel *Fenwick*, Major *Gore*, Captain *Gore*, and an Ensign, with some few Soldiers hurt and wounded. So that I may truly say, *It is God's doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes*. And truly, my Lord, it is worthy Observation, that these barbarous Rebels who first began the Rebellion in this Country, and where they exercised most Cruelty and Inhumanity, should be reserved for God's Vengeance to be poured out upon them in this Place, and that God might have the Glory to himself, he hath been pleased to make a poor despised Party the Executioners of his Judgment upon them. To his Name therefore be the whole Glory ascribed.

As soon as I have a little refreshed our Men, and that all Parties are come in, and our Arms fixed, which are wonderfully out of order, I shall, by the Blessing of God, advance to *Charlemont*, and endeavour the Reduction thereof; but I want Gunners, and Fire-men for the Mortar-pieces,

Pieces, Shells and Powder, which I beg your Lordship I may be supplied with from *Dublin*, for the Place is very strong, and till that Place be reduced, *Ulster* will never be at quiet.

Now that the Affairs in *Munster* and *Leinster* are in so happy a Condition, it is my humble Opinion clearly, that all endeavours be employed to finish the Work here, which if your Lordship shall think fit to order your Forces about *Dublin* to join with us in taking of *Charlemont*, then we may carry on the Work in *Connaught* together; there being a great many considerable Holds in that Country, and several mountainous Parts which will require many Hands, and if Shipping be not appointed to attend us both for the transporting Ordnance, Ammunition and Bread, it will not be possible to do any effectual Service there: I dare assure your Lordship, that the whole Strength the Rebels have in the whole Island being now there, unless we have a good Strength, and be well accommodated and attended in that Service, we cannot expect Success; but if your Lordship shall think fit to command me any other Service, I shall be most ready to obey your Commands, who am

Your Lordship's humble Servant,

Londonderry, July 2d, 1650.

Charles Coote.

P. S. Since the signing hereof I have received a Letter from Major *King*, who hath killed two or three hundred Rogues, and taken the Bishop of *Clogher*, their General, and several other Officers, Prisoners.

A List of the Officers killed and taken Prisoners the 21st of *June*, at the Field of *Scarfollis* near *Litterkenny*, and upon the Pursuit; together with the Number of the Soldiers slain, being under the Conduct of the *Irish* Bishop of *Clogher*. Killed, the Lord *Enniskillen*, the Bishop of *Down*, *Shane O Neal*, Major General *Henry Roe O Neal*, General *Neal-shone* Colonel of Horse, *Neal Mac Colkittagh* Colonel, *Hugh Mac Quire* Colonel, *Pbelim Mac Tool O Neal* Colonel, *Hugh Mac Mahon* Colonel; Lieutenant Colonels *Terlough O Boyle*, *Shane Mac Doniel*, *James O Donelly*, *Turlagh O Neal* Adjutant General; Majors *Pbelim O Neal*, *Daniel O Neal*, *Emer Mac Eulen*, *John Mac Guire*; Captains of Horse, *Art Oge O Neal*, Captain Colonel *Mac Mahon*, Captain *Mulballon*, Captain *O Quin*, Captain *Farrel* Lieutenant General; Captains of Foot, Captain *Steward*, Captain *Fergus Farrel*, Captain *Bryan O Neal*, Captain *Owen O Quin*, Captain *George Russel*, Captain *Wogan Mac Gill*, Captain *Oge O Quin*, Captain *Henry Reynolds*, three Priests and Fryars Prisoners, the Bishop of *Clogher* General, Lieutenant Colonel *Shane O Hogan*, Lieutenant Colonel *Henry O Neal*, Quarter-master General *Sexton*, with several other Field Officers, Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns which are not known, and three thousand private Soldiers slain, with all their Ammunition, Colours, Arms, Bag and Baggage taken.

This great Defeat of the *Irish Ulster* Army, under the Command of their new-made General the Bishop of *Clogher*, put in a manner a Period to the *Ulster* War; for after this Conquest there never appeared any *Ulster* Army in the Field afterwards: And the *Scotch Ulster* Army, under the Command of Sir *George Monroe* their General, coming in, most of the *Scotch* returned to their Habitations, and acted not after in the Field, so that the whole North was after this Engagement reduced, the

Irish

Irish having no Place of Strength left them, but only *Charlemont*, which Sir *Charles Coote* quickly prepared himself for the Siege of, and had some additional Forces and other materials sent, as he desired, from *Dublin* to him, which was in a short Time after gained by him, and he with most of his Army having totally reduced *Ulster*, marched into *Leinster* to attend such Orders as the Deputy, who was then before *Waterford*, should direct him.

The Lord Deputy being with that Part of the Army he marched from *Carlow* with, before *Waterford*, he sent the Lord General *Preston*, who was then Governor of the Town, on several Occasions, several Letters, but did not attempt any Thing of Force upon the Town, nor lay close Siege to it until some of his other Forces that were left at *Carlow* came up to him. Upon his first drawing near the Town he sent General *Preston* this following Letter, and that he might the better know what Conditions he might expect from him, he sent him with the same Letter the following Articles.

For General Preston Governor of Waterford.

S I R,

TO save the Lives of People (as far as may stand with the good Will of God) from many Deaths wherewith they are encompassed (I mean by Plague and Famine, as well as by the Sword) I thought good hereby to summon you to surrender into my Hands the City and Garrison of *Waterford*, with all the Ordnance, Arms, Ammunition and Furniture of War therein for the Use of the Parliament of *England*, upon timely Performance whereof, I shall grant the Soldiery and Inhabitants now there such Conditions, the Substance whereof is expressed in the Paper inclosed, which if you and they incline to accept, I shall be willing that Commissioners on each Side do meet at some convenient Place, without the Town, authorised to treat and conclude of Circumstances requisite for better Performance on both Sides, and to draw up and perfect the whole in fit Form of Articles for a Surrender: If you accept not these for Substance I am not for any treating, but shall wait the further Operation of God's Hand upon you, or what Issue he shall please to give in another Way. I expect only your present Answer, and whether you accept or no; I shall not repent the Offer, having therein, as I conceive, discharged an honest Duty, for the Ends before expressed.

July 1st, 1650.

Your Servant,

H. Ireton.

Articles sent into Waterford.

THAT the Governor and all the Officers and Soldiers, and all other People in the Town that desire to go with them, shall have Quarters for their Lives and Liberty, without pillaging or any other Violence whatsoever, to march out with their Horses, Arms, and all Equipage of War, except Ordnance, and with all their Goods, Bag and Baggage, without Exception, to some convenient Place within three or four Miles of *Waterford*, where delivering up their Arms and other Furniture of War (except such Arms as shall be allowed to Officers and Gentlemen to travel with, suitable to their Qualities) and engaging themselves not to bear Arms any more against the Parliament or Commonwealth

wealth of *England*, within the Dominions of *England* or *Ireland*, or to do any Thing within the same to the Prejudice thereof. They shall there, and from thenceforth have Liberty and Passes for themselves, with all their Goods, (except Arms and Ammunition) and with such Arms for Officers and Gentlemen as shall be suitable to their Qualities as aforesaid, to go away freely: Such of them as desire to live freely and peaceably within this Dominion of *Ireland*, unto such Places therein as they desire to go into, (not being Garrisons of the Parliament) with Provisions for their quiet living; and the rest of them that desire to go beyond Seas to serve or live under any Foreign Prince or State, to repair within reasonable Time to some Port convenient for their Transportation, and from thence to be transported accordingly.

That all the Inhabitants in the City shall have Quarters for their Lives, with Liberty of their Persons, and delivering up their Arms, Ammunition and Furniture of War, shall enjoy all their other Goods and Moveables free from Plunder or Violence of the Soldiery, with Liberty to dispose of the same as they please to their own best Advantage.

That such of them that have Lands in the Country shall enjoy the same, upon such Contribution or Composition as others their Neighbours of like Quality and Condition in the same Country, shall from Time to Time pay and bear.

That such of them as shall not be willing to live in that City under such Governor as shall be settled there, or shall not be found fit to continue therein by the Governor for the Time being, in respect to the Security of the Garrison, shall have a Month's Time for the Warning to be given on either Part, for the Removal of themselves, Families and Goods, with Liberty and Passes to remove the same, within that Place, to what Place they please (not being a Garrison for the Parliament) and Protections for their Persons, Families and Goods, to abide at what Place they shall so chose to go unto (if it be not in Garrison, or within the Quarters of the Enemy) free from all Violence, Injury, or Molestation.

That to all such, both Officers, Soldiers and others, as shall presently upon the Surrender go away, there shall be two Months Time allowed for the Removal of such of their own Goods, allowable by the Articles, as they cannot presently carry with them, and the Goods they shall so leave behind them, shall in the mean Time be safe-guarded for their Use, and upon the Removal, there shall be Passes granted for their conveying of them to what Place they desire.

Though the Town held out for above a Month after this Letter and Articles were sent to them, and appearing very high and slighting those Propositions of Articles at first, yet after a while, were the Articles the same for Substance, on which the Town was surrendered. There was during the Army's lying before *Waterford*, made known to the Deputy, a very horrid Act committed by some of the Officers of the Army who were considerable in their Commands therein, the one being a Major of Horse, and the other the Cornet to his own Troop, concerning the killing of one *Murphy* an *Irish* Man that had Leave to go into *Waterford* in the Spring before this Siege, to fetch out some Money he had there to pay to one *Power* of that County likewise, to whom *Murphy* was indebted; the Licence of going into the Town was given by Lieutenant Colonel *Warren*, who commanded in chief the Forces that

lay that Winter to straiten *Waterford*; there were two Corporals belonging to the Major's Troop concerned in the same Fact, they being the Actors of it, and were the first Discoverers, and they accused the Cornet and Major who were found to appoint the killing of the Man when he came back out of the Town with the Money, and had a Share of it, for which Fact the Cornet was shot to Death at this Siege, and the Major afterwards. This Business occasioned at the Siege this following long Letter from the Deputy to General *Preston*, there is another long Letter wrote by the Deputy to General *Preston* at the same Time, concerning one Captain *Winn*, who, the Winter before this Siege, was quartered with his Troop at a Place called *Doneale*, about eight or nine Miles from *Waterford*, and would often take the Inhabitants of *Waterford's* Castle that Winter, many Times from under the Walls, which forced some of the Citizens to come under Contribution to him, and as it was alledged, they payed him Contribution before-hand for that Summer the Army was beleaguering the City, for which the Inhabitants of the City pretended they ought to have the Libery of grazing their Cattle out of the Town, notwithstanding the Army's lying before it; because, as they alledged, they had paid their Money for that Liberty, which the Deputy endeavoured to satisfy General *Preston* with the irrationality of that Expectation, which occasioned the following Letter, and in it another Summons to the Governor.

For Lieutenant General Ireton.

SIR,

HAVING enquired into the Matter whereof you desire to be informed, I find that fifty Pound is confirmed to be the Sum which *Murphy* made up here to pay unto *Poor*, yet it is reported by some, that he had fourscore with him departing here, which is supposed to be the Occasion of his Murther, rather than any Mistake; the Pretence of not knowing whether he had a Pass or no, being no sufficient Excuse for Murther of that kind, the Party being alone, and likely Pleading what might be averred for his Justification, whose Apology might or ought justly to have deferred his Execution till further Tryal of the Truth, this is the Sum of what could be found out by,

Your Servant,

J. Preston.

SIR,

I Thank you for that Light or Information you have already given me in that Business I wrote to you about, but because it seems to be but by Report, and that, from uncertain Hands, and not agreeing in the Sum carried out with him, but rather to what he prepared or made up for Mr. *Poor*, (as your Expression is) and both the Sums mentioned in your Letter as reported, being greater than yet could be found out by those that knew of the taking of it; and I being desirous to do Justice in that Point of Restitution to the utmost, yet without wrong to those of our Party concerned in it, (in regard they did it not in a thievish Way, but openly avowing the taking of the Money, and offering to Judgment with a Readiness to restore it to whom it is due) make bold once more to intreat the farther Pains for discovery of the Truth herein. And for that Purpose I desire that you would require the Parties that informed you, to
set

set down and certify under their Hands what the Sum was, not that *Murphy* had prepared or made up in order to the Satisfaction of the Debt, but that he at his going away had about him, and carried out with him, and what Ground or Knowledge or Assurance they have thereof, there being some Probability of Difference betwixt the Sum he prepared or intended to make up in order to the Debt, and the Sum which at that Time he thought fit to cary out with him. And though I my self no way distrust your Faithfulness in certifying me the Truth of what you are informed, yet I desire to have certified to me under the Hands of the Informers (and if you'll vouchsafe so much) upon their Oaths, both for the better Conviction of the Parties concerned, and because in a Case so doubtful, which of the differing Parties to believe, it will be some Light to me to know the Names of those within that inform you, and thereupon to examine the Man's Friends here, so as to understand from them what Persons within the Town were likeliest to know the Truth and Certainty of it, viz. the Sum of Money brought out with him. As to the killing of the Man, though I should at first suspect as you do, that his Money might be the Occasion of his Death rather than mistake. Yet understanding the Truth of the Case, as hither it appears by the concurrent Testimonies and Confessions of all Parties, to be thus: That Lieutenant Colonel *Warren*, the chief Commander then upon the Place, having, upon a Request from Mr. *Power* and *Murphy*, granted that *Murphy* should have leave to fetch his Money out of Town, and when *Murphy* came to him to go in accordingly, being abroad upon earnest Business, so as he could not then give him a Pass in Writing, appointed Major *Ottway*, the chief Commander of the Horse, to give order for his passing by Guards in and out, and for the present, sent one with *Murphy* to the Guard that then was, to let them know he was to go in and return; but upon the Change of the Guard, Mr. *Ottway* professeth he forgot to give new Notice of it to the Relief; alledging a known Occasion of greater Weight and Duty then upon him that took up his Time and diverted his Thoughts another Way. Now I say, understanding thus probably how, without deceitful Designing in this Business, the new Guards came to be unacquainted that there was any such Man to come out, and finding that both the killing of him, and taking the Money, was done by them, not in a Secret, but in an open and avowed Manner, as in prosecution of their Duty, according to the General's Orders, seeing no Pass nor knowing of the Leave, and so soon as it was known unto them that he had Leave, the Money was produced, and tendered to be delivered to any that had Interest in it, (save for some Difference in the Sums) and that Difference not so much, as being divided amongst all those that must be Combiners and Sharers together (if it were a designed Deceit) could afford them a considerable Temptation to agree so many in such a Villany, or be a sufficient Obligation in a Treachery of so many Parts and gradual Steps as this must be from first to last, if it were only to make each Man act his several Parts and be true to each other therein. I cannot so easily conclude with you to make it Murder, for if it were not a complotted Treachery in the superior Officers and first Guard to let him go in with Leave but without a Pass, and then both in them and the next Guard that they should seem ignorant of the Leave, and so seeing no Pass, should take advantage thereof to kill the Man and get the Money; but that really, as is probably alledged, it was occasionally in Lieutenant Colonel *Warren*, that

no

no Pass in Writing was given, and meer Forgetfulness in Major *Ottway*, that the new Guard had no Notice of the Leave, and if the new Guard (*bona fide*) having no Knowledge of it, killed him as a Man belonging to an Enemy's Garrison, according to their General's Orders for it, which Orders, in this Case of blocking up and keeping the Garrison to distress it, and the Non-admittance of taking any as Prisoners out of a Place so infected, I cannot but justify then their Proceedings, so that there is no Reason to account it Murther. Yet however, as far as there is Time, I shall not be wanting to search to the Bottom, whether there were any plotted Treachery, and so a murderous Design in the Case, nor to discover and punish the Rashness of the Violence done, if there be not a very justifiable Account given of it. The Officer of the Guard then is now absent upon a publick Occasion, but expected daily to return.

Your Servant,

July 23d, 1650.

H. Ireton.

SIR,

THE inscribed are the Examinations you desired for your better Information to do Justice in the Case of *Murphy*, for which your due Zeal to Justice I cannot deny you Praise; and if it be real Justice it ought to be the same, and of the same Zeal on all Occasions. I therefore offer it to you, that the Case of the Inhabitants of the County of this City, and the City it self, who have Lands in the County of the City, who having paid the Governor of *Doneale* Contribution ever since *December* last, and in *May* made Payment of the Contribution of six Months then to come, though there had been then two Months of the Contribution formerly paid, not expired, who having so paid their Contribution, are pillaged by your Commanders, of their Cattle, and have now their Corn reaping by your Men against express Justice, and the Condition of the Quarters they had: And in this I desire you would do as much Justice to the Parties wronged as the Case truly requires, and as you seem desirous to do in the Case of *Murphy*, being of less Consequence, which is offered to you by

Your Servant,

Waterford, July 24th, 1650.

James Preston.

SIR,

I shall not desire your further Trouble about the Business of *Murphy*, then what I have already to thank you for. As for the other Matter of Justice wherein you desire to see the same Zeal in me as you commend me for in the other, and would provoke me to a present Prosecution of it, as necessary to vindicate the Truth and Reality of my professed Justice in the other. Indeed if you would either by Prayers or such insinuating Persuasions move me to what in Effect they tend to, the raising the Siege from your Garrison, or allowing of Relief to it when they have neither Friends without nor Force within to whom God is pleased to give the Power, or Hearts to attempt either otherwise than by Stealth, it would much commend your Policy, but not my Discretion, no more than it concerns my Justice. As to my present Forbearance of that you so much complain

complain of, for the Citizens of *Waterford*, and Occupants of Land within the Liberties of *Waterford*, either in the taking of their Cattle, from under their Walls, or cutting their Corn that groweth so near them, that which I suppose you intend should render this a Violation of Justice on our Part is some Agreement made last Winter between Captain *Winn* (then commanding at *Doneale*) and those Persons you plead for, who it seems to save their Cattle and Lands about the City from him and his Garrison, in regard of the Power he had to take his just Advantage upon them, agreed to give him a Contribution, and he thereupon not to molest them for the Time, but to forbear any Advantage upon them, what the express Terms betwixt them were I have not seen, nor can tell where to find, Captain *Winn* being dead, as I suppose you have heard, but whatever they were, I suppose you'll not think that an Officer of that Quality, being that way authoris'd only as to his particular Quarter for the Winter Season, would if he could have done it, sell away from the Power and State he served, the Liberty of endeavouring the Reducement of their Enemy's Garrison in the Summer Season, either by way of Assault or of Distress by blocking up, or Siege, and you know well that any of these imply as to the Matters complained of, but I believe Captain *Winn* never intended any such Thing, both from the Experience we have had of his Faithfulness to his Trust, and because upon Discourse with him in *May* last, about the closer blocking up of your Garrison, then begun, although he told me in general he had agreed for Contribution from the Lands within the Liberties of *Waterford*, and had taken it up for some Time beforehand, and was very solicitous that Right might be done in due Season to all those from whom he had had the Contribution, according to Equity and Intention of the Agreement. Yet he did not tell me any such Thing expressed or intended therein as to prejudice or bar us from any the necessary Consequences or Advantages to be taken therein by besieging or blocking up, or to give the Inhabitants, when a greater Force should come to do that, any Privilege either of keeping Cattle or getting Corn to the Relief of a Garrison or Prejudice of the State's Service, but assured me of the contrary; and that he had declared so much, or to that Effect, to the Persons concerned in the Agreement. Now though I cannot commend or approve his making any Agreement at all in that kind, with Persons continuing in Hostility against us, which might give unhappy Occasions or Pretences for such a Difference, and so far in relation to any possible Failing of his in this Matter, though but of Weakness and Oversight, I am confident, without Intention of the least Deceit or Wrong, and through Mercy pardoned, if there be any Thing observable in the hands of God towards him in the Wounds he received upon that Attempt within those same Liberties, which was the Occasion of his Death. I desire not to darken the Glory of God therein, but rather that it may be taken notice of on all Parts, the Praise of his Justice, and though Captain *Winn*, the Party immediately obliged, be dead, yet it shall appear, through the Assistance of God, he hath Executors left behind him to perform the Equity, at least to what he was obliged unto; and for that Purpose, first for their Cattle, as I did when I had that Discourse with him, direct him to acquaint the Inhabitants, which he then told me he had in part done, and would do further, that if they would send them out to other Places past our Guards, and not within the Command or Relief of the Garrison, they should be protected and preserved for their Use, so as to

as many as will yet take that Course, I do hereby assure the Performance of the same, and desire you to let them know so much from me. As for their Crop, if they will take Order for the reaping of it, by any Persons in the Country to do it for them, and to carry it beyond the Garrison we made for the blocking you up, while we were upon that Way, it shall be allowed to their own Use and Benefit. And for any further Profit of any of those Lands which, notwithstanding these Presumptions, they have lost or shall lose by us by Reason of the Siege and the necessary Consequences thereof, those that have paid Contribution for their Lands beforehand, or their Assigns, if themselves be dead, shall hold the Lands, or have that Benefit of them without further Contribution to us, for the same number of Months as the Contributions paid beforehand did extend unto, which, so far as it hath not or cannot be performed during the Siege, shall, by the Blessing of God, on our Part, be made good in Allowance of the like Time after. And to hasten this, as well as prevent other Evils and Mischiefs to any, not to be wanting in any fair Assay on my Part, we being now upon a way of dealing more closely and effectually with your Garrison than when I summoned you before. I shall, to this long Answer of your last Letter, order this short new Summons.

That you do surrender the City of *Waterford*, and Places of Strength thereunto belonging, with the Ordnance, Ammunition, and other Furniture of War therein for the Use of the Parliament and Commonwealth of *England*; from which, if by vain lying Reports that I hear are received or framed amongst you to the upholding of a fleshly Confidence in your Men, or any other Way, God shall still suffer your Hearts to be withheld, as it hath been, so it will be, through the Favour and Blessing of God towards us, to the daily worsening your Conditions both in yourselves and from us, and so expecting your present Answer to this Summons, I remain, &c.

July 25th, 1650.

H. Ireton.

To the Deputy's long Letter about Captain *Winn's* Business, and the short Summons in it sent, the Governor, General *Preston*, returned this Answer.

For Lieutenant General Ireton.

S I R,

YOUR long Letter of the 25th, with your new Summons, as you call it, I have by this your Trumpeter received: If it shall be a fixed Tenet with you that the Undertakings of Captain *Winn*, by your Party intrusted in these Affairs, shall not be held binding, because they may be impediēt to the Designs of his superior Officers: I see not what Encouragement I should have to rely even on your Word, against whose Undertakings the Parliament, or Commonwealth of *England* may, when they please, take the same Advantage. As to your Summons to give up this City, Sir, we were not, when at the lowest, ever reduced to that Sadness of Condition that should require us to deliver it up into your Hands, much less will we do it now our Condition being by the Mercy of God bettered, and yours declining; yet to prevent Effusion of Christian Blood on both Sides, would not at any Time refuse to hear Proposals that might
not

not be unsafe or dishonourable to me, and those in my Trust and under my Command, who are all of a Mind in that, to be ruled by what we shall conceive Reason; which Declination on your Side you shall find us forward enough to try and open one of our Gates for you, and admit all your Foot even within the Walls to make the best you can of it; which is returned in Reply by, Sir,

Your Servant,

Waterford, July 26th, 1650.

J. Preston.

The Deputy's Answer to the above Letter.

For the Governor of Waterford.

SIR,

UPON such a Letter as your last is of this Day's Date, I could be as rash as another perhaps, in resolving no Return, but leave you and those you advised with so long about it, to the Vanity of your own Apprehensions. As to the State of Things without, not offering to judge of, nor much weighing yours within, and to be confuted only by tasting the Event; but because there ought to be no dallying in Matters of Blood, which may be nearer your Door than you are aware of, nor can Punctilios of Honour excuse any Neglect of utmost Duty to avoid it; and the Meaning as to the main Point being somewhat mysterious and dubiously expressed, I thought good to desire your more clear and positive Resolution to the Summons, and that there may not be the like Uncertainty in understanding you again, I would have your Answer, Ay, or No, to these Points.

First, Whether you desire Treaty for Conditions of Surrender; if not, I shall not tempt or woo you to it?

Secondly, If you desire to treat, whether you will treat upon the Conditions, the same for Substance as I formerly offered?

Thirdly, If not those, whither you expect I should send you in other Proposals, which if you do (whatever you apprehend or hear from without) I know Reason enough to make them less than the former Offers, and so you may expect.

And as for your confident Close, I shall only say (in Language suitable to it, which but in Return to such a Vapour I should not use to the lowest Enemy) it is a vain Bragg, and you dare not make it good; if you durst, and would give me Hostages sufficient for it, I would hire you to it, by sending you in what Money you would ask for your Men to make merry with, and let us get it out how we could. Yet I would not say this upon Confidence in an Arm of Flesh (accursed be that wherever it sways) but being assured the more you do, from such a Principle, despise us, and the more we were despicable, as to Man, the more will God appear to pull down the Proud, and honour himself in doing it, by the Despised: Expecting your Resolution to the main Points by Nine of the Clock this Evening, or otherwise not expecting further, but take it as negative to the whole. And that however my Trumpeter be sent back by that Time, and not detained as the last was, I rest,

Your Servant,

H. Ireton.

July 27th, 1650.

The

APPENDIX.

The Deputy's last Letter occasioned this following from the Governor.

For Lieutenant General Ireton.

SIR,

I Have as tender a Sense of the Effusion of Blood where it may be with Safety and Honour saved, as that you express in your Letter. As to a Treaty, if you send a safe Conduct for the Persons to be employed, I will send such as shall be qualified with Power to treat upon Terms reasonable and honourable, without relating to any Thing formerly passed between us. For what you call a vain Bragg, that, in Case you had declined Reason in the Treaty, you should find me forward enough to open one of our Gates and admit all your Foot, even within the Walls, to make the best you could of it, which you write in your Yesterday's Letter you would hire me unto. I have no Intent to go from this, provided you use no other Force than the Foot you then had in your Camp, and assure me you will come by the Hours I shall limit you, which shall be within twenty four Hours after your Acceptance hereof, in which I shall be better to you than you desire, performing whatsoever I shall therein do, without putting you to any Charge of Hire. Whatever you might have found in other Places, nothing belonging to the Honour of a Soldier is here at Sale; nor is my Confidence in this, or ought else I shall undertake, in an Arm of Flesh, or in the Strength of Men, but in his Mercy and Goodness whose Cause I fight, who though he for some Time permits his Servants to be distressed, will not in the End forsake them. And though he suffer such who fight against him to have successful Beginnings, will yet reduce them to Reason at last.

Your Servant, *J. Preston.*

Waterford the 27th of July, 1650.

The Deputy's Answer.

For General Preston.

SIR,

FOR the Subject of that I called a vain Bragg (wherever it is mentioned again) it will never lose that Name, but be thought more becoming Boys from your Walls than old General *Preston*, if yet living, whereof this revives some Doubt; do you take the Honour of Beginning and renewing it, it shall be mine to cease from such a Folly, since if, with the Cautions and Conditions you last put upon it, you durst undertake such a Thing, which I know you will not, though you say you have no Intent to go from it, yet you would break upon the Assurance of my observing your Conditions, or give me none for fair Play in the Performance. And therefore when I see Cause to attempt an Entrance, I shall come in at no other Gate then where God shall enable us, without your Leave. If I could discern a Confidence you had in God, I should either honour it, if well grounded, or pity it if mistaken, or if but a due Sense of his Hands against your Party, I should be very tender towards it; but that I am sure would render you humble under it, and not so vainly puffed up with Thoughts of your Honour, as to make that so much your Idol as you do when you still make the Notions

tions of that a Warrantee or Ballance for Effusion of Blood; your Sense whereof appears not so tender as I expressed when I told you I did not act so. Now as to a safe Conduct for Persons to treat, I should not upon so slight a Proposal of it (without Names or Number of Persons, or Time or Place) send in any, though it were intended to be on Terms that I could admit: But if you should descend so much from your Heighths as to desire it seriously, I must confine the Conditions, and make them such as will let you see your great Mistake; and that through the Goodness of God, our Condition is not declining, and yours, far from being bettered since your former Overtures. And till you come to such a Sense (expecting no Fruit of Treaty but airy Words) I desire not to be troubled with impertinent Intercourses about it.

Your Servant,

From the Camp before *Waterford*,
July 28th, 1650.

H. Ireton.

There were several other Letters past between the Deputy and the Governor before the Surrender, which I think worth taking Notice of, and therefore will insert.

For Lieutenant General Ireton.

SIR,

IT is to me strange, you so often call that a vain Brag, that is so confidently offered to be made good to you; but as you cease it, so will not I press it; not doubting, with God's Assistance, to give you the same Impediment, at whatever Gate or other Place you shall attempt an Entrance; and to satisfy your Scruple, that I yet live to make good that Honour, which, though I never did nor ever will make an Idol of, yet I will never neglect to put a just Value on, as from my Infancy I have, among Men of the best Rank in Christendom in Arms learned; and of how low soever a Value Honour may be among you, my Life or Blood is not so dear to me, but I would loose both ere I would see that violated, and of this Resolution are all I command, and I believe so ought all to be, who truly conceive it; by Honour I understand a Decorum of Reason, fitted to the Quality of Persons and Occasions; whereof good Men in all Ages, as sacred and profane Histories witness, have ever made great Account. As to the safe Conduct for treating neither Names, Numbers of Persons, Time or Place were mentioned in the former safe Conduct, nor is it needful they should be in this. If you send me one as formerly with Blanks, I will fill it with any Number you shall please to treat with your self, or Commissioners, at such Time and Place as shall be agreed on; nor will I hinder you from confining your Conditions as you please, while I reserve Power to my self of accepting no more of them then suits with the Safety and Honour of Place and Persons under my Command. This you need not doubt to be in all Parts intended by, Sir,

Your Servant,

Waterford, July 29, 1650.

J. Preston.

APPENDIX.

For General Preston.

SIR,

YOUR Definition of Honour hath handsome Words in it, but I am to seek for their Depth of Sense; with us the Truth and Substance of Honour is Honesty, of which there is no Danger that it should be valued or priz'd too much, if we exalt not Man's Righteousness above the Grace of God, and yet the Shadows and Plumes of Honour, which your Letters seem to point at, will never pass for Weight with God as a Price for Blood. I have found that those who have prized themselves most affectedly, and used the most hectoring Language, even in the same Case as yours is, in which I have had to do with many, have through the Power of God, and his just Hand, been brought to stoop and fall as low as Dirt, even by such despicable Instruments as we are here, and take Terms agreeable only to the most abject Souls, and therefore I am not moved, nor weigh any Men the more for such Ostentation.

As to the safe Conduct for Commissioners to treat, if you send me Names of them you would have it for, I shall send one, and therein appoint a Place convenient, which you may take or refuse, and I shall nominate Commissioners on my Part to meet them, and let them know my Mind. In short, the Time to begin To-morrow by Noon, and end before Night.

Your Servant,

From the Camp before *Waterford*, July 30, 1650.

H. Ireton.

To the former Answer followed this other Letter from General *Preston*.

For Lieutenant General Ireton.

SIR,

SINCE I hope not to reconcile you to that Sense which martial Men ought to entertain of Honour, and as you desire to drop the Proposition of entering in at the Gates I should open for you, so will I have the Honour of giving over any further Dispute on that Subject. For the safe Conduct, though you propose a way unusual, I will yet for this Time send you the Names of the Commissioners, who if you appoint a Place near the City, shall be there before Noon, and end if you please before Dinner, and so save you the Rest of the Day for your other Affairs.

Your Servant,

Waterford, 30th of July, 1650.

J. Preston.

Sir *James Preston*, Colonel *Torlough O Neal*, Lieutenant Colonel *Bagnall*, Captain *Henry Fitzgarret*, Sir *John Welsh*, Mr. *Paul Wadding*, and Mr. *Jeffery Barron*, Commissioners for the Town.

The

The Deputy's Answer to the former Letter.

For General Preston.

S I R,

I Grudge not any Man the Honour he fancies to himself, and commend in any Man that Discretion. I have here sent you the safe Conduct, as I promised, and at the Place appointed, shall have a Tent set up, into which your Commissioners may retire, if the weather require it, during the Treaty, I am,

Your Servant,

H. Ireton.

July 30, 1650.

Another Letter of General *Preston's* as followeth.

For Lieutenant General Ireton.

S I R,

I Have received your Letter with the safe Conduct for my Commissioners to go to the new Cross near *Waterford*, there to continue during the Treaty. I have no such Necessity to precipitate to a Treaty, as perhaps you imagine, and will not therefore venture my Commissioners upon this safe Conduct you now sent me. If you would have a Treaty to proceed fairly on, send the safe Conduct, such as the last was, with Liberty in it for my Commissioners to return to me at their Pleasure, though the Treaty should be broken off, or not ended, and a Cessation of Acts of Hostility during the Treaty, otherwise I should have Cause to think there may be an Intent to bring my Commissioners within the Inconvenience those of *Wexford* suffered upon such as this safe Conduct, and now this Day is so far spent, if you send such a safe Conduct as is desired, that To-morrow will be fitter for the Treaty.

Your Servant,

J. Preston.

Waterford, July 30th, 1650.

For General Preston.

S I R,

A Man would little have expected that from the late high offer of opening your Gates to us there should be such a sudden fall to that Fear implied in your last, lest while your Commissioners are treating, your Walls should be stormed by the same Party you lately so despised, for there is not yet a Man more before you; or rather, lest your Men, having not Confidence or Patience to stay till your Commissioners Return, should in View of you desert their Guards and run away from the Walls, and so tempt ours to fall in without Order or Intention, preceding which was the just Case of *Wexford* after the Castle was battered and surrendered. And yet it was no such Inconveniency their Commissioners were brought into, by the safe Conduct from us, as that you need to fear the venturing of your Commissioners upon the like, for by reason of it, they had their Lives, Liberties, and whatever they brought

brought out with them; when most there left in the Town lost their Lives and all they had. But if you had truly understood that Case, I suppose you would never have pitched upon that Instance for the Ground of such Doubt, nor can I therefore by your Instance understand what it is, nor shall I further inquire, having satisfied myself that I have not been wanting to send a safe Conduct, clear and fair, and without Possibility of Prejudice to your Commissioners, unless we should grossly violate it: Neither shall I desire the forming of another to a Notion I understand not. But if you desire another of the same to make Use of To-morrow, because this Day is so far spent, you may have it for sending for in Time; but I expect your Commissioners be authorized to treat and conclude, otherwise mine shall spend no Time with them, but make their Danger and Return very short. And if being so authorized, you find need of going or sending into Town, they will either have Liberty from us of going and returning, or breaking the Treaty, or at worst may break it off and go in for all together; and you are then but where you were, especially if your Condition be so good within, as you would have it believed, or ours so declining without as you seem to think: But as to a Cessation I shall admit of none, except only of shooting, or other offensive Violence from betwixt the Places of our respective Guards on this Side the Town where your Commissioners are like to come out, and the Treaty to be, if you like it, on these Terms.

Your Servant,

H. Ireton.

Waterford Siege, July 30th, 1650.

There was yet this following Letter from General *Preston* before his Commissioners came out to treat.

For Lieutenant General Ireton.

SIR,

THE Fear I conceived of venturing my Commissioners upon the Precedent of *Wexford*, was for the Liberty denied their Commissioners to return back into the Town at their Pleasure, not for any Danger of storming the Town during the Treaty; against which I will myself, by God's Assistance, give the City safe Conduct enough against your Forces. What you mention in your Letter of Liberty to my Commissioners to return to the City when and as often as they please, and to break off the Treaty when they shall see Cause, and a Cessation of Shooting or any offensive Violence between the Guards of either Side during the Treaty is all I looked for: If therefore you put that into the safe Conduct which by your Letter you give, it will be satisfactory. Your Commissioners formerly found mine qualified with Power enough to conclude on Terms that should appear to them reasonable, as now also they shall be: Though yours, notwithstanding the Largeness of their Commission, confessed themselves strictly restrained by Instructions to the Proposals you first sent me, on which mine should neither then nor now treat, as was formerly signified to you by,

Your Servant,

Waterford, July 31, 1650.

J. Preston.

SIR,

S I R,

THAT you now exprefs you meant in the Instance of our dealing with the Commiffioners of *Wexford*, though it is probable you may have heard it as you have other Things which I find you receive for Truth, is a Falshood as it is represented, and which I believe none of thofe Commiffioners will own ; for I am fure there was no Liberty of returning either denied or asked till it was come to fuch a Cafe as when they understood, they thanked us for Leave to ftay out, and fo would yours in the like Circumftances, though they had never fo much Liberty of returning expreffed in their fafe Conduct. The Liberty to your Commiffioners of ending the Treaty when they please were improper in the fafe Conduct ; but I hereby affure that to you and them, as I think my laft did, and having that, the fafe Conduct as it is, gives them Liberty of returning once when they please : And further, they fhall not have it from me, otherwife than as I find Cause upon the Treaty, to give other Liberty of going in and coming out again without ending the fame. A general Ceffation of Shooting or offensive Violence betwixt the Guards on either Side I did not exprefs, as you may find looking back to the Letter, but fo far as it is expreffed in that my Letter of Yefterday's Date fent in the Evening by my Trumpet, I fhall agree to it, and take Order for it when your Commiffioners come out ; expecting by them you give me Affurance of the like on your Part from the Round Tower inclufively that is next above the Gate coming out to new Crofs unto the *Sure* Side below the Town, as I fhall order on my Part from our Guards at the Mill inclufive, where we pafs over the Brook to the River *Sure* on the fame Side. But to put all this into the fafe Conduct would be with little Senfe or Reason, and I believe without Example. I have therefore fent you a fafe Conduct as the other was, altered only for the Day, which if you like not to ufe, you may return, and in that Cafe, I once again defire that, till the Treaty be more valuable to you than fuch flight trifling Circumftances, as you have made the Subject of daily Letters now ever fince the Summons, I may be troubled with no more about it.

From the Siege before *Waterford*, July 31st, 1650.

Your Servant,

H. Ireton.

With this Letter was fent by the Lord Deputy this following fafe Conduct, on which the Commiffioners came out and concluded Articles.

WHEREAS Sir *James Preston*, Colonel *Terlough O Neal*, Lieutenant Colonel *Bagnall*, Captain *Henry Fitzgerald*, Sir *John Welsh*, Mr. *Jeffery Barron*, and Mr. *Paul Wadding*, are appointed Commiffioners to treat concerning the Surrender of the Garrifon of *Waterford*. I do hereby give License unto the Perfons above named, with their Servants, not exceeding one to each, their Horfes, Arms, and Neceffaries, to come out of *Waterford* this Day, and pafs to the Crofs on the South Eaft Side of the City, called *New-Crofs*, being the Place appointed for the Treaty ; and there, or at any fuch other Place as the Treaty fhall by their Consent be removed unto, to continue during the Treaty, and af-

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APPENDIX.

ter the ending thereof to return into *Waterford*. And I hereby engage for their safe coming, staying, removing, and returning accordingly, without Violence or Injury from any of my Party. Whereof all Officers and Soldiers under my Command are hereby required to take notice and observe the same at their utmost Perils. Given under my Hand and Seal this last Day of *July*, 1650.

H. Ireton.

The Articles concluded by these Commissioners and such as were appointed to join with them by the Lord Deputy, were to the same Effect as those sent in the first of *July* by the General, upon which the City was surrendered.

F I N I S.

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